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THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE.

VOL. X.

The Vignette on the Titlepage represents  
A SILVER TETRADRACHM OF ALEXANDER  
THE GREAT,

Copied from a Coin in the British Museum.

LONDON :  
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,  
New-Street-Square.



THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE.

BY  
WILLIAM MITFORD, ESQ.

*A New Edition,*

WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,  
BY HIS BROTHER, LORD REDESDALE.



IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. X.

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## CONTENTS OF VOLUME X.

### CHAPTER L.

ALEXANDER'S FOURTH CAMPAIGN IN ASIA : AFFAIRS IN GREECE :  
TRIALS FOR HIGH TREASON, MARKING THE CHARACTER OF THE  
MACEDONIAN CONSTITUTION.

- SECT. I. Measures of Darius. — Affairs in Greece. — Confederacy under the Lead of Lacedæmon against that under the King of Macedonia, and War ensuing - - - - - Page 1
- SECT. II. Alexander's March into Media. — Flight of Darius from Ecbatana. — Re-enforcement to Alexander's Army. — Pursuit of Darius. — His Death. — Honours to his Memory - - - - - 12
- SECT. III. Alexander's Measures for completing the Reduction of the northern Provinces. — Surrender of several Satraps ; of the Grecian Troops in the Persian Service ; of Ministers from Grecian Republics to the Persian Court. — League of Satraps against Alexander, and Acknowledgment of Bessus as Successor to the Persian Monarchy. — Treachery of Satibarzanes - - - - - 19
- SECT. IV. Trials of Philotas and others for High Treason - - - - - 26

### CHAPTER LI.

ALEXANDER'S FIFTH CAMPAIGN IN ASIA, WHICH COMPLETED THE  
CONQUEST OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

- SECT. I. Natural and political Circumstances of the northern Provinces of the Persian Empire. — Rebellion of Satibarzanes. — Paropamisan Alexandria founded. — Asiatic Recruits to Alexander's Army - - - - - 37
- SECT. II. Measures of Bessus. — Discontent in Alexander's Army. — Pursuit of Bessus. — Critical Circumstances of Alexander. — Surrender of Bessus - - - - - 50
- SECT. III. Stubborn Resistance of the Northern Asiatics. — Negotiation with Scythian Kingdoms. — A Grecian Colony established among the Scythians not Subjects of the Kingdoms. — War with the Scythians not Subjects of the Kingdoms - - - - - 57

- SECT. IV. Recruits to Alexander's Army. — Cruel Treatment of Bessus. — Difficulties for Alexander arising from his Successes. — Embassies from Scythian and other northern Princes - - - Page 69
- SECT. V. Different Character of northern and southern People of the Persian Empire. — New Rebellion of the Sogdians under Spitamenes. — Death of Spitamenes, and final Reduction of the Sogdians - - - 75
- SECT. VI. Circumstances of Scythia. — Country between Media and Scythia. — Siege of the Hill-fort of Oxyartes. — Marriage of Alexander with Roxana, Daughter of Oxyartes. — Conquest of the Persian Empire completed - 81

## CHAPTER LII.

CONTROVERSY ON THE KINGLY OFFICE AND DIGNITY. — TRIALS FOR HIGH TREASON. — WAR PROSECUTED BY ALEXANDER BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

- SECT. I. Republican Greek Philosophers following Alexander's Court. — Controversy on the kingly Office and Dignity - - - 90
- SECT. II. Death of Clitus - - - - - 99
- SECT. III. Conspiracy of the Band of Pages - - - 103

## CHAPTER LIII.

WAR PROSECUTED BY ALEXANDER BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

- SECT. I. Force of Alexander's Army. — Natural and political Circumstances of India westward of the Ganges. — March into India, and Conquests there. — Grecian Colony established in India. — Indian Cattle sent to Greece - - - - - 108
- SECT. II. War with the Assakene Indians. — Indian mercenary Troops. — Questionable Deed of Alexander. — Siege of Mount Aornos. — Conquest carried to the River Indus - - - - - 120
- SECT. III. Fancies of the Greeks concerning the Expedition of Bacchus to India. — Ready Submission of the City and Province of Nysa to Alexander, and Conquest as far as the River Indus completed - - - 130
- SECT. IV. Circumstances of the northern Part of India beyond the Indus. — Alliances formed by Alexander beyond the Indus, and War carried beyond the Hydaspes. — The Dominion of Porus conquered. — Grecian Colonies established on the Hydaspes - - - 136
- SECT. V. Constitutions of Indian States. — Subordinate Sovereignities. — Free Cities. — Trade on the Indus. — War prosecuted by Alexander in India - - - - - 148
- SECT. VI. Growing Extravagance of Alexander's Purpose. — Discontent of the Army. — Forced Concession to its Wishes. — Arrangement for the conquered Indian Provinces - - - - - 157

## CHAPTER LIV.

## ALEXANDER'S RETURN FROM INDIA.

- SECT. I. Beginning Return of the Army. — Care of Colonies in northern India. — Ancient Law of Nations. — Eulogy of Alexander. — War with the Mallians. — Alexander dangerously wounded - - - Page 167
- SECT. II. Alexander's Navigation of the Indian Rivers. — Conquest of southern Provinces. — Division of the Army for the Return homeward. — Establishment of a naval Station in the Indus. — Arrival at the Ocean. — Establishment of a naval Arsenal at the western Mouth of the Indus - - - - - 189
- SECT. III. Arrangement for the Return of the Army to Persia, and for exploring the Means for Navigation between India and the Persian Gulf. — Difficulties of the proposed March. — Colony settled near the Coast. — Failure of ordered Preparation. — Sufferings in traversing the Desert - - - - - 202

## CHAPTER LV.

## VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS.

- SECT. I. Authority for the Narrative. — Deficiency of Means for the Undertaking. — The Fleet to be employed. — The Monsoon. — Appointment of Officers. — Foreseen Difficulties of the Undertaking - - - 216
- SECT. II. Published Narratives of the Voyage of Nearchus. — Remarkable Omissions in the extant Narrative. — The Voyage begun during the adverse Monsoon. — Delays in the River. — Early and long Delay on the Shore of the Ocean. — Arrival on the Coast of the Orite Country - 225
- SECT. III. Slowness of the Fleet's Progress. — Supply to the Fleet from the Army. — Inhabitants mentioned to have been seen. — Passage along the Coast of the Fish-eaters. — Supply obtained by faithless Violence. — Town deserted on the Fleet's Approach. — Entrance of the Persian Gulf. — Arrival at Harmoza in Carmania - - - 236
- SECT. IV. Occurrences at Harmoza. — Journey of Nearchus to wait upon the King. — Return to Harmoza - - - 254
- SECT. V. Procedure of the Fleet up the Persian Gulf - - - 266

## CHAPTER LVI.

## TRANSACTIONS IN THE MARCH FROM CARMANIA THROUGH PERSIA AND SUSIANA. — MEASURES FOR IMPROVEMENT OF TERRITORY AND EXTENSION OF COMMERCE. — AFFAIRS IN GREECE.

- SECT. I. March from Carmania to Parsagardæ. — Persia described. — Spoliation of Cyrus's Sepulchre at Parsagardæ. — Delinquency of Officers in high Authority. — Rebellion obviated. — Oppression punished - - - 276

SECT. II. Difficulties of Alexander for his civil Government. — His Purpose to make, of his various Subjects, one People. — Marriages of Greeks with Persians. — Bounty to the Army	-	-	-	Page 283
SECT. III. Alexander's Voyage down the River Eulæus to the Persian Gulf, and up the Tigris to Opis. — Correction of Mal-administration under the Persian Government. — Mutiny of the Army. — Renewed Loyalty of the Army	-	-	-	292
SECT. IV. Affairs in Greece	-	-	-	311

## CHAPTER LVII.

### TRANSACTIONS IN THE MARCH THROUGH MEDIA TO BABYLON. — FARTHER MEASURES FOR IMPROVEMENT OF TERRITORY AND EXTENSION OF COMMERCE. — CIVIL REGULATION. — DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

SECT. I. March into Media. — Amazons. — Death of Hephæstion. — War with the Cossees. — Measures for exploring the Caspian Sea. — March to Babylon	-	-	-	328
SECT. II. Embassies from Greek Republics and Foreign Nations. — Measures for maritime Discovery and Extension of Commerce. — Slavery among the Ancients. — Floods of the Mesopotamian Rivers, and Works to profit from them. — Regulations civil and military	-	-	-	336
SECT. III. Omens. — History of an Indian Brahman. — Respect for Prognostics among the Ancients	-	-	-	354
SECT. IV. Sacrificial Feast for the Armament. — Alexander's Illness and Death	-	-	-	362

### APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LVII.

Extracts from the Royal Daybook	-	-	-	372
Examination of Mr. Mitford's Dates of the Campaigns of Alexander	-	-	-	379
GENERAL INDEX	-	-	-	383

THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE.

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CHAPTER L.

ALEXANDER'S FOURTH\* CAMPAIGN IN ASIA: AFFAIRS IN GREECE: TRIALS FOR HIGH TREASON, MARKING THE CHARACTER OF THE MACEDONIAN CONSTITUTION.

SECTION I.

*Measures of Darius. — Affairs in Greece. — Confederacy under the Lead of Lacedæmon against that under the King of Macedonia, and War ensuing.*

THE unfortunate Darius, from the field of Arbela, after collecting what he could of his fugitive troops, had proceeded to Ecbatana, the capital of Media. That ancient kingdom, with the adjoining provinces, Parthia, Bactria, Sogdiana, and others, would alone form a dominion still worthy of the imperial title, and their people were the most warlike of the whole empire, and the most loyal. There he hoped to raise an army with which he might still vindicate for himself that large and valuable relic of his former, perhaps over-extensive, dominion. Nor was he without reasonable subsidiary hopes. The fame of Alexander's extraordinary fortune, and the evidence of his passion for still pushing conquest, had excited alarm among the warlike nations of the north, often at war with Persia, but now rather disposed to look toward the stranger as the more dangerous enemy; so that, negoti-

[\* See extract from Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, preceding the Index.]

ation having been put forward, Darius was led to expect important assistance. He looked moreover to the probability that, in the rich and populous countries compelled to receive a foreign ruler supported by a foreign army, or even in the conqueror's old dominion and the numerous states of various interests around it, whence he was now so distant, or in his army itself, the instrument of his conquests, something might arise powerful to check his progress, and perhaps afford means not only to preserve the actual relic of the empire, but to recover much, if not all, of what had been so rapidly lost.

But especially the state of things in Greece, and the old connection of the Persian court, still maintained with a powerful party in that country, though communication was become difficult and precarious, would afford reasonable encouragement for these speculations. A regular embassy from Lacedæmon, a minister more doubtfully authorised from Athens, and one even from the distant state of Carthage had followed the Persian monarch's motions; not, perhaps, after the battle of Arbela, with choice of another course in their power, yet in regular prosecution of their commissions; and they attended him still at Ecbatana.

The springs of that policy among the Grecian republics, which produced war against Alexander in Greece itself, while he was prosecuting the war of the Grecian confederacy against Persia, nowhere declared by ancient writers, but seeming rather studiously involved in mist by some of them, may nevertheless, by a careful examination of information remaining, in a great degree be traced. We have observed it remarked by Plato, of the singular constitution of Lacedæmon, that it was more that of an army than of a peaceful society; or, in his expression, of a camp than of a city. It denied friendly communication, on equal footing, with any other government: Lacedæmon must command, or keep at



an unsocial distance. Accordingly, in the very terms in which accession to the general confederacy of Greece, under the lead of Macedonia, was refused by the Lacedæmonian government, the purpose of command was avowed. It had been the habit and privilege, it was declared, of Lacedæmon, to follow the lead of none, but on the contrary to hold the lead of Greece. Philip's sagacity no doubt had observed the unbending and domineering temper of the Lacedæmonian constitution : and he seems, as much as might be, avoiding to offend, to have avoided communication with it. Men versed in his able councils would be among the advisers of Alexander's youth, when, on occasion of the haughty and almost hostile refusal of Lacedæmon to acknowledge the validity of a decree of a general council of the Greek republics, acknowledgment of whose constitutional authority was implied by its act in sending deputies to that council, he showed his moderation. Philip, we have observed, had always professed himself of no party among the contests of the republics ; nor is the assurance of Isocrates, that he adhered in practice to that profession, contradicted by any authentic information. Among the Athenians it was avowed as a rule, to compel all states, over which, with the name of allies, they acquired command, to change their form of government, if differing from their own. The Lacedæmonians equally, after the Peloponnesian war, overthrew constitutions everywhere. Decarchies superseded the old government in most states ; governors or superintendents, with the peculiar title of harmost, exercised despotic authority wherever they were sent. Nothing of this arbitrary policy of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians is imputed to the Macedonian supremacy. On the contrary, the endeavours of Demosthenes to overbear the confederacy of republics under the lead of Macedonia, by a union of the democratical interest under the lead of Athens and Thebes, failed through the attachment principally of the

Ch. 44. s. 1.  
of this Hist.

democratical states, those of Peloponnesus especially, to the king of Macedonia's patronage. Alexander so far deviated from his father's policy as, in Asia, generally to favour democracy in preference to that form of republic, the government of a few, which Lacedæmon had always favoured; and in Greece he courted especially the Athenians. Apparently the hostile conduct of Lacedæmon urged him to this policy. Could Lacedæmon have coalesced with the other Grecian states, it seems possible that the vision of Isocrates might have been realised: the Grecian republics, each governing itself, as the Swiss formerly, by its own constitution, and all meeting in general assembly, a resource wanting to the Swiss, to direct common concerns and prevent war of one republic with another, might long have maintained domestic peace and national dignity.

Nothing in ancient history remains more fully ascertained than that, under the Macedonian supremacy, the Grecian republics enjoyed, not only more liberty and independency than under the Athenian or Lacedæmonian supremacy, but, as far as appears, all that could be consistent with the connection of all as one people. Nor did it rest there: Demosthenes, in the Athenian assembly, reviled the Macedonian

*Æsch. de cor.*  
p. 545.  
ed. Reiske.

monarchs, the allies of his commonwealth, the heads of the Grecian confederacy, in a manner that, in modern times, would be reckoned highly indecent toward an enemy; and he avowed and even

p. 558.

boasted of treasonable practices against the general confederacy, of which his commonwealth was a member: "I," he said, "excited Lacedæmon against Alexander: I procured the revolt against him in Thessaly and Perrhæbia." In fact the government of Athens, described, as we have formerly seen, by Xenophon and Isocrates as in their time verging toward anarchy, is largely shown, in the extant works of following orators, and especially, in the celebrated contest

between Æschines and Demosthenes, to have been still advancing in corruption and degradation. During the whole time that Alexander was in Asia, the struggle of parties was violent; one, under Demosthenes, with the support of Persia, contended ably and indefatigably for the mastery of Athens and of Greece; the other, after Isocrates, looking to Phocion as their leader, desired peace under the established supremacy of Macedonia, and above all things dreaded the ascendancy of Demosthenes and his associates.

Of the domestic politics of Lacedæmon, as occasion has heretofore repeatedly occurred to observe, information rarely comes to us but through transactions with other states. Agis, the reigning king of the Proclidean family, whom we have seen already active in enmity to Macedonia, appears to have been a man of character to suit the purposes of Demosthenes; of high spirit, without great talents or extensive views; perhaps of sincere patriotism; and if it was mere Lacedæmonian, not Grecian patriotism, the narrowness should be attributed less to his nature than to his education under the Lacedæmonian institutions. Possibly he was not much grieved, nor perhaps Demosthenes, at the death of Memnon. Had Memnon lived, either could have been but second of the Greeks of the party; which could no way maintain itself but through the patronage of Persia. By Memnon's death indeed great advantages were lost, and a contest of far less hope for the party altogether remained. But in that contest Demosthenes reckoned, by his talents and his extensive political communication, to hold the first importance among the Greeks, while Agis reckoned himself effectually first, by his regal dignity and the old eminence of the Lacedæmonian state; both trusting that they should still not fail of support from Persia. Till the battle of Issus the hopes of both might reasonably run high; and evidently they were not abandoned on the adverse event of that battle.

Yet declamation of contemporary writers of the party so gained favour with men of letters under the tyranny of the Roman empire, and the spirit has been so cherished by the learned under the arbitrary governments of modern times, admirers of the politics of Demosthenes, as to have spread extensively the belief that Greece was enslaved by the kings of Macedonia. Nevertheless looking to facts acknowledged by all, we find the little, half-ruined state of Lacedæmon never ceasing to avow a political opposition, at length growing into open hostility, to the confederacy of republics, constitutionally established under the lead of Macedonia; as constitutionally, it appears, as ever before under the lead of Lacedæmon, Athens, or Thebes. In Athens itself an opposition to the Macedonian interest was always openly maintained. Negotiation was carried on by Lacedæmon among the other republics with avowed hostile purpose, and adverse intrigue from Athens appears to have been no secret. Against this open political hostility no interference of force has been even pretended to have been used; and, in all appearance, hardly so much opposition of influence as honest prudence might require. Negligence, inertness, short-sightedness may seem, with more reason, to be imputed; yet they never have been imputed to Antipater, to whom the government of Macedonia and the protection of the Macedonian party in Greece were committed. It may seem an overweening magnanimity that allowed the workings of the Persian party among the republics to go so far: a determination to prove that the reigning king of Macedonia was worthy, equally with his predecessors, to be the chief of a free people, desiring authority founded on the attachment of a free people, and not on violence. But perhaps for a Macedonian politician, of however acute intellect, bred under a monarchy, in the simple state of the Macedonian, the ways of republican intrigue were hardly to be conceived. While then the Mace-

donian supremacy, if not remissly, was liberally exercised, the party interests in every Grecian state, the inveterate hatred everywhere of fellow-citizens to fellow-citizens, and the generally active and restless temper of the Grecian people, afforded ground for that league against the confederacy of the Greek nation acknowledging the lead of Macedonia, which Demosthenes and Agis succeeded in forming.

It is beyond question that Persian gold, imputed by all writers, greatly promoted the Persian interest. It appears to have been after the disastrous battle of Arbela, when the Persian monarch's hope even of personal safety depended on opportunity to raise new enemies to Alexander, that he found means to make remittances to Greece. Æschines, uncontradicted by Demosthenes, stated before the assembled Athenian people, as a matter publicly known and not to be gainsaid, that a present to them of three hundred talents, about sixty thousand pounds; was offered in the name of the king of Persia. To the modern eye not only the transaction altogether may seem strange, but, on first view, the sum as a bribe to a whole people, beside being little for the wealth of the Persian empire, may appear beneath its object. It must however be recollected that, when paper credit was unknown, and especially if Lesser Asia and Syria were no longer portions of the Persian empire, the remittance of even the sum stated might not be easy; and farther, that the Athenian citizens, competent to vote in the general assembly, have in no account been reckoned at many more than thirty thousand, and that rarely ten thousand met. Demosthenes himself then having stated, before the Athenian people, half-a-crown to have been a bribe for the secretary of the general assembly, it will appear that sixty thousand pounds might be a powerful present to be divided even among thirty thousand citizens; how much more may have been given to

Æsch. de cor.  
p. 633. ed.  
Reiske.

Demosth. de  
legat. p. 403.  
Ch. 58. s. 3.  
n. 13. of this  
Hist.

the leading orators remaining unknown. The prevalence of Phocion's party however, at the time, sufficed to procure a refusal of the disgraceful offer.

But in Peloponnesus the Persian party, under the lead of the king of Lacedæmon, for whom there was no difficulty in taking subsidies from the Persian court, obtained superiority. Argos and Messenia, inveterately hostile to Lacedæmon, were indeed neither by bribes nor threats to be gained. But all Elea, all Arcadia, except Megalopolis, and all Achaia, one small town only refusing, renounced the confederacy under the lead of Macedonia, and joined Lacedæmon in war, equally against Macedonia and all Grecian republics which might

Diod. l. 17.  
c. 62.

adhere to the confederacy. Beyond the peninsula the opposite politics generally prevailed; though in Athens Phocion's party could do no more than maintain nominal adherence to engagement, and a real neutrality; the weight of the party of Demosthenes sufficing to prevent any exertion against the Lacedæmonian league.

That league however was not of such extent that it could be hoped, with the civic troops only of the several states, to support war against the general confederacy under the lead of Macedonia; and those states were not of wealth to maintain any considerable number of those, called mercenaries,

Æsch. de cor.  
p. 552. ed.  
Reiske. p. 554.  
Dinarch. in  
Demosth.

ready to engage with any party. Nevertheless mercenary troops were engaged for that league, to the number, if the contemporary orator Dinarchus should be trusted, of ten thousand; Persia, as Æschines, still uncontradicted by Demosthenes, affirms, supplying the means; and another source is hardly to be imagined. With such preparation and such support Agis ventured to commence offensive war. A small force of the op-

B. C. 330.  
Ol. 112. 3.

posing Peloponnesian states was overborne and destroyed or dispersed; siege was laid to the only adverse Arcadian city, Megalopolis, and its fall was expected daily.

Alexander was then in pursuit of Darius. Accounts of him received in Greece of course would vary: some reported him in the extreme north of Asia; others in India. Meanwhile revolt in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, excited by the able intrigues of Demosthenes, and, according to Diodorus, also in Thrace, distressed Antipater, while it was a most imperious duty upon him, as viceroy of the head of the Grecian confederacy, to protect the members of that confederacy, apparently the most numerous part of the nation, against the domestic enemy, supported by the great foreign enemy who threatened them.

*Æsch. de cor.*  
p. 558.  
*Diod. l. 27.*  
c. 63.

Accounts remaining, both of the circumstances of the Macedonian kingdom at the time, and of following events, are very defective. But it appears indicated that no Macedonian force, that could be spared for war southward, would enable Antipater to meet Agis; and it was long before he could excite the republican Greeks, adverse to the Lacedæmonian and Persian interest, however dreading its prevalence, to assemble in arms in sufficient numbers. His success however in quelling the disturbances in Thessaly and Thrace, encouraging the zeal of that portion of the Greek nation which dreaded republican empire, whether democratical under Demosthenes, or oligarchal under Agis, enabled him at length to raise superior numbers. Megalopolis had resisted beyond expectation. Antipater, entering Peloponnesus to relieve that place, was met by Agis. A sanguinary battle ensued. The Lacedæmonians are said to have fought with all the obstinacy which their ancient institutions required, and which their ancient fame was adapted to inspire. But they were overborne: Agis, fighting at their head, with the spirit of a hero rather, apparently, than with the skill of a general, received a wound which disabled him, so that it was necessary to carry him out of the field. His troops, unable to resist superior numbers, directed by

*Diod. l. 17.*  
c. 63.  
*Ol. 112. 3.*

Diod. 1. 17.  
c. 63. superior skill, took to flight. Diodorus relates that, pressed by the pursuing enemy, he peremptorily commanded his attendants to save themselves, and leave him with his arms; and that, disabled as he was, refusing quarter, and threatening all who approached him, he fought till he was killed.<sup>1</sup>

The conduct of the victor then was what became the delegate of the elected superintendent and protector of the liberties of Greece. The Lacedæmonian government,  
c. 73. feeling its inability to maintain the war in which it was engaged, and perhaps no longer holding the same disposition toward it, the principal instigator being no more, sent a deputation to Antipater to treat for peace. Antipater, as deputy of the captain-general and stateholder of the Greek nation, took nothing farther upon himself than to summon a congress of the several republics to Corinth, to which he referred the Lacedæmonian ministers. There matters were much debated and various opinions declared.<sup>2</sup> The decision at last, in the historian's succinct account, appears not what best might become the wisdom and dignity of a nation accustomed to appreciate its ascertained privileges, or what ought to be such. For the Grecian republics, neither under the rule of Lacedæmon, or of Athens, or under the more liberal superintendency of Thebes, while Epaminondas lived, were in the habit of such appreciation. And looking to precedents, with any liberal views, the congress could not but be greatly at a loss. When Lacedæmon led, the massacre of the Platæans; where Athens commanded, that of the

<sup>1</sup> Curtius tells the same story, in his romantic way, describing all as he might see it quietly acted before him on the stage. Nevertheless, in the scantiness of accounts of this important movement in Greece, the loss of that early part of Curtius's work which related leading circumstances may be regretted.

<sup>2</sup> —' *Ἀντίπατρον. Ἐκείνου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀποστείλαντος, οἱ μὲν σύνοδοι συνεχύθησαν ἐς Κόρινθον, καὶ πολλῶν ῥηθέντων λόγων πρὸς ἑκάτερον μέρος, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ. Diod. 1. 17. c. 73.*



Melians and Scioneans; where Thebes had power, the severities against Plataea, Thespiæ, and especially Orchomenus, all would revolt liberal minds. Even the recent decision of the nation, in assembly, against the Thebans, would justly appear a precedent not to be followed. Failing thus of fit example, and unable to agree upon a measure to afford precedent for future times, the resource was to decree that the Lacedæmonian state, submitting itself to the mercy of their great and magnanimous captain-general, should send fifty principal Spartans into Macedonia, as hostages to ensure obedience to his decision. We owe to Curtius the additional probable information that the assembly set a fine Q. Curt. l. 6. c. 1. of a hundred and twenty talents, about twenty-four thousand pounds, upon the Eleans and Achæans, to compensate to the Megalopolitans the damages done in the hostile operations against them.

It seems likely the Lacedæmonians rejoiced in a sentence which, in so great a degree, secured them against the usual virulence of party animosity among the Greeks, and the result of which they had reason to hope would be liberal and mild. It does not appear that anything more was required than to acknowledge error in hostile opposition to the general council of the nation, and to send, thus late, the Lacedæmonian contingent of troops for maintaining the Grecian empire, already acquired, in Asia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus's succinct account of this interesting business in Greece is clear and altogether apparently fair, allowing for inexactness in round statements of military numbers, and for the partiality which disposed him to adopt the cry of the Persian party among the Greek republics, *συμφρονήσαι περί τῆς ἰλευθερίας*. Diod. l. 17. c. 62. For the transactions in Thrace, there is deficiency, and perhaps error in transcribing. A rebel Macedonian is mentioned as commanding a Persian party in Thrace, by the name of Memnon, without distinguishing him from the great Memnon, commander-in-chief of the Persian fleets and armies, who, according to Arrian's perspicuous narrative, and as Diodorus also has previously indicated, proposed indeed to go to Thrace, but never reached it. What however may more be regretted is the want of more complete information of the circumstances whence

## SECTION II.

*Alexander's March into Media. — Flight of Darius from Ecbatana. — Re-enforcement to Alexander's Army. — Pursuit of Darius. — His Death. — Honours to his Memory.*

ALEXANDER, eagerly bent upon completing the conquest of the Persian empire, appears to have used the earliest season that the climate would allow for prosecuting his march northward. In the way to Media, or near it, was a country called Parætacene, held by a people who refused submission to him; apparently less through attachment to the Persian king than with the purpose of maintaining that degree of independency which we have observed so many provinces within the bounds of the empire asserting, and in apprehension of being brought, by the new conqueror, within stricter rule. Alexander quickly subdued them; and, their territory being extensive and important enough to form a separate satrapy, he added to the former instances of his liberality toward his new subjects, by committing the dignity and authority to Oxathres, whose father, Abulites, a Persian, held under him the more important satrapy of Susiana.

Information now arrived that Darius was so  
Art. 1. 3. c. 16. advanced in preparation as to propose to hazard another battle. With all Alexander's ardour and vigour and celerity, prudential considerations, however sometimes he might appear to overstep them, seem never to have escaped him. Celerity in movement he reckoned still important, but such only that he might lead with him his whole force, leaving only the heavy baggage to follow. On

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the Argives, Messenians, and Megalopolitans in Peloponnesus, and so many republics without the peninsula, were zealous in preference of their political situation, as members of the Macedonian confederacy, to that to which Agis and Demosthenes invited them.

the twelfth day thus entering Media, he obtained intelligence that Darius, disappointed of expected succours from the Cadusians and Scythians, had not a force with which he could hope to keep the field. Alexander, still pressing forward, was within three days' march of Ecbatana, when he was met by Bisthanes, an illegitimate son of the late king Ochus<sup>4</sup>, bringing information that Darius had, five days before, quitted that city, with an escort of only three thousand horse, and six thousand foot, but carrying with him about seven thousand talents, near a million and a half sterling, in money.

Among the Scythians and Cadusians the Grecian name would be more familiar, and events in Greece more readily known, than among the more southerly of the eastern provinces of the Persian empire. With the western Scythians, we have formerly seen, commerce Ch. 38. s. 3. of this Hist. with the Greeks was constant; and that communication among the Scythians themselves, through their extensive country from east to west, was ordinary, will occur for observation in the sequel. Thus it seems likely that Darius's negotiation with them may have been assisted by those circumstances in Europe which have already occurred for notice, the powerful opposition raised against the Macedonian interest under the lead of Agis king of Lacedæmon, threatening Macedonia itself, and the probable advantage of such a diversion for the affairs of Darius in Asia. It seems then farther likely that intelligence of the defeat and death of Agis had reached both Darius and the Scythians, and very possibly the Scythians first; whence might come the alteration in their disposition to support a tottering throne, and, in result, his flight from Ecbatana.

This circumstance becoming known, all the great and

<sup>4</sup> From all accounts of the family and succession apparently Bisthanes must have been of birth not to succeed regularly to the throne.

wealthy kingdom of Media seems to have yielded to the conqueror. The treasury was emptied, but a great revenue would be still accruing. For immediate needs much of the wealth of Persia, found at Pasargadæ, had been brought in the military chest, and from the southern treasuries more might come at command. Alexander's power thus was large both to reward past, and to engage men for new services. Arrian, reporting his generosity in discharging, is evidently deficient in notice of the numbers added to the army; probably because the generals his guides neglected, or perhaps designedly avoided, to report them. According

Q. Curt.  
l. 5. c. 7.

to Curtius, five thousand foot and a thousand horse, under Plato, an Athenian, joined the army in Media; perhaps all Greeks, but however under Grecian officers, and trained in the Grecian discipline. Plutarch speaks of much larger numbers raised among those whom the Greeks called barbarians. Thus Alexander might be enabled, without inconvenience, to dispense that favour of discharge to those of his old soldiers desirous of it, which Arrian mentions. At Ecbatana he declared all the civic troops of his Grecian allies released from obligation for farther service, and made a donation among them of two thousand talents, about four hundred thousand pounds, in reward of the past. They were then informed, that all the convenience of an orderly march should be provided for those who might desire to return home, but that the choice to re-engage was open to all who might prefer following his farther fortune. These were numerous. Of the others, the cavalry, mostly Thessalian, were allowed, or perhaps required, to sell their horses. A body of cavalry was therefore directed under the command of Epocillus son of Polyides, to escort all to the Phenician coast; where, in pursuance of orders to the governor-general, Menes, vessels were prepared to carry them to Eubœa. The remainder of

the wealth brought from Persia was placed in the treasury of Ecbatana, to the presidency of which Harpalus was appointed, with a guard of six thousand Macedonian foot, and a small select body of horse. Parmenio was then directed to lead the mercenary troops, and the Thracians, with a large proportion of the cavalry, through Cadusia into Hyrcania.

For his own office Alexander resumed the task of pursuing the illustrious fugitive, Darius. For this he reckoned no longer any great numbers requisite, but those, of every weapon, who could best make rapid progress and bear fatigue. Of heavy infantry he took only those Macedonians who had not been previously selected for the treasury-guard of Ecbatana; of middle-armed only the Agrians; all the bowmen, unless a few had been assigned to the bodies under Parmenio and Clitus; of cavalry the royal companions, and the fore-runners<sup>5</sup>, superior bodies, and the mercenary horse; perhaps preferred to the allies, as these, mounting themselves, would be liable to be unequally mounted, whereas the mercenaries, for their enlisting bounty and pay, would be required all to be well mounted, and to be ready, at least equally with any others, for any service. The haste of the march was such that many of the infantry, unable to keep pace with the rest, were left behind, and some of the horses died of fatigue; yet so was Alexander bent upon his object that, indefatigable himself, he would not remit anything of the speed of the ablest. Thus pressing forward eleven days, he arrived at Rhagæ, within one day's forced march of the pass through the mountains of Caucasus, called the Caspian gate. There he received information that Darius, despairing of ability to defend the pass against him, had abandoned it, and, with a wide continent before him, had resumed flight.

<sup>5</sup> Πεδεομας.

Satisfied now that farther immediate haste would be vain, Alexander halted at Rhagæ five days, to collect and refresh his scattered and wearied troops. Meanwhile he found gratifying consequences resulting from his recent exertion. Of the little army which Darius had led to the Caspian gate, the greater part, on his taking again to flight, deserted, and not a few came and surrendered themselves to the conqueror. Intermitting however the prosecution of his purpose no longer than circumstances made indispensable, Alexander moved from Rhagæ on the sixth day, encamped, for that night, at the Caspian gate, and next day entered Parthia. The country was, in that part, cultivated; beyond, as he was informed, waste. A halt therefore was necessary, while Cœnus was dispatched with a strong body of horse and a few infantry to collect provision. During Arr. 1. 3. c. 21. this pause Bagistanes, a man of high rank among the Babylonians, and Antibelus, one of the sons of Mazæus, Alexander's satrap of Babylon, arrived at the camp. Hitherto they had faithfully followed the fortune of Darius. But, in circumstances which had occurred, their services about his person having been forcibly ended, the course they took was perhaps the most promising for his personal safety. Surrendering themselves to Alexander, they informed him that Bessus, satrap of Bactria, with Brazas, satrap of Arachosia, and Nabarzanes, commander of the small force of cavalry which remained as the royal body-guard, had conspired against the unhappy prince, who was actually their prisoner.

This intelligence inflamed Alexander's ardent and feeling mind. Without waiting the return of Cœnus, he ordered the companion and forerunner horse for immediate duty, and selected, among the infantry<sup>6</sup>, the ablest for rapid progress. Committing the rest of the army then to Craterus,

<sup>6</sup> Gronovius's note on this passage of Arrian perhaps may deserve the critic's notice.

with orders to follow leisurely, and commanding his chosen body to take only their arms and two days' provision, he marched throughout the night, and till noon of the following day. Allowing then short repose, he proceeded again throughout the next night, and about daybreak reached the ground where Bagistanes had left the satraps encamped; but they were gone. Nevertheless important information was obtained. The rebel chiefs had gained the Bactrian forces and all the cavalry of the small royal army, except that under the satrap Artabazus and his sons.

With these the Grecian mercenaries, 'said by ARR. I. 5. c. 8. Arrian to have been now collected to the number of four thousand, persevered in fidelity to the deposed monarch; and, though unable to prevent the revolution, had together seceded from the revolted forces, and were marching for the mountains. Artabazus was the father-in-law of Mentor and Memnon; under the Persian empire, while it existed, satrap of Lower Phrygia, and the firmest still, as he had been among the oldest, of Darius's c. 9.

friends. The unfortunate sovereign was confined in a covered chariot; and it was said to be the purpose of the rebels, if they found themselves pressed by pursuit, to deliver him to Alexander, and make for themselves the best terms they could; but, should leisure be afforded them, to use their utmost endeavours for collecting forces, and make common cause for vindicating the possession of their satrapies. The command-in-chief, for the present, was allowed to Bessus; both because of his former situation, as the immediate minister of Darius, and also because the circumstances occurred within his satrapy.

This was new and vehement stimulation for Alexander. Tired as his troops were, he would proceed immediately. Again marching throughout the night, and till noon of next day, he arrived at a village which the satraps, with their

royal prisoner, had left but the preceding evening. Learning then that it was their practice to march by night and rest by day, it followed that, to overtake them, he must use the day. Inquiring farther concerning their road and the surrounding country, he gained information of a shorter way, but across a desert and waterless heath. Encouraged thus to hope that exertion might yet avail for his earnest purpose, but reckoning it important to have some infantry with his cavalry, he ordered five hundred of the latter to give their horses to as many of his phalanx, and to follow themselves afoot. Committing the rest of the infantry then to Nicanor and Attalus, with orders to proceed by easy marches along the great road, he took himself the cavalry, with his five hundred dragoons, by the shorter way. Having, in the course of the night, advanced between twenty and thirty miles, when day broke he saw the enemy hastening before him in disorderly march. As he gained upon them in pursuit, a few, assuming some order, attempted resistance; but presently some were killed and the rest dispersed. Alexander then continuing to press forward, Bessus and his associates despaired of being able, safely for themselves, to bear off their prisoner king. Apparently they had reckoned upon advantage to their purposes from holding him alive in their power, and apprehended an adverse use of his name and influence, should he fall living into Alexander's hands. Satibarzanes and Barzaentes therefore, who had charge of his person, proceeded with their swords to de-

Arr. 1. 3. c. 21.

stroy him, and then, with Bessus, rode off. The wounds given in their haste and confusion were not immediately mortal, but, before Alexander could arrive, the unfortunate sovereign of the Persian empire had expired.

Darius, at the time of his death, in the fifth or sixth year of his reign, seems to have been about the fiftieth of his age. Hitherto, in the historian's account of Alexander's conduct,



there appears something of personal enmity to the unfortunate sovereign of Persia. But if he was ever actuated by any such sentiment, its operation, as all collateral circumstances show, was restrained by a temper of large generosity, and on his rival's death not the least of a revengeful disposition was manifested. He directed the dead body to be treated not only with decency, but with all honour. Being carried into Persia, it was deposited in the usual place of sepulture of the royal family, with all the pomp and ceremony formerly used at the burial of the Persian kings.

### SECTION III.

*Alexander's Measures for completing the Reduction of the northern Provinces. — Surrender of several Satraps; of the Grecian Troops in the Persian Service; of Ministers from Grecian Republics to the Persian Court. — League of Satraps against Alexander, and Acknowledgment of Bessus as Successor to the Persian Monarchy. — Treachery of Satibarzanes.*

ARRANGEMENTS for the newly conquered provinces now required Alexander's attention, and in these he pursued his early principle of making his new subjects his friends, entrusting command to those among them whom he might suppose most worthy of it. Ammynapes, a Parthian, had been in power in Egypt, and had concurred with Mazaces in surrendering that rich country to Alexander. His service on that occasion was now rewarded with the appointment to the satrapy of Parthia and Hyrcania, which seems to have been one of the greatest governments of the empire, and, for situation and circumstances, of the highest trust. The precaution however, which we have seen used elsewhere, was not omitted, but perhaps rather extended here; a Grecian colleague was given him, Tlepolemus, son of Pythophanes, one of the band of royal companions.

Arr. 1. 3. c. 23.

For securing the dominion of these northern parts of his now vast empire, two important objects yet remained; to reduce Bessus, who, assuming the name or title of Artaxerxes, aspired to succeed to the sovereignty of the Persian monarchs, and also to bring to his obedience those of the late king's adherents who, though seceding from the traitor, had not yet surrendered, and especially the Greeks. These had betaken themselves to the lofty wooded mountains of Hyrcania, whose inhabitants, the Pagrans, affecting independency of the Persian dominion, appear to have admitted them as associates. Alexander then being joined by the bodies which, through the rapidity of his movement, he had left behind, took again, according to his custom, the service of fatigue and danger. Sending Craterus in command of an expedition against the Tapoors<sup>7</sup>, and committing to Erigyus the conducting of the cavalry and greater part of the phalanx by a circuitous but better road, he himself led a chosen body of heavy-armed, with some bowmen, a most difficult march over the mountains. He seems however to have found little other opposition than the country itself offered. A great plain beyond, extended to the sea which Arrian calls the Caspian. Here he halted four days; and, before the body under Erigyus arrived, Phradaphernes, satrap of Hyrcania and Parthia, with Nabarzanes, and some

<sup>7</sup> Ταπούρους. — To investigate accurately the geography of these countries, so little known to the world of letters either in ancient, or even in these modern times, is a labour which I have been unable to undertake. Diodorus (l. 17. c. 75.), attentive often to matters less with Arrian's purpose, relates that Alexander, in his way now through a most plentiful country, came to a great city, which he calls Hecatontapylus, a Greek, it will be observed, and not a Parthian name, meaning Hundredgates. Thence entering Hyrcania, he subdued all to the Caspian, which Diodorus concurs with Arrian in considering the same as the Hyrcanian sea; though modern travellers have ascertained that there are two seas, or immense lakes, which the ancients appear not to have known to have been separated by a wide tract of country. The historian then mentions a district in Hyrcania, called the Happy, singularly fruitful, with vines and fig-trees especially productive.

others who had been in high situations under Darius, came and surrendered themselves. Proceeding then toward Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania, he was joined by Erigyus, with the baggage of the whole army, and by Craterus, who had brought to obedience the people through whose country he had passed. The Grecian mercenaries had been supposed there, but no intelligence of them was obtained. Soon after however the satrap Artabazus arrived, with three of his sons, Cophen, Aribarzanes, and Arsames, and also Autophradates, satrap of Tapuria, all surrendering themselves; and they brought with them, desiring to present, for his favour, some Greeks of the Persian service, deputed to solicit his forgiveness for the whole body. All the Persians were honourably received. Autophradates was restored to his satrapy. Artabazus, a man now of great age, of the first nobility of Persia, known to Alexander not only as satrap of the province of Bithynia, and by his various Grecian connections, but also as having been at one time a refugee at Philip's court, was, together with his sons, complimented on their fidelity to their late sovereign, and all were immediately placed in situations of honour about Alexander's person. But he peremptorily refused to treat with the Greeks; they must surrender themselves unconditionally, or provide their own safety. Their deputies then, hopeless of better for themselves and their constituents, engaged for the required submission to Alexander's generosity; requesting only that an officer of rank might return with them, to command the march, and provide for security in it. This was granted; and it seems to have been a kindness that would be gratifying and encouraging to them that, in the commission for the purpose, with his own officer, Andronicus, son of Agerrus, the satrap Artabazus, their friend and late patron, was joined, who, through his family-connections and habits, was almost half a Greek.

In his progress into Hyrcania Alexander had left behind him a horde of freebooters, the Mardians, holding a highland territory, so rough and so poor that the combined consideration of the difficulty of subduing them, and the worthlessness of the conquest, had hitherto preserved them from invasion; and they the more trusted they should continue to enjoy the immunity, as Alexander had already passed without noticing them.<sup>8</sup> But for Alexander, it appears, difficulties were pleasant. He would hunt a wild horde of warriors among hardly accessible mountains, as other princes the wolf or the roe. He had now formed a body of horse-dartmen, apparently after the Persian model, probably all Asiatics, trained from infancy to the exercise; skill in which is not to be acquired but while the limbs have the suppleness of the growing frame. Part of the country, it appears, was fit for the action of cavalry. With this new body of horse-dartmen therefore he took also half the horse of the order of companions: some chosen heavy-armed, all the bowmen, and all his favourite middle-armed, the Agrians, completed his army. With a force so various, so practised, and so commanded, the Mardians certainly were unaccustomed to contend. Wherever they attempted resistance they were slaughtered; and flight, even to their highest and roughest mountains, gave them but a precarious security. Shortly they sent deputies offering submission to regular authority, and their country was added to that of the Tapoors, under the administration of Autophradates.

Returning to his camp in the lowlands<sup>9</sup>, Alexander found the Grecian mercenaries arrived, under the conduct of Artabazus and Andronicus, and with them some eminent pri-

<sup>8</sup> Μάχιμοι ἐπὶ τῇ πενία ἦσαν. Arr. l. 3. c. 24. This phrase, combined with all we learn of the Asiatic mountaineers, enough marks their character of freebooters.

<sup>9</sup> Τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνθάπτε ἀρμήθη ἐς τῶν Μάρδων τὴν γῆν.

soners of a remarkable description. They were ministers from several states to the Persian court, who had followed the unfortunate Darius while he lived. In preference to Bessus then, and his associates, they had held with Artabazus and the Greeks; and now, hopeless of other means of safety, they threw themselves on Alexander's mercy. An embassy from Lacedæmon consisted of four, Callistratidas, Pausippus, Monimus, and Anomantus: Dropides<sup>10</sup> was commissioned from Athens: from Carthage came Heraclides, whose name would mark him for a Greek; possibly of a Sicilian town of the Carthaginian dominion; and from Sinope, on the Euxine shore, some deputies unnamed. The Sinopians he immediately dismissed, considering them, though of Grecian origin and language, yet not of the Grecian confederacy, but proper subjects of Persia, and therefore warranted to communicate by their deputies with the Persian king. The others he ordered into custody; the Lacedæmonians being agents of a state engaged in rebellion against the common confederacy of the Greeks, and the Athenian not only so, but a rebel to the actual government of his own city, which adhered to the general confederacy. Whether the original appointment of Dropides had been regular, from the Athenian people under the lead of Demosthenes, or his mission was one of those irregular measures of an adverse party, of which Demosthenes himself furnishes an instance in describing his own conduct, does not appear. Taking then the various cases of the Grecian mercenaries into consideration, Alexander freely dismissed all who had entered into the Persian service before the confederacy was formed, to the presidency over which he had been elected to succeed his father. On the rest he imposed no greater severity than requiring them to enter into the service of that confederacy, with the same

<sup>10</sup> *Dropides*, Arr. *Diopithes*, Diod.

pay as in their former service; and Arrian gives his judgment on this, that it was clearly a wise liberality.

While Alexander was delayed by the difficulties of the mountainous country to be traversed, and of the season, which seems to have been winter, in a climate where, for the latitude, the winters are of extraordinary severity, some principal Persian nobles had assembled about the regicide Bessus. A just patriotism might animate some; and the heinousness of the crime of regicide would be diminished for Persian minds by its familiarity, not in Persian history only, but in the history of eastern courts altogether. Looking around then for means to maintain themselves, they had negotiated with neighbouring nations, claiming assistance as in a common cause, against the invader from another quarter of the world. Alexander's successes and avowed ambition might indeed well excite jealousy, however his pretensions, even if extending to universal empire, were no more than the Persian kings appear to have asserted, after the Assyrian princes, who possibly claimed from the first patriarchs. Accordingly the combined chiefs were not unsuccessful in their negotiation; and especially as the powerful nations of Scythia gave them hope of large support. To preside over their measures, and give weight to their negotiations, in conformity to oriental notions, one supreme head was become indispensable, and the imperial dignity was allowed to Bessus. He assumed then the upright tiara and the Persian robe, the customary marks of royalty, and with them the name of Artaxerxes, and the title of king of Asia.

Alexander meanwhile, with his usual scorn of rest, bent upon revenging the murder of Darius, and, for his own future quiet, preventing the murderer from enjoying the proposed fruit of his crime, crossed Parthia to the adjoining territory of Aria. At Susia, a principal town, Satibarzanes,

satrap of the province, surrendered himself, and, in reward for his ready submission, was restored to the satrapy. So disposed then was Alexander to trust those of the Persian nobility whom he received into favour that he left in Aria a body of only forty horse-archers, under the command of Anaxippus, one of his band of companions; not to hold the people in subjection, but to ensure them against injury from his own troops in passing through their country. Intelligence arrived of the lofty pretensions of Bessus, and of the expectation of a Scythian army to support them. Preparation for such events had not been neglected. A considerable body of cavalry joined from Media; and, with his collected army, Alexander was proceeding to invade Bactria, when information of the first treachery, at least the first of any importance, experienced among his new subjects, reached him. Satibarzanes, whom he had so readily received into favour, and trusted with high authority, was of a time-serving character. No sooner did his magnanimous new patron's departure from his province leave him scope than he began practising with the people to revolt with him, in favour of the regicide Bessus, and he quickly succeeded to a great extent. Overpowering then Anaxippus and his small band, he put all to death, and collected his utmost force at Artacoana, the capital of the country. There, should Alexander return against him, he hoped to maintain himself till he might have relief from his newly chosen sovereign, or, should the enemy persevere in his course, to carry assistance to that new sovereign.

Alexander was instantly decided by the urgency for suppressing and punishing such treason as that of Satibarzanes. Committing the command of the main body of his army to Craterus, he took himself the lead of a select division, the best capable of rapid movement. By a forced march, in two days he reached Artacoana; so before expectation that, in

the universal surprise and alarm ensuing, the greater part of those whom the satrap had assembled in arms deserted him, and he himself, utterly at a loss for measures, fled, with a few horse. Rarely as Alexander had yet been harsh, even against rebels, it was judged necessary to take measures of some severity here. Not the chiefs only, as many as could be taken, suffered, but cavalry sent in pursuit of the people (who, at the satrap's call, had left their villages in arms) killed many, and made many prisoners, who were made slaves. Alexander's magnanimity however would still trust his new subjects, insomuch that he committed the satrapy of Aria to Arsaces, a Persian.

Returning to the body of his army, he proceeded into the province of Zaranga, held by Barsaentes, one of the accomplices of Bessus in regicide. This satrap, who seems to have been yet but preparing means for supporting his associate's assumption of the royal title, fled on Alexander's approach. Whether only for better safety to his person, or hoping to find support for his cause, he went into the neighbouring northern part of India. But he had so miscalculated his interest there that he was arrested and sent prisoner to Alexander; who, reckoning him a proper subject for public justice, caused him, with what formalities we do not learn, to be executed for his atrocious crime against his proper sovereign.

#### SECTION IV.

##### *Trials of Philotas and others for High Treason.*

ALL thus succeeding for Alexander in his exertions for completing the conquest of the Persian empire, a matter broke out, of a character most severely to interrupt his immediate satisfaction, and to embitter his following days.

ARR. 1. 3. c. 26.

In this distant corner of that empire, bordering



on nations hardly heard of among the Greeks, with his mind bent upon the prosecution of war against the traitor and regicide Bessus, his declared rival in claim of the Persian empire, he was informed that Philotas, who had been among his most intimate and favoured friends from childhood, son of Parmenio, his father's and his own most confidential general, was engaged in traitorous measures against him. Concerning this variously interesting matter, and its tragical results, our information is very disappointingly scanty. Here, if anywhere in ancient history, an account, circumstantial as well as trustworthy, of a political plot, where the criminal suffered the penalty of the law, might be expected. Not that we can wonder if the historian generals, Aristobulus and Ptolemy, connected as they were with the parties, and probably interested in the event, were, as Arrian shows they were, in their published histories, cautiously concise upon it. Yet, from other sources, it might be supposed, posterity would derive trustworthy information of matters of such public importance, through trials so public as those which ensued. It is however evident that Arrian could find no other guides in whom to have any confidence; and apparently we may trust Plutarch for the failure of any others deserving it, since, disposed as he generally was to enlarge on such matters, though, in his too usual way, he has undertaken to relate words spoken, the least likely to come to public knowledge, yet he assists not with a syllable Arrian's brief account of the very interesting public circumstances.

Aristobulus and Ptolemy, as Arrian assures us, concurred in relating that disloyalty was not now for the first time imputed to Philotas. He had been accused of treasonable practices so long before as when Alexander was in Egypt. Then however the accusation seems to have rested on mere suspicion; that any proof was ready is not said. Accord-

ingly Alexander's generous temper, on consideration of his intimacy from infancy with Philotas, his respect for Parmenio, and the ground, in his mind, for believing both above suspicion, would not allow any formal inquiry: the matter dropped, and Philotas continued to be trusted with high command, and to receive favours, perhaps extravagant.

We have had occasion formerly to observe faction, for ages, violent among the Macedonians. In character however it differed from that among the Grecian republics. The contending parties, as in our own country formerly, supported different families, competitors for the throne; the constitution, being also, like ours of old, but more than ours, irregular and undefined, yet having, in some degree like ours, excellent principles of freedom. Among those, formerly of adverse parties, admitted to favour and confidence by the generosity of Alexander, we have seen some making an ill

Diod. l. 17.

return; of whom his kinsman Alexander of Lyncestis, accused by Parmenio, is said to have

attended the army's movements as a prisoner now for three years. In the Macedonian court, as in all courts, rivalry, dissension, contest, though of less violence than in republics, yet were weeds of growth not to be prevented. Even generosity would produce trouble, as in the case of Alexander of Lyncestis, and whether he was guilty or no; one party imputing crime to the Lyncestian, another envy, and false or exaggerated accusation to Parmenio.

It is remarkable, considering Parmenio's fame as a general, and his eminence under Philip and under Alexander, that concerning either his political or his private character so little remains. The liberal and perhaps reasonable inference would be, that in politics he was honest and moderate, and in private life unexceptionable. But where party was rife, to be wholly clear of party connections, and of their influence on conduct, would hardly be possible. The violence

and indiscretion of either an adverse or a friendly party might make that necessary which was not within his inclination.

To mark the private character of Philotas we are not equally without anecdote. In what rank Parmenio was born is not said, but probably among the higher. An over early promotion to the highest among subjects appears to have been the misfortune of Philotas. In Alexander's first campaign against the northern Europeans he held the command of all the Upper Macedonian horse, apparently the principal force of cavalry in the Macedonian service. From the first arrival of the army in Asia we find him in military rank, and in importance of commands, inferior hardly to any but his father. Thus situated, with considerable talents, he had made his military merit conspicuous. But his vanity and ostentation are said to have been yet more conspicuous; and his profusion was such that though, Plut. v. Alex. as Alexander's generosity expanded with his acquisitions, loaded with riches, he was sometimes without means for his immediate needs. Through his generosity, his vanity, and his high pretensions, he had numerous adherents, but also numerous enemies. Among instances of his arrogance he is reported to have said, talking of his father's deeds and his own, "What would Philip have been without Parmenio, or Alexander without Philotas?" Parmenio himself, it is related, apprehensive of the consequences of his indiscretion, though partial to his merit, reproved him on some occasion, saying, "My son, be less eminent."<sup>11</sup>

The weight of Parmenio's family, in political as well as in military affairs, must have been great; himself the second man in the army and the kingdom; his eldest son inferior only to himself; and two other sons, Nicanor and Hector,

<sup>11</sup> *Χείρων μοι γίνου.* Plut. v. Alex. p. 692. B.

holding high military rank. When Alexander advanced northward, Parmenio had been left with the chief command in Media; a trust of the more importance, as Alexander had allowed himself little time for arranging the affairs of that extensive and rich kingdom, to which he must in prudence look for means of retreat, should any adversity make retreat necessary. Parmenio, thus in the most critical detached command, was in the situation in which we have commonly before seen him. But it is observable, in Arrian's narrative, that, since the battle of Arbela, Philotas is less mentioned, and Craterus was become the general in whom Alexander showed most confidence. Probably the concurrence of Diodorus and Plutarch may be trusted for the enmity they assert to have existed between Craterus and Philotas. But family calamity, which Parmenio had been suffering, may have somewhat lessened that family weight which arises from combined influence. One of his sons, Hector, had recently fallen in battle. Another, Nicanor, had since died of sickness. Alexander's disposition to a generous sympathy however did not fail on that occasion. In his eagerness for the prosecution of war against Bessus, denying rest to himself, he had given leave for Philotas to remain in Parthia, where his brother died, to do, in funeral obsequies, all honour to his memory.

Philotas had rejoined the army, when he was  
ARR. 1. 5. c. 26.  
suddenly arrested on accusation of high treason. Caution was evidently deemed requisite in measures, even the most rigidly legal, against the heir of a family so eminent, and among a large party in the army so popular. The proceedings against him appear to have been strictly according to the Macedonian law. But that law, though proposed to give the utmost security to innocence against official power, being the law of an unlettered people, was favourable to hasty decision. Communication with Parmenio was avoided,

while Philotas, with others, accused as accomplices, were brought to trial. The manner of the trial appears to have been nearly the same as in the Grecian kingdoms of Homer's age, and hardly differing, in essential matters, from what, derived from the times of regal government in Attica, had ever since prevailed in the Athenian republic. All the Macedonians of the army were assembled as the jury. The king himself, as in our law, was the prosecutor, and, as appears to have remained regular under the Macedonian constitution, though ours, consulting better, both the dignity of the crown and the safety of the subject, has for centuries disallowed it, Alexander himself arraigned the accused, who himself pleaded his own defence. Witnesses were then heard; the multitudinous court pronounced sentence of death; and those who gave the verdict were the executioners, proceeding, it appears, immediately, to pierce the condemned with their javelins. In this hasty consummation only is marked a difference from Athenian practice; a difference not creditable to the Macedonian law, but, on the contrary, a striking relic of barbarism; yet, in character, so far consonant with the rest of the proceeding as to mark itself a feature of a free constitution.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Diodorus says that Philotas was put to torture, and, in his sufferings, confessed the crime imputed to him. Curtius, whether inventing himself, or profiting from the ingenuity of some one of the many Greek writers of Alexander's history, whose works, in his time extant, are now lost, has wrought the trial of Philotas, with attending circumstances, into nearly a complete tragedy. Plutarch also gives, in his way, some scenic representation, hardly of probability enough for tragic poetry, and utterly unfit to be asserted as history.

It is too well known that torture for the purpose of extracting confession from accused persons has been extensively used, to the disgrace of almost every known sort of government; and probably enough the Macedonian may have warranted torture. But Arrian's account strongly implies that there was no opportunity for applying torture to Philotas. Indeed it seems to afford conviction that the whole story of the confession has been exaggerated by the ingenuity or the interestedness of some, and perhaps altered by the carelessness of others, of the writers whom Diodorus, Curtius, and Plutarch followed. Whatever confession Philotas made, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, no doubt,

Among those brought to trial with Philotas were Amyntas, Attalus, and Simmias, sons of Andromenes, who all held high rank in the army. Polemon, their brother, immediately on receiving information of the arrest of Philotas, whose intimate friend he was, had fled. This circumstance made very unfavourable impression upon the minds of the numerous jury; yet the three tried so defended themselves that they were acquitted. Amyntas then requested that he might be permitted to seek his fugitive brother, confident, he said, of his innocence, and of his own power to persuade him to return and stand his trial. The assembly assented; Amyntas went, and on the same day returned with Polemon. Thus, says the historian, even the suspicion, that might have adhered to all, was done away; and Alexander, whose great mind evidently was always averse to suspicion, continued to Amyntas the high command he held.<sup>13</sup>

In the usual failure of Arrian, for such matters, we have only, from Diodorus, a very succinct account of legal pro-

would have known, and are not likely to have been backward to report; for they were evidently not of Parmenio's party. Nevertheless they concurred in relating that Philotas denied the imputation of having information of a plot against Alexander which he never revealed; and Arrian, who shows himself to have been anxious to discover and to relate all that could be ascertained concerning this interesting transaction, appears to have given no credit to any account of any confession made by him. Concerning three most important points it is satisfactory to find all extant accounts agreeing: first, that the trial was public, by the assembled Macedonians of the army; secondly, that the condemnation was pronounced by a majority; and thirdly, that this majority themselves carried their own sentences into execution.

<sup>13</sup> Arrian, more concise concerning the trial of Philotas, in speaking afterward of that of Amyntas, which appears to have followed immediately, confirms the description of the criminal court, given by Curtius, as consisting, according to the ancient Macedonian law, of all the Macedonians of the army.

Ἄλλ' Ἀμύντας γε ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ὑπομείνας τὴν δίκην, καὶ ἀπολογησάμενος ἐν ΜΑΚΕΔΟΣΙ παρετρέως, ἀφίεται τῆς αἰτίας· καὶ εὐθύς ὡς ἀπέφυγεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἠξίωσεν ἀφιθῆναι οἱ ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν, — καὶ οἱ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΕΣ ζυγχαροῦσιν. Arr. l. 3. c. 27. Diodorus, a century and a half before Arrian, expressed himself to the same purpose, Τὴν περίην τοῖς ΜΑΚΕΔΟΣΙ (ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος) ἐπέτερεψε. l. 17. c. 79. More, to the same purpose, occurs in the next following note.

ceedings against Parmenio. That eminent man, he says, absent, was arraigned before the same numerous tribunal which condemned Philotas. His friends in the army were allowed to plead in his defence, and there was much contest in speeches. A majority at length pronounced condemnation.<sup>14</sup> This was a mode of proceeding authorised by the law and practice of Athens, and probably of most, if not all, Grecian republics. It may therefore, on the authority of Diodorus, not unreasonably be believed of the Macedonian kingdom, a branch from the great root whence the Grecian republics sprang. Indeed it is not wide in principle from our own law of parliamentary impeachment; for the portion of the Macedonian people forming the army, when regularly called together by the king, as a popular assembly, appears to have been, by the Macedonian constitution, a sovereign assembly. That, in Alexander's army, a powerful party desired the ruin of both Parmenio and Philotas is implied in all accounts. Proof of guilt, against even the son, Arrian seems rather to have doubted; and against the father he appears to have known of nothing beyond suspicion. What authority Curtius may have had for his different conclusion we fail to learn. Those writers however concur in indicating that measures of severity against a man in Parmenio's situation were not to be taken without hazard, requiring much caution in proceeding. Indeed the circumstances, formerly noticed, of the arrest of Alexander of Lyncestis, on Parmenio's accusation, mark the necessity of deference to general opinion, in a Macedonian army, on such an occasion. Arrian, in his usually simple manner, reporting facts without comment, says, that Polydamas, of the order of royal companions, was sent into Media, with in-

Curt. l. 6.  
c. 11.

Arr. ut ant.  
Curt. l. 7.  
c. 1.  
Ch. 47. s. 1.  
of this Hist.

Arr. l. 3. c. 26.

<sup>14</sup> Πολλῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων λόγων, οἱ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΕΣ κατέγνωσαν τοῦ Φιλώτου, καὶ τῶν καταιτιαθέντων, θάνατον, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχε Παρμενίων. Diod. l. 17. c. 80.

structions for the generals Cleander, Sitalces, and Menides, who apparently had been commanding under Parmenio. They were authorised now to command in chief; and, in pursuance of instructions to them, Parmenio suffered death.<sup>1</sup>

From Arrian we have no farther account of the Lyncestian Alexander, son of Aeropus, than that, on  
Ch. 47. s. 1.  
of this Hist. accusation preferred by Parmenio, as formerly related, when the king Alexander was in Lycia, he was removed from a situation of high military command, and imprisoned. But Diodorus and Curtius concur in reporting that, having remained a prisoner three years, he was now brought to trial before the same numerous tribunal which condemned Philotas; and, receiving sentence of death, was executed. That any community in crime was imputed to them, does not appear; and if credit, which there seems no reason for denying, should be given to the concurring accounts of those writers, the probability may seem to follow, that the son of Aeropus was a sacrifice required by the partisans of Parmenio and Philotas.

Arrian's eminent situation, under the despotism of Roman emperors, might occasion for him no small amount of necessity for forbearance on civil and political subjects, even in treating of centuries long past; and thence it may be that we have so little light from him on such subjects; a defi-

<sup>15</sup> Diodorus, in his account of Parmenio's condemnation and death, with his usual honesty, shows vacillation between different reports before him, from different parties, of the merits of which he felt himself unable to judge, and yet was unwilling to acknowledge so much. After having related that Parmenio was condemned by a vote of the majority of the army, (which, as a very public matter, was probably not denied by writers of any party,) he says, that Alexander, sending men upon swift camels, to arrive before report of the execution of Philotas could reach Parmenio, Παρμενίωνα ἐδολοφόνησε, l. 17. c. 80. This expression enough marks itself as derived from an adverse party, and yet perhaps not very falsely describes the manner of the business, which, however uncreditable for a regular government, may have had large warrant for such law as precedent may have established among the Macedonians.



ciency in his history greatly to be regretted. There is indeed no appearance that he has suppressed any fact reported by those whom he has professed principally to trust; but it is to be observed that they also were in situations to make it not only imprudent, but highly improper, to publish all that might come to their knowledge. In the deficiency therefore of their accounts, what has been transmitted by ancient writers, less informed than Aristobulus and Ptolemy, and less judicious than Arrian, yet having before them what does not remain to us, may deserve some attention here. Diodorus reports measures taken, as necessary to stem the ebullition of discontent arising from the execution of Parmenio. Those of the army, who by their conduct in the judiciary assembly, or otherwise, had manifested a disposition adverse to the king's counsels, were noted: to discover the less openly indicated purposes and sentiments of others, letters directed for Macedonia were opened. Thus, he says, the communication of the spirit of dissatisfaction from the army to the people at home was checked. And to prevent the spreading of dissatisfaction in the army itself, through daily conversation, the discontented were drafted from their several divisions, and formed into one separate body, with an appropriate title; a title not to be with certainty translated, but seeming to refer to their failure in constitutional deference to the decision of the assembly of the army, constitutionally held to deliberate on matters of vital importance to the state.<sup>16</sup> Of these matters no mention is made by

<sup>16</sup> Ἀτάκτων τάγμα. Diod. l. 17. c. 80. This title, according to Diodorus, was given, or warranted, by Alexander himself. The authors of the ancient Universal History have translated it the *turbulent battalion*. It is rendered in Rhodoman's Latin translation, adopted by Wesseling, *cohors extraordinaria*, and explained conjecturally, in Wesseling's note, *Fortasse quod seorsum cohortem hanc a ceteris tendere rex jusserit*. The title *turbulent* apparently would have been ill fixed by authority, as its tendency would be rather to stimulate the turbulence which it was the purpose of the measure to stifle. Possibly the word may have had reference to the military situation in which

Arrian; and that the Macedonian generals, his favourite authorities, would avoid them, is likely. But he relates Arr. l. 3. c. 27. measures of a character to corroborate what the elder historian has reported. The command of that superior and numerous body of horse, called the King's Companions, was thought, he says, too great a trust to be any longer committed to one officer. Being therefore divided, one division was given to Hephæstion son of Amyntor, the other to Clitus son of Dropidas; both among Alexander's most confidential favourites. Not long after, suspicion being entertained of Demetrius, one of the lords of the body-guard, that he had participated in the councils of Philotas, or perhaps was among those discontented at his fate, he was removed from that confidential situation; and Ptolemy, the historian, afterward king of Egypt, gained promotion, being appointed in his room. It is thus made evident that Ptolemy was not of the party of Parmenio and Philotas. Doubtful then as history has left their guilt, doubtful also as remains that of the Lyncestian prince, whose accuser Parmenio was, it seems altogether likely that Alexander, in very difficult and hazardous circumstances, took nearly that course, which, as far as human prudence could decide, those circumstances imperiously required, and the Macedonian law warranted.

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the drafts were placed, as the Latin translator and the learned annotator have imagined; or possibly it may rather have been applied, as supposed in the text, to their conduct in their civil capacity, as members of the general assembly of the army, falling in constitutional deference to the decision of the majority.

## CHAPTER LI.

ALEXANDER'S FIFTH\* CAMPAIGN IN ASIA, WHICH COMPLETED THE CONQUEST OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

## SECTION I.

*Natural and political Circumstances of the northern Provinces of the Persian Empire. — Rebellion of Satibarzanes. — Paropamisian Alexandria founded. — Asiatic Recruits to Alexander's Army.*<sup>1</sup>

AMONG events so originating from party interests, and so necessarily distressing to numerous individuals, irritation to the public mind could not fail, nor would immediately cease. Parties would remain adverse to each other, and some among them perhaps adverse to the king himself. To leave the army then in leisure to brood upon the past could not be prudent, even had it been Alexander's disposition, or had there not remained an enemy holding means with inclination to disturb his yet unsettled empire.

The views of Bessus and his associates were greatly favoured by the circumstances natural and political of that considerable portion of the Persian empire in which they

[\* See extract from Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, preceding the Index.]

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, little attentive to chronology, noticing neither the Olympiads nor the years of Rome, yet relating events generally in the course in which they occurred, and sometimes mentioning seasons, has pretty satisfactorily distinguished the five first years of Alexander's reign. The two next are less marked by him, and those following less still. For Diodorus, the beginning of the Olympian year at Midsummer, dividing thus the principal season of military operations, has been a stumbling-block; and his purpose of a concise abridgment of universal history would ill allow him to give every event exactly to its day. In failure of other assistance, nevertheless, we are often reduced to draw from him as we best may, and rejoice in what he affords.

had held the chief, and, some of them, perhaps, hereditary commands. The mountain-range, which, under various ancient names, Taurus, Caucasus, Emodus, Imaus, and others, extends, from the west, as Arrian has observed, through Asia, as far as Asia was in his time known, is supposed, from modern observation, to complete its course unbroken, through China, to the Pacific Ocean. Comparatively narrow within Lesser Asia, it spreads in Armenia; which in Strabo's description consists of many mountains, and many highland plains. Contracted then, on the north of Media, it spreads again in advancing toward India; in some parts so unbroken in its height as to seem a great island, or even a continent set upon a continent. From the narrower part, where it approaches the Caspian sea, a large branch stretches southward, almost to the Indian ocean, forming the eastern boundary of ancient Media and Persia. Eastward then of this extensive highland country is a sandy desert, not equalling those of Africa, but far greater than that often called the Great Desert, which divides Mesopotamia from Syria. Extending fifteen degrees of longitude and ten of latitude, it reaches eastward to India, southward to the ocean. Report went that it had been the grave of every army attempting to cross it; among which one of the great Cyrus, and, though not impossible, yet rather more against probability, one of his predecessors in the Assyrian empire, the great queen Semiramis, are mentioned. Communication thus, from the body of the empire, and its three capitals, with the northern provinces was limited and hazardous.

Those northern provinces were of great extent, and variously important. Bactria or Bactriana, the satrapy of Bessus, while a subject, was a large country, populous and eminently fruitful. Strabo says it gave abundantly all the most valuable productions of the earth, except olives, and

Strab. l. 15.  
p. 689. ed.  
Casaub. et  
al. Arr. l. 5.  
c. 5.

Strab. l. 11.  
p. 520.  
vel 791.  
ed. Casaub.

whatever else could ill bear severe winter cold. Its limits, as those of all these provinces, unless where a great river marked them, appear to have been but uncertainly known to the most inquisitive and best informed ancient writers; and the names of many, taken by Grecian ears from Asiatic mouths, or by Grecian pens from Asiatic alphabets, are found so variously written as to leave it often uncertain whether, by names of different orthography, the same country or another has been intended. Sogdia, or Sogdiana, north of Bactria, bordered on Scythia. Westward, the principal names are Parthia, Daa, and Hyrcania. Southward was Paropamisus, for its extent eminent among those found in various parts of the world of the character which the concisely expressive language of Greece described by the one word *oropedion*<sup>2</sup>, which may be translated a highland plain. Southward of this, in a line from west to east, were Zaranga, apparently the same which is found otherwise written Drangia and Drangiana, and perhaps Dragogia, unless Dragogia were a name for the country of the Ariasps, beyond which, eastward, Arachosia extended to India. All these countries partook of the character of Strabo's *oropedion*, highland-plain, though less lofty than Paropamisus, and all bordered southward on the Great Desert. Westward then of Paropamisus was the large and highly fruitful province of Aria, Areia, or Ariana, bordering, north-eastward, on Bactria, and, in the opposite direction, reaching the Caspian Gate; the Thermopylæ of these parts, being the principal pass for communication with Media and the body of the empire. By position therefore, as well as by produce and population, Aria was of great importance. In all these countries moreover the people, widely different in character from those of the south, were universally bred to the use of arms. Nevertheless in the lowlands they were

<sup>2</sup> Ὀροπέδια. Strab. l. 11. p. 520.

civilised, and their country highly cultivated. Aria, still more than Bactria, was celebrated for fruitfulness, and especially for the abundance and excellence of its wines. The people of the adjoining province of Zaranga, or Drangia, though a highland country, are marked as a civilised race, by Strabo's information that they lived in the Persian manner, except, as he says, that they had little wine, the climate, apparently, denying the production.

We have observed, in the account of Alexander's course through the Lesser or, as the Greeks called it, the Hither or the Lower Asia, the turbulent and predatory character of the people of the extensive highlands of that country; not widely different, it must be confessed, from what, in many lively pictures, from the candid pen of Xenophon, we have seen extensively that of the Greeks themselves. It may be advantageous to add here Strabo's account of the mountaineers of the Greater, the Farther, or the Upper Asia.

Westward of the Caspian Gate, toward the borders of Armenia, the Mards and other highlanders, brought by Alexander to submission in his course through that country, have been already noticed. Southward, along the borders of Media and Persia, the mountains dividing those rich regions from the Great Desert were held by various hordes,

Strab. l. 11. of which also some have already occurred for notice. Their territories differing in fruitfulness of

soil and temperature of air, their wants, and so their mode of life and of policy, in some degree differed; but they were all more or less freebooters. The Cossays, on the east of Media, were all bred from infancy to the use of the bow; and for the supply of their wants and luxuries, beyond what their soil spontaneously afforded, and what they might get by hunting, they depended almost wholly upon robbery. The parætacs were not without agriculture, but still they were robbers. Elymæa, southward, had, among its moun-

tains, some fine vales, well cultivated: it was altogether the most varied and most fruitful of the highland countries. The military hordes, holding these countries, had each its chief; for military hordes must acknowledge a chief. However then occasionally, or perhaps some of them hereditarily, at variance with one another, they would also occasionally unite, when defence required, or when opportunity for profit invited. The Elymæans, having the best country, and most practising husbandry, had probably also the best policy. Their chief is said, at one time, whether before or after Alexander appears uncertain, to have been accompanied by thirteen thousand men from other hordes, in addition to his own, in a march into Susiana and Babylonia. All these people had been brought to acknowledge submission to Alexander; but a submission no longer to be depended on than while the strong hand of power was impending over them.

Strab. 1. 15.  
p. 732.

l. 11. p. 524.

Those highland-plain provinces, which extended eastward from Aria to India, with Paropamisus on the north, and the Great Desert on the south, were held by people who, as more following agriculture, were more disposed to live in peace with their neighbours. To have secure command of this country, while he proceeded northward against Bessus, was important for Alexander. Rugged highlands formed a line of separation for all this northern part of the empire from the still larger and richer portion which more patiently acknowledged his sovereignty. But it appears that he had a farther object. The Indian prince who, of his own free motion, as we have seen, sent in bonds to Alexander the fugitive satrap of Zaranga, Barsantes, the associate of Bessus, thus marked himself for no friend to Bessus. Probably, their territories joining, they had been at variance; and the Indian, dreading the advancement of the satrap of Bactria to the sovereignty of the Per-

Ch. 50. s. 3.  
of this Hist.

sian empire, was anxious to cultivate the friendship of the great conqueror, his enemy.

Such seem to have been the considerations which induced Alexander, as soon as the revolt of Aria, excited by the faithless satrap Satibarzanes, was quelled, instead of returning directly northward, by the western side of Paropamisus, into Bactria, to proceed first eastward, to the provinces southward of that singular country. Zaranga or Drangia was first in his way, where the catastrophe of Philotas and Parmenio, and the Lyncestian Alexander, had occurred.

But, before matters were so settled that military operations might be resumed, autumn was already advanced, and the country, though, according to the latest geographical inquiries, included within the thirty-fourth degree of northern latitude, and thus south of all Europe, became early covered with snow.

In the mild climate of our islands very few persons, comparatively, are aware of the degree of winter cold on the continent southward, even in the countries nearest us, Germany, and a large part of France itself; though to those who have visited America or China vicissitudes of temperature in the air, of a violence hardly known anywhere in Europe, will be familiar. But even within Europe the account of a country, not ordinarily visited either for business or curiosity, by a very intelligent modern author, who had held high office there, may deserve notice. “In Walachia,” which is in the latitude nearly of Lombardy and the south of France, “the winter,” says that respectable writer, “is long, and commonly very severe. In the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, though little snow fell, the quicksilver in Reaumur’s thermometer stood at twenty degrees below frost.<sup>3</sup> Spring begins in

B. C. 330.  
Ol. 112. 4.

Obs. int. la  
Valachia e  
Moldav.

<sup>3</sup> Twenty degrees of Reaumur’s thermometer are equal to about forty-seven of Fahrenheit’s: an amount of cold never experienced in any part of Britain.



April; in July and August the heat is excessive. Excellent wines are produced in great abundance: but, as soon as the vintage is over, the vines are bent to the ground, and covered with soil, not to be exposed to the air again till spring.”<sup>4</sup> Xenophon’s description of a climate some degrees southward of Walachia, yet more severe, so as to forbid the cultivation of the vine, of which he had experience in returning from Mesopotamia with the Cyrean Greeks, will be remembered.

Ch. 23. s. 4.  
of this Hist.

Alexander had already had experience enough of the climate of Caucasus and the islands branching from the great range, to be not unaware of what was to be expected among them. Eager nevertheless in his purpose, in advanced autumn he moved from Zaranga eastward. In the adjoining country he met with a political phenomenon of a very gra-

<sup>4</sup> *Observazioni storiche, naturali, e politiche, intorno la Valachia e Moldavia*, printed at Naples in 1788. The author, Raicewick, by birth and family a Transylvanian, was counsellor of legation from the court of Vienna to that of Naples, where he did me the favour to present me with his book. He had been previously secretary to the Austrian embassy at Constantinople, and afterward principal secretary to Ypselanti, prince of Walachia. With a singular talent for acquiring languages, he chose the Italian for his book, and has had the approbation of Italian critics for his style.

<sup>5</sup> . . . Δράγγας τε καὶ Δραγωγούς ἐν τῇ παρεῶν παρασθησάμενος. Περὶ στήσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχάτους — Ἐπῆλθε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς προσχώρους Ἀραχάτους. Ξύμπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἔβη διὰ χιόνος τε πολλῆς, καὶ ζῦν ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταλαιπωρία, ἐπῆλθε. Arr. l. 3. c. 28.

The learned translator of Arrian, Rooke, would give no credit to this passage of his author: “The country,” he says, in a note on it, “lies between the thirty-fourth and fortieth degrees of latitude, and of consequence could not be much colder than Greece or Italy.” Common as such error is, it seems strange that a man of learning and inquiry should so boldly maintain it. Not only any one acquainted with Virginia could inform him better, but, in Johnson’s Dictionary, he might have found admonition, that he should have inquired farther before he so positively asserted. Under the article *Temperature*, the great lexicographer quotes the following passage from Brown’s Travels:— “There may be as much difference, as to the *temperature* of the air, and as to heat and cold, in one mile as in ten degrees of latitude; and he that would cool himself in summer had better go up to the top of the next hill, than remove into a far more northern country.” Brown’s Travels, quoted under the article *Temperature*.

Rooke’s numerous notes indeed, unless for his laborious collation of Curtius with Arrian, are rarely of any value.

tifying kind, of which probably he was not without previous intimation. The small nation of the Ariasps, or Agriaspes, differed so in character from the predatory hordes of the Asiatic highlands in general that they were renowned for

honesty and good faith. Arrian says, meaning it evidently as high eulogy, that they were equal to the best of the Greeks. According to tradition, the great Cyrus, when he marched through their

country to make war on the Scythians, was so satisfied with their conduct, that he gave them the title of Welldoers; which had prevailed so as nearly to have superseded their ancient name.<sup>6</sup> How a small horde so situated should have acquired this superior character, and how, under a government so failing to afford due protection to its best subjects, as we have seen the Persian, they should have maintained it and preserved themselves, is matter of just curiosity, for which however, among ancient writers, gratification fails.

Alexander, the historian proceeds to say, halted in their country to celebrate a sacrifice to Apollo; and their rulers, encouraged by his expressed satisfaction

with them, requested a small addition to their territory, which he granted. An additional proof of his favour and confidence he seems to have given them, in committing the

government of their country to a Persian, who, according to Curtius, had been secretary to the late king, Darius, not leaving any military force under a Grecian commander to ensure their fidelity to engagements.

The Ariasps of this country, as the learned examiner of the historians of Alexander has observed, have been confounded by some ancient writers with the Arimasps of European Scythia, eminent in fable as dwarf human monsters, with an eye only in the forehead, who waged continual

<sup>6</sup> Of the Persian word we are not informed, the Greek writers all using the translation into their own language, *Εὐεργέται*.

war with brute monsters, of mixed form, beast and bird, called griffins, or gryphons. Hence the existence of the Welldors has been called in question.<sup>7</sup> Wherever fable is found blended with history, under respectable assurance of its antiquity, some foundation in truth may not unreasonably be expected. Extensive tracts of mountain, and their inhabitants, generally, the world over, are little known beyond their immediate neighbourhood. Of those in Europe, the Alps, whose valleys alone afford thoroughfare to Italy, have become most familiar. There the disease of the swollen throat prevails, and with it often mental weakness. Those of its people not so affected are generally of good persons, and strong in body and mind; and even those labouring under infirmity of either have been remarked for that eccentric wit, which, in those ages when letters were neglected and even despised by the higher ranks, was so in request, as an amusement of courts and great houses, that none would be without its fool. Hence, throughout the south of Germany, the proper name Tyrolese has become the common word for that kind of witting; as, at Paris, Swiss for a porter, and Savoyard for a chimney-sweeper. But within Europe there is another country, less known,

<sup>7</sup> If the learned examiner of the historians of Alexander has given way sometimes to hasty fancy, the liberal reader, considering the merits of the work, and the author's early age when published, will make allowance for it. "Les historiens d'Alexandre saisirent avec empressement," he says, "le rapport qu'il pouvait y avoir entre les Agriaspes ou Ariaspes, selon Ptolomée (l. 6. c. 19.), et les Arimaspes, peuple de la Scythie Européenne, célèbre tant par les fables qu'en avait débitées Aristeas de Proconese (Herod. l. 4. c. 11. et seq.), que par le secours qu'ils donnerent aux Argonautes, et qui leur méritèrent le nom d'Evergetes (Steph. Byzant.), les écrivains—imaginerent," &c. Exam. Crit. des Hist. d'Alex. p. 214. Strabo, as well as Diodorus, agrees with Arrian in sober account of the Welldors of this neighbourhood of India. The concurrence of Diodorus and Curtius concerning the appointment of a satrap to their country, though differing as to his name, yet agreeing so far that each gives him a Persian name, is itself considerable testimony. Altogether then, whatever of fable may have been mixed with accounts of the Ariasps by writers whose object has been amusement for the fancy, their more sober history is so far warranted that it cannot but appear rather rash for a modern to treat it with contempt.

where the malady is more severe. “The people of Argis, among the mountains of Walachia,” in the account of the respectable writer recently noticed, “seem hardly of human race : less than four feet high, such is the fleshy protuberance under their chins, that the large misshapen head seems fixed on the chest, without the intervention of a neck ; and understanding fails.” Nevertheless Walachia is a valuable country, and the people not thus unfortunately affected, a respectable race. Whatever then may be thought of the European dwarfs, the Arimasps, objects of fable, and whether there may or may not have been any analogy between them and the Walachians of Argis, or between either them, or the Walachians, with the Ariasps between Media and India, it cannot but be gratifying to the investigator of eventful history to find, among other testimonies, that of so able and careful an inquirer as Arrian to the character of the Asiatic Welldoers.

In the northern parts of the Persian empire, though hardly reaching the middle of the great Asiatic continent, the character of the people, and of their government, appears to have differed from those of the south as much as the climate. In the south, the mass of the population consisted of husbandmen and artisans, utterly unused to arms, depending upon the ruling powers to ensure orderly conduct among themselves, and to protect them against foreign enemies. Here government was despotic, and subjects were careless whom they served. But, in the north, verging on foreign nations, whose trade was plunder and war their delight, circumstances, compelling every man to be a soldier, compelled also the rulers to respect the subjects. Where every man bears arms there must be respect for the multitude ; there must, whatever form the government may have, be a considerable amount of freedom ; and the conduct which rulers find necessary will attach the people to them. Alexander found early proof of this. Satibarzanes, his late satrap of Aria,

faithless in promise, but bold and persevering in enterprise, on being surprised by his rapidity, so as to be obliged, presently after engaging the Arian people in revolt, to abandon them, had fled to Bessus. While then Alexander was busied with his various measures for securing his command of the countries southward of Bactria, Satibarzanes, obtaining a body of two thousand horse from his new sovereign, returned into Aria<sup>8</sup>; and, such was the respect for him among the people, or such their aversion to a foreign dominion, that he engaged them a second time in revolt.

Alexander did not judge it necessary now again to interrupt the prosecution of his concerted measures by returning himself to oppose this new insurrection. With two Macedonians, Erygius and Caranus, he appointed two eminent Persians, Artabazus, so often mentioned, and Phrathernes, his satrap of Parthia, to conduct the war in Aria. Satibarzanes meanwhile had collected such a force as to venture to meet them in battle, and maintain sharp contest. With that impatience, distinguish-<sup>ARR. 1. 3. c. 28.</sup> ing Asiatic from European minds, he seems to have resolved to conquer or die. Instead then of attending, with the just coolness of a general, to the conduct of those under him, who were yet maintaining an action of doubtful issue, he sought personal conflict with the opposing commander; attacking Erygius, he was killed by his hand. The Arians then universally fled, and no farther resistance appears to have been made throughout their country.

Meanwhile Alexander proceeded eastward, through Arachosia to the confines of India, the whole way, according to the concurring accounts of historians, over snow. No opposition is mentioned, even in the Persian provinces. In India, as already observed, it seems probable that his object

<sup>8</sup> *Arcia* is the orthography in our copies of Arrian: in those of Strabo it is *Aria*, but more commonly *Ariana*.

was rather negotiation than war, and he appears to have succeeded. But he had now had sufficient evidence that, for these northern countries, quiet could not be provided with the same ease, or by the same methods, as for the southern. The singular region called Paropamisus divided Arachosia from Bactria. Probably his information was good on which he grounded his resolution to proceed thither for winter quarters. On the higher grounds projected from the mountains into the lofty plain he found a spot advantageous for the site of a fortress to command an extent of fruitful country. There he employed his troops during winter in building a town, to which, as to his Egyptian city, he gave the name of Alexandria.<sup>9</sup>

Arr. ut ant.

<sup>9</sup> Arrian says that here Caucasus produces nothing but fir-trees and masterwort, *τερμίνθους* and *σίλφιον*, yet that the country is populous, feeding numerous flocks and herds. *Σίλφιον*, under its Latin name, *Laserpitium*, is described by Ainsworth, "an herb, the gum whereof is called *laser*; some call it masterwort; some take it to be benzoin: the worst kind of it is called *assafœtida*." Of this plant, Arrian proceeds to say, sheep are so fond that the Cyrenæans, in whose country it abounds, and who prize the benzoin greatly, protect it from them with laborious care.\* Elsewhere he mentions the name of Caucasus as improperly, though frequently by the Greeks, extended to this part of the great Asiatic highland chain. He uses it nevertheless here, but seemingly limiting it to the mountains, τὰ ὄρη, and not including under it the plainer highland country, which would probably give other produce than *τερμίνθους* and *σίλφιον*.

Strabo reckons Paropamisus within his Ariana, and thence calls this the Arian Alexandria, but, among later writers, the title of the Paropamisan seems to have more prevailed.

[\* "Si quando incidit pecus, in spem nascentis, hoc deprehenditur signo: ove, cum comederit, dormiente protinus, caprâ sternutante." Plin. Nat. Hist. xix. 15. In the Quarterly Review (vol. xxvi. p. 220.) a fac-simile is given of an ancient coin, from Della-Cella's *Viaggio da Tripoli*, &c., on one side of which is an umbelliferous plant, supposed to be the Cyrenaic *silphium* or *laserpitium*, and on the other is the head of *Jupiter Ammon*. To classical readers this combination will immediately suggest the lines of Catullus in Carm. vii. :—

Quam magnus numerus Libyssæ arenæ  
*Laserpiciferis* jacet *Cyrenis*  
*Orâctum Jovis* inter æstuosi  
 Et Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum.

"Cyrenaica," says Pliny, "illustratur *Hammonis oraculo*, quod a *Cyrenis* abest cccc.M. passuum." Nat. Hist. v. 5.]

We have seen, in Xenophon's account of the retreat of the Cyreans, how unavailing ordinary Grecian discipline was to prevent the association of women and the growth of families, in a Grecian army, passing any time in an enemy's country, even in distressing circumstances. Hence, though the Macedonian discipline is likely to have been, for other matters, more perfect, yet, much as Alexander evidently had need to court his army, what indulgence for the society of women, in passing through such an extent of country as conquerors, would be expedient and even necessary, may, in some degree, be estimated. We have seen also the violence of opposition to Xenophon's purpose of colonisation with the Cyrean army. But his plan was proposed after a single year's absence from Greece, and not till all the greatest difficulties of the return, long nearly hopeless, were overcome, and home was already almost within sight. Very different were the circumstances now, when, after an absence of three years, the army was on the border of India, and a winter campaign in a most severe climate, against enemies of high and even singular warlike fame, was in view. Probably numbers, if not with a view to perfect satisfaction, yet as a very desirable immediate indulgence, would take the permission to rest, with their families, in the new settlement. It seems indeed likely that a large proportion had been Persian subjects; for the civil government of the colony was committed to a Persian, Proxes, with the title of satrap; the military command however being reserved to Niloxenus, of the band of companions. But such was the wisdom or felicity with which the situation was chosen and the arrangements made that the settlement prospered, as a Grecian colony, long after support from a Grecian empire failed, and flourishes yet, it has been supposed, under the corrupted name of Candahar.

Ch. 23. c. 5.  
of this Hist.

Arr. 1. 3. c. 23.

Vincent on  
Nearchus,  
v. 1. n. 7.

Arrian's omission of notice of Asiatic recruits to Alexander's army, even Greeks of Asia, has been formerly observed, and the probable cause suggested, that the Macedonian generals, whose reports he principally trusted, were not solicitous to mention them. What is related on this subject by other writers will therefore deserve consideration. Plutarch says that, observing the hardiness of body and firmness of mind of the people of these climates, Alexander enrolled no less than thirty thousand boys, to be trained in the Macedonian discipline. Probably he has described them properly, calling them boys; for men would be averse to a change of habits to which they had been educated; whereas boys would soon become proud of arms and discipline, which gave them military importance above the men of their nation, and equality with the conquerors of Asia. Associating with Greeks, they would, more readily than men, learn the Grecian language, and, in other matters of habit, would become effectually Greeks.

## SECTION II.

*Measures of Bessus. — Discontent in Alexander's Army. — Pursuit of Bessus. — Critical Circumstances of Alexander. — Surrender of Bessus.*

BESSUS meanwhile had been busy in measures for obstructing Alexander's farther progress. Of the northern satraps about him, of no small power, some were also of no mean abilities; insomuch that hope might be entertained, not only to defend the dominion they yet held, but to proceed to the recovery of some of the southern provinces, which it might be supposed, only in want of due support from a superintending government, had submitted to a foreign invader. They removed or destroyed all subsistence for an army, throughout the plain



at the foot of Caucasus toward Bactria, and soon the season, coming to their assistance, had covered the country with snow.

But, for Alexander, difficulties were inviting, and rest annoying. Anxious to reach Bactria while Bessus might be yet incompletely prepared, he resolved upon moving while spring, in that severe climate, yet lingered. Probably his inquiries had been extensive, his information good, and his purpose founded on a just view of things; for the result warrants the supposition. But he had difficulties to encounter beyond what the enemy opposed. To Babylon, and perhaps as far as the treasury of Pasargadæ, he was followed by most willing soldiers; eager for great rewards in promise. Even when, after indulgence of some months of rest and plenty there, the march was turned northward, in pursuit of the fugitive monarch, the expediency of thus providing permanence for advantages gained would be so obvious to those of more thought, and impatience of rest, ordinary with those habituated to action, would so stimulate the more thoughtless, that zeal for the prosecution of the monarch's purpose might still be ready. But when Darius was no more, and with him the Persian dynasty so far extinct that a pretender able to contend with Alexander, for the richer part of the empire, was supposed no longer to be apprehended, yet war was to be prosecuted in a most severe climate, against hardy nations, whose conquest would bring no obvious reward, a great change would be likely to ensue in the soldier's mind. Diodorus, Curtius, and Plutarch nearly concur in supplying what Arrian has left unnoticed; probably because the Macedonian generals, his guides, would avoid report of the first ebullitions of discontent in the army; and yet there occurs, in his narrative, what gives probability to their accounts.

Diod. 1. 17.  
c. 61.  
Curt. 1. 6.  
c. 2.  
Plut. vit.  
Alex. p. 691.

It appears likely that, as Curtius relates, the adverse humour originated, or first became extensive and dangerous, during the intermission of military enterprise, while the new city, the Paropamisan Alexandria, was building. The notion was propagated that, Darius being dead, Alexander clearly lord of the Persian empire, and a new settlement prepared for those whom age or wounds disabled for the long march home, and for numerous others for whom, on account of families grown in camp about them, or failure of means at home, such a settlement would be acceptable, all desirous of returning would of course have free leave to return. In this temper of the army, notice of the purpose of marching still northward, and with snow yet upon the ground, was received with such demonstration of discontent, and such disposition to disobedience and tumult, that Alexander deemed it expedient to call the soldiers together as a popular assembly. In an able speech then, mixing the pathetic with the animating, he so wrought on their minds as to restore zeal for the prosecution of a hitherto glorious, and largely rewarding, but yet unfinished war, and to produce a declaration that they would follow wherever he would lead. Diodorus adds that this zeal was politically rewarded with large donations immediately made; and it seems indicated, by what Arrian adds, that it was promoted by promises of dismissal for any who might desire it, when the expedition, which circumstances immediately required, should be ended.

The threatening discontent of the army being thus appeased, Alexander hastened to use the favourable temper which he had excited. Proceeding with the utmost speed that the season and the state of the country would allow, he advanced into Bactria. Whether Bessus and his associates disagreed, or why else they were yet so unprepared to defend that extensive and populous

region, which under their legitimate sovereign they had commanded as his satraps, we are uninformed; on Alexander's approach they withdrew. Probably his army was formidable, not by discipline only, but in number also. They however resolved to retire behind the great river Oxus, which separated Bactria from Sogdiana, the satrapy of Spitamenes. But when arrived there, the Bactrians of their army, to the number of seven thousand horse, refusing to go farther, dispersed to their several homes; whence it may seem that Bessus, even in his own province, was little esteemed. The Sogdians followed Spítamenes, and the Daans accompanied them; for the way was homeward for both. But the sequel shows Spitamenes to have been able, and considerably popular. When all had crossed the river, they burnt the boats, which had given them passage; thus demonstrating hopelessness of support from Bactra, and abandonment of the Bactrians to the mercy of the conqueror. Alexander allowed his army, in the town of Drapsaca, some time for rest and refreshment, which were probably needed. He then proceeded against Bactra and Aorni, the two principal cities of the province; and, these making little resistance, the whole quickly submitted. In the citadel of Aorni he placed a garrison under one of his band of companions, Archelaus son of Androcles, and he committed the very important satrapy of Bactria, a large, fruitful, and populous province, to his Persian friend, of tried fidelity in engagements alternately on either side, the almost half Grecian Artabazus.

It may have been policy, but it seems also to have been in some degree a passion of Alexander, to pursue Darius living, and not less so to revenge him dead. Coming ARR. 1. 3. c. 29. to the river Oxus, the difficulty of crossing seemed insurmountable. The breadth was great; the depth various; the rapidity of the stream, and the shifting of the

gravel in its bed, made fording, in the most favourable season, dangerous. But now, with advancing spring, the snow melting on the mountains, fording was utterly denied; and to make bridges, or repair the destruction of boats by the enemy, the country, to a great extent, afforded no material. The hazardous resource therefore was, what we have before observed in use for passing quieter streams, to use skins, the soldiers' beds, or nightly covering, duly stuffed, as rafts.

With his mind eagerly bent upon one object, Alexander's circumstances were, at this time, variously critical. His new subjects, to whom he had dispensed favours, and committed great and confidential offices, showing, in some instances, a most honourable fidelity, still in others continued to prove that trusting them was hazardous. Intelligence came that Arsames, raised, on the second expulsion of the faithless Satibarzanes, to the important satrapy of Aria, was misconducting himself; insomuch that Stasanor, of the band of companions, was sent to arrest him. Whether some revival of discontent in the army, and unwillingness to pursue a flying enemy farther among boundless snows and deserts, were demonstrated, or it was simply in pursuance of promises given, when the former fermentation was stilled, some of the most valuable troops of the army, in circumstances so pressing, were dismissed. All those Thessalians, who had voluntarily renewed their services, together with all Macedonians who could claim privilege for age, wounds, or any disability, were, in this critical state of the expedition, allowed to return to Europe. No others are mentioned, nor is cause for the distinction stated, but, in the course of the history, it may be gathered. The Thessalians, all cavalry, would all have either property or valuable connections at home, and to Alexander popularity in Thessaly was of especial importance. Of civic troops of the southern

republics, probably few, if any, now remained with the army. Alexander's great acquisition of pecuniary means having enabled him to dispense with their service, by increasing his mercenary Grecian force, all engaged for adventure, and in no small proportion exiles, whose republics would not receive them, and to whom therefore their discharge would be a most severe misfortune.

The army then crossed the Oxus on the stuffed skins. If loss was suffered, Arrian has not mentioned it; but he says the business, probably executed with diligent care, employed five days. The army then proceeded in pursuit of Bessus. The effect of the bold measure was evidently great: it appears to have brought to decision the policy of that pretender's associates. A deputation from Spitamenes and Dataphernes met Alexander, commissioned to inform him that Bessus was effectually their prisoner; not indeed under close restraint, but in their power; and they would surrender him to any officer whom he would send with a detachment, which need not be large. Alexander chose for the important mission Ptolemy son of Lagus. To his orders a force was committed, not inconsiderable for number, but superior for selection. The heavy-armed consisted of the taxis<sup>10</sup>, which having been that of Philotas, went still by his name, and one chiliarchy of hypaspists. Of this body we have no farther information than that, with its peculiar title, of very uncertain meaning, it had eminently Alexander's confidence, and especially his preference among the heavy-armed, for rapid movements. Of light infantry, all the Agrians were assigned, and half the bowmen of the army: of cavalry, three troops of royal companions, and all

<sup>10</sup> Whether the taxis, in Alexander's army, more nearly answered to our brigade, or to a division consisting of two or more brigades, appears uncertain. The chiliarchy would be something between eight and twelve hundred men.

the horse-darters. With this force Ptolemy was directed to use the utmost speed, while Alexander followed with the rest of the army, at an easier pace than before. Such then was the vigour of the body selected that, on the fourth evening, having completed the space, the historian says, of ten ordinary marches, Ptolemy reached the ground which Bessus had quitted only the day before. Gathering reason then for doubting, either the sincerity of Spitamenes and Dataphernes in their offer, or their perseverance in its purpose, he took the lead with his cavalry only, directing the infantry to follow, in order for action. On approaching a fortified town, he learnt that Bessus was there with a small force; deserted by Spitamenes, who would no longer support him, yet would not himself be the person to deliver him to his enemies. Ptolemy sent a summons into the town, offering immunity to the garrison and people, upon condition of surrendering Bessus. This found ready acceptance, and Ptolemy, with his prisoner, hastened his return.

Approaching Alexander, he sent to ask his commands for the manner in which the captive chief, the pretender to the throne of Asia, should be brought into his presence. The answer directed that he should be placed naked, with a halter about his neck, on the right of the road by which the army was marching. Alexander, in his chariot, stopping when he came near, asked Bessus, "Why he had so treated Darius, not only his king but his friend and benefactor, dragging him about a prisoner, and afterward putting him to death?" Bessus answered, that "the measures were not of his single authority, but concurred in by those then attending Darius, with the view to obtain safety for themselves from Alexander's mercy." Alexander then directed that he should be scourged, and that the herald should proclaim his crimes of treachery and murder in the same terms

in which he had himself reproached him, as the reason for the ignominious severity. This, Arrian says, was Ptolemy's own account. But Aristobulus related that Bessus was sent by Spitamenes and Dataphernes under a guard, apparently meaning a guard of their own people, who delivered him naked, and bound with a halter; seeming thus to differ from Ptolemy, yet not clearly contradicting him. This notice, by Arrian, of difference between those eminent writers, whatever farther may be thought of it, will be so far satisfactory to the modern inquirer, as it shows his care to investigate and declare authorities, and to mark whatever might be doubtful. The miserable Bessus was sent to Bactra, the capital of the province of which he had been satrap, there to await his farther doom.

Arr. 1.5.  
c. 29, 30.

### SECTION III.

*Stubborn Resistance of the Northern Asiatics. — Negotiation with Scythian Kingdoms. — A Grecian Colony established among the Scythians not Subjects of the Kingdoms. — War with the Scythians not Subjects of the Kingdoms.*

IN passing the mountains of Caucasus, and in the hasty marches over the snow-clad plains beyond them, a great number of horses had perished. Fortunately Sogdiana and adjoining provinces could furnish supply of a valuable kind, both for cavalry and baggage. But time would be necessary for collecting these, and preparing them for service to follow, while the army rested in the city called by the Greeks Maracanda, the modern Samarkand, capital of Sogdiana.

The object of the next march, toward the Caspian sea, is no farther stated, than as it appears the people were not disposed to the submission required; perhaps necessary toward the quiet of the more civilised country which acknowledged the conqueror's sovereignty. Nevertheless no

opposition seems to have been yet met, when, while the army encamped near a great river, variously called Tanais, Orxantes, and Silys, a body of foragers was destroyed; and the natives, to the number of thirty thousand, assembling on the summit of a hill on all sides precipitous, defied assault.<sup>11</sup> Alexander, indignant at his loss and their presumption, took himself the lead of his lightest troops to storm the post. Such however was the difficulty of the ground and the energy of its defenders that his men suffered in several unsuccessful assaults, and he himself received a bowshot in the leg. The wound was so far severe as the arrow-head could not be extracted without cutting; but efforts were not relaxed for it. Resistance being at length overborne, only about eight thousand of the enemy were reckoned to have escaped death from the sword, or the precipices by which they attempted flight.

Concerning Alexander's wound, warranted by Arrian, a circumstance, related only by Curtius, but in its nature open to extensive knowledge, may deserve notice. A wound in the leg, it is well known, for cure, requires rest of the limb. But Alexander's mind could not rest without personal observation of things going forward. He would be carried in a litter, by men's hands, wherever he supposed his attention wanted. The honour then of being his bearers was contested with eagerness among his troops. The cavalry, as his usual companions in action, claimed the duty of attending his necessities when unfortunately disabled for action. The infantry contended against this, that, as theirs was the office to carry their wounded fellow-

<sup>11</sup> The river, according to Arrian, was ordinarily called the Tanais; not that Tanais, he says, which, falling into the lake Mæotis, was reckoned by Herodotus the boundary of Europe and Asia; for, rising among the heights of Caucasus, it runs into the Caspian, or, as he names it here, the Hyrcanian sea. According to Aristobulus, he adds, the people of the country called the river the Orxantes: Pliny (l. 6. c. 16.) gives it the very different name of the Silys.



soldiers, cavalry as well as infantry, it could not be just to deny them the honour of carrying their king, when needing such assistance. Alexander settled the dispute by deciding that cavalry and infantry should carry him alternately.

Not many days after, while he was allowing that rest to his army which he wanted for himself, but nevertheless was employing his mind diligently in ordering regulations for all the country around, he was surprised with embassies coming to wait upon him from the kings of the Scythians. Arrian mentions, of that powerful and extraordinary people, two great kingdoms, one in Asia, the other in Europe; and, beside these, many wild hordes, who, with opportunity for wandering over immense plains of soil little productive, in a most severe climate, avoiding all certain settlement, avoided all regular government. They appear to have resembled much the borderers of England and Scotland in former days, and those of Spain and France; differing chiefly as they lived in a severer climate, and had an extent, very many times greater, of land uninviting for cultivation, to wander over. The embassies, now arriving, came together from the two great princes of the more settled and civilised Scythians, the Asiatic and the European. To the European the Greeks had been for ages known. Athens, we have seen, had commercial settlements on their shores, which were a principal source of its slave-market, and Macedonia had had wars with them, and probably treaties. To the Asiatic-Scythians communication with the Persian empire was familiar, in war and in negotiation. Both the princes appear to have supposed it of consequence for them to acquire some insight into Alexander's purposes; and it was perhaps yet more important for him to have some knowledge of theirs. Receiving both the embassies therefore in a gratifying manner, he avoided immediately entering into any specific treaty with either,

Ch. 38. s. 3.  
of this Hist.

by sending, as a compliment, his ambassadors to their princes.

Within the great river, the boundary of the late Persian empire against the Asiatic-Scythian kingdom, a Scythian horde, conquered, it appears, by the great Cyrus, had been allowed to retain its establishments, and to live in freedom, as subjects of the Persian crown. But to provide for peace and good order, that prince had fortified a principal town, which had from him its name, in the Grecian translation, Cyropolis. War with any of the Scythians appears not at all to have been Alexander's purpose; nothing among them inviting it. But stability for his acquired empire, always prominent among his objects, and, with it, improvement of the condition of its people, required consideration. For the security therefore of his northern border, and at the same time for enforcing peaceful demeanour among subjects disposed to turbulence, he pursued his own former plan, in imitating that of his great predecessor in conquest. On the river, whether to be called Tanais, Orxantes, or Silys, a situation offered itself, recommended, not only by its opportunities for both protecting Sogdiana, and carrying war, should it become advisable, into Scythia, but also by various circumstances of promise for the growth of a great and wealthy city. A remarkable instance of Alexander's deference, whether more for the political principles gathered from his habits with the free constitution of Macedonia and his education under Aristotle, or for the free people forming the principal strength of his army, followed. He summoned all the Sogdians, who held authority in their country, to a meeting for deliberation on measures for common good.<sup>12</sup> His purpose evidently was to conciliate his new subjects of the north, as he had con-

<sup>12</sup> Ἐς ἓνα ξύλλογον ἐπήγγελλε ξυνελθεῖν τοὺς ὑπάρχουσ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης. Arr. l. 4. c. 1.

ciliated those of Egypt and the south of Asia : but Arrian, who, himself an Asiatic, would know the general temper of Asiatics, indicates that it had a contrary effect ; expressing himself doubtful whether it did not excite more jealousy than the proposed new town, and afford more opportunity of advantage for the partisans of Bessus. The Sogdians generally, and many of the Bactrians, and all the Scythians within the Orxantes, engaged together in revolt. The Scythians were the first to act. Falling suddenly on those of the Macedonian army quartered in their country, they put all to death, and then Scythians, Sogdians, and Bactrians withdrew to their strong places.

Such proceedings would of course call forth Alexander's energy. His first measures were directed against the Scythians. Cyropolis had walls of masonry, and a citadel : six other towns had fortifications, but only of earth. Among these towns their forces were distributed in proportion to the estimated importance of each ; by far the greatest in Cyropolis. Alexander committed to Craterus an army sufficient to invest that city, while he took himself, in his usual way, the conduct of the more active and dangerous service. When a contravallation around Cyropolis was so far completed that no succour could easily issue to any of the inferior towns, he attacked them one by one, and presently stormed three.<sup>13</sup> All the men were put to death ; the women and children were saved for slaves, as part of the booty to reward his army. Measures were taken for preventing information of the fate of these towns from reaching those unattacked ; yet such alarm arose, either from intelligence or suspicion, that two were abandoned. Alexander, apprehending this, had so stationed his cavalry that few of the fugitives escaped.

<sup>13</sup> Arrian says two of those towns were stormed in one day, and the third on the day following ; whence it may seem that the word *πόλις* has not been intended to be taken in the elder Greek sense of the word, a *city*.

His whole force was then assembled against  
Arr. l. 4. c. 3. Cyropolis. Assault, according to ancient art, with battering machines, was preparing, when the channel of a torrent stream running through the town, rough and narrow, yet not impracticable for armed infantry, was observed to be neglected by the garrison, intent upon the expected attack on their walls. Thus an enterprise was offered, inviting for Alexander himself. With a few chosen troops he entered without resistance; and, hastening to the nearest gate, opened it, and admitted a large body prepared for the event. Nevertheless the garrison, amounting, according to Arrian, to eighteen thousand men, surprised, but not dismayed, resisted vigorously. Alexander received blows on the head and neck with stones. Craterus and other principal officers were wounded with arrows. The Scythians however, unable to make head at the same time against the enemies within their walls and entering over them, were overpowered. Eight thousand are said to have been slain; but about ten thousand made their retreat good into the citadel. There however (probably through incomplete execution of the great founder's purpose) was no provision of water; so that, on the second day, they found it necessary to surrender. The seventh town was yet held by its garrison, but yielded immediately on Alexander's approach; according to Ptolemy by capitulation; but Aristobulus reported that it was taken by assault, and all the men within put to the sword. Arrian however seems to have thought Ptolemy's account the rather to be trusted, as it proceeded to state, what must have been within that officer's means of knowing, that the prisoners were distributed among the several divisions of the army, to remain in custody; apparently, to be finally led away to slavery; for the historian says it was resolved to leave none behind who had partaken of the revolt.

Alexander's rapidity in his measures for reducing this small branch of the extensive nation of Scythians, subjects, apparently, since its reduction by Cyrus, of the Persian empire, appears to have been of great importance. Arr. 1. 4. c. 3. Those holding the country on the farther side of the river, so variously named Orxantes, Silys, and Tanais, on intelligence received of insurrection of those of their nation within the old Persian boundary, had assembled in arms and already had reached the neighbourhood. With information of this threatened hostility from that formidable nation, so eager in pursuit of gain by victory, with so little to lose by defeat, and possessing such ready means to avoid and still annoy a foe whom they could not resist, intelligence arrived that Spitamenes had revolted, and was actually besieging Paracadi, where Alexander had left a garrison. As however the force under Spitamenes was of the freebooting kind, neither regular, nor very numerous, it was thought sufficient to despatch against him fifteen hundred of the mercenary Grecian foot, with eight hundred horse of the same description, and sixty of that superior and confidential body, the royal companion cavalry. These appear to have had their several proper commanders, Andromachus, Menedemus, and Caranus. Whether then through growing favour to Asiatics, or on the supposition that negotiation might succeed with little support from arms, the chief authority was committed to Pharnuches, a Lycian, familiar with the Scythian language, as well as with the Greek, of approved talent for civil business, but without the qualifications of a military commander. Meanwhile the establishment of the proposed colony engaged Alexander's own attention; and in twenty days, employing all the force with him, he raised works sufficient for its defence against the surrounding people; formidable in the field, but of no skill in the assault of fortifications. He then offered choice for any of the

Greek mercenaries, and those Macedonians who, from age or infirmity, were become less fit for active service, to establish themselves in the place, with permission to associate any of the natives of the country who might be willing. Matters of business being settled, he, according to his custom, engaged and amused the public mind with religious ceremonies and games, horse-races and gymnastic exercises being exhibited among sacrifices to the gods.

The Scythians of the farther side of the river meanwhile remained encamped near its bank, watching what was going forward. The stream, though not fordable, was not there so wide but that words might be heard across; and the Scythian soldiers amused themselves with taunting speeches to the Macedonians, telling them, "their king, as great a conqueror as he was, dared not invade their country, or he would soon be taught the difference between Scythians and the southern Asiatics." Words not producing provocation enough, they proceeded to acts, and shot arrows, Arrian does not say over, but into the river. The usual disposition to petulance, among youths with arms in their hands, under a loose discipline, may have produced so much. But the amount of force assembled appeared to indicate, that the Scythian chiefs entertained a hostile jealousy, if not hostile purposes. Alexander therefore resolved to cross the river, and at once chastise, rather than complain of insolence. Skins were prepared in the usual way to serve as rafts, and the usual sacrifices for engaging the favour and consulting the will of the gods were performed; Alexander's favourite seer, Aristander of Telmissus, presiding. It appears likely that the principal officers of his army, in concert with the seer, who seems to have been an able man, apprehended the consequences of their prince's impatience of insult and eagerness for adventure, with the immense wild plains of Tartary before him. The symptoms of the victims however were

declared quite unfavourable. Alexander, uneasy under the disappointment, nevertheless acquiesced, so far as to defer his purpose. But, the Scythians continuing their provoking conduct, he ordered another sacrifice. Still the symptoms were declared utterly unfavourable, and clearly portending danger. Alexander's temper could then hold no longer : "It were better," he said, "to risk the extreme of danger than, after conquering almost all Asia, to become a laughing-stock for the Scythians, as the elder Darius had been." Aristander answered, "that, however the king might desire another interpretation, he himself could only declare what was indicated by the divinity."

Nevertheless Alexander persevered. The artillery, for throwing darts and stones, was moved to the river side, to protect the passage; some of the enemy were wounded; and one, struck with a dart, through both his shield and breast-plate, fell from his horse dead. In evident consternation at this event, all withdrew from the bank, and the Macedonian army passed, Alexander leading. The Scythians seem to have been all cavalry carrying missile weapons. Alexander, knowing that their discipline would not enable them to withstand a regular charge from even an inferior force, hastened against them a division of the allied, and four squadrons of the spear-bearing horse. The Scythians, approaching enough to give effect to their missile weapons, avoided a charge by rapidly wheeling: then, taking a circuit, they returned, and again discharged their darts and arrows. Alexander, we have seen, to answer the exigencies of service against Asiatic cavalry, had formed a small body, trained, after the Asiatic manner, to use missile weapons on horseback. This he now despatched to support his suffering troops; but he seems to have depended more upon his numerous bowmen, slingers, and darters, accustomed, on foot, to act in concert with cavalry. Hastening

these forward, he followed himself at the head of all the remainder of his horse. The Scythians finding that they could no longer attack with missile weapons but at the peril of wounds given at equal or greater distance, which disturbed their wheeling, and overtook them in retreat, fled precipitately. Being pursued by the fresh cavalry, about a thousand were killed, and a hundred and fifty taken.

In advanced summer now, as not uncommon in climates where winter is very severe, the heat was violent. Alexander, with his usual eagerness, intent upon revenging the disgrace and loss of the first onset, urged in person the pursuit of the fugitives, till at length, in common with others, he was oppressed with thirst. The country offered water, but of an unwholesome quality, of which he was unaware. Drinking therefore plentifully, he was quickly seized with a disorder of the bowels, such that he was carried back to the camp with his life supposed in danger. The evil however passed, and the advantage resulted, that the credit of the science of prophecy, and the reputation of the seer Aristander, its professor, often found of great convenience, were completely saved; for the danger to the king, supposed to have been portended, was not from the enemy, but from the draught of water.

Not long after, deputies reached Alexander from the king of the Scythians; so Arrian qualifies him, not distinguishing of what portion of the extensive Scythian nation he was sovereign. They came directed to apologise for the insults offered to his troops by some outlaws, they said, living by robbery, without warrant of any authority which the body of the Scythian people acknowledged; adding assurance that the king himself was ready to obey his commands. It seems probable that the Macedonian generals, Arrian's authorities, to magnify their prince, derogated somewhat from the dignity which the king of the Scythians would maintain on the oc-



casian; for that historian proceeds to avow, what indeed the sequel of his narrative evinces, that it would ill have suited Alexander, at that time, to engage in war with the king of the Scythians. Accordingly the embassy was very civilly received; and, if the offer to obey commands was a Scythian compliment, really expressed, it appears to have been judiciously taken as such; for the apology was accepted, and no commands are mentioned to have been returned.

This accommodation fortunately was completed Arr. l. 4. c. 5. before intelligence arrived of the greatest disaster which had yet befallen the Macedonian arms. Spitamenes, dispirited by a successful sally of the garrison of Maracanda, and informed that the force under Pharnuches was approaching, raised the siege and retired toward the extensive Scythian downs. Pursued by Pharnuches, he avoided action till he was joined by six hundred Scythian horse; for the herdsmen, who occupied the Scythian downs, or, as the Greek word has been commonly expressed, desert, appear to have been all horsemen. The Grecian cavalry being then worn with marching, and weak through deficiency of forage, he could avoid their charges while he gave unceasing annoyance to the infantry, with the missile weapons which the Asiatics used so dexterously on horseback. Defence now became the object of Alexander's officers; and they retired to a wood verging on a considerable river, the Polytimetus. But among them there was neither just command nor proper concert. Caranus, apparently a Macedonian, without communicating either with the Lycian commander-in-chief, or with the commanders of the mercenary Greeks, probably men of the republics, led his small body of horse across the river. The infantry, seeing themselves thus deserted by that small but superior body of cavalry, without command, hastened after him. Spita-

menes, and the Scythians, observing the disorderly movement, proceeded to use advantage offered. The Greeks, some already across, others yet in the river, were so pressed with darts and arrows that they attempted to regain the wood; but being intercepted, they stopped on a small island. Missile weapons however could reach them there. Many were thus killed, and many others wounded. The survivors, feeling themselves helpless, surrendered at discretion, and all were put to death.

This appears to have been Ptolemy's account. Aristobulus attributed the misfortune to the deficient arrangement of command, on which, it may be supposed, Ptolemy, a favourite of Alexander, would avoid comment. When difficulty arose, Pharnuches, according to Aristobulus, avowing himself incompetent, as little versed in military affairs, and rather appointed for a civil business, desired to commit the military command to the proper military officers. But these hesitated to take upon themselves, in circumstances highly threatening, a responsibility not regularly theirs; and, before anything was settled, the enemy was upon them. Of the whole force, about forty horse only and three hundred foot, according to Aristobulus, escaped.

Intelligence of this event vehemently affected Alexander. With the utmost of his usual zeal and activity, he took himself the command of a chosen body, and, understanding that Spitamenes was approaching Maracanda, to renew the siege, he hastened thither. By extraordinary exertion, at the dawn of the fourth day he reached the city. Spitamenes informed of his approach, had withdrawn toward the Scythian downs. Alexander, urging pursuit to the utmost ability of his troops, was however unable to overtake him. His next care therefore was to find the field of battle in which the force under Pharnuches had suffered, and to perform those rites of burial for the bodies, the importance

of which, in the opinion of the Greeks, we have observed so often strongly marked. After this he gave a loose to revenge, wasting all the cultivated country on the banks of the river Polytimetus, whose inhabitants, he was informed, had joined those of the downs in the destruction of his troops.

#### SECTION IV.

*Recruits to Alexander's Army. — Cruel Treatment of Bessus. — Difficulties for Alexander arising from his Successes. — Embassies from Scythian and other northern Princes.*

WINTER then approaching, which in that country sets in early, and is often early severe, he moved for quarters to the city of Zariaspa, said by Strabo to be the same with that commonly called by Arrian, and other Grecian writers, Bactra. There he was presently joined by his satrap of Parthia, Phrataphernes, and his general Stasanor, whom he had sent together to quell the second rebellion of the Arians. They appear to have been completely successful, bringing in custody Arsames, whom Bessus had commissioned as his satrap of Parthia, and other chiefs, his associates. About the same time powerful re-enforcements arrived, to supply the losses sustained in long and difficult marches and numerous actions, since the last from the western countries joined at Susa. They consisted of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from Syria, commanded by Asclepiodorus; equal numbers of each from Lycia, probably collected among the Greek cities of Asia, by Asander and Nearchus; seven thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse, sent by Antipater from Greece, where the levy probably would be easier for the recently finished war with Lacedæmon. Beside these Ptolemy, distinguished among the

Arr. l. 4. c. 7.  
Strab. l. 11.  
p. 514. 516.

Arr. l. 4. c. 7.  
Q. Curt. l. 7.  
c. 10.

several of that name as general of the Thracians, brought three thousand foot and one thousand horse; probably Greeks and others, raised in the provinces south of Lesser Asia. If, in the failure of Arrian to mention the numbers, Curtius may be trusted for them, likely to be not exact, yet not imaginary, but given from some authority, the whole would be sixteen thousand five hundred foot and two thousand five hundred horse.

The assemblage thus at head quarters would be numerous, of persons of all ranks of both nations, when Bessus was brought, apparently after the Macedonian manner, before all in congress. The treatment of him however was rather after the Asiatic manner, arbitrary and cruel. No mention is made of any form of trial. He was reproached before the numerous meeting with his perfidy to Darius: then his nose and ears were cut off; and in that mangled state he was sent to Ecbatana, to be treated according to the law or the pleasure of those Medes and Persians there<sup>14</sup>, who, apparently having been, or being supposed to have been, faithful to Darius living, had after his death been admitted to some favour by Alexander.

On this proceeding Arrian has declared his own sentiment: "Such extravagant punishment," he says, "I cannot commend. Mutilation of the body in that manner is of the spirit of barbarians; and I am inclined to think that Alexander was led to it by a growing disposition to emulate the Median and Persian pomp of power, and ostentation of superiority over vassal princes." The historian, no doubt, will have credit here with the modern reader; and, considering his situation in the Roman empire, he will also

<sup>14</sup> Ἐν τῷ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ζυλλόγῳ ἀποθανοῦμενον. Arr. l. 4. c. 7. p. 159. Gronovius understands ζύλλογος here to mean the same as ξύνοδος. It seems to me uncertain and not very important; Arrian himself probably having known little of the Median and Persian constitution and law, and therefore not meaning to define any particular kind of assembly.

have excuse for overlooking the monstrous cruelties of the renowned Roman republicans to conquered princes, of which the fate of the king of Numidia, Jugurtha, is a prominent example, while he refers to the practice, in no accounts more atrocious, of the Medes and Persians. But those crimes which we denominate high treason, and especially the extreme of them, regicide, tending to the most violent disturbance of the quiet of nations, require, in mercy to millions, severity to one or a few. Hence the mode and measure of punishment for those crimes, even in modern ages, in some countries by the law itself, (which nevertheless, as in our own, practice has mitigated,) in others by arbitrary decision for the occasion, as in two memorable instances in France, have been carried to a severity at which the philosophic mind is apt to revolt. Yet what should be the mode and measure appears to be among questions proposed by Providence for trial of mankind, not to be by human wisdom exactly decided. For the punishment said to have been ordered by Alexander himself, the historian's censure will hardly be controverted; but, for leaving the regicide to Persian law or practice, if approbation be denied, excuse however apparently may with reason be demanded.

Arrian has taken this occasion for noticing some other matters of Alexander's conduct, in his arduous situation, on which opinions both ancient and modern have been divided. "Nor can I," he says, "anyhow approve his assuming the Median dress instead of the Macedonian; he of the race of Hercules: and changing, for the Persian turban, the covering which he, the conqueror of the Persians, had been accustomed to wear."

ARR. l. 4. c. 7.  
Esp. des Loix,  
l. 1. c. 13.

Against Arrian, an eminent modern, Montesquieu, has warmly eulogised, not indeed the cruelty to Bessus, but the adoption of Persian customs, which Arrian

has blamed. To judge between them it must be considered that Alexander's circumstances were such as never before occurred, from the beginning of the world, as far as history shows, nor since. When the disposition of that extraordinary conqueror to become Persian, in dress and manners, was first manifested, Arrian has not said. According to Diodorus, and Curtius, and Plutarch, it began almost immediately on the acquisition of Babylon, and was not a little encouraged and emulated by some of the younger officers in high situations about him, and especially by Philotas. Since the age of twenty Alexander had seen little of Macedonia, and from twenty-two, when he passed into Asia, to now, toward twenty-seven, had never been near it. His immense acquisitions of dominion would be, and clearly ought to be, important in his consideration; and the consideration was of a magnitude and difficulty such as never occurred to any other man. That his prudence in the business was consummate, as the sage Montesquieu's concise eulogy may imply, will hardly be generally admitted; yet that large allowance should be made for failure of perfection, in the very difficult decision, candour must allow.

For the manner in which Bessus was put to death at Ecbatana accounts vary. That it was cruel, it is to be feared may be believed; and if more light is not to be obtained on the particulars, it will be little regretted by the generous reader.

During Alexander's winter residence in Zariaspa, his ambassadors to the Scythian courts returned, accompanied by an embassy from the king of the European-Scythians. During their mission the reigning king of European-Scythia had died in the course of nature, and the ambassadors now arriving came commissioned by his brother, who had succeeded to the throne. They brought from that prince

presents, such as among the Scythians were esteemed most valuable, with a declaration, that he was ready to obey Alexander's commands; offering him, for cementing alliance, his daughter in marriage, or, should that be disdained, the daughters of his nobles, or, in Arrian's phrase, his satraps, for Alexander's confidential ministers and officers; and adding, that if Alexander's will might be so signified, he would come himself to take his commands. Perhaps here, as perhaps also on other occasions, in translating a foreign language into Greek, the compliment may have been somewhat exaggerated.

Nearly about the same time Pharasmanes, styled king of the Chorasmies, came in person, with an escort of fifteen hundred horse, to wait upon Alexander. His country, he said, bordered upon that of the Colchians and of the Amazonian women<sup>15</sup>, (information marking how little it was before known to the Greeks,) and, if Alexander desired to subdue the Colchians and Amazons, and other people near the Euxine sea, he would himself guide his army through the country, and undertake for abundant supplies. Alexander received all graciously. The offer of marriages he declined; but he concluded with Pharasmanes a treaty of friendship and alliance. At the same time he declared that "his views would not allow him immediately to march himself westward: that he proposed first to bring India under his dominion; and, being so master of all Asia, (such is Arrian's phrase,) he would then return to Greece, and thence direct his measures for the reduction of the people around the Euxine sea." For that season he desired Pharasmanes to reserve himself under the engagements made. "In the mean time," he said, "his Persian friend Artabazus, who was well acquainted with that part of the world, should accompany Pharasmanes in his return westward, and all the

<sup>15</sup> Ταῖς γυναῖξι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων. Arr. l. 4. c. 15.

satraps in that line of country should be required to afford him friendly accommodation."

The epithet *Just*, by which Homer, in earliest, and Arrian, in later times, have described the Scythians, and the philosophical character attributed to them by authors of ages between them, may seem to be rendered doubtful by the indications of barbarism also occurring in the imperfect historical memorials of them which have reached us. Not simply however the epithet, but Arrian's narrative, who must have had knowledge of their descendants in his own age, seems to afford some warrant for the favouring reports. The passage of Alexander's ministers through the country of the Asiatic, to the residence of the king of the European-Scythians, and their return, indicates order among the people; and the apology of the Asiatic prince, for the unprovoked aggression on Alexander's troops, appears to mark government more regular, and people more civilised, than the Scythian generally has been described. But the same writer's account of the Nomad-Scythians, and especially the character asserted to have been given of them by the sovereign of a large portion of the nation, assist to show the ground of the differences observable in different accounts of that widely-spread people.<sup>16</sup> For the Amazons, here first mentioned in Arrian's narrative, remark may best be reserved for an occasion on which we find him entering into some discussion of the reports transmitted by other writers concerning them.

<sup>16</sup> It may seem likely, founding conjecture concerning a most extensive nation, of which we know of no historians, on the only ground afforded, occasional notice of their transactions with other nations, that a superior polity among one or more portions of them furnished the military power of Gengis and the Turkish conquerors, and that, their conquests inviting all the best of the population to emigrate, the remainder fell into the barbarism of the wilder part of the nation, in which their posterity have remained.



## SECTION V.

*Different Character of northern and southern People of the Persian Empire. — New Rebellion of the Sogdians under Spitamenes. — Death of Spitamenes, and final Reduction of the Sogdians.*

THE contrast between the stubborn people of the north and the submissive millions of the southern provinces of the Persian empire, who, while their monarch was yet living and preparing to repair his losses, yielded to the conqueror without a struggle, and remained apparently satisfied with the new dominion, continues yet to become more strongly marked. The Sogdians again rose in ARR. l. 4. c. 15, 16. rebellion. Refusing obedience to the satrap appointed by Alexander, a great proportion of them withdrew to strong holds.<sup>17</sup> In these few words of Arrian is indicated the foundation of the striking difference of character. In the south, an immense population, in large proportion artizans and manufacturers, all wholly unpractised in arms, were in the habit of depending, for security of person and property, both against fellow-subjects and foreign enemies, upon others, to whom, under direction of their king and his officers, the profession of arms was peculiar. In the north, on the contrary, a scantier population, husbandmen, herdsmen, and hunters, were in the habit of reckoning arms among necessaries, and of depending for safety, private and public, much on themselves. Such men necessarily would be respected by those in authority over them, and thence would hold a considerable amount of freedom; not ensured, as far as appears, by any regular constitution of government, but by the power which arms in their hands, and the need of their chiefs for their service, gave. Practice in

<sup>17</sup> — εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα. ARR. l. 4. c. 15.

arms, we have observed, under hereditary chiefs, had preserved the freedom of the Macedonian people under their monarchal constitution. A state of things, not the same, yet considerably similar, appears to have maintained the independent spirit, and an effectual freedom, among the northern subjects of the Persian empire. If the Macedonian government was more irregular and undefined than that, eulogised by Tacitus, which our Teutonic forefathers established for the basis of the English constitution, that of the Asiatics appears to have been still more irregular and undefined. Yet, from the freedom they enjoyed through the means which arms in their hands gave, seems to have flowed the attachment to their monarch, and aversion to a foreign dominion, beyond what was found among the people of the south.

ARR. I. 4. c. 16. The Sogdian war thus required the employment of the whole army, with which, after subduing the Persian empire, Alexander had proposed the immediate prosecution of conquest beyond its bounds. For the example of the Sogdians immediately stimulated neighbouring people, actuated by similar principles. A portion of the Bactrians presently joined in revolt, and the disposition was supposed extensive through that country. A large force therefore was left under Polysperchon, Attalus, Gorgias, and Meleager; principally as a body of observation, for the rising yet was small. Alexander led the rest of his army against the Sogdians. Arriving in their country, he divided his force into five parts. Under the command severally of Hephæstion, Ptolemy son of Lagus, Perdicas, and Cœnus, but associating in authority with them his venerable Persian friend Artabazus, he placed four divisions, for reducing the towns and fastnesses held by the insurgents. With the remaining division he went himself toward Maracanda, the capital of the province, where he had a garrison.

The people of these countries were more skilful in desultory war in the field, than in the defence of walls or strong positions, against the Grecian art of attack. The four generals soon reduced all the places of refuge within Sogdia; but, of the people, many had fled, with or after Spitamenes, to the Scythian wilderness. This is not, like the southern deserts, an ocean of driving sand; but rather, in some parts, resembling Bagshot heath, in others the Cheviot highlands or Salisbury plain; affording firm footing for cattle, and not wholly denying pasture. Alexander therefore detached Cœnus and Artabazus against the Scythians, while, to ensure the future obedience of the Sogdians, Hephæstion was employed in establishing colonies of his veteran soldiers and others, in the principal towns of the country.

The apparent inconsistency in the conduct of Spitamenes, who had so essentially served Alexander by delivering Bessus to him, and then became presently and perseveringly hostile, is not accounted for; but that he was an active, bold, and able enemy is evident. The Sogdians, who fled from Alexander's arms, found, among the Massagete-Scythians, a kind reception, which, apparently, Spitamenes had prepared for them. The Massagetes were a plundering horde, generally ready for adventure. Spitamenes persuaded six hundred horsemen of them to join his Sogdians for an inroad into Bactria. There he surprised a Macedonian garrison, made the governor prisoner, put to death all of inferior rank who could not escape by flight, because numerous prisoners were inconvenient, and then proceeded toward Zariaspa, the capital. The garrison there, as Arrian's account implies, was only about eighty mercenary horse, with a few of the body of royal Macedonian youths, and some of the royal companions, left for recovery of health; most however so far convalescent as to be able to mount their horses and use arms. This

slender force then being found alert, the irregular enemy would not venture attack upon the town, but directed their measures to plundering the surrounding country. Frequently in accounts of military operations by military men, such as Arrian, (those of others would prove nothing,) we find deficient arrangement of gradation in command in Grecian armies; and sometimes such a sort of republican equality that there was no proper commander. So we have seen it in the recent disaster to Alexander's troops in Scythia; and so, in Arrian's account, it appears to have been here. The only persons, in Zariaspa, of consequence enough to be named by the historian, were Pithon, son of Socicles, entitled chief of the king's household, and Aristonicus, a singer. The enemy was seen dispersed for collection of booty. On consultation all agreed to go out and attack them. The bold measure succeeded so far that, killing many, they put the rest to flight, collected the booty, perhaps mostly cattle, and returned with it toward Zariaspa. But the Scythians, the able Spitamenes being with them, soon recovering from the dismay of surprise, observed their enemy's march, which, says Arrian, was disorderly, as being under no regular command; and, on account of their convoy, it was necessarily slow. Getting before them, unperceived, they placed themselves in ambush, at which they were expert, it being their common mode of attack. With superior numbers then, falling on the Macedonians by surprise, they killed sixty of the mercenary horse, and seven of the royal companions: Pithon wounded was carried off a prisoner: Aristonicus, acting, says Arrian, beyond what might be expected of one of his profession, as a brave soldier, or, in the Greek phrase, a good man, died fighting.<sup>19</sup> The result,

<sup>18</sup> Κιθαρωδός, a singer to the harp or lyre. This seems to mark nearly the character of the minstrel of early modern ages.

<sup>19</sup> Οὐ κατὰ κιθαρωδὸν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος. Arr. l. 4. c. 16.

though not stated by the historian, of course would be, that the booty before taken was recovered by the victors, and that they might, without immediate danger, extend their marauding.

As soon as intelligence of this reached Cœnus<sup>20</sup>, he proceeded against the Massagetes. Informed of his approach, they hastened toward the desert; but, their booty apparently making their march slow, he overtook them. Meanwhile they had been joined by about a thousand Massagete cavalry. With this re-enforcement standing an action, they maintained it stoutly; but superior discipline prevailed. About a hundred and fifty Scythians were killed: the vigour of their horses and acquaintance with the country enabled the rest to save themselves by flight; but their booty would be finally lost.

Winter now approaching, the known severity of the climate, and the daring and persevering activity of an enemy singularly formed to disturb neighbouring countries in all seasons, though without strength to protect their own, admonished to the measures which followed. The large experience, the powerful influence, and the tried fidelity and honour of the veteran satrap Artabazus gave him a value which Alexander appears to have estimated justly, and cherished accordingly. But the fatigue of the government of a frontier province, like Bactria, with a turbulent population, exposed to the intrigues and possibly the attacks of such enemies as Spitamenes and the Scythians, being too much for his years, he desired to resign it, and Alexander appointed a Macedonian, Amyntas,

B. C. 329-328.  
Ol. 113. 1.  
[B. C. 328-7.  
Cl.\*]

<sup>20</sup> Polysperchon, Attalus, Gorgias, and Meleager were commanders for defence of Bactria; Cœnus and Artabazus were sent against the Scythians. Considering what follows in Arrian (c. 17.), it seems nearly clear that for *Craterus* here should be read *Cœnus*; yet *Craterus* is mentioned again (c. 18.) as if associated in command with Cœnus.

[\* See extract from Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, preceding the Index.]

son of Nicolaus, in his room. His own winter residence he took at Nautica in Sogdiana, the most northern province of his acquired empire.

Meanwhile Spitamenes was in uneasy circumstances. There was no longer safety for him in Bactria or Sogdiana, but with an armed force; and he could no longer keep an armed force together than while he could provide for it the allurements of plunder. A bold attempt was therefore necessary, and without delay. Within the Sogdian territory, but

Arr. ut sup.  
Strab. l. 11.  
p. 517. upon the verge of the Massagete-Scythian downs, was a town, of name variously written by the Greeks, Gabæ or Bagæ, strongly situated on the Oxus, where it divides Sogdiana from Bactria. There he induced the Scythians to join him to the number of three thousand horsemen; which, says Arrian, was not difficult, because that people, having neither towns, nor any settled habitation, feared little for anything they had to lose, and were urged by want to use arms, always in their hands, for gain.

Alexander had committed the military command, within the two frontier provinces of Sogdiana and Bactria, to his approved, and now oldest general, Cœnus. That officer, informed of the measures of Spitamenes, marched to meet him. A sharp conflict ensuing, the Macedonians remained conquerors, with the loss, it is reported, of only twenty-five horsemen, and twelve foot soldiers. Above eight hundred of the enemy, all cavalry, were said to be killed. In the flight of the survivors, Spitamenes was deserted by most of his Bactrian and Sogdian followers. They, not disposed to the life of the wandering Scythians, or to change their fruitful lands for new settlements in the Scythian wilderness, sent offers of submission, which Cœnus accepted. The Scythians then, disappointed of the plunder which they hoped to have carried off for their winter subsistence, deserted by their allies, threatened with invasion of their country

by a prince who could command the service of numbers, used, as they were, to the rigour of climate, and thus, for themselves and their horses, which they valued almost equally with themselves, apprehensive of starving, cut off the head of Spitamenes, and sent it, as a propitiatory present, to Alexander.

Thus was ended the little yet troublesome war with the wild borderers, which had so long engaged the rapid conqueror of the Persian empire.

### SECTION VI.

*Circumstances of Scythia. — Country between Media and Scythia. — Siege of the Hill-fort of Oxyartes. — Marriage of Alexander with Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes. — Conquest of the Persian Empire completed.*

THE smallness of the numbers attributed to the enemy, in all the many engagements, mostly allowed to have been sharply contested, is no inconsiderable warranty of the fairness of the reports which have reached us of these transactions. The Scythians, ancestors of those whom we now call Tartars, holding the same extensive country, are universally so described that the modern Tartars seem to have inherited their character and manners, transmitted through so many generations, unchanged. What we might principally desire to know of them, beyond what has been transmitted, is the state of the two great kingdoms of Asiatic-Scythia and European-Scythia, indicated, as they are, to have been held by people more settled and more civilised than those who wandered over, rather than possessed, what the Greeks called the Desert. All accounts mark the Scythians of those two kingdoms for a free people; and it may seem to have been a superior civilisation, under a free yet regular government, which produced that superiority of character, whence some writers have represented the

Scythians altogether as a nation of philosophers; while others, led by the more striking peculiarities of character and manners of the Scythians of the Desert, have considered those peculiarities as forming the general character of the nation. It seems however evident that, though in very ancient times Scythia may have sent out the hordes of whose destructive emigrations uncertain rumour only reached the age of letters, yet no Scythian kingdom ever was able to contend for superiority with the Persian empire. The establishment, in their country, of the great Cyrus's colony, which the Greeks, apparently translating the Persian name, called Cyropolis, proves the successful exertion of his superior power; and the subsistence of that colony, and of the Persian dominion over it, till it yielded to Alexander, satisfactorily shows the continued existence of very superior means in that empire, among all its troubles, and with all the occasional misrule and weakness of its government in later times. Thus then we find four distinctions of Scythians clearly marked; the European kingdom, the Asiatic kingdom, the wanderers of the Desert, and the people of the Persian province. That the freebooting Scythians were always alarming, often highly annoying to the Persian borders, appears not doubtful. That they were difficult to be dealt with, and hardly to be bound by treaties, may also be believed. To them honesty was unprofitable; war the source of wealth and enjoyment. But the Scythian kingdoms had within their bounds some of the most fruitful portions of the earth. To them therefore peace was valuable, and a reputation for good faith an important possession. Accordingly it appears that they maintained peace and good faith with Alexander.

ARR. I. 4. c. 18.

In the course of the winter, Cænus, who had commanded against the Sogdians and their Scythian allies, and Stasanor, who had commanded in Aria, and



Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthia, returned to head-quarters at Nautaca, reporting the complete execution of the businesses severally committed to them. We have seen it Alexander's policy in his outset, apparently on just consideration, to entrust the highest commands under him, military or civil, only to Macedonians, bred under his father. But early in his career of conquest in Asia, earnest to conciliate the conquered people, he had committed to the great among them high and even critical authority. To hold the attachment of the republican Greeks was also evidently much in his consideration. At the same time then that he was liberal in favour to the Persians, he brought republican Greeks also forward, and put them more upon a footing with the Macedonian great. That some of all descriptions would disappoint his hopes might be expected. Phradates, a Persian, his satrap of Mardia and Topira, repeatedly sent for, had failed to come. Nevertheless Alexander employed a Persian, Phrataphernes, with whose conduct in Parthia he had found reason to be satisfied, to bring him to obedience. Exodates, to whom he had committed the great and important satrapy of Media, had exhibited symptoms of disaffection. Another Persian, Atropates, was sent to supersede him. Diodorus and Curtius have reported some instances of mutiny among the republican Greek mercenaries, and the desertion of a considerable body, with their officers, when, after having shared largely of the riches of the southern provinces, severe service in the northern was before them. Not improbably Ptolemy and Aristobulus would avoid mention of such a circumstance, and therefore Arrian might avoid it. But as among the Macedonians themselves loyalty was not so universal, or so certain, but that some of those most highly entrusted had been condemned for high treason, it was perhaps altogether the safest, as well as the most liberal policy, to divide high

favour and high confidence among men of the several nations of the empire. Accordingly Eumenes, a Greek of Cardia in Thrace, whose superior talents and satisfactory conduct had earned him Alexander's favour in the confidential office of his principal secretary, was raised to high military rank, and entrusted occasionally with great commands. Stasanor, who had executed satisfactorily the business in Aria, was a Greek of Soli in Cyprus. He was now appointed to command in Drangia. The government of Babylonia becoming vacant by the death of Mazæus, formerly in high situation under Darius, was given to Stamenes, apparently a Macedonian. Sopolis, Epocillus, and Menœdas, also probably Macedonians, were despatched home, to conduct thence recruits for the army.

Strab. et Arr.  
var. in loc. The countries between Tartary and the great eastern desert abounded in military posts of uncommon strength, such as in India our armies have frequently had to contend for; small rocky hills, precipitous on all sides. Habitual confidence in these fortresses, some of which, never known to have yielded to an enemy, were deemed impregnable, encouraged some principal men of those parts, how otherwise incited does not appear, to join in revolt against the conqueror. Oxyartes, an eminent Bactrian chief, had submitted to Alexander. Nevertheless, with many Bactrians, having engaged numerous Arr. l. 4. c. 18. Sogdians in his party, he took possession of a hill-fort in the highlands of Sogdiana, introduced large store of provisions, and placed his family there as in a situation of certain security, while himself, without, took measures for extending insurrection. About the same time Chorienes, an associated chief, took possession of a post of congenial character in the adjoining province of Parætacene; c. 21. while two others, Catanes and Austanes, excited the Parætacs to a general rising.

The view of extraordinary difficulties appears always to have stimulated the ardent mind of Alexander: easy enterprises had little gratification for him: to overcome what to others had been insuperable was his delight. The siege of the fort of Oxyartes, in all seasons an arduous undertaking, was now the more so, as, in its lofty country, winter still lingered when spring had invited to move from Nautaca: on approaching the fort, it was found still surrounded by deep snow. According to the liberal practice of modern Europe, little known among the republican Greeks, Alexander, before attacking, summoned it; offering protection for those within, if they would surrender and go to their several homes. Such liberality seems to have been as little common among the Asiatics as among the republican Greeks, and therefore perhaps was mistrusted. A scoffing answer was returned, signifying that Alexander should seek some winged soldiers; for the garrison feared no others. Perhaps this imprudent joke suggested the course that Alexander took. His means to reward were great, and, for obtaining a favourite purpose, his liberality little bounded. He caused proclamation to be made, that he who first of a storming party reached the top of the rock should receive twelve talents, near two thousand five hundred pounds, and who last, three hundred darics, about two hundred pounds. Zeal was thus enough excited, and volunteers abounded. But Alexander would not leave the business to  
Arr. l. 4. c. 19.  
 blind zeal. Among the multitude offering, diligent inquiry was made for those most practised in climbing mountains, and in mounting the walls of places besieged, of whom three hundred were chosen. One side of the rock was so lofty and precipitous that, ascent being supposed impossible, no watch was kept by the garrison. There the chosen three hundred, supplied with iron pins and short ropes, going to work early in the night, drove their pins:

here into frozen snow, there into crevices of the rocks, and, with their ropes assisting one another, mounted. About thirty, losing hold and footing, fell, and perhaps perished : the rest reached the summit before daybreak. Alexander, assured by signal of their success, with his army prepared for assault against the less precipitous part of the hill, again summoned the Indians to surrender ; informing them that his winged soldiers had already possession of the summit of their rock. In extreme surprise and consternation, on having ascertained that it was so, without waiting, and probably not having means immediately, to know the number of those who had so unaccountably mounted, the garrison surrendered at discretion ; and the family of Oxyartes became Alexander's prisoners.

It seems probable that when the family of Darius were taken, none of his daughters were of marriageable age. His wife, as formerly mentioned, had reputation among the Greeks as the most beautiful woman of the empire ; and Alexander, with a sense of honour that has justly earned him universal eulogy, had treated her, while she lived, as a sacred charge. But Oxyartes had a daughter marriageable ; said by those of Alexander's officers who were supposed to have seen both, to have been, after Darius's queen, the most beautiful of women. With her, as with the rest of her family, Alexander did not scruple to make honourable acquaintance ; and intercourse produced a passion, which he proposed honourably to gratify by marrying her. Inducement, beyond personal beauty, not stated by the historian, seems yet, in the progress of his narrative, in some degree implied ; and, though the resolution were hasty, yet its connection with political purposes, previously entertained, appears probable. Communicating on it with his friends, Craterus, to whom latterly he had most entrusted high and difficult military commands, dissuaded it strongly.

On the contrary, Hephæstion, in whom he most confided as a personal friend, encouraged it. To the Europeans generally, unless to some who had taken or desired to take Asiatic wives, it was offensive ; but to Alexander's new and now far most numerous subjects it was highly grateful. The lady's father was still in arms against him, yet the wedding was quickly solemnised.

Circumstances followed which would assist, in argument, the favourers of the connection, though among the Greeks it could not be esteemed otherwise than irrégular. Probably Alexander had good information of the ARR. 1. 4. c. 21. character of Oxyartes, who, it appears, had confidence in that of Alexander. Presently he offered submission, which was accepted, and he was received with honour and kindness. It remained then to reduce the revolters in Parætacene, the most southerly of those provinces which had demonstrated a rebellious disposition, bordering on the richer countries of quieter population, to which the soldier chiefly looked for the reward of his dangers and sufferings among the rough people in the rough climate where the army now was. That war therefore would be, in the mind of all, an important business. The mountaineer Parætacs are described by Strabo as a nation of robbers, living chiefly by plunder, and confiding in their fastnesses for security against punishment for their aggressions. The lowlanders, or rather inhabitants of the more level highlands, were more numerous, and had more property to defend ; but were nevertheless addicted to predatory excursions, and thence practised in arms. These had joined in the revolt, or perhaps were principal in it ; confiding for defence against the conqueror of the Persian empire, principally in the extraordinary circumstances of a hill-fort within their plains. The height of the insulated eminence, if the number in our copies of Arrian may be taken for correct, is more than a mile ; the

measure probably being intended not of the perpendicular, but of the slope, or, perhaps, of the ordinary way of ascent ; the circuit was about two miles ; cliff on all sides. One part only led to the summit, formed by art, narrow, and for a single person difficult, even though none opposed. To check military approaches, a deep ditch had been formed around the foot of the hill.

For the engineer's art however to meet these difficulties the neighbouring mountains bore an inexhaustible supply of fir-trees. In felling and conveying these the whole army, beyond camp-guards, was employed by reliefs. Galleries, framed in the day, were erected in the night, and covered with earth, for security against fire ; and shortly the edifice attained such a height that missile weapons from it might reach the besieged, from assailants hid by their defences. Then the garrison, who at first had scoffed at the work, became so seriously alarmed, that their chief, Choriènes, sent a request to Alexander, that Oxyartes might be permitted to come to confer with him. This was granted. Oxyartes declared to Choriènes his opinion that no place was impregnable to Alexander and his army, and no advantage not to be expected from his friendship and generosity. Upon this the Parætac chief, without more negotiation, taking some of his family and principal associates with him, went and surrendered himself to Alexander, who did not disappoint Oxyartes's promise. Choriènes, remaining with some of his company, sent some back into the fort with orders for its surrender, which were obeyed. Alexander, curious to see the place, went himself, with an escort of five hundred hypaspists, to take possession. Restoring then the fort to Choriènes, he appointed him also to the command of all the neighbouring country which he had before commanded.

This war against the revolted highlanders, with the sieges

of the two extraordinary fortresses, and the intervening nuptials, for which some leisure would be taken, appear to have consumed the summer\*, so that before Chorienes surrendered much snow had fallen, and the besieging army was suffering from both cold and scarcity. Chorienes, in just return for Alexander's generosity, gave a plentiful supply from the store in his fort, and engaged to furnish salted meat and other eatables for two months, if wanted, avowing, or perhaps boasting, that so not a tenth of what had been prepared for the siege would be consumed.

Catanes and Austanes yet maintained, in Parætacene, what they would call the cause of their Arr. l. 4. c. 22. country, but the Macedonians rebellion. Alexander sent a body against them under Craterus. Their force evidently was not large; for, standing a battle acknowledged to have been warmly contested, their loss in killed is stated at no more than a hundred and twenty horse and fifteen hundred foot. Nevertheless Catanes being among the slain, and Austanes among the prisoners, the rebellion was completely quelled, and thus ended resistance to Alexander's command of all that had been the Persian, now the Macedonian or Grecian empire.

To establish order in the northern provinces, and to prepare for the farther conquests which he meditated, Alexander then returned into Bactriana, and took his head-quarters in Bactra, otherwise called Zariaspa, the capital.

[\* See extract from Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, preceding the Index.]

## CHAPTER LII.

CONTROVERSY ON THE KINGLY OFFICE AND DIGNITY. — TRIALS FOR HIGH TREASON. — WAR PROSECUTED BY ALEXANDER BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

## SECTION I.

*Republican Greek Philosophers following Alexander's Court. — Controversy on the kingly Office and Dignity.*

WHEN it is considered that, with such scanty power in the outset, Alexander's conquests now exceeded, both in extent and rapidity of achievement, all that history reports before him, and all that, in more than two thousand years, has occurred in the world since, it may rather appear matter for admiration that, at his early age, now but about his twenty-sixth year, he preserved so long so much moderation and prudence, than if, at length, moderation and prudence failed. But, far as those conquests had led him from Greece, among people of very different manners, policy, and prejudices, very many times outnumbering the conquering nation, it seems obvious that a reasonable policy might urge him to assume to be, in all points, as great as those before him on the Persian throne, or rather greater; and this, not on his own account only, but, for the sake of establishing, for the comparatively few thousands of Greeks about him, a permanent command over the almost numberless millions become, with them, his subjects, but their inferiors. At the same time the constitutional freedom, the habits of simplicity, the accustomed familiarity with their kings, and the constitutional control over them, which all accounts mark to have been established among the Macedonians, would make the pursuit



of this policy difficult. Nor would the difficulty be lessened by the conflicting politics of the Grecian republicans. These were numerous about him; and, in stationary quarters, not only military men, but others, and especially men eminent in science and literature. Alexander's policy, in his first invasion of Asia, led him, as we have seen, to profess himself the patron of democracy; less probably fearing inconvenience to result from such a policy, not so much because his master Aristotle held democracy to be the kind of government most congenial with tyranny, but as he would know that, of all the republics of Greece, some of the Peloponnesian democracies had been most attached to his father, and even extravagant in court and adulation to him.

Aristot.  
Polit. l. 4.  
c. 6. & 7.  
Ch. 40. s. 2.  
of this Hist.  
Demosth.  
de legat.  
pp. 424, 5.

The choice of line then for him to pursue, when become master of the Persian empire, was of difficulty, such that perhaps the ablest of modern politicians would be at a loss to say, either what was the course most for his own interest, or what for that of the Grecian confederacy of which he was the elected head; and, perhaps yet more, what for a just performance of the weighty and quite new duty incumbent on him, the protection of uncounted millions become his subjects by his conquests. On ascending the splendid throne, in which he superseded the long list of the Persian, Median, and Assyrian dynasties, tracing their pretensions from the first conqueror known in history, to adopt in some degree oriental habits, and assume oriental state, was a policy which a view to interest, and to the welfare of all about him, probably would concur with inclination to press upon him. In making the hazardous change however he did not proceed hastily. Arrian does not, like some other ancient writers, more careless of just authority, assert that Alexander himself was the first to promote the requisition, either of that form of salutation, in approaching him, too

nearly in the manner of adoration to the Deity, which had been, from time immemorial, rigorously required of all in approaching the Persian kings, nor that he himself first broached the absurd notion that he was the son, not of Philip, but of Jupiter Ammon. Among the Greeks, whom the fame of his conquests, of his liberality, and of his patronage of arts and literature had drawn to his distant court, and who had followed its wanderings, opposition of sentiment, much arising from opposition of interest, had produced division into parties; and some recommended and applauded, perhaps too much without reserve, the adoption of oriental manners and customs, while others too rigorously insisted upon the strict maintenance of Grecian habits and practices, in circumstances in which they would never have arisen, and for which they were so utterly unadapted, that perhaps they could no way be established. But in his earnest purpose of conciliating his new subjects Alexander had clearly made a progress of no small importance to all those, of his old subjects, who looked to profit from the establishment of his new empire. Among these however, Macedonians, his subjects by inheritance, and Greeks of the republics, his subjects by their own election, between whom he seems to have made the least distinction that might be, by the perhaps reasonable attachment of some, and the unreasonable prejudices and extravagant desires of others, that purpose was thwarted.

We have, from Arrian, report of discussion on this important and curious matter, said to have occurred in Alexander's presence, and given as the best selection that historian could make, among varying and contradictory reports in his time extant, derived from persons present. The care which Arrian continually manifests to use his best judgment in comparing accounts, and the evidence his work altogether affords of his desire to maintain a just impartiality,

are here eminent. The illustration therefore of the manners of Alexander's court, which his report affords, especially marking freedom of communication and conversation in the king's presence and with himself, make it highly interesting; and the more from the consideration that the author held high office in the Roman empire, in an age when science and philosophy most flourished, and when nevertheless for a previous century and half divine honours had been attributed to the sovereigns<sup>1</sup>; nor were discontinued till the adoption of Christianity, for the religion of the state, extinguished the impious absurdity.

Anaxarchus and Callisthenes, both subjects of Arr. l. 4. c. 22.  
Plut. v. Alex.  
p. 694. E. the Macedonian monarchy, the former as a citizen of Abdera, the latter of Olynthus<sup>2</sup>, were the most eminent among the philosophers of Alexander's train, leaders of the two adverse political sects. Anaxarchus is represented as a courtier, a flatterer of the great, qualified to become the favourite of an Asiatic despot; Callisthenes, who had studied under Aristotle, as a rough republican, extravagantly disposed to flatter himself. Of his insolent vanity Arr. l. 4. c. 10. Arrian mentions a remarkable instance, which, though of uncertain authority, yet, as having been popular, marks the popular opinion of the philosopher's character. He claimed for himself to be greater than Alexander, and for his literary works to be more glorious than all Alexander's deeds of conquest and political regulation; for, he said, he did not follow that prince to be indebted to him for glory, but to make him glorious among men; and if Alexander's connection with the godhead had credit, it did not

<sup>1</sup> Virgil's flattery in this fulsome and impious way is, I think, the earliest that has reached us. Horace has preserved so much more of a better school as to reflect credit on his patron Mæcenas, and on Augustus himself.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, unscrupulous in assertion, says, on another occasion, that Callisthenes, as an Olynthian, was not entitled to the benefit of the Macedonian law. Observation upon this will occur hereafter.

come from what others falsely reported of his birth, but from what he the philosopher, by his writings, persuaded men to believe. To illustrate this eminent man's politics ARR. I. 4. c. 10. also, Arrian furnishes an anecdote. Philotas, it was said<sup>3</sup>, once in conversation with him, asked, "whom he reckoned to be held most in honour by the Athenians." "Harmodius," he answered, "and Aristogiton; because they killed one of the two tyrants, and procured the overthrow of the tyranny." Philotas then asking, "where a man who killed a tyrant might find surest refuge among the Greeks;" Callisthenes answered, "if nowhere else, he would be safe among the Athenians." Alexander having the magnanimity (for if imprudent, it was yet a magnanimous imprudence) to admit a man of formidable talent, so avowing the king-killing principle of Demosthenes, to his counsels and his table, he may surely at least be excused the admission also to his society of the courtly philosopher Anaxarchus, as well as of the poet Agis, said to have been not less a complete courtier, though a citizen of the democratical republic of Argos.

Concerning then the requisition of the ceremony called adoration, which consisted in bowing to the ground, on approaching the royal presence, Arrian says that, among various reports transmitted, what he preferred was this. Alexander invited to an entertainment the principal Persians and Medes, together with the principal officers of his army, and the principal philosophers and eminent men attending him from various Grecian republics. Wine circulating, the philosopher Anaxarchus began a preconcerted discourse, stating that "Alexander might be more reasonably treated with divine honours than either Bacchus or Hercules; not only on account of the superiority of his deeds, and the greater extent of his conquests, but also because Bacchus was a

<sup>3</sup> *Εἰσι δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰδε ἀνέγραψαν.*

Theban, unconnected with Macedonia; Hercules, an ancestor indeed of Alexander, yet not a Macedonian, but an Argive; and surely it would be more consistent for the Macedonians so to honour their own king. That after death such honour would be paid him there could be no doubt. How much better then to give him importance by it, in the eyes of his new subjects, while living, than wait for his death when that advantage would, for him, be gone by!"

For Grecian minds, however enlightened by philosophy, the extravagance of such a proposal obviously would be lessened by familiarity with Grecian religion and that called mythology, which taught that many of the Grecian gods had been fathers of men, and warranted the claim for very many Greeks, and eminently for Alexander, to be of a race descended from a deity. Accordingly other philosophers of Anaxarchus's party supported his proposal, some with speeches, all with applauses. But the matter was not a question simply either of compliment, or of religious concern. It might not unreasonably be apprehended that the change from Grecian to Persian habits, but especially if honours were added to the living prince as to a Grecian deity, would produce, or even seem to warrant, a claim to that unlimited authority over all subjects, which those of the Persian empire had been habituated, from time immemorial, to admit in their sovereigns. The Macedonian officers therefore were very generally dissatisfied, ARR. I. 4. c. 11. yet held silence. The philosopher Callisthenes undertook reply; and the speech will deserve attention; whether pure from his day, or mixed and tempered with sentiments of Arrian's own age, a century and half within the Christian era; when, on one hand, the attribution of divine honours to the most worthless and vicious of men had been carried to the most absurd and abominable extravagance, and, on the other, even philosophers had condescended to gather

from Christianity purer notions of the Godhead. "Of honours," said Callisthenes, "which men pay to a man, I think none too great for Alexander. But human and divine honours are many ways distinguished. To the gods we consecrate temples, we sacrifice, we pour libations. Hymns are sung to the gods: praises are given to men; but not with the ceremony of prostration. We salute men with a kiss: but to reach the gods, living beyond us, we worship them with prostration. Dances are practised in honour of the gods, and pæans are sung to them. Different honours are paid to different gods, and to heroes again honours different from godlike honours. It cannot be proper to confound all these; honouring men extravagantly, and derogating from the dignity of the gods, by giving to men equal honours. It would, beyond others, become you, Anaxarchus, who for your learning and wisdom are admitted to continual communication with Alexander, to recommend to him these considerations, and divert him from contrary purposes. Recollect that you are not advising Cambyses, or Xerxes, but the son of Philip, of the posterity of Hercules and Æacus. His forefathers passed from Argos into Macedonia, holding the sovereignty of the Macedonian nation, not by violence, but under law. Hercules himself, while living, was not worshipped as a divinity; nor even after death, till the god at Delphi had clearly declared that it should be so."

Arr. 1. 3. c. 24.

Curtius, as superior in dramatic arrangement as inferior in all the most essential qualities of a historian, makes Alexander withdraw during the discussion, to re-enter with effect when it was concluded. Arrian's account, after some writer apparently earnest to put forward the causes of philosophy and democracy, makes him present during the whole; thus exhibiting more eminently the commanding boldness of the democratical philosopher. But thus he marks also the

character of the Macedonian constitution, which enabled a subject to use such freedom with the sovereign. After the preceding argument, directed to the meeting at large, Arrian represents Callisthenes addressing the king himself thus : “ And if, because we are only a few thousands in a wide continent of millions of barbarians, it may be in any degree necessary to adopt barbarian sentiments, nevertheless I conjure you, Alexander, to be mindful of the Greek nation ; for whose sake wholly the expedition was professed to be undertaken, with the purpose of subjecting, not Greece to Asia, but Asia to Greece. Consider, then ; when you return to Greece, will you require of the Greeks, bred, beyond all people, to reckon upon a liberal equality between man and man, this servile ceremony ? Or will you make a degrading difference for the Macedonians, and put upon them alone this dishonour ? Is it not fitter that the distinction should be otherwise made ? That the Greeks, including the Macedonians, should pay you human honours according to Grecian customs, derived from remotest antiquity, and that to the barbarians should be left the practices transmitted from their forefathers ? Humiliation seems to await the proud. Xerxes was put to shame by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians ; Artaxerxes by Clearchus and Xenophon ; and recently Darius has been levelled with the dust by Alexander, not then worshipped as a god.”

Arrian, still avoiding, with his usual just caution, to answer for words, though reported to have been delivered in his own language, in a numerous company, on a subject of great interest, proceeds to demonstrate his opinion of the freedom used, not less by republican Greeks than by the Macedonian great, in communication with Macedonian monarchs, even with Alexander, in the zenith of his triumphs. These and similar arguments, he says, were very grating to Alexander ; who nevertheless would not directly

Arr. l. 4. c. 12.

express dissatisfaction. That Callisthenes's freedom had been gratifying to the Macedonians present was obvious. Intimation nevertheless being given that the ceremony of prostration would please the king, and was expected by him, all the Persians rose, and, in order, made the obeisance, as to their former monarchs. One of them appearing to humiliate himself more than the rest, Leonnatus, an eminent Macedonian, previously, and afterward, much favoured by Alexander, indecorously enough laughed at him. At this Alexander did not scruple to express displeasure. But, however swoln with pride, or bent upon a favourite purpose, possessing, with a generous forgiving temper, much of his father's talent to engage the willing obedience of men, he would use no compulsion, and yet, for the moment, succeeded. It was customary, among the Greeks, to drink in circle from the same cup. Alexander directed a golden flagon to be filled with wine; and, drinking from it himself, sent it to one of several who had previously expressed his approbation of the purpose of adopting the ceremony. This person, not named by the historian, rose and drank, gave the flagon to the cup-bearer, prostrated himself, and, on rising again proceeded, after the Grecian custom, to salute the king with a kiss. Others, also prepared, followed the example; and thus all those averse to the ceremony were led to comply, except Callisthenes. He drank, and proceeded, but without prostration, to offer the kiss. Alexander, talking at the time with Hephæstion, did not observe the omission; but Demetrius<sup>4</sup> son of Pythonax informing him, he refused the Grecian salutation from Callisthenes. The philosopher withdrawing then said aloud, "I put up with the loss of a

<sup>4</sup> Surnamed Phidon. Plut. v. Alex. p. 696. A. This story is related nearly alike by Arrian and Plutarch. The latter informs us that its authenticity rested on the report of Chares, of Mitylene, whose authority, it appears, Arrian respected.



kiss." If Alexander resented this insolence, it seems that he had the temper not at the time to show it.

## SECTION II.

*Death of Clitus.*

AMONG the Macedonians, by ancient custom, a particular day of the year was sacred to Bacchus. Arr. l. 4. c. 8.

In the winter-quarters at Bactra Alexander took the fancy, instead of Bacchus, to perform the sacrifice and hold the feast in honour of Castor and Pollux. It might seem that he meant thus to declare his esteem of the warlike character of which those heroes were esteemed patrons, and his disregard of the luxury which, perhaps not in the origin of the worship, was supposed the care of the fabulous conqueror of all the countries from Greece to farthest India, but in process of corruption became so. Among Alexander's virtues a general temperance is, on the best au- Arr. l. 7. c. 9. & 28.

thorities, attributed to him.<sup>5</sup> In eating, Plutarch says, he remained always moderate; faring, according to his own assertion, reported by Arrian, like Plut. symp. l. 1. p. 623.

those under him, and even less luxuriously than some, studious of delicacies. But in drinking, latterly, he sometimes deviated from his early sobriety, giving, according to Arrian's phrase, into the barbarian habit of excess.<sup>6</sup> Yet, according to Plutarch, his pleasure was in conversation more than in wine, so that often when he sat long he drank little. At the feast of the twin gods however the cup circulated over freely. The company in general was heated, when question arose about the history of Castor and Pollux, how it was that they were reputed sons, not of Incert. auct. ap. Arr. l. 4. c. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Ἡδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐγκρατέστατος. Arr. l. 7. c. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν πότων ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον νενωτίεριστο. Arr. l. 4. c. 8.

Tyndarus, their mother's husband, but of Jupiter. Hence the discourse turned on their actions; and at length some, disposed to flatter the king, and urged by the fumes in their head, insisted that, in greatness of achievement, those of Bacchus were not comparable to those of Alexander.

Clitus, brought up with Alexander from childhood, and now among his most favoured generals and most confidential friends, nevertheless was among those who saw with uneasiness his growing vanity, his growing partiality for oriental manners and sentiments, and his disposition to abandon the character of a Greek as contradistinguished from a barbarian. Himself heated with wine, he reproved warmly the flattery of the king to the dishonour of divinities. This urged the others to greater extravagance. "All that was reported of Hercules himself," they said, "was little, compared with what had been done by Alexander. But human envy denied to the merit of the living its due honour." Clitus retorted, and at length, with the altercation, so lost his temper and judgment, that, turning from those with whom he had been arguing, he addressed the king himself in very offensive terms. Alexander, heated like the rest with wine, and irritated by the conversation he had witnessed, became so provoked that he rose, and was advancing with marks of vehement anger toward Clitus. Some of the more sober and prudent managed to stop him, while others forced Clitus out of the room, and led him to a guard, where Ptolemy commanded. Being however not strictly watched, he slipped away, returned to the company, and immediately addressed Alexander with evident purpose of provocation. The king, unfortunately not in a condition to command himself, snatching a weapon from one of the attending guards, killed Clitus on the spot.

Aristob. ap.  
Arr. l. 4. c. 8.

Arr. l. 4. c. 9.

Alexander's almost immediate repentance for this atrocious deed has been allowed by all writers,

however differing about particulars, to have been signal. For three days he kept his chamber in the deepest grief, and would neither eat nor drink. His friends, highly uneasy, at length, with difficulty, persuaded him to take refreshment, and resume his former habits of business and daily meals. Some priests of Bacchus are said to have assisted; representing that the anger of the god, for the neglect of customary honour, produced the catastrophe. To this representation Alexander so far yielded that he performed a sacrifice to Bacchus; glad, says Arrian, to have the fatal event attributed rather to the god's anger with him than to his own disposition. The philosopher Anaxarchus took occasion to use an analogous argument. "It was a saying transmitted," he said, "from wise men of old, that justice sat on the right hand of Jupiter, and whatever Jupiter decreed was just." He is reported to have proceeded to urge the inference, afterward actually adopted by the Roman emperors, that "whatever the king does is just." Possibly this may have been added by some ingenious Greek among the enemies of Anaxarchus; for it seems uncalled for by the occasion, and, on the contrary, rather weakening the arguments drawn from the supposed pleasure of one deity and anger of another.

Plutarch's account of the death of Clitus, differing in some particulars, is so far of the same Plut. v. Alex. p. 694. tenor with Arrian's that it may be considered as confirming rather than contradicting it. But Plutarch has added what assists to mark the character of Alexander's court and the state of parties there at the time. Envy was not between Greeks and Persians only. The respect with which Alexander treated the republican Greeks generally, and the honours with which he distinguished some, inflamed the vanity which was not an uncommon Grecian failing; and the men of letters, almost all men of the republics, began

to assume occasionally an offensive superiority over the Macedonians, less generally educated to letters. "Do not the Greeks appear among the Macedonians like demi-gods among wild beasts?" is a speech reported, no doubt on the authority of republican writers, to have come from Alexander himself. Callisthenes was admired for a singularly ready eloquence. On any proposed subject he could speak immediately an interesting treatise, and defend either side of any question with ingenious arguments. Yet so far he kept this talent in reserve that he rarely entered into general conversation; oftener indicating silently a sullen disapprobation of the sentiments of others, than declaring any of his own. In a numerous company once, the merits of the Macedonians being proposed to him by Alexander for a topic, he spoke so as to gratify all; and the Macedonians most highly. Alexander then, in a phrase of the poet Euripides, said: "On an advantageous subject words will be ready; but now, Callisthenes, show your powers in representing the faults of the Macedonians, so that hearing they may mend them." Callisthenes, immediately taking the other side of the question, abused the Macedonians grossly, vilified the king's father, imputing his successes, not to his talents, but solely to the divisions among the republican Greeks; and concluded with a verse, probably from some tragedy then familiar, "The wicked wretch through discord honour won." The Macedonians present showed themselves highly offended. Alexander himself simply observed, that "Callisthenes had been less showing his powers of eloquence than his ill-will toward the Macedonians." To this anecdote Plutarch has given value by naming his authority for it; Hermippus, a contemporary of Alexander, he says, related that Stroïbus, reader to Callisthenes, reported it to Aristotle. Another anecdote, also furnished by Plutarch, marks the freedom which Calli-

sthenes would take and Alexander would bear. On some occasion the philosopher, finding or fancying himself less well received than formerly, turned away, repeating in Alexander's hearing, twice or thrice, this verse of Homer : " Patroclus died ; a better man than thou : " which, adds the biographer, is enough to justify Aristotle's observation, that Callisthenes was great and powerful in eloquence, but wanted just judgment. <sup>7</sup>

### SECTION III.

#### *Conspiracy of the Band of Pages.*

AFTER the death of Clitus, in the winter-quarters still of Bactra, a conspiracy against Alexander's life, of a very extraordinary kind, was discovered. The body-guard of boys approaching manhood<sup>8</sup>, sons of the first Ch. 43. s. 4.  
of this Hist. men of the state, has been formerly described.

They were the king's companions, it will be remembered, in hunting, and by turns they mounted guard nightly in the antechamber of his bedroom. Arrian mentions, Arr. l. 4. c. 13.  
Curt. l. 8.  
c. 6.  
Plut. v. Alex. but as a report, for which he would not answer, though he seems to have thought it probably true, that Alexander being on a hunting party from Bactra, and going to strike a boar, Hermolaus, one of the youths of the body-guard, insolently or indiscreetly struck the animal before him. The youth's father, Sopolis, was of high military rank, then employed on the recruiting service in Macedonia. Nevertheless, for such a breach of order and discipline, perhaps more than for personal disrespect, Alexander ordered Hermolaus to be chastised with stripes, in presence of the other youths, and deprived of his horse.

<sup>7</sup> Νοῦν δὲ οὐκ εἶχεν.

<sup>8</sup> Ὅσοι ἐς ἡλικίαν ἐμειρακίσαντο. ARR. l. 4. c. 13.

The king's anger was passing, but the youth's indignation was not so. He was re-admitted, it is evident, to the former honours of his situation; or his chosen opportunity for revenge would not have occurred. He is said to have been a diligent and favourite scholar of Callisthenes; who, according to report, as we have seen, which appears entitled to credit, was a preacher of the doctrine of the lawfulness and merit of tyrannicide. It seems indeed difficult to conceive that, without some such stimulation, what followed could have happened. Hermolaus, the more his own master as his father was absent, engaged four other youths, sons of eminent Macedonians, together with the son of Carsis, who, though a Thracian, appears to have ranked among those of the Macedonian court most honoured, in the horrid plot to murder their king in his sleep. For executing this the night was chosen when Antipater, one of the conspirators, whether alone, or in command of others, was to hold the watch in the antechamber. The father of Antipater, Asclepiodorus, was actually satrap of Syria, perhaps the most important command within the new empire. Alexander, however generally a model of temperance, yet of a constitution to bear long tension of the faculties, and to be uneasy in rest, would in the leisure of winter-quarters, even after the catastrophe of Clitus, and perhaps as medicine for his severe feelings resulting from it, indulge sometimes immoderately in protracting the pleasures of the table. The character of the company he most encouraged favours the apology for him, that liberal and instructive conversation was altogether his object; yet it appears on all hands acknowledged that he would sometimes drink to excess. Arrian, on the authority of Aristobulus, has thought what follows worthy of a place in his narrative. A Syrian woman, pretending to inspiration, had followed Alexander from her own country, and was ad-

mitted occasionally to his presence : first as an object of ridicule for himself and companions ; but, her forebodings being often justified by the event, at length she gained great estimation, insomuch that access to him was denied her neither day nor night, and she frequently watched him sleeping. This woman, meeting him, on the night proposed for his assassination, as he was retiring from his company, conjured him to return. At her pressing instance he did so, and, continuing his carousal till daylight, escaped the danger prepared for him. From a man of the rank and means of information of Aristobulus, if only as marking the manners and opinions of Alexander's court, this could not but require the modern historian's notice.

Next day one of the conspirators revealed the secret to a young friend. He told another, who hastened to declare it to Ptolemy son of Lagus, and the five youths were presently arrested. Being put to torture, according to the Macedonian law, they revealed the whole plan of their conspiracy ; and declared Callisthenes to have been their instigator. They were then brought to trial before the Macedonians of the army. According to some writers, unnamed by Arrian, Hermolaus boldly confessed and gloried in the plot, telling his judges that it could not become freemen to bear the indignities put upon them by Alexander. Proceeding then to particulars, he noticed the unjust condemnation of Philotas ; the still more illegal execution of Parmenio ; the murder of Clitus in a fit of drunkenness ; the assumption of the Median dress ; the requisition of the ceremony of adoration ; not however saying it was insisted on, but only not abandoned ; the drinking by night, and sleeping by day, of the man who, beyond all others, ought to watch for the good of all.

If credit should be given to this account, it however

proves that freedom of speech was largely allowed to the accused. But indeed so far all accounts concur, that the trial was according to all the forms of law required by the free though rude constitution of the nation; that the assembled Macedonians condemned Hermolaus, and the youths engaged with him, to death; and that they proceeded to execute the sentence, according to the national custom, known as also that of the Jews, by overwhelming them with stones.

The philosopher Callisthenes, accused of instigating the plot, was apprehended. Aristobulus related that he was carried about a prisoner, with the army, and died of disease in the course of nature. On the contrary Ptolemy asserted that he was put to torture, and then hanged.<sup>9</sup> "So widely," observes Arrian, "have those who ought to have been most worthy of confidence, and who, as present with Alexander, must have had all opportunity for knowing such facts, differed about them." This, it must be confessed, is an extraordinary difference; hardly to be accounted for unless upon the supposition that, among the distractions which followed Alexander's death, with opportunity for either, in the situation where he then might be, to obtain credit for a matter happening in a very distant country, some private interest instigated one, and we are without means to decide which, of those eminent writers. Thus much however appears from all accounts of Callisthenes, that he was a turbulent and mischievous preacher of democracy, long favoured by Alexander's liberality beyond prudence. His imprisonment and death, as, from the utter uncertainty of the circumstances, they were a most convenient, so they became a favourite subject for following

<sup>9</sup> *κρεμασθέντα*. There has been controversy among the modern critics of the continent about the exact import of the word, as describing a capital punishment, decision of which I will not undertake.



democratical writers ; who appear to have made large use of the opportunity afforded, by the impossibility of absolutely proving falsehood, to assert, very variously, anything to their purpose.

## CHAPTER LIII.

WAR PROSECUTED BY ALEXANDER BEYOND THE BOUNDS  
OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

## SECTION I.

*Force of Alexander's Army. — Natural and political Circumstances of India westward of the Ganges. — March into India, and Conquests there. — Grecian Colony established in India. — Indian Cattle sent to Greece.*

ALEXANDER, having set out for the conquest of Asia, as we have seen, with a land force of less than forty thousand men, and with a revenue too scanty to maintain the fleet wanted for co-operation with it, now, with the income of the Persian empire, commanded a corresponding army. With guards and garrisons in all the provinces, and administration so arranged that disturbance of the new order of things arose nowhere, or nowhere so as to engage the notice of historians, those provinces enjoying a freedom from commotion and from the private wars of satraps unknown perhaps since the defeat of Xerxes in Greece, unless in the latter years of Ochus, Alexander's moving army, under his immediate command, according to Curtius, who alone of extant writers has given the number, was a hundred and twenty thousand men. Exactness in the round sum will not be supposed ; yet the amount is no way beyond probability, nor does anything from Arrian imply contradiction of it. Doubtless, in a new empire, to maintain a large disposable force would be necessary, and in

so wealthy an empire means abounded. To maintain satisfaction with quiet in a conquering army would be the difficulty; for Alexander the greater from the very rapidity, extent, and value of his conquests, in which the soldier was accustomed to have all fall before him, and to find large reward, if not with little labour and danger, yet in little time. But his latter campaigns, though everywhere still victorious, could not have been gratifying, like the earlier, to either soldier or officer. Instead of a great battle splendidly successful, or an obstinate siege once or twice in a season, followed by the ready submission of the richest countries and largest cities in the world, there had been continual hard fighting, in a climate of the severest alternacy of heat and cold; and though the success so hardly obtained was most important for the quiet and stability of the empire, yet in comparison with what had preceded, little ensued of either glory for the chief, or profit for the soldier.

But the passion for adventure and impatience of rest, common in youth, had been, in Alexander's ardent temper, stimulated by extraordinary success and fixed by habit in exertion; holding all his faculties now for years almost unremittingly on the utmost stretch. With this, to a mind highly susceptible of fine feeling, reflection on things recently past could not but be greatly uneasy. If Parmenio and Philotas were guilty, that those whom he had so esteemed and honoured and trusted should so prove, must have been of bitter consideration. If they were innocent, or if their guilt, as in all accounts it seems to have been, was, at least in the imputed amount, doubtful, reflection on the catastrophe would be still more biting. His poignant grief for the death of Clitus, though, after three days' most acute suffering, smothered so far as no longer to interrupt his public functions, could not so end. Pondering on all these

matters would contribute to chasten his generous yet over ardent temper, and prepare it to bear the disappointment, which apparently he found it expedient to bear, of failure in the purpose in which at first he seems to have been keenly earnest, to establish the ceremony called adoration, in approaching his person, together with the opinion, or the acknowledgment, that his dignity, if not his nature also, was superhuman. The idea of a man partaking of divine nature and dignity was familiar among the most cultivated of ancient nations ; and the estimation of such superiority to the bulk of mankind would be not simply gratifying to human vanity, but probably important, and perhaps indispensable, toward obtaining that respect among subject nations for the conqueror of the Persian empire, with which the conquered dynasty had for ages been treated ; and desirable, not for the prince only, but for all who were to share with him in profit from the conquest. That a powerful party therefore would favour the extravagant idea is not wonderful, and under this view much consideration certainly is due to Alexander himself.

These circumstances of sorrow and disappointment appear to have been among stimulations for Alexander to seek new conquests. But there were still others. It was evidently in his nature to desire to show the Macedonians that, with the wish he had manifested for extravagant honour as a divinity, it was not his purpose to seclude himself, like some of the Persian monarchs, among the pleasures of his palace, avoiding in future the labours and dangers and privations of the common soldier. But he had still farther and greater views.

For some time now we have been engaged with transactions in countries imperfectly known from either ancient accounts or modern, yet known to have remained always very deficiently civilised. The sea, in the infancy of art

and science the divider of nations, beneficial to mankind by affording security for the weak against oppression from the strong, became in their advancement otherwise beneficial, giving means for advantageous communication between the most distant. Thus while a large portion of the Persian empire, nearly central in the greatest continent of our globe, has remained, still for us, in much obscurity, countries of vast extent beyond that empire, against the ocean, have become in large proportion even familiarly known. Interest and curiosity together inciting, the talents of seamen, soldiers, merchants, geographers, philosophers have been largely and laboriously exerted, and the results of their inquiries have been ably given to the world. Formerly, if, anywhere among the learned, suspicion was entertained of romance in even the gravest accounts of Alexander's transactions in that distant part of the world whither we are now to follow him, such suspicion could not, on sure ground, be controverted. But the new and certain light, in modern times obtained, affording much confirmation of the best ancient accounts, often deriving assistance from them, and rarely finding them in error, tends to establish widely the faith of ancient history. Not simply as it establishes the credit of Alexander's historians, especially Arrian, for matters in countries at length laid open to European curiosity, but farther as it reflects credit on the most authentic, and assists estimation of the more questionable accounts of things and transactions in countries less admitting observation and inquiry.

It is now ascertained that the northern part of western India, to a great extent watered by the numerous streams issuing from the boundary mountains of Scythia, which, at intervals uniting, form the great river Indus, is among the most productive in the world, and thence in ancient, as in modern times, extraordinarily populous and wealthy. Of

wars between the Indian princes and the Persian empire accounts remain; but scanty and uncertain, nor is any great result from them indicated. Probably the limits of the Persian empire, on this side, were not very steadily maintained, and perhaps never very exactly decided. But with Alexander's views it would be an important political object to establish a certain boundary, and to provide for its being respected. Doubtless he would have intelligence of the wealth of India; nor would information fail him of the worthlessness of a great extent of country between India and Persia Proper, barren, nearly as the desert he had traversed in Africa, but affording refuge for wild hordes in its neighbourhood, whence they avoided submission to any government. Arrangement of some sort for this eastern boundary of his new empire was obviously, in various views, wanting; and Alexander's views, always great, were often directed to extensive benefit for mankind. Whether the learned Vincent had ground for the supposition that, when he founded his city of Alexandria in Egypt, he had already conceived the idea, not only of carrying conquest to the Indus, but also of establishing a commercial communication between the Indian shores and that city, it seems not doubtful that, when, having completed the conquest of the Persian empire, he resolved still to prosecute conquest eastward, such contemplation was in his mind.

In Arrian's account of India, not only natural but political circumstances also are described, in large part, as they exist at this day. The country was divided into numerous principalities, to several of whose chiefs he gives a title<sup>1</sup> indicating allegiance to some paramount sovereign; yet shows that they possessed power to make war and peace for themselves. Contests between these chiefs abounded;

<sup>1</sup> Ἰπταρχος, seeming to mark nearly the modern, perhaps also ancient, RAJAH.

and probably among them, on this eastern verge of the Persian empire, as among the Grecian republics on the western, it had been the policy of some to obtain support from that empire; whence, on their conqueror's arrival with his victorious army in their neighbourhood, a disposition to court him was ready.

Such was the climate of Bactria that it appears to have been necessary for Alexander to wait in the winter quarters there till spring was considerably advanced\*, before the roads were sufficiently open for conveniently marching in any direction. Even then the extent of the Indian mountains eastward was forbidding, in no season affording an easily practicable road. Alexander therefore, leaving Arr. l. 4. c. 22. ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the command of Amyntas, for the security of the northern provinces of his acquired empire, directed his march, with an army of probably more than a hundred and twenty thousand of all arms, first southward. Crossing, in that course, without difficulty the ridge of Caucasus, the southern boundary of Bactria, in ten days he reached his colony of Alexandria in Paropamisus. That colony he strengthened by allowing those of his army less fit for active service to remain there, in houses already provided; and he associated with them some of the neighbouring natives, who were willing to become their fellow-citizens. Dissatisfied then with the conduct of the officer whom he had left governor, he removed him, and, committing the military command to Nicanor of the band of companions, he appointed Tyriaspes, apparently a Persian, to the chief civil authority, with the dignity of satrap.

[\* "Mr. Mitford, although he rightly dates the Indian expedition in the spring of B. C. 327, yet in the detail has made it a year later." Clinton. See the proofs of this in an extract from his *Fasti Hellenici*, preceding the Index.]

From the border of Paropamisus eastward a great extent of valuable country, held by people of the Indian nation, seems to have been claimed as a portion of the Persian empire; perhaps conquered by the first Darius, or perhaps by Cyrus; but latterly, in the weakness and troubles of the imperial government, the chiefs of districts appear to have assumed an independent authority. Nevertheless Alexander found no resistance, or none noticed by the historian, in his march to a city which the Greek writers call Nicæa; probably translating a Persian name, commemorating a victory. A peaceful transaction only is mentioned there, a sacrifice to Minerva. Whether or no there may have been any farther view in this, it would of course be a regale for his army. Still unopposed then he proceeded without opposition to the river Cophen. Here the historian indicates that, though he claimed sovereignty beyond that stream, (whether as successor to the conquests of Persian kings, or in pursuance of the Grecian claim against all barbarians, or if any other ground might be, does not appear,) he was doubtful of the acknowledgment of his claim. A herald was sent forward to the chiefs of districts, with orders for them to attend the paramount sovereign, as, in his progress, he might approach them.

At this time Taxiles, a bordering chief, powerful by his interest among neighbouring states, was at enmity with a still more powerful chief, Astes, prince of a district still eastward, which the Greeks called Peucelaotis. Under the lead of Taxiles, all the chiefs westward of Peucelaotis came to wait upon Alexander, bringing large presents, as the custom in India still is, and offering all the elephants they possessed. These, only twenty-five, were apparently not the produce of their northern country, but obtained from the southward.

The submission of Taxiles and his associates  
Arr. l. 4. c. 22. appears to have determined the opposition of



Astes, with a powerful party adhering to him as their chief. Hephæstion therefore and Perdicas were sent with a strong division of the army against them. Astes shut himself within his principal town, to which siege was laid; and, after a resistance of thirty days, it was taken by assault, in which himself was killed. All the more level country then submitting as far as the Indus, Hephæstion and Perdicas, according to their instructions, proceeded to prepare means for the difficult passage of that great river.

Meanwhile Alexander was pursuing labours and dangers, perhaps with more than former eagerness, to relieve a troubled mind. Three obscure nations, the Aspies, Thyrees, and Arasacs, confident in the strength of their rough and mountainous country, and in their own valour and skill in arms, refused submission. After a troublesome march, having with difficulty crossed the river Choes, he found a country before him in which cavalry might act. Expecting then that the inhabitants would remove all portable valuables to their fortresses or to the nearest highlands, he put eight hundred Macedonian heavy-armed foot on horseback, and with these and all his cavalry he hastened forward, leaving the main body of his infantry to follow at an easy pace. But, as he approached a large fortified town, the people, observing the smallness of his numbers, and confident in their superiority, quitted their walls to meet him in the field. His experience enabling him to estimate, better than they, his own strength and theirs, he proceeded immediately to attack them; and the charge of so considerable a body of regular cavalry, of which they had no previous idea, drove them within their gates. In the short yet sharp conflict however Alexander and two of his most active young generals, Leonnatus and Ptolemy son of Lagus, were wounded; but the injury to himself, which was in the shoulder, through the excellence of his defensive armour, was not severe.

Next day assault was made on the town, which was surrounded with two walls. The outer was mastered with little difficulty: the inner was at first defended bravely. But the Indians feeling soon their inability to resist, in close fight, the Grecian weapons and discipline, issued by the gates which afforded best opportunity, and fled for the mountains. The Macedonians, pursuing, angry, says Arrian, that their king had been wounded, gave no quarter; and Alexander himself appears to have sanctioned this illiberality by destroying the town. The proximity of the mountains however gave present safety to the greater part of the people.

The success nevertheless, and the severity together, had their effect. The next town, Andax, presently surrendered; and the principal difficulties for the reduction of that part of the country were so far overborne that nothing inviting

ARR. I. 4. c. 24. for Alexander's fancy remained. The business

therefore of accepting or compelling the obedience of those who had not yet professed it, and of taking the measures necessary for the future administration, he committed to Craterus; who seems to have been judiciously selected as, after Parmenio, the ablest of his generals. For himself he continued to prefer the business of most labour and danger. With a chosen portion of the army, infantry and cavalry, he proceeded to a town, described only as the principal city of the Aspies, where the principal strength of the country was collected under its chief. By a forced march he reached it in two days. The inhabitants, in extreme alarm, burnt their town, and fled to the mountains; yet not so timely but that many were killed by the pursuing Macedonians.

The multitude however soon recovering in some degree from their first alarm, their chief, who did not want personal courage, collected a force about him on a hill, projected

from the body of the highlands into the plain, and thence observed his enemy's motions. Under a prince so little sparing of himself as Alexander, there would of course be emulation of his conduct. Ptolemy son of Lagus, having, in the division under his command, a part of that select body called the hypaspists<sup>2</sup>, led them against the Indian prince. Protected by their armour, and powerful by their discipline, they soon compelled the very superior number of the Indians, though very advantageously posted, to fly. Ptolemy followed; and when the steepness and roughness of the ground made farther progress with his horse difficult, he alighted and pursued afoot. The Indian prince, whether checked in retreat by increasing difficulty of the ground, or reckoning upon advantage from that already reached, engaged those about him to turn against his pursuing enemy, and himself drove his long lance against Ptolemy's breast. The point however was effectually resisted by the armour it met, and Ptolemy, directing his weapon against his assailant's thigh, pierced it, and the Indian fell. Those immediately about him then fled in dismay, and the Macedonians proceeded to carry off the wounded prince. But by this time the Indians had collected in great number, on the nearest heights, and, on seeing the distress of their prince, a general effervescence of grief and indignation among them produced a strong effort to relieve him. It was however too late; for Alexander, hastening with his mounted heavy infantry to the foot of the hill, and there making them alight, presently arrived. Nevertheless the valour and obstinacy of the Indians had been so excited that not without difficulty they

<sup>2</sup> It has before been observed that satisfactory information of what characterised the ὑπασπιστῶν fails. It might seem indicated here that they were cavalry, carrying larger shields than those found most convenient for the general cavalry service, and thence more capable of acting with the heavy-armed foot; but in other instances they are clearly marked as infantry, and neither here nor elsewhere clearly as cavalry.

were driven back, and the prince's body, whose wound appears to have been mortal, remained with the Macedonians.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander then crossed the mountains to Arigæum, a town which he found deserted and burnt. Here Craterus, with the main body of the army, rejoined him, having brought the province of Peucelaotis to complete obedience. Sangæus, an Indian chief who had been driven from his territory by Astes, being connected in friendship with Taxiles, had been introduced to Alexander's protection, and so gained his esteem that he was now appointed to the government of the country which had been his enemy's principality. Neither the policy by which conquest should be maintained, nor that by which the fatigues of service (great indeed were those he often required) should be relieved, and cheerfulness under them promoted, seem ever to have failed in Alexander's mind. The situation of Arigæum appearing favourable for a colony, he appointed Craterus to superintend the rebuilding of the burnt town; directing him meanwhile to encourage the fugitive inhabitants to return with any neighbouring people who might be disposed to accept the settlement, in which he joined with them any soldiers of his army less fit for fatigues to ensue, who were disposed to rest there.

But the people of the Arigæan country, far from yet showing any disposition to a general submission, had assembled themselves and their cattle in a strong situation. Alexander, with some imperfect information of their measures, leaving Craterus to his appointed employment, marched himself towards them with a chosen force. Ptolemy, on a foraging party, extending his observation far, came in view of the

<sup>3</sup> Arrian has not said whether this exploit of Ptolemy was related by himself; but his narrative seems in some degree to indicate that this part of it, together with what immediately follows, was from Ptolemy.

enemy's station : and, on his return, reported that, from the extent of the height they occupied, and also from their fires, it appeared probable that their numbers far exceeded his. Alexander, having considered the circumstances, resolved upon three simultaneous assaults. Committing one division of his army to Ptolemy, and another to Leonnatus, he took himself the immediate command of the third. To Ptolemy, who had made the observation, he assigned the attack where was the greatest difficulty of ground. For himself he took that where it was supposed the greater opposing force might be expected. But the Indians, observing the smallness of his numbers, confidently descended into the plain to meet him. Thus disadvantage of ground remained only for Ptolemy's division. The bravery of superior numbers then was so little availing against superior arms and skill and science that victory was easy. The prisoners, according to Ptolemy's account, women and children probably included, were no less than forty thousand. Neat cattle, to the amount of two hundred and thirty thousand, were the farther fruit of the contest ; perhaps an exaggerated enumeration, rather to be attributed to the error to which, in repeated transcriptions, reports of numbers are so obviously liable, than to the real testimony of so informed and eminent a writer. Here again Alexander showed, in a matter generally of small interest among conquerors, his attention still to his native country, and what he was frequently, among his military exertions and the conquests resulting from them, evincing, his attention to the general welfare of mankind. Reviewing the cattle, he observed the peculiarities of their make ; and being assured of their superiority to those of Europe, especially for working, he ordered a selection of them to be sent to Macedonia, to improve the breed there. Modern observation does credit to Alexander's judgment in this matter, so out of the

ordinary course of conquerors, and to Arrian's information concerning it; the Indian cattle being found, at this day, of a form admired among our breeders for beauty, superiorly disposed to ready fattening, and, as Arrian says of them, of extraordinary strength, activity, and power of perseverance in labour; though found inferior for another great public purpose, milking. The judicious reader, it may well be trusted, will find gratification rather than disgust in this little familiar episode, which the eminent officer, afterward founder of the Grecian monarchy of Egypt, and Arrian's guide, thought not unworthy of a place in his history of his sovereign, the greatest conqueror the world had known.

## SECTION II.

*War with the Assakene Indians. — Indian mercenary Troops. — Questionable Deed of Alexander. — Siege of Mount Aornos. — Conquest carried to the River Indus.*

CRATERUS, having completed, as far as immediate occasion required, the rebuilding and fortifying of Arigæum, and the necessary arrangements for the new settlement there, joined his king with the main body of infantry of the phalanx and the besieging artillery. Next in the proposed progress was the country of the Assakenes; who, Arrian says, could bring into the field thirty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and thirty elephants; which he mentions as comparatively a great force among the small nations of these parts. No offence from that people is mentioned or intimated, unless that they declined to acknowledge themselves subjects of the conqueror of the Persians. Whether any former conquest of their country, by Persian kings, afforded a pretence to claim dominion over them history does not say. But the Indians were Barbarians, that is, not Greeks, and therefore, according to the common Grecian tenets, fair objects of sub-

jugation. Alexander proceeded still as if fatigue and danger were his chief delights. Taking the lead of a small body, but of all arms, the river Guzæus crossed his way. Rapidity of current, and a bottom composed of round stones, denying sure footing for man and beast, made the passage, even without hostile opposition, so difficult and hazardous that the Indians, assembled on the opposite bank, supposed it would not, in face of an enemy, be attempted. Alexander's troops however advancing in regular order to the bank, dashed, without hesitation, into the stream. Probably the fame of his invincibility operated then on the minds of the Indians, and enhanced their alarm. Without waiting to see the event of the struggle with the difficulties of the passage, they fled, and betook themselves to their towns. Alexander proceeded immediately to Massaga, their capital.

In that age, in India, as in Greece, and as in Arr. l. 4. c. 26.  
Plut. v. Alex.  
p. 698. India still at this day, war was a trade, so that a mercenary force was always to be procured for hire. The Assakenes had strengthened themselves in Massaga with such a force, to the amount of seven thousand men. Alexander, with his small advanced body, encamped before their walls. Confident in superior numbers they sallied to attack him. He, confident in superior arms and discipline, desired more space for pursuing them when he should have put them to flight; and accordingly he led hastily away from the town. The Indians, encouraged thus, pursued in much haste, and in no order. As soon then as their bowshots reached his troops, he ordered to face about, and advance speedily against them. The horse-darters, the bowmen and the Agrians preceded; Alexander himself led the phalanx. The Indians, astonished at the unexpected event, after having borne the attack of the light-armed, took to flight on the approach of the phalanx. About two hundred were killed; the rest found safety within their walls. Alexander, at the

head of the phalanx, approaching these, received an arrow in his foot, but the wound was slight.

Next day the battering engines were brought against the fortification, so little adapted to resist such machines that a practicable breach was quickly made. Assault was immediately attempted, but the resistance was such that Alexander ordered retreat. Next day a wooden tower was advanced, whence bowmen, in shelter, discharged their arrows with effect, and machines threw more weighty weapons. But Grecian discipline did not give the same advantage against numbers, behind the rudest fortifications, as in the field. Such was the resistance of the garrison that the besiegers could not penetrate. On the third day therefore a bridge was thrown from the moveable tower to the broken part of the wall, and the hypaspists, who, through similar arrangement, had taken the great and powerful city of Tyre, were the troops sent to storm. But through their eagerness to be forward in the assault, under their prince's eye, the bridge was overloaded, and gave way. Then the Indians pressed upon their distressed enemies, not only with missile weapons from the walls, but, issuing by small sallyports, came even to close action. They were driven back, but Alexander then prudently ordered retreat.

Arr. l. 4. c. 27.

Against the next day however a more perfect bridge was completed, and assault was renewed. The resistance was again obstinate, and the event still doubtful, when the chief of the Indians was killed by a shot from an engine. Then the mercenaries probably began to doubt whether they were equally sure, as before, of the stipulated reward for their service. Many however being already killed, and many more wounded, those yet able, no longer acknowledging any authority but that of their own chiefs, sent out a proposal to capitulate. Alexander, says Arrian, admiring their bravery, rejoiced in the opportunity to save them from destruc-



tion. The town was surrendered with the condition that they should pass into his service. Marching out accordingly with their arms, they encamped on a hill near the Macedonian camp. For what followed, Alexander has been variously censured, as the facts have been variously related and believed. According to Arrian, he was informed that these mercenaries, averse to serve against other Indians, had resolved to move in the night, and desert their engagement. Upon this, in early darkness, surrounding their camp with his whole army, he put all to the sword. Proceeding then to the town, he took possession of it as if there had been no capitulation, and the mother and daughter of the chief of the Assakenes became his prisoners.<sup>4</sup>

The numerous small nations of India seem to have had much of the obstinate attachment of the several Grecian cities each to its separate independency, and a consequent disposition to hostility among one another. With no concert, or none of material efficacy, they persevered in resistance, each confiding in its own means: among which the singularly strong posts, afforded by the nature of the country, were principally encouraging. Beside these however they had towns, of which some were considerably populous and well fortified. Bazira and Ora appear to have been the most important. Against the former Alexander sent Cœnus; against the other Attalus; expecting, says Arrian, that information of the catastrophe of the Assakenes would

<sup>4</sup> Of different accounts of this business Arrian seems to have selected that least uncreditable to Alexander; and Diodorus, who delighted in glaring colours and strong light and shadow, that most so; for which the eighty-fourth chapter of his seventeenth book may be seen. Plutarch, adverting to the fact, without naming either people or place, observes upon it, *Τούτο τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, πᾶλλα νομίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντος, ὡς κηλὶς πρόσσιτιν.* V. Alex. p. 698. It is for the credit of Alexander's history altogether, that, among the often varying ancient accounts, the most favouring writers have not represented him blameless, while the most adverse have acknowledged great qualities and even great virtues.

produce ready submission. If however such was his expectation, he was disappointed, for the effect was the reverse. The Bazirenes trusting in the natural and artificial strength of their town<sup>5</sup>, the Orenes in support from some neighbouring people, both resolved not to commit themselves by a capitulation. Alexander then led his main body against Ora, leaving only a small force under Cœnus before Bazira. Indian walls were unavailing against the Grecian art of attack, and Indian numbers against the Grecian discipline: Ora was quickly taken, and then the Bazirenes began to despair of the defence even of their stronger situation.

But there was, within their country, an insulated mountain called Aornos, of very extraordinary advantages for a military post. Its circuit at the base was said to be twenty miles; the lowest height of its precipitous sides more than a mile. One practicable path, formed by hand, led to the champaign top, where were woods, land fit for tillage enough to employ a thousand men, and running springs of fine water. The Bazirenes, making their way to this place by night, were quickly joined by the population of all the surrounding country. Aornos had the fame of being impregnable. "Report," says Arrian, "goes, that even Hercules, son of Jupiter, failed in attempting to take it." "But," he continues, "whether either the Theban Hercules, or the Tyrian, or the Egyptian ever reached India, is more than I can affirm. Indeed I am inclined to believe the contrary. The disposition of men to express, rather beyond than short of the reality, whatever they would describe as extraordinary, has led to the common phrase concerning difficulties, that even Hercules could not surmount them; and I think it likely Hercules has thus been implicated in the history of this mountain."

But with or without the passion to emulate or exceed

<sup>5</sup> Ἀξειβῶς τετραχισμῖνον. Arr. l. 4. c. 27. p. 170.

the deeds of Hercules, Alexander's purpose being to hold the country as far as the Indus within his dominion, and connect it by navigation with the rest of his empire, such a passion could hardly be needful to admonish him that a post like Aornos, in the midst of a populous and fruitful country, should not be left behind him in the possession of enemies. Those previous measures then which, with these views, prudence would recommend, he proceeded to take. Improving the Indian fortifications of Ora and Massaga with Grecian art, he placed garrisons in them simply as military posts. But he gave Bazira other importance. Improving its fortifications also, he replenished it with inhabitants, and gave it a constitution as a city.<sup>6</sup>

During these transactions Hephæstion and Perdicas had restored the deserted town of Orobatis, and, leaving a garrison there, had proceeded to the Indus and completed the projected bridge. Meanwhile, at the persuasion of the Indian princes, Cophæus and Assagetes, who had attached themselves to Alexander, the principal city of Peucelaotis had surrendered; and then many smaller towns hastened to profit from opportunity afforded to obviate greater evils by following the example. In Peucelaotis Alexander placed a garrison, and appointed Philip, son of Machatas, to the command.

The northern part of India as far as the Indus, Aornos only excepted, being now reduced to quiet subjection, Alexander committed the command of the whole, with the title of a satrapy, to Nicanor of his band of companions, and then proceeded to measures for reducing that formidable post. At the town of Embolima, not far distant from it, he sta-

<sup>6</sup> Τὰ μὲν δὴ Ὀρα καὶ Μάσσαγα φρούρια ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ· τὰ Βάζιρα δὲ πόλιν ἐξετέύχισε. — *Bazira in URBIS modum excoluit.* I suppose this, Vulcanius's translation, is as near the original as could be in the Latin language without circumlocution.

tioned Craterus, with a part of his army, to collect magazines, with a view to a protracted blockade, if, through the failure of effective means for assault, that mode of siege must be resorted to. Himself, with a select division, undertook the lead of measures for a quicker execution of the purpose.

The animosities among the Indians, together with Alexander's reputation for generosity, and his means for rewarding largely, made everywhere facilities for him among difficult enterprises. Some natives of the country now undertook to show a way, not generally known, by which active men, with arms, might reach a commanding part of the mountain. Arr. 1. 4. c. 29. A chosen body was accordingly put under the orders of Ptolemy son of Lagus. Moving by night, they succeeded in gaining the indicated post, unperceived by the enemy. It was a small hill, whence, though in some degree detached, access to the body of the mountain was easier than from the country below. Ptolemy proceeded immediately to fortify his station; and, when all was duly prepared, gave information by a concerted signal. Next day Alexander attempted an assault, hoping that the sight only of Ptolemy's troops, already in possession of a fortified post on the mountain, would so alarm and distract the enemy, that he might make his way good against the difficulties which nature offered on the other sides. But the Indians profited so ably and boldly from the advantages of their situation that they obliged him to abandon his purpose, and, not resting there, proceeded to direct nearly their whole force against Ptolemy. His situation became in consequence critical; for no assistance from friends could readily reach him. His light troops however, which were of the best of the army, with advantage of ground and from behind lines, plied their weapons so efficaciously, that the enemy, without coming in contact with the heavy-armed, at the close of day withdrew.

In the following night Alexander sent orders to Ptolemy, by a trusty Indian intimately acquainted with the ground ; for their quarrels among themselves made Indians trusty for Alexander. He had resolved, on the morrow, to endeavour himself, with a powerful body, to reach Ptolemy's station by the difficult path by which he had ascended. To obviate interruption from the enemy in this difficult attempt, Ptolemy was directed, not to keep his force, as before, merely in a threatening attitude behind his lines, but to issue against the enemy, and force attention the farthest that might be from the part by which it was proposed the army should ascend. This was accordingly executed. Yet the Indians resisted with a valour and skill which compelled Alexander repeatedly to relieve the assailing body with fresh troops. Till mid-day the contest was quite doubtful; and not till near night, by great perseverance, with judicious conduct, the junction with Ptolemy was effected.

But even thus the business was far from completed. The first assault, from the army united on the hill occupied by Ptolemy, was unsuccessful, and it became necessary to encamp there for the night. Next morning at daybreak orders were issued for every man to provide himself immediately with a hundred palisades, which the growth of wood on the hill sides abundantly furnished. In this business they were uninterrupted by the enemy. The next day was employed in forming, with the assistance of the palisades, a causeway across the bottom<sup>7</sup> which separated Ptolemy's hill from the body of the mountain. Alexander himself superintending the work, it was, before night, completed to the length of a furlong, of such height that missile weapons might be efficaciously delivered from it, either by hand or by engines,

<sup>7</sup> Better described in the old language, preserved in the north of England, where the thing is oftener found than in the midland or southern parts, by the term DEAN, on the eastern side of the country, and GILL on the western.

against any endeavouring to interrupt the work. During the two following days therefore the business proceeded still more rapidly; and, on the fourth, it afforded Arr. l. 4. c. 50. such advantage for reaching a kind of promontory projected from the mountain that a small body of Macedonians, seizing an advantageous opportunity, by a bold exertion reached that projected height, and established themselves on it. Alexander presently joined them there, and thence urged the completion of the causeway.

The Indians now saw their means of effectual resistance gone. They sent therefore a herald to propose capitulation, and negotiation was begun. But their conduct excited suspicion that their purpose was only to obtain a suspension of attack during daylight, and in the night to withdraw with their arms. Alexander therefore, instead of measures of hinderance, removed his troops from all situations accommodated to intercept their retreat; but, carefully watching them, when their ill faith became fully manifest, by the actual beginning of their flight, then, with his body-guards, and a division of the hypaspists, he led the way himself to the height they had occupied, and directed pursuit of the fugitives. Many perished by the sword, and many among the precipices; which made flight by night, even had no enemy pursued, hazardous, and even to those best acquainted with the ways.

If then, on this occasion, the army was gratified with the imagination of having accomplished what Hercules, with whatever force he commanded, had been unequal to, it could not be politic for Alexander to check the amusing fancy. Perhaps he promoted it by a sacrifice, which the historian mentions to have been performed next day, though to what deity is not said. The instances of infidelity among those of his new subjects to whom he had entrusted confidential situations did not dissuade him from persevering in

that policy. Placing a garrison in the mountain rock, he committed the command to Siscottus, an Indian ; who, driven apparently from his own country, had passed to Bactra, and engaged, with a body of troops attached to him, in the service of Bessus ; on whose downfall, being admitted with his troops into that of Alexander, he had, on all occasions, so conducted himself as to win his new sovereign's esteem.

While Alexander was engaged in the siege of Aornos, the brother of the prince of the Assakenes, under the hope that it would certainly detain him long, and perhaps might baffle him at last, had excited a rebellion, and, with a considerable force, taking all the elephants in the country, had withdrawn to the mountains. When therefore Aornos was reduced, Alexander marched for Dyrta, the principal city of Assakene. In his way he found the territory deserted, and, arriving at the city, he found that also without inhabitants. Satisfied then with this evidence that the insurrection was little threatening, he committed the reduction of the rebellious Assakenes to his generals Nearchus and Antiochus, and resumed his own march for the Indus.

But the way was difficult, principally from its woods, and afforded great opportunity for an enemy to obstruct his progress. A strong body of pioneers was therefore sent forward to open the way. Proceeding thus, he was met by a deputation from an Indian army, bearing the head and arms of its chief, as a peace-offering, which Alexander's policy would not allow him to refuse.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For this, unnoticed or obscurely noticed by Arrian, the concurring testimonies of Diodorus and Curtius (Diod. l. 17. c. 86. Curt. l. 8. c. 12.) may be admitted, being consonant to both ancient and modern accounts of the Indians.

The compilers of the ancient Universal History observe upon it : " How Arrian came to omit this event, we cannot pretend to say, unless we suppose that he doubted the truth of it, because it was omitted in the Memoirs of Aristobulus and Ptolemy." It appears to me far from clear that Arrian has

Not yet arrived in the climate where elephants were commonly bred, those animals, scarce and highly valued among the natives, were greatly prized by Alexander. Desirous therefore of recovering those which had been carried off by the Assakenes, he had directed Nearchus and Antiochus, among inquiries about all circumstances of the country, to be diligent in search for them. Information then was obtained that the Assakenes, when they deserted their city and plains, had turned their elephants to pasture on the banks of the Indus ; and it was farther found that, among the Indians in Alexander's service, some were professional elephant-hunters. These being sent in pursuit of the animals brought all to the camp except two, which, as they reported, falling down precipices, had perished.

### SECTION III.

*Fancies of the Greeks concerning the Expedition of Bacchus to India. — Ready Submission of the City and Province of Nysa to Alexander, and Conquest as far as the River Indus completed.*

WHILE the army was within the extensive bounds of the Persian empire, though among various nations, differing in

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wholly omitted the event, though he has mentioned neither the chief's name (Aphrices in our copies of Diodorus, Eyrces in those of Curtius,) nor his catastrophe, as related by those historians. It is observable that in Arrian's account of the rebellion of the Assakenes, the name of the prince their leader is unmentioned, and that, in the accounts of the other two historians of the opposition of Aphrices or Eryces, the name of the people is unmentioned. It seems therefore at least possible that Aphrices or Eryces was the leader of the Assakenes. The matter is little important. Nor does it clearly follow that, if the catastrophe of that prince was unnoticed by both Ptolemy and Aristobulus, therefore such a fact, so consonant with Asiatic manners in general, and Indian particularly, should be discredited ; the principal object of those writers having been, as Arrian's after them, a military history of Alexander and of themselves. The conjecture, in the Universal History, that the army of Aphrices was composed mostly of mercenaries, may well be admitted, as consonant with Arrian's account of the Indian military.



speech, as in manners, habits, traditions, and superstitions, yet the language of government would be everywhere Persian ; everywhere, even among the natives, would be many who could speak Persian ; and, as many among the Greeks were conversant with the Persian, means for information about any matter of extensive notoriety would not wholly fail for any who desired it. Nevertheless, concerning those Persian provinces which lay beyond all ordinary resort of the Greeks, some of their writers, whether more indulging in their fancies, or pursuing a view to profit from popular curiosity and credulity, published some very extravagant stories. And now a more favourable field for them was opened. Interpreters would be found still for Alexander and his principal officers ; but, for others, means to communicate with the natives would be rare and scanty. Arrian Arr. l. 4. c. 2. indicates a suspicion that Alexander himself, profiting from these circumstances, promoted the belief of some fictions calculated to assist his purposes ; and especially to reconcile the Grecian part of his army to his ulterior views.

Tradition was old among the Greeks that their god Dionysus, called also Bacchus, was taken from the womb of his dying mother Semele, at Thebes in Bœotia, and placed for maturity of birth, by his father Jupiter, in his own thigh, whence he was delivered in due time at Nysa, in that part of the country westward of the Red Sea, now reckoned a part of Egypt, but anciently attributed to Arabia. Tradition also was old that Dionysus, at the head of an army from Greece, penetrated to India, and even conquered a part of that extensive country. Concerning however all circumstances of this conqueror traditions greatly varied. Hence, among the Grecian writers, comparing those traditions with one another and with matters of more authenticated, though still obscure,

Arr. l. 5. c. 1.  
cum mult.  
al. script.  
Gr. & Rom.

Eurip.  
Sophocl.

history, some supposed there were three of the name of Dionysus ; one Grecian, one Egyptian or Arabian, one Indian ; while others inclined to believe Dionysus and Bacchus but additional names or titles of the famed Egyptian conqueror Sesostris.

ART. 1. 5. c. 1. In the country where Alexander now was, between the rivers Copen and Indus, was a principal city to which the Greeks, probably following as nearly as they could the Indian pronunciation, gave the name of Nysa. Alexander, on his march toward this city, had just entered the tent prepared for him, when the arrival of a deputation from it was announced. With his helmet and armour still on, and covered as he was with dust, he directed that the deputies should be introduced. Struck with the sight of so renowned a conqueror, in habit so unceremonious yet so warlike, they fell on the ground and held silence. Alexander however kindly greeting them, they rose, and Acuphis, their chief, addressed him thus : “ The Nysæans, O king ! through us, beseech you, for the sake of the god Dionysus, whom you revere, to grant them the continuance of their actual free constitution. For Dionysus, after he had conquered India, before he returned toward the Grecian sea, founded their city, and peopled it with his invalid soldiers, who were congenial with himself<sup>9</sup>, for a perpetual memorial of his victories ; as you have founded Alexandria in Egypt, and Alexandria at Caucasus, and are now founding other cities, and will found still more ; your achievements far exceeding those of Dionysus. That deity, in honour of his nurse Nysa, gave our city its name, and its territory he called Nysæa ; and from his having, as our mythology and

<sup>9</sup> Οἱ δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ Βάκχοι ἦσαν. Vulcanius has translated this, *Qui ipsi et Bacchi erant*, which the learned annotator Gronovius has allowed to pass without comment. [“ Hoc nomine non Bacchus tantum appellatur, sed ejus cultores quoque, et qui hujus numine agitantur.” *Raphelius.*]

yours teaches, grown to maturity for birth in Jupiter's thigh, he gave to the neighbouring mountain the name of Meron, which, in our language, as in yours, means a Thigh. From him we derive that free and regular government under which we have lived. If farther proof were needful that Dionysus was our founder, we have it in this singularity, that ivy, the plant sacred to that god, flourishes here, and is found nowhere else throughout India."

This speech, the historian says, "was grateful to Alexander, who desired that the traditions of the Arr. 1. 5. c. 2. expedition of Dionysus to India, and of his being founder of the city of Nysa, should have credit; that so he might himself obtain the estimation of having already equalled the extent of conquest of Dionysus, and soon of having surpassed it; for thus he thought the Macedonians would be led to have the same zeal with himself for farther conquest. He therefore readily granted to the Nysæans the privileges they solicited."

It seems here clearly indicated that official report was made to the army of what passed at the audience of the Nysæan deputies; and it appears highly probable that, if what is related really passed, it was preconcerted with the heads of the Nysæan government. Nevertheless it is clearly possible that the speech of Acuphis may have differed widely from that reported. For no Greek would understand him speaking his own language; and so opportunity was open for representing it such as might best suit Alexander's purpose.

The Nysæan constitution, we are informed, was aristocratic; a senate of three hundred holding the principal powers of government. In confirming this constitution Alexander declared his approbation of it, and of the system of law and mode of administration of the Nysæans. Probably in all his conquests he took some contribution of force to his army.

Of the Nysæans he demanded three hundred horse; but whether through jealousy, or whether proposing honour, he required that one hundred should be of the senate, with Acuphis at their head. This distressed the Nysæan leaders. Three hundred horse, they said, or more, they would willingly furnish; but deprived of one third of their most efficient members, they could not answer for the consequences: double the number of another description they could well spare. In the Nysæan, as in all free governments, there would be parties; but whether the subtraction of one third of the senate would have endangered the preponderance of the actually ruling party, or only such a number of the senate were averse to the active and hazardous service which Alexander would expect of them, no account shows. Alexander however conceded to the remonstrance; took only the three hundred cavalry which he had demanded, not requiring that any should be senators, and he appointed Acuphis his lieutenant of the province<sup>10</sup>; accepting his son, and his grandson by a daughter, as his substitutes for military service.

Alexander would not quit Nysa without visiting the antiquities, which were said to prove the foundation of that city by the Grecian Dionysus, or Bacchus, and the mountain Meron, where ivy grew. In his visit to them he was attended by a considerable escort of horse and foot; and the soldiers, in ascending the mountain, delighted with the ivy, which they had not for a long time seen, (for in India, says Arrian, even where vines flourish ivy is not found,) eagerly gathering it, made themselves crowns; singing hymns to Dionysus, and calling on him by his various names. Farther then to establish the credit of the traditions, (which

<sup>10</sup> Ὑπαρχον. This title, not occurring in Arrian's account of the Persian empire, we find commonly used by him to designate chiefs of provinces in India.

possibly may have been reported to the army in the Greek language somewhat more accommodated to former Grecian belief or fancy than they were delivered, if at all delivered, in the Indian,) Alexander sacrificed there to Dionysus, and entertained the principal persons about him with a banquet.

Thus far Arrian appears to have credited the accounts in his time extant. If some writers, he adds, should be believed, some of the eminent personages, entertained on that occasion by the conqueror of Asia, emulated the extravagances of the bacchanals at the festivals of Dionysus in Greece; running about with wild gestures, as if under inspiration from the god, and uttering the exclamations and invocations commonly used at those festivals.<sup>11</sup> "I leave this," says the historian, "to every one's opinion; but I cannot entirely agree with Eratosthenes of Cyrene, who asserts that the disposition of the Macedonians to gratify Alexander's vanity produced or spread and confirmed the stories of conquests attributed to the gods." Finding a cavern, if we should believe him, among the mountains of Paropamisus, and, either hearing some story current in the country, or themselves combining fancies and rumours, they amused themselves with asserting that the mountain there in India was Caucasus, extending thus far from the Euxine sea, and that the cavern was that in which, according to mythology, Prometheus was chained, on whose bowels an eagle fed, till Hercules, in the course of his eastern conquests, passing that way, killed the eagle, and set the sufferer at liberty. So also seeing, in the same part of India, neat cattle with a mark burnt on their skin resembling a club, they took this for proof that Hercules had been there. Similar matters concerning the expedition of Dionysus are treated by Eratosthenes as fables. For myself, all that re-

ARR. I. 5. c. 5.

<sup>11</sup> For these may be seen Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*, ch. 20., of the Religion of Greece.

lates to both those deities I leave to the discussion of others.”

#### SECTION IV.

*Circumstances of the northern Part of India beyond the Indus. — Alliances formed by Alexander beyond the Indus, and War carried beyond the Hydaspes. — The Dominion of Porus conquered. — Grecian Colonies established on the Hydaspes.*

CURIOSITY appears to have been a passion of Alexander hardly less than ambition. But with both, as we have before observed, were connected extensive views for benefit to mankind, yet not limited by a much stricter regard for the rights of any foreign people than were usually acknowledged among the republican Greeks. With such views he was especially desirous of seeing the Indian ocean, and exploring its shores; and he had accordingly directed Hephæstion to construct a bridge over the Indus for the passage of his army, that he might command both banks, and to build a number of vessels for the transport of necessaries down the stream, and for means of supporting the army on either side from the other. The inducement to postpone this favourite object for the purpose of still extending conquest eastward, not directly stated by Arrian, may yet, in his common deficiency of political information, be in some degree gathered from his military narrative; which often affords assistance for estimating the political information furnished by writers less judicious, or less careful of authority.

The people beyond the Indus appear to have been less divided into small states, hostile to each other, than those on the Persian side. There was however among them, at this time, extensive apprehension of the ambition of Porus, the sovereign of a large dominion beyond the next great boundary river of the country, the Hydaspes. To them therefore the arrival of a conqueror like Alexander, famed

for generosity as for invincibility, was an auspicious event. The principal city in these northern parts, between the Indus and the Hydaspes, is called by Arrian Taxila, and its chief Taxiles. But it appears from Diodorus and Curtius that Taxiles was a title: and the name, in our editions of the former, Mophis, of the latter, Omphis. According to the probable account of Diodorus, when Alexander was in Sogdiana, an embassy from Taxiles had attended him, soliciting his imperial protection; and Curtius adds the information that, to engage his favour, provisions were furnished, and all friendly offices done, to Hephæstion, while employed in preparing for the passage of the Indus. But, according to all the writers, it seems probable that Alexander's resolution was not decided till he had crossed that great river. Taxiles then came himself to wait upon him, and the result was, that Alexander undertook to give him security in his dominion, by invading the territory of Porus, whose ambition he dreaded.

Arr. 1. 5. c. 8.

Diod. 1. 17.  
c. 86.

Curt. 1. 8. c. 12.

On the left bank of the Indus the army halted some time, and a solemn sacrifice was performed there, according to the Grecian ritual. A sacrifice for the army being a feast for the army, the purpose of Alexander's piety, obviously, was to infuse cheerfulness under the view of new difficulties and dangers to be encountered, when all might have been supposed already ended, with wealth and glory, beyond common measure, already acquired. The march was then resumed for Taxila. There the disposition of the people seconding that of their chief, all was made satisfactory for the army and its commander. Pleased with their conduct, Alexander granted a desired addition to their territory; at the expense of what other prince or people the historian has not said. The fame however of his liberality, combined with that of his victories, produced advantageous

Arr. 1. 5. c. 7.

consequences. At Taxila, where, according to the chronology of Diodorus, (for Arrian is often deficient in marking seasons,) he took his winter quarters, the brother of Ambisares, who held a principality in the Indian highlands, arrived at the head of an embassy, soliciting friendship and bringing presents; the custom still of the Indians to those whom, fearing, they would honour; and a similar deputation arrived from Doxares, designated by Arrian as chief of the law<sup>12</sup>: perhaps a chief of the bramins.

Leisure then, on account of the season, occurring, Alexander gratified the army with another sacrifice, and added the entertainment of gymnastic games, and equestrian military exercises; whether simply horse-races, or perhaps rather contests in arms, like the tilts and tournaments of our forefathers. The disposition of prince and people to admit his sovereignty, for the sake of his powerful protection against the pretensions of one to whom they were averse, appears to have in some degree invited him to leave here, as a colony, those of his army, become by wounds or fatigue, since his last measure of the kind, less fit for service to ensue. To superintend the establishment a Macedonian, Philip son of Machatas, was appointed to the dignity and authority of satrap, with a military force under his command.

The great king Porus, whose ambition the Indians between the Indus and the Hydaspes dreaded, seems to have been checked in his purpose of invasion by information that they had gained, from a country before unheard of, so extraordinary a conqueror for their protector. Instead of crossing the Hydaspes, for which he had prepared, he sat down with his army behind that boundary river. Alexander resolved upon what is often the most effectual mode of defence for a country, attacking the enemy; and, in the

<sup>12</sup> Νομάρχου.



actual circumstances, it seemed the only way to give security to subjects who had voluntarily adopted his empire. With this view he ordered a sufficient number of the boats, which had been prepared for the navigation of the Indus, to be brought by land to the Hydaspes. We have seen, in the authentic narratives of Thucydides and Xenophon, entire vessels of war, of the ancient construction, with the scanty means of the Grecian republics, conveyed some miles over land. For easier carriage the far greater distance for Alexander's purpose, the vessels were cut in two, and some in three, to be put together again on their arrival.<sup>13</sup>

Spring was advanced<sup>14</sup>; the rainy season in that part of India, when also the melting of the snow on the range of mountains, which Arrian still calls Caucasus, assisted to fill the rivers. In summer and autumn the Hydaspes is in parts fordable. Alexander gave out that he meant to wait for that favourable season, and collected stores in his station accordingly. Nevertheless he made movements for the purpose of alarming, as if he would attempt the passage with his boats. About fifteen miles above the enemy's station circumstances afforded opportunities of which he thought he might avail himself. The shores on both sides were woody, and in the stream was a wooded island of some extent, Boats then were so conveyed by land, and so deposited, as not to be seen by the enemy, though watchful, on the opposite shore. Skins also, the soldiers' bedding, were prepared in the way usual for rafts.

Preparation being completed, the command of the camp, with the main body of the infantry, was committed to Craterus, while Alexander himself, as in ordinary course,

<sup>13</sup> Cutting vessels in two, to lengthen them, is a well-known practice of modern times.

<sup>14</sup> Ἦν γὰρ ὦρα ἔτους, ἣ μετὰ τροπῆς μάλιστα ἐν Θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος. Arr. l. 5. c. 9. [That this passage is wrongly interpreted by Mr. Mitford, is shown in the examination of dates preceding the Index.]

undertook the business of most critical difficulty and danger, the passage by the island. Midway, between the  
 Arr. l. 5. c. 12. camp and the island, a strong body was stationed under Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias.

Arrian seems to have reckoned the Indian  
 c. 14, 15. king's force toward forty thousand foot, about six thousand horse, four hundred and twenty chariots, and more than two hundred elephants; and he says it was in good condition and well disciplined.<sup>15</sup> Alexander's numbers are mentioned by none, but it is evident that his means were great; and Arrian sufficiently shows that his force on the bank of the Hydaspes was powerful. In addition to his Grecian numbers, and those from the southern part of his new empire, he had cavalry, probably the best of Asia, from Arachosia, Paropamisus, Bactra, Sogdia, Scythia, and Daa. Probably his Asiatic infantry, in consideration of the extent of country he had in view to traverse, and his desire of quick progress, was not proportionally numerous.

Depending then much on his cavalry, his fear was of the enemy's elephants, which horses, unused to them, will not approach. To provide facility therefore for landing where he proposed, under his own lead, he directed Craterus to make all demonstration of the purpose of crossing near the enemy's station, with the view to retain his elephants there; but not actually to cross till it might be ascertained that the elephants were moving toward where the crossing had been  
 effected. A thunderstorm, on that night, with  
 c. 13. heavy rain, assisted the purpose of concealment, and, ceasing toward daybreak, did not interrupt the passage of the river. Alexander, taking with him Ptolemy, Lysi-

<sup>15</sup> Diodorus, in our copies of his work, reports Porus's army above fifty thousand foot, three thousand horse, more than one thousand chariots, and a hundred and thirty elephants: our copies of Curtius give him only thirty thousand foot, three hundred chariots, without notice of other cavalry, and eighty-five elephants.

machus, Seleucus, and Perdikkas (the latter as agent of the empire, the three former afterward known as sovereigns of powerful kingdoms) led the way in a triacontar. As they passed the island in the river, they came unavoidably in view of an outpost of the enemy; not of force to resist, but whence intelligence was hastened to Porus. Reaching land, Alexander was the first to leap ashore, and all the cavalry debarked safely; but, instead of the main land, it was found to be an island of considerable extent, with a channel intervening, not broad, but, with the rain of the night, become so deep that it was apprehended the boats would be wanted for reaching the desired shore. Thus opportunity would be given for Porus to bring up his elephants, which must make it impossible to land the horses. With diligent trial however a ford was found, which even the infantry could pass, though with the water breast high. Thus the whole force, about five thousand horse and six thousand foot, without opposition reached the enemy's side of the river.

As soon then as arrangement for the business in view was completed, Alexander hastened forward with his cavalry; satisfied that, if Porus came against him with overbearing numbers, he could avoid contest till he might be supported; if with a smaller force he might defeat it. The bowmen, under the command of Tauron, were ordered to follow with the utmost speed, and the heavy-armed, as heavy-armed best might; all having to encounter the difficulties of marshy ground which, to a great extent, bordered the river.

He had not proceeded far when, over the flat, a hostile force was at a distance seen approaching. Uncertain whether this might be a part or the whole of the enemy's army, he sent forward his horse-bowmen to check them. Assured then, by his scouts, of the hostile numbers, and of their kind, about two thousand horse with a hundred and twenty chariots, he hastened at the head of his regular

cavalry against them. They hardly stood a charge, to which indeed they were unequal; the chariots, from the swampiness of the ground, being little capable of acting, and the cavalry too inferior in number.<sup>16</sup> In pursuit about four hundred were slain, and, among them, their young commander, the son of Porus. All the chariots were taken, with their horses.

Porus was quickly informed of this disaster. To move from his actual situation was hazardous, because of the threatening aspect of the force under Craterus. Yet, after short consideration, only leaving a small body of foot with a few elephants to disturb the landing, if that general should cross the river, he hastened, with his principal force, about thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants, immediately against his imperial opponent. Knowing the country, or well informed of it, in a tract extensively marshy he halted on a sandy plain, sufficiently firm for the action of both cavalry and chariots, and there formed in order of battle.\* His elephants he placed in front, at intervals of about a hundred feet; his chariots on the same line, in the wings; his infantry behind the elephants, and his cavalry behind the chariots.

Alexander approaching, and viewing the ground  
ARR. I. 5. c. 16. and the enemy's order, presently observed their defects. In front, assault would be obviously rash. Horse would not approach the elephants, and his infantry was not sufficiently numerous for the attempt. But the wings were very infirmly supported by the ground on either side. He

<sup>16</sup> This, Arrian tells us, was Ptolemy's account, which he preferred; Ptolemy having been present, and about Alexander's person. Aristobulus, he says, reported somewhat differently, and others, he adds, related circumstances which seem to have been known to neither.

[\* By Elphinstone the place of encounter is thought to be *Julalpoor*; by Burnes *Jelum*, about twenty-five miles higher up the Hydaspes.]

had acquired extensive experience of the marshes on the banks of the Hydaspes, and he judged that, swampy now with heavy rain recently fallen, they would impede the action of the enemy's chariots, yet would not deny action for his own horse. Presently therefore he determined, without waiting for his main body of infantry under Craterus, immediately to use his superior force of cavalry. With this view, taking himself the lead of the greater part of it, he committed the infantry to Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, with orders to avoid engaging till they should see the arrangement of the enemy's infantry disturbed through his movement. A smaller body of horse he put under the command of Cœnus, directing him to turn the enemy's right, and, if possible, proceeding rapidly behind his whole line, to attack the rear of the cavalry of his left, which he proposed himself to attack in flank.

The action was begun in front by Alexander's horse-bowmen, in number about a thousand, against the chariots of the enemy's left. Their weapons distressing the charioteers, and reaching the cavalry beyond them, engaged the attention of both, while Alexander, with his choicest body of horse, gained their flank. Observing this, they were changing their front to receive him, when ARR. 1. 5. c. 17. Cœnus, having ably executed his orders, appeared in their rear. A double front thus became necessary for them, and, before they could complete the arrangement, Alexander, who had watched the opportunity, made his charge. Presently thrown into confusion, they retreated toward their elephants, as to a friendly fortification.

Thus arose opportunity, for which Alexander had prepared his generals of infantry to make advantage. The phalanx, it appears, was furnished for the occasion with darts, as the Roman legionaries with the pilum; for the long spear, ordinarily its only weapon, highly formidable

against men and horses, would be of no efficacy against elephants. Their darts, the historian says, disabled many of the riders, and annoyed the beasts themselves. But whenever an elephant went forward against the phalanx, in however close order with protruded spears, he broke the order and made his way. The Indian cavalry, meanwhile, habituated to elephants, went familiarly among them, and, thus gaining protection and encouragement, formed again in a body, and again met Alexander. But Cœnus had now joined him : numbers and discipline together gave preponderance, and the Indian cavalry fled again toward the elephants for protection.

Then, in the Indian army, all became confusion. Infantry, horse, and elephants, were mixed. Some of those formidable beasts, raging with wounds, became ungovernable. Some had lost those riders who should have governed them, and then were no less formidable to friends than foes. Some wounded, all tired, at length, as if by consent, refusing farther efforts in the direction against the enemy, bellowing in concert, they withdrew. Alexander, observing this, directed the phalanx to take its proper formation, with closed shields and protruded spears, and press upon the no longer formidable enemy ; and, the cavalry at the same time charging, the victory was quickly complete.

Meanwhile Craterus had crossed the river, and, Arr. 1. 5. c. 18. with fresh troops, intercepted the already fatigued retiring troops. Three thousand of the Indian cavalry are said to have been killed ; mostly on the field of battle ; and near twenty thousand foot : all the elephants and all the chariots not destroyed were taken. A second son of Porus was among the slain, and most of his principal officers. Porus himself, while any remained to fight about him, was, on his elephant, in the thickest of the contest. He wore a coat of mail of uncommon excellence ; but that, according

to the universal practice of generals among the ancients, he might be an example in action for his soldiers, his right arm must be free for the use of weapons, and his right shoulder was therefore less protected. Eminent among his troops he was especially an object for the enemy's aim, and, in his right shoulder he received a wound. Disabled thus for the office of a soldier, and, through the slaughter of many and flight of most of the rest of his troops, the business of a general no longer remaining for him, he at length allowed his attendants to turn his elephant, and, among the last, he withdrew. Alexander, informed that he was in danger from the indiscriminate fury of pursuers, and generously desirous to obviate it, sent Taxiles after him ; who, on a swift horse overtaking him, said he brought a message from the Macedonian king. But the indignant Indian prince, seeing an ancient enemy, continued his way, and, disabled as he was, threatened him with his weapon. Taxiles upon this withdrew, and hastened back to report the occurrence. Alexander, not thus driven from his purpose, sent several others, and among them Meroes, an Indian, long known to Porus, and always upon friendly terms with him. Porus, at length overtaken, was suffering severely from fatigue, and especially from thirst. Persuaded then, or rather, through inability to proceed, necessitated to stop for refreshment, he at length consented to return and surrender himself.

Alexander, informed of his approach, advanced toward him on horseback, attended by his band of companions. Admiring his form and size (he is said to have been a very handsome man above common height)<sup>17</sup> and still more the

<sup>17</sup> More than five cubits (Arr. l. 5. c. 19.). Plutarch says most writers allowed him more than four cubits and a palm. V. Alex. p. 639. B. Plutarch mentions letters of Alexander (p. 638.) giving account of this victory over Porus. How it has been that numerous letters of Alexander reporting his progress in conquest, mentioned by Plutarch, have remained wholly without notice from Arrian, is a question that apparently should have engaged the

unbroken majesty of his demeanour, he desired him to speak his wishes. Porus answered: "To be treated as a king." "That," replied Alexander, "shall be on my own account; but I desire you to speak your wishes on your own." Porus answered: "All I desire is what I have already said." Treaty was thus concluded. Alexander restored Porus to his throne; even enlarged his dominion, and ever after found in him a faithful friend. Such is Arrian's account; and for his general scrupulousness he may perhaps be trusted here, even for words spoken; Ptolemy, his principal guide, if he did not hear them, having been in a situation to have all information from those in the way of hearing.

After the battle, among the victor's earliest cares was the burial of the slain. Perhaps official accounts, Arrian's authorities, would exaggerate the loss on the Indian side, and extenuate that on the Grecian. If our copies of Arrian should be trusted, of six thousand infantry engaged, only eighty fell; but it may seem not unlikely that he wrote eight hundred.<sup>18</sup> Of the cavalry it is acknowledged that two hundred and twenty were killed, of whom twenty were of the body entitled royal companions.<sup>19</sup> Without distinction they seem to have been esteemed entitled to extraordinary honours, or Alexander's policy led him to bestow such. The funeral, in addition to the ordinary rites, was celebrated with gymnics

attention of critics, but of which I have never met with discussion. [See the fifth note on the following chapter.]

<sup>18</sup> From ΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΣΙΟΙ to ΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΝΤΑ, the change, as those who have observed the various forms of Grecian letters, in writing and engraving, will be aware, might be less violent than the differences often found in different manuscripts of the same work.

<sup>19</sup> I am induced to hope and believe I have given fairly the sense of Arrian's succinct account of this celebrated battle; though some of his phrases have been so disturbed by careless or ignorant transcribers (a misfortune to which the ancient military writers have been, more perhaps than all others, subject) that I would not undertake to give an exact translation of them, even with allowance to admit the learned Gronovius's proposed corrections; which however are valuable.



exercises and horse-races, in the manner of the funerals of eminent men in the heroic ages, described by Homer.

Of little real importance, yet, for the extensive celebrity of the animal, and for the honour testified by Arrian to have been paid to his memory, it must not be omitted to mention that Alexander's favourite horse died there. On this occasion only he is found mentioned by that writer, whose words on the subject, as nearly as they may be rendered, will, among all that has been transmitted on it from antiquity, be perhaps most worthy of the reader's attention, if not even alone fit for serious history. "On the field of the battle fought with Porus," says Arr. l. 5. c. 19. Arrian, "Alexander built a town, which he named Nicæa, Victory-town; and, where he crossed the Hydaspes, another which he called Bucephala, in honour of his favourite horse, Bucephalas, which, in his thirtieth<sup>20</sup> year, died there. That horse was tall, and of generous temper, and would admit none but Alexander to mount him. From a mark of a bull's head imprinted on him, he had his name Bucephalas, bull-head: though some say that a natural white mark on his forehead, resembling a bull's head, his general colour being black, gave occasion for the name. This horse being in the Uxian country missing, Alexander caused proclamation to be promulgated, that if the horse was not brought to him he would put the whole nation to the sword; and presently the horse was brought. Such was Alexander's estimation of the animal, and such the fear of that prince among the barbarians."

<sup>20</sup> Error in transcription of the numeral here, according to all accounts of this famous horse, may be suspected. Perhaps it should be *thirteenth*.

## SECTION V.

*Constitutions of Indian States. — Subordinate Sovereignities. — Free Cities. — Trade on the Indus. — War prosecuted by Alexander in India.*

THE conquered Indian prince's magnanimity, and Alexander's generosity, have been, from their age to this, themes for declamatory writers. Alexander's policy for his Indian conquests, how he accommodated his political arrangements to his generosity, so that his acquisitions remained, not to him only, but long to his successors, has not been with equal diligence transmitted. Nevertheless Arrian's narrative, checked, as apparently it was, by his situation under a despotic government, affords indications deserving attention; and, events within our own times having brought circumstances of that great and variously interesting country more within the sphere of European information, the diligence and learning and talents of recent inquirers, some visiting the countries, others comparing all accounts, have warranted the exactness of ancient reports, especially Arrian's, of Alexander's transactions there.

Whether Porus was a completely independent prince, or, like many powerful Indian chiefs of modern times, owed a degree of fealty to some paramount sovereign, seems uncertain: but the latter appears probable. Thus he would be the more prepared to be satisfied, in his restored dominion, to acknowledge Alexander as a superior, holding, as he appears to have done, perfect friendship with him. Arrangement with that prince then being settled,

Arr. 1. 5. c. 20.

Alexander committed to Craterus the business of superintending the building of the newly founded towns, and giving order to the population established there, while he proceeded himself to farther conquest.

Bordering on the kingdom of Porus was the country of

the Glausees, or Glaucaneeks; of no great extent, but highly fruitful, and, through diligent use of great opportunities for commerce, more than ordinarily populous and wealthy. Of thirty-seven towns within it, the least is said to have had five thousand inhabitants; some above ten thousand; and of numerous villages, some were hardly inferior in population to the towns. Popular government is mentioned, by Arrian, as not uncommon among the Indian nations, and such seems to have been that of the Glausees. With the too ordinary carelessness of the ancients about just cause against those they called barbarians, the historian has omitted mention of any for war with this people; unless it may be understood from him that they had been enemies to Porus, who, with all his great qualities, evidently an ambitious prince, may have put forward pretensions adverse to their claim of independency. Alexander however determining that they should be his subjects, led a select body into their country. Probably the terms he offered were liberal, in the spirit of the Macedonian free constitution; and probably the Glausees felt need of a protector, and were more disposed to trust Alexander than any neighbouring potentate. However, without battle or siege, they came to a composition with him. Of the terms we are uninformed; for, from ancient writers, whether themselves living under monarchies or republics, we have, on such subjects, rarely more than sparks of intelligence. The historian's expression here however implies some compact for their benefit, under which the country of the Glausees was put under the superintendency of Porus.

The fame of the victory, and of Alexander's generosity toward the magnanimous defeated prince, operated extensively. Abissares, who, before the battle, had proposed to join Porus, now sent his brother to Alexander, with a present of money and forty elephants. Alexander, not satisfied

so, commanded that he should come himself. Meanwhile it was an object, for the future peace of this portion of his now vast empire, to reconcile Porus with Taxiles. This was effected, and then the latter was dismissed, to resume, in peace, the government of his also increased dominion.

In this rich, and populous, and warlike country, though there was not at all the ready disposition to submission which had favoured Alexander in the western and southern provinces of the Persian empire, yet the divisions of the people among themselves evidently much facilitated his conquests, and also suggested the policy which should make the acquisition lasting. The highlanders, everywhere in the habit of looking upon their mountains as sure refuge, were readiest to rebel. The people of Assakene, a portion of the extensive highlands whence flow the various streams which meet in the Indus, assassinated the commander of the forces which had been left to secure their obedience, and rose in revolt. But an Indian who had been appointed satrap of that country, Sisicottus, remained faithful, and hastened intelligence of the circumstances. About the same time Alexander was gratified with the assurance of the fidelity of a Persian, Phradaphernes, to whom he had entrusted a highly important office, that of satrap of the two great border provinces of Bactra and Hyrcania. With a body of Thracians, which had been put under his command, he came, according to orders, to attend the king.

Against the revolted Assakenes then, to support his Indian satrap, Sisicottus, he joined a Persian, Tyriaspes, in command with Philip son of Machatas, a Macedonian. For himself the political circumstances of his new Indian friend, Porus, furnished pretence for continuing that activity in war, to which he had now, from the age of twenty, been so habituated that it seems to have become as necessary to his enjoyment as to a keen sportsman the pleasures of the

chase. There was another Indian prince called Porus, whether it were name or title, hostile to the great man, his namesake, now Alexander's friend. This prince had been forward, as we have seen Taxiles, to <sup>ART. 1. 5. c. 21.</sup> declare his submission to Alexander ; not indeed personally, like Taxiles, but by a deputation. Yet when, having done nothing farther to earn friendship, he learnt that his enemy of his own name not only was restored to dominion, but to enlarged dominion, and had gained high esteem with the conqueror, he took alarm.

His principality was separated from that of the other Porus by the great river Akesines, and from nations farther eastward by another great river, the Hydraotes. Throughout India, or at least the western part of that great country, if there was anywhere an extensive empire, it was, <sup>c. 20.</sup> like that of the Mogul lately, unable to maintain its claimed superiority over subject potentates. As we proceed we still find the country divided into governments under numerous chiefs, like the rajahs and soobadars of modern India. Among the various people beyond the Hydraotes, the Cathayans had obtained reputation for superior courage and military dexterity. <sup>c. 22.</sup> In alliance with them were the Oxydracs and Mallians southward ; whose country the great Porus, before his war with Alexander, had invaded, and, though assisted by powerful allies, yet with no success. Hence their friendship was likely to be open to any who would be his enemy. The other Porus therefore, whether more decided by policy, or as Arrian says, by passion, being vehemently hostile to his namesake, resolved to embrace the ready alliance of those people, rather than maintain his engagement with Alexander. Despairing, nevertheless, of power to defend his own dominions, against which invasion was ready, he withdrew into their country, with all the military force he could engage.

In this decision he seems to have failed either of courage or judgment; for the river Akesines, the boundary of his territory on the threatened side, afforded uncommon advantage for defence. It was the only Indian river of which, Arrian says, Ptolemy had stated the width and depth. According to that eminent eye-witness, if remaining manuscripts may be trusted, the width was fifteen stades; which, according to the lowest computation of the Grecian stade, would be seven furlongs; perhaps however spreading so in the rainy season only, or with the melted snow from the mountains.<sup>21</sup> With this it was of great rapidity, and abounding with interruptions of rock, producing whirlpools. To cross this formidable stream, a large body of Alexander's army was embarked, some in boats, the rest on stuffed skins, or on rafts borne on such. Of the boats, many, splitting on the rocks, were lost, and skill in swimming availing little among the whirlpools, many men were drowned. The buoyant skins, less injured by collision, carried their freight more safely. This struggle with nature however was so far successful as to give footing on the enemy's land, and then Porus, in whose cause the expedition had been professedly undertaken, was sent back to raise forces, of the best kind that India could furnish, and to bring as many elephants as could be obtained: Cœnus was directed to superintend the passage of the main body of the army, and to collect necessaries from the subdued and friendly territories. Alexander himself, conformably to his usual choice, took the laborious

<sup>21</sup> Credit to the MSS. for such a width of the river, in the report of such an author as Ptolemy, Dr. Vincent has been disposed to deny; perhaps having never had opportunity to see how streams, by whose channels the melting snows of extensive mountains have their vent, occasionally spread wherever the confinement of lofty banks of rock ceases, and permanently mark the extraordinary space over which their waters occasionally roll. Possibly Ptolemy may have meant to describe the width of the channel so indicated, and not of the water which Alexander actually crossed. Nevertheless the frequent doubtfulness of numbers stated in ancient MSS. must, as the learned and able commentator observes, be acknowledged.

and hazardous business of pursuing (according to Arrian's description it might be called hunting) the fugitive prince, whom the historian distinguishes here by an epithet, the bad Porus.<sup>22</sup>

The river Hydraotes, equally broad with the Akesines, but less rapid, crossed his way.<sup>23</sup> Eager to pursue his purpose, yet provident of all circumstances, he appointed Craterus to co-operate with Cœnus in the collection of supplies to the greatest extent that might be; and, desiring to leave nothing hostile behind him, he committed two phalanges<sup>24</sup>, and two brigades of cavalry<sup>25</sup>, to Hephæstion, to bring to obedience that part of the country between the rivers which had been under the dominion of the fugitive, called the bad Porus; with direction that all should be placed under the authority of the friendly prince of the same name. On the Hydraotes, according to Arrian, were some independent cities. Through means opened in our days it has been ascertained that a great trade has been carried on for many centuries (in the opinion of the able commentator on Nearchus, greater in ancient than in modern ages) upon the Indus, and the rivers communi-  
Vincent on  
Nearchus.
cating with it. Alexander would be supreme wherever he could carry his arms; but he required those cities to acknowledge, under him, the dominion of Porus. Nevertheless, if the sovereignty of Porus over those Indian small

<sup>22</sup> Porus, according to Vincent (on Nearch. p. 19.), was not a name, but a title, having only the Greek termination added to the Indian word Poor, meaning a prince or sovereign.

<sup>23</sup> Vincent, in his variety of diligent investigation, has bestowed much care on that of the names of the principal Indian rivers; which are found, in the old language of the country, generally to have had analogy with those given by the Greek writers; but, in many instances have been totally changed by some later conquerors. The modern name of the Akesines he gives, as in our orthography, Chenab, of the Hydraotes, Ravee.

<sup>24</sup> I do not recollect any former mention by Arrian, any more than by any older writer, of the phalanx as a determinate division of the heavy-armed infantry of an army.

<sup>25</sup> Ἰππαρχίαι.

republics was only as liberal as that of the Persian kings over the Greeks within their empire, they would probably not be sufferers, but rather gainers, by the establishment of such superintending authority; and, allowing the credit which seems due to the arguments and opinions of the very able and careful inquirer just noticed, it could not be with the purpose of abridging their just freedom, and so checking their commerce, but, on the contrary, of assuring protection, equally to both, that Alexander directed all his regulations.

His arrangements for the conquered countries being made, he proceeded on his proposed expedition, with a small army, but carefully chosen. Information reached him that the Cathayans and their allies were assembled at Sangala, a principal city, where they proposed to wait for him.

Arr. l. 5. c. 22, 23. In the second day's march from the river he came to a fortified town of the Adraïst Indians, who submitted under a capitulation. A day's rest was here given to the army. Proceeding on the morrow, he came in view of Sangala. There he found the Indians encamped without the town, on a hill surrounded with a triple rampart of waggons.<sup>26</sup> Alexander, after carefully observing everything, and forming his estimate of the enemy's force, resolved upon immediate attack. He sent forward first his horse-bowmen, to annoy from a distance. This not provoking the enemy to advance, and the other cavalry, with which he usually charged, being, in the circumstances, useless, he dismounted, and took the lead of his infantry. Quickly he became master of the first line of carriages. At the second the Indians made a stouter resistance: but the soldiers of the phalanx, better armed than the Indians, for defence as well as for close action, and able, with their large shields, to defend one another, removed some of the carriages, and passing through the intervals, drove the enemy to their third

<sup>26</sup> Ἀμάρξας, Arr. l. 5. c. 22. Ἀμαξῶν, c. 23.



line. There no stand was made; but the check it gave to pursuit was successfully used for reaching present safety within the town walls. Alexander, from experience of Indian practices, suspected that the town would be deserted by night; and he judged the attempt would be made where a lake near the wall, though fordable, interrupted the investment, which he had begun. His suspicion, according to the historian's account, seems to have been corroborated by information from deserters. To obviate such a purpose he placed a body consisting of three thousand hypaspists, all the Agrians, and one taxis of bowmen, under the orders of Ptolemy the historian. That general, in prosecution of the duty thus committed to him, collected the carriages deserted in the action before the town; and, in early night, placed them in the way which it was supposed the Indians would take. As was expected, the Indians issued about the fourth watch; but quickly falling in with the impediments prepared, and hearing the hostile trumpets sound, they hastened back, not without considerable loss.

ARR. I. 5. c. 24.

Presently after Porus arrived with a re-enforcement of five thousand men and some elephants, and by this time engines for battering the walls were completed. But before they could be put in action, a part of the wall was ruined by mining, and the town was taken by storm. Seventeen thousand Indians, if our copies of Arrian may be trusted, were slain on the occasion; notwithstanding which, the surviving captives were more than seventy thousand. Five hundred only of these being stated to have been cavalry, and yet three hundred chariots of war being said to have been found<sup>27</sup>, it may seem probable that a large proportion

<sup>27</sup> "Αεματα. The carriages of which the Indians formed their triple rampart are four times mentioned by the name of *Αμαξαι*, waggons or carts. The Latin translator has confounded these with the *ἄεματα*, by rendering both equally *currus*; and the learned critic and editor Gronovius, insultingly

of mounted men had found means to escape by flight.<sup>28</sup> Whether rather error of transcribers, or exaggeration in report from authority, which the historian, always scrupulous of authority, followed, may be most suspected in the account of the slain and prisoners, not less there appears ground for supposing a politic concealment of lives lost on the victorious side; for only about a hundred being said to have been killed, the wounded, living objects of public observation, are acknowledged to have been twelve hundred; several of them officers of high rank<sup>29</sup>, and one of the highest, Lysimachus, who afterwards attained regal dignity.

Immediately after the sack of Sangala, Alexander despatched Eumenes, with three hundred horse, to two free cities in alliance with its people, with assurance that, if they submitted and received him as a friend, no ill should befall them, but they should be liberally treated, as all free Indian states, so conducting themselves, had been. Information however of the catastrophe of Sangala having reached them before Eumenes could arrive, they had deserted their town. Alexander pursued them. In the historian's account reasonable cause does not appear; but the result of his anger (it may be hoped not of his direct command) was, that, though the greater part were too far advanced to be readily overtaken, about five hundred of those who had less ability for rapid flight were killed by his pursuing troops. All the conquered territory he gave to those free cities which had readily accepted his offered terms. Porus was detached

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severe upon him on many occasions not more important, has left this confusion unnoticed.

<sup>28</sup> The learned commentator on the voyage of Nearchus has supposed Arrian to have stated not only the 17,000 slain, but the more than 70,000 prisoners, together 87,000, as the number of troops in Sangala. Arrian's expression is τῶν Ἰνδῶν, Indian people, leaving it uncertain how many were soldiers. That historian's account however, as Dr. Vincent has remarked, clearly indicates a great and wealthy population.

<sup>29</sup> Ἡγεμόνες.

with his own Indian army to place garrisons where it might be judged expedient ; the expediency being, apparently, to be measured by the need which the people of the friendly towns might have for protection against hostile neighbours, when the imperial army should be withdrawn.<sup>30</sup>

## SECTION VI.

*Growing Extravagance of Alexander's Purpose. — Discontent of the Army. — Forced Concession to its Wishes. — Arrangement for the conquered Indian Provinces.*

IN proceeding southward and eastward from the vast body of highlands whence the many great rivers of India flow, the country still improved in richness and population. The Hyphasis was the next stream in the way.<sup>31</sup> Beyond it, according to all reports, the land was highly cultivated. The nearer provinces were, according to Arrian, under a well-administered aristocratical government ; the people orderly ; good husbandmen and good soldiers. A great sovereign was said to reside far eastward ; but whether the nearer countries were within his claim of empire seems uncertain. Thus far Alexander may have pursued conquest on principles more justifiable than the republican Greek maxim, that it was lawful for Greeks to subdue, enslave, or even extirpate, any people not of Grecian blood and language. But here the better principle, if ever regarded, seems to have been thrown by. Curiosity and thirst of conquest were so become settled passions, and a view to rest so intolerable, that, without any other motive indicated by ancient writers, he would now prosecute con-

ARR. I. 5. c. 25.

<sup>30</sup> We have seen such a measure often necessary for the security of towns of republican Greece. But Arrian's conciseness here, as sometimes elsewhere, leaves the modern reader in some doubt of his meaning.

<sup>31</sup> Now, in Vincent's English orthography of the oriental name, the Biah.

quest into that populous, rich, and quiet country; and accordingly he marched to the Hyphasis.

Apparently he thought the fame of that country for wealth would suffice to reconcile his army to his views. War in Lesser Asia having been always inviting for the Greeks, war in a country richer than Lesser Asia, he might suppose, would now be inviting; and, as he himself delighted in laborious and hazardous adventures, others would have the same propensity. Perhaps, for his new recruits, and the younger men of the army in general, he may thus have reasoned well: to return home and have fortune still to seek would be little alluring for them. But it was not so among the older men, and especially those of the higher ranks, already possessed of great riches. Issuing from Macedonia with uncertain hopes, rising rapidly to great wealth and splendid circumstances, when only Lesser Asia, Syria, and Egypt were reduced, already many would be looking earnestly toward the enjoyment of their advancement, in other kind of leisure and other kind of independency than military service could admit. Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, with their treasuries, being now added, and the rich kingdom of Media having fallen without a blow, an end to the protracted war in the rough climate and among the fierce nations of the north could not fail to have been anxiously looked for among all ranks. There however, though the soldiers could neither clearly see nor would greatly care for a reasonable object, whence, in parts of the army, vehement discontent appears to have arisen, which the military historians, to whose authority Arrian generally limited his narrative, would avoid to report, yet to the officers generally, and especially the superior officers, the expediency or even necessity of that war, for securing the advantages beyond calculation already gained, would be obvious. But a new scene was now opened. A populous and wealthy continent

was found to be yet before them, of extent utterly unknown; upon the conquest of which their prince was bent, among labours and dangers utterly incalculable, with the final object utterly undefined. Dissatisfaction grew among men of all ranks, even Alexander's greatest favourites and most confidential friends. The Macedonian constitution, as we have seen, warranted to a Macedonian army a great degree of the authority of a popular assembly. The civic troops of the Greek republics not less claimed the same privilege; but Arrian mentions the Macedonians particularly as now meeting to debate on the king's purposes. In dissatisfaction with these, he says, all seemed agreed; and some, he adds, went so far as to declare that, if the king required them to go into new wars, his command should no longer be obeyed.

Alexander, informed of the dangerous discontent, appears to have taken, with great good temper, the course becoming the sovereign of a people claiming the rights of the Macedonian kingdom and the Grecian republics. Without distinction between them, he assembled the generals and taxarchs of both, exclusively of the officers of the mercenaries, who served on quite other terms. Reports of words spoken in private, or in miscellaneous conversation, or in the heat of military action, must always be subject to much doubt; but as it appears to have been hardly less customary, among the Greeks of Alexander's age, than with us at present, to note and publish the speeches of eminent men in deliberative assemblies, what Arrian has given as delivered on this occasion, though he has not precisely named his author, yet scrupulous of authority as he always shows himself, will well deserve notice.<sup>32</sup>

Alexander, he says, began the deliberation by addressing

<sup>32</sup> Arrian has not precisely said that he had these speeches from Ptolemy, but he nearly indicates so much, quoting Ptolemy for attending circumstances, and mentioning him shortly after as the guide whom he chiefly followed.

the assembly thus: "Macedonians and allies! Observing that you are no longer disposed, as formerly, to accompany me in hazardous enterprise, I have assembled you with the purpose that, either persuading, I may engage you to proceed with me, or, being persuaded by you, we may together return toward our homes. If either our joint labours hitherto, or my command under which they have been undertaken, are matter for complaint, I have no more to say. But if, through those labours, Ionia, and all Lesser Asia, Phenicia, Egypt, the Grecian settlements in Africa, part of Arabia, Cœlesyria, the Mesopotamian Syria, Babylon, Susa, the whole empire of the Persians and Medes, and more, the country beyond the Caspian gates and as far as the Hyrcanian sea, are ours, and the Scythians are driven to their deserts; if, beyond this, the Indus and the Hydaspes and the Akesines and the Hydraotes now flow through our empire, why should you hesitate to add to it the Hyphasis, and the country beyond the Hyphasis? Are you now afraid that barbarians will be able to resist us; so many nations as you have seen of them, some willingly submitting, some flying yet overtaken, some completely abandoning their country to us, some becoming voluntary subjects? For myself I reckon that the labours of a brave man should be limited only by the failure of objects worthy of them. If it be asked what is to be the end of our warfare, I answer, the space is now small to the river Ganges and the Indian ocean. This evidently is connected with the Hyrcanian sea; for the ocean surrounds the earth. I desire then, Macedonians and allies, to inform you that the Indian ocean communicates with the Persian gulf on one side, as with the Hyrcanian sea on the other. From the Persian gulf our fleet will circumnavigate Africa to the gates of Hercules, at the western end of the Mediterranean sea. The interior of Africa will thus be at our command, and the bounds of our empire will

be those which God has made the bounds of the earth." Adding some arguments drawn from the disposition of the northern people subdued, but not yet such willing subjects as those of the south, the gratification to arise from glory, the examples of Hercules and Bacchus, the comparatively small part of Asia (according to his very deficient notion, which the reader will have observed, of its extent) remaining to be subdued, and the difference to all whom he addressed, if, the conquest of the Persian empire not having been attempted, their rewards in wealth and fame were limited to what arose from wars with the Thracians, Triballians, and Illyrians, he concluded thus: "If indeed, you ARR. 1. 5. c. 26. undergoing labours and dangers, I, as commander, avoided them, and, yours being the trouble, the reward was all for others; reasonably, I admit, your disposition to exertion might slacken. But you know that I have shared with you in labours and dangers, and you have shared with me in reward. The empire is yours; you preside over it; some in the dignity of satrap, all in eminence of rank and power<sup>33</sup>; and a large portion of the revenue<sup>33</sup> is yours. When the conquest of Asia then may be completed, your desires, by heaven, I swear, not only shall be fulfilled, but exceeded. Those wishing to return home I will discharge, or conduct myself; but those who will abide with me shall be the envy of those who quit the service.

Alexander ending, a long silence ensued. None c. 27. had that knowledge of the extent of the Asiatic continent which could enable them to controvert his widely erroneous representation of it, and show the extravagance of his views, yet none were disposed to concur with him in the purpose of at all prosecuting conquest eastward. Neverthe-

<sup>33</sup> *Τμῆς αὐτῆς σατραπείας.* This Persian-Greek phrase is not to be exactly rendered in modern language. The learned reader will judge how far faithfully I have rendered the sense.

less none was willing to be foremost in declaring opposition. Repeatedly the king desired that any who differed from him would speak freely, yet still all were silent. At length Cœnus son of Polemocrates arose: the oldest of the generals, since Parmenio was taken off, and, as we have seen, among the highest in esteem and confidence with Alexander. He began with an apology for himself, and then adding assurance of his own and the army's attachment to their king, he proceeded to say he would declare, as he reckoned might become one of his age, and experience, and services, what, though it should be agreeable to none, he thought most advantageous for all. "The more then, and the greater," he said, "are the achievements the army, under your command, O king, has accomplished, so much the more I reckon it becoming and expedient to put an end to its labours and dangers. Of the thousands of Macedonians and Greeks who set out in the expedition with you, the number remaining you know. Already, when we were in Bactria, perceiving the Thessalians<sup>34</sup> less ready to proceed to new labours and dangers, judiciously, in my opinion, you dismissed them. Of the other Greeks, numbers have been left in the towns you have founded; not very willing settlers there<sup>35</sup>; and the rest, who, with the Macedonians, have persevered in the course of fatigue and peril, some have fallen in battle, some are disabled by wounds, some have been necessarily left behind in different parts of Asia; numbers have died of sickness; of the many few remain; and they, in body not able as formerly, in mind are still more broken. Advantages indeed great and splendid they have acquired; from poor,

<sup>34</sup> The Thessalian cavalry were men of property; not so the Grecian foot.

<sup>35</sup> Probably these were, in large proportion, exiles from various republics, and yet many perhaps unwilling settlers in so distant a country, surrounded by people of different language and manners; many having the hope, through Alexander's favour and power, to be restored to their several republics, and perhaps to hold command over the party which had expelled them.



they are become wealthy; from obscure, the renowned of the earth. Hence the desire, naturally keener and therefore more deserving consideration, advanced as they are, under your lead and by your favour, in riches and honours, to revisit parents, wives, children, and native soil." Cœnus then proceeded to observe, that the king's own family had a right to expect him; that the people of the Grecian republics, by whose choice he was there presiding magistrate, had, for the troubles arisen in their country, in his absence, and in consequence of it, a claim to his attention. "When duties thus obvious," he added, "are performed, then you may lead a new army, at your choice, to eastern India, or to the countries about the Euxine sea, or to Carthage, and the regions of Africa beyond Carthage. Young men, with fortune before them, will be ready, in any number, to go with willing minds on any enterprise, when they see those who have been serving under you return to enjoy, in their homes and with their families, their acquired riches and honours. It is honourable, O king, to be moderate in prosperity. With your present army, you commanding, nothing is to be feared from an enemy. But the ways of Divine Providence are not to be foreseen, and therefore not to be guarded against by human power or wisdom."<sup>36</sup>

Cœnus ending, a general murmur of appro- Arr. l. 5. c. 28.  
bation arose. So were minds affected by the question before them, such were the conflicting feelings of attachment to the king, their successful commander, and aversion to his purpose, that some even shed tears. Alexander, seeing the general disposition expressed so decidedly, dismissed the assembly.

But the keenness of his disappointment on the occasion was more than he could patiently bear. His conduct then

<sup>36</sup> Τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δαιμονίου ἀδόκητά τε, καὶ ταύτη καὶ ἀφύλακτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴστί. Arr. l. 5. c. 27.

will deserve observation. It was clearly not that of one habituated to despotism, or, however he might desire, at all claiming it. Next day he convened the same officers again; and, with uneasiness of mind strongly marked in his manner, declared, "that he would himself proceed in his purpose." Forbearing then to notice the republican Greeks, but directing his reproach to the Macedonians only, he added, "that he would not command the service of any Macedonian with him; not doubting but enough would be ready to follow their king; and, for those who desired to return home, they might go, and tell their friends that they had deserted him among his enemies." Not waiting then for reply, he went to his tent, and admitted nobody for two days.

According to Ptolemy, whom Arrian here quotes, (and Ptolemy, we have seen, was before among his most favoured friends, and, we shall find, continued so,) he hoped that some change of mind, common among soldiers in rest, would take place, of which indication would reach him. But, on the third day, perfect regularity being maintained throughout the army, and a general regret for the king's dissatisfaction clearly manifested, but no change of the general aversion to his purpose, he took the course best adapted, in yielding to the circumstances, to maintain his own dignity. He ordered a sacrifice to be performed to consult the gods about crossing the river; as if that remained his object. The symptoms were declared completely adverse. Assembling then his principal officers, he told them that as the divine powers were favourable to his army's wishes, and not to his own, he should abandon his design, and they might communicate his intention to move home-ward. This being done, a universal shout of joy  
Arr. l. 5. c. 29. arose; and the soldiers crowded about the king's tent to testify their gratitude, for that he, invincible to all

others, had yielded to them. Harmony being thus re-established, he directed twelve altars to be erected, of the height of the highest towers ordinary in fortifications, and of more than their usual size, as thanksgiving offerings to the gods, and monuments of the extent of his victories. Rest being given to the troops while these were completed, he then sacrificed on them with the solemnities used among the Macedonians from times beyond memory, and added, as had been his custom, the amusement of gymnical and equestrian exercises.

In arranging then the affairs of the conquered countries, he added to his former presents of dominion to his once magnanimous enemy, now apparently, of Asiatics, his most esteemed friend, Porus, placing under his protecting authority all the territory last conquered, as far as that river, the Hyphasis, which the decision of the army had made the boundary of his empire. But all his presents of dominion in India, equally as elsewhere, he reckoned still within his empire; entitled to its protection, and therefore liable to its control, and required to pay tribute towards its support. Nor thus does he seem to have imposed any thing upon the conquered princes or people beyond what they were subject to under the old constitution of their country; commanding only, as by right of conquest, the transfer to himself of that allegiance which had been before due to some once powerful, but now decayed, empire eastward.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Arrian describes many of the Indian princes, previously to their submission to Alexander, by the title of *ὑπάρχος*, clearly thus indicating that they acknowledged some superior. Who that superior was, and where he resided, we fail of any direct information. The able commentator on Nearchus has reckoned it indicated to be within that country about the Ganges, where the Mogul sovereigns of India chose their residences.

The compilers of the ancient Universal History, whose diligence, and also whose judgment (though more that of the writers of some of the notes than of the text) I have heretofore found occasion to commend, have imputed fiction to Arrian, in reporting the speeches, injuriously, I think, both to the

author and to the history. "Arrian and Curtius," they observe, "have both given the substance of Alexander's harangue; but they differ widely; and the frame of each of the speeches agrees exactly with the genius of the author. That in Arrian is grave, solid, and at the same time very specious; whereas that in Curtius is copious, florid, and full of strong rhetorical figures, which serve rather to amaze than to persuade. We may therefore reasonably suppose that Arrian and Curtius composed each his harangue." The characters here given of the speeches are just; but the conclusion, as far as regards Arrian, is false, I think, within proof. For the speech attributed to Alexander by that careful historian marks in the speaker an utter ignorance of the geography of the countries beyond Alexander's conquests. But before Arrian's time, and indeed soon after Alexander's, as Arrian himself shows in his account of India, the defective and erroneous notions before entertained of those countries were largely corrected. The speech given by Arrian therefore seems clearly derived from writers of Alexander's age, uninformed, equally with himself, about those countries. Nor do I think that even Curtius has been here wholly an inventor. He had before him, apparently, the same authorities as Arrian, but he used them differently, as with different purpose. Occasionally he appears moreover to have used those which Arrian thought unworthy of notice; and, in reporting the speech in question, as on too many other occasions, he has evidently been rather aiming to move his less considerate readers by what might have momentary effect on their imagination, than careful of any authority, or at all solicitous to follow the best. His apology for his account of some wonders of nature may deserve his reader's recollection on many occasions: "Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo de quibus dubito, nec subducere quæ accepi." Q. Curt. l. 9. c. 1. It may indeed be suspected that he has not always limited himself to authorities, though the best have evidently been within his means, but that, for scenic effect, he has frequently exerted his talent, which appears to have been considerable, of invention for himself.

## CHAPTER LIV.

## ALEXANDER'S RETURN FROM INDIA.

## SECTION I.

*Beginning Return of the Army. — Care of Colonies in northern India. — Ancient Law of Nations. — Eulogy of Alexander. — War with the Mallians. — Alexander dangerously wounded.*

THE retrograde march was at length begun, with perfect good humour in the army, and Alexander more than ever its idol. The space from the Hyphasis to the Hydraotes was retraced, and from that river to the Akeshines; where the construction of the town, the superintendence of which had been committed to Hephæstion, was found so advanced as already to afford convenience for the residence of numbers. Offer was made for the less able men of the mercenary forces to settle there; and, on a view of the immense distance of their native homes, and of the advantages which the new settlement promised, many accepted the offer; and many of the natives of the neighbourhood, on permission given, became their voluntary associates in the colony. During the halt, on the occasion, the brother of Abisares, with Arsaces, chief of a bordering province, came to wait upon Alexander, bringing presents of great amount. From Abisares, with other valuables, were thirty elephants, accompanied with an apology for his inability, on account of ill health, to pay his personal respects. Alexander, accepting the apology, appointed Abisares and Arsaces jointly his satraps over both provinces, and settled the tribute to be paid by them to the empire to which they had submitted.

Here the indication concurs with what is elsewhere found, that these princes had been subordinate to some such great paramount sovereign as the late Mogul; and that, in failure of due protection from that paramount sovereign against other subordinate princes, and against the foreign conqueror, they were prepared for submission to any foreign conqueror, of power to inspire terror, and of character to afford them better hopes. Alexander then proceeded from his new town on the Akesines to his new towns of Nicæa and Bucephala on the Hydaspes. There he employed his soldiers in repairing damages, which the buildings, probably after the present manner of the country, of unbaked earth, and hastily erected, had suffered from weather, and gave his attention to whatever might be requisite toward the administration and defence of the country around.

But, in yielding to the desire of his army to return homeward, he had not engaged that it should be by the shortest way, or the easiest. On the contrary, it had been among his declared and most earnest purposes to explore the shores of the Indian ocean; and the project of conquest to an unknown extent eastward, which had so alarmed his army, being abandoned, it seems to have been understood that southward, so as at least to include within his empire all westward of the great river Indus, all should be compelled to submission; for so much we find the army was yet willing to undertake.

If then, according to the better maxims of modern times, a just occasion for Alexander to carry war, even into the northern Indian provinces, is not very clearly declared by ancient writers, mostly little solicitous about such matters, still less clearly is it found for his invasion of the south. Nevertheless it is to be observed, as at least probable, that the conquests of the Persian kings had, at some time, extended to the Indus, or perhaps beyond; and that all the

country westward had been once held by princes acknowledging the paramount sovereignty of Persia. The claim then of right to revindicate the sovereignty, as successor by conquest to the rights of the Persian empire, would perhaps not appear any great violation of the ancient law of nations, or of the notions of political justice which we have observed to prevail among ancient minds.

Alexander's conquests were so extensive, so rapid, and altogether so extraordinary, that they may seem hardly to have left opportunity for writers, who may seem also to have supposed hardly desire in their readers, to view him in any other character than as a conqueror; unless, after some of the violent party authors of his own and presently following ages, to revile him as a tyrant, a drunkard, even a madman<sup>1</sup>; the freedom of the Greek republics affording opportunity, and the violence of party-spirit among them providing incitement, for such opposite extravagances. To estimate then the merit of Alexander's administration, it may be not unavailing to look a little to that of other conquerors, and especially of the greatest of all, the Roman republic. Its conquests, less rapid, were however altogether so great and so splendid, and its able writers have so engagingly portrayed the great men who led its triumphs, that it has generally satisfied following authors, as well as readers, to admire the Roman senate as directors, and the people as instruments, of its extraordinary successes, little heeding the result to the rest of mankind. If kings then only were exhibited in chains to the scoffs of the Roman populace, or, like Jugurtha, starved to death, the philosophy, which has been transmitted from the school of Callisthenes

<sup>1</sup> This latter epithet I believe, however, has been ventured only under the *quidlibet audendi* prerogative of poets; "From Macedonia's madman to the Swede." Two characters so different were hardly ever besides offered as parallels; but Pope had imbibed much of the French political philosophy derived from Callisthenes and others before him.

through all succeeding times over modern Europe, might teach to regard it with complacency or even with pride. But the destruction of nations, Greece reduced to a desert, Sicily depopulated, and, with Italy itself, excepting the imperial city, occupied almost only by slaves, facts reluctantly and therefore defectively indicated by Roman, and fearfully by Greek historians, but incidentally shown in clear light when the predominant purpose has not been flattery either to the Roman great or the Roman people, will hardly be acknowledged as praiseworthy by any modern school of philosophy.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, differently as the rights of humanity and the due to our neighbours have been estimated in ancient and in modern ages, the law of nations and of peace and war has thence so differed, among the ancients, from that acknowledged by the states, in modern times, forming what has been not unaptly called the European commonwealth, that it may be unfair to estimate the moral merit of any ancient conqueror, or the justice of any ancient war, strictly by that law. Among the great men of Rome, Julius Cæsar has been reckoned the fittest to be compared with Alexander. Certainly he was among the most liberal and noble-minded of any who, at any time, led Roman triumphs. Yet,

<sup>2</sup> Strabo has described, but with cautious pen, forbearing remark, the wretched state of Greece and Sicily, as he saw them, in the age of Augustus. In describing Italy he seems to have thought still more caution and forbearance necessary; having avoided to notice the miserable condition of that fine country under Roman sway. Our historian of the Roman republic, Hooke, has diligently investigated and ably marked the characters of the civil contests of the Roman people, but has afforded little information of the condition of the countries subjugated by them, and of the state of their population under the rule of the imperial republic. It has remained for a writer of the present day, in a work where it would be little expected, and which, on account of the necessary expensiveness of so splendid a publication, (the third volume of publications of the Dilettanti Society,) cannot have the extensive circulation desirable for so important a portion of history, to collect from unquestionable authorities, and show in clear light, the real character of the Roman republican dominion.



for his invasion of Britain, may it be allowed to go so far for illustration, neither justification, nor any sufficient temptation is very obvious. To tell the Roman people that he had carried their conquering arms, in the phrase of the day, beyond the bounds of the earth, and to increase the splendour of that always cruel and truly barbarian ceremony, the triumph, by exhibiting in chains prisoners of a nation before unseen in Rome, though unjust, might be powerful motives. But a principal object pressed upon him by his situation as servant of a re-  
Cæs. Bell. Gall. Strab. l. 4.  
 public, and by the circumstances of that republic, seems enough marked to have been to seize prisoners for the supply of its slave-markets.<sup>3</sup> By their sale he would find the desired, perhaps even necessary, gratification for his soldiery; and a plentiful and unexpected supply for those markets, with of course a reduced price of what, in the circumstances of Italy, under Roman policy, was a commodity so necessary for persons of all ranks, of the greatest property and the least, would be extensively gratifying. Yet, in justice to Cæsar, it should be observed that, though such was his conduct when servant of a republic, and dependent upon the favour of a democratical party for his eminence, yet, among his first acts, when he had overborne the opposing party, was a law to limit slavery in Italy, by commanding the employment of freemen in husbandry.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> — ἀπήγαγεν — ἀνδράποδα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λείας πλῆθος. Strab. l. 4. In large amount of various plunder, here indicated, slaves, it seems, as indeed from all information of the state of the country would be likely, were alone what the geographer reckoned of importance enough to be specified.

In Cæsar's own account (so I venture to call it, notwithstanding the questions on the subject,) the mention of prisoners, I think, has been avoided except in describing his final departure from Britain, when, in accounting for the number of vessels wanted, and with difficulty collected, (apparently to obviate the supposition that his military force was larger than has been owned,) a multitude of captives is noticed. The purpose of transporting these could hardly be any but to supply the slave-markets. Altogether his invasions of Britain seem strongly marked for slave-hunting expeditions.

<sup>4</sup> — *Neve hi, qui pecuariam facerent, minus tertiâ parte puberum in-*

Of the slavery under the Persian empire we have hardly any information. The learned commentator on the voyage of Nearchus has supposed that among the Indians there was no slavery, properly so called; though he has admitted the division of the people into castes to have been then of old establishment; and, among the castes, probably would be one, then as now, hardly above slavery. But Alexander, bred under Aristotle, who, with many other Grecian philosophers, as we have formerly observed, esteemed slavery natural and necessary among mankind, would not be likely to scruple condemning Indian prisoners, for what he reckoned offences, to that miserable state. In perfect consonance thus, not only with the practice of all the Grecian republics, but of the Roman after them, oppressing a portion, what he did for extensive benefit of mankind, being peculiar to himself, will for a just estimation of his character, as well as on its own account, especially deserve consideration.

In pursuing this subject then I desire allowance to avail myself of the very able work of the author whom I have already found occasion to quote, and, in beginning, to use his words: "It is perhaps imputing too much to that extraordinary man, Alexander, to assert that he had preconceived the comprehensive scheme of com-

Vincent on  
Nearchus.

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*genuorum inter pastores haberent.* Sueton. Jul. c. 42. The value of this short but important passage, imperfectly seen by the learned annotator Casaubon, stands noticed, according to its just estimation, in the introduction to the third volume of publications of the Dilettanti Society. Yet that learned and diligent annotator has, in a following note, shown his sense of the value of a passage of Livy, marking, in few words, most strongly the desolation of Italy under the Roman republic, and the need for such a law as that of the great dictator: . . . *Plerique enim de plebe in re faciendâ omissiores παρὰ τούτο facti sunt, neglectum negotiandi studium, sprete agrorum cura, et servis vinctisque commissa: ex quo illa Livii gravis querela libro sexto: "Olim multitudinem innumerabilem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quæ nunc, viz seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant."* Casaub. annot. in Suet. Octav. c. 42.

merce with India from the first foundation of Alexandria in Egypt; but certain it is that, as his mind expanded with his success, and his information increased in proportion to the progress of his arms, the whole plan was matured. Whatever vanity then may be attached to the foundation of cities, and however this passion might operate upon Alexander, utility still was the prevailing motive in his mind. It has been judiciously observed that most of the cities founded after him, by the Syrian kings, existed little longer than their founders; and, if we except Antioch on the Orontes, and Seleucia on the Tigris, there was perhaps not one capable of existing. But the Paropamisan Alexandria, and that on the Iaxartes, continue to this day cities of importance; and Alexandria in Egypt, after surviving and greatly flourishing through the revolutions of empires for eighteen centuries, perished at last," or rather its singular importance perished, "only in consequence of a discovery which changed the whole system of commerce throughout the world."

Alexander's way from his colonies of Nicæa and Bucephala to the ocean was nearly limited to the course of the river Indus, both by the expediency of holding communication with his fleet, and by the circumstances of the country. The great vale, through which that river flows, is bounded westward by the sandy desert, or by intervening mountains. Eastward a similar character of worthless country is found, though of less extent. The vale between, like the region of the five rivers, in which Alexander had been engaged northward, was of extraordinary fertility; and the abundant population was famed, among neighbouring nations, for skill in arms and for courage. But it was divided into many small states, often hostile to one another. Thus their power for offensive war was small, and opportunity for war against them abundant; yet nume-

rous positions in their country, of extraordinary natural strength, gave to all great means and great confidence against invasion.

It seems, as before observed, rather probable that all this country, westward of the Indus, had been, at some time, conquered by Persian armies, and had not ceased to be claimed as a portion of the Persian empire; though, if its princes now acknowledged any superior, it appears to have been some great Indian sovereign, residing far eastward. On this supposition, Alexander's pretension to be, by conquest, the rightful successor to all the dominions of the Persian monarchs might perhaps, according to Grecian and

Ch. 53. s. 5.  
of this Hist.

Roman principles, be admitted; and, against the Mallians and Oxydracs, the most powerful of the people in his way, he had moreover the ground of quarrel formerly noticed, that they were the allies and protectors of his enemy, the prince called by Arrian the bad Porus.

It is the opinion of the commentator on the voyage of Nearchus, whose professed object has been geography, but whose observations, to which his geographical researches have led him, will rank him among the ablest historical critics, that, long before Alexander's age, a great trade was carried on from the upper provinces of India, by the Indus and the rivers communicating with it, to the ocean; little, if at all, directed thence westward; the barren shore of the Desert, for some hundred leagues, repelling; but much along the coast of Malabar, where the commodities of the rich countries in the cool climate of the north of India would be desirable, as those of the torrid regions of the peninsula would reciprocally be in request northward. He has even supposed that the vessels employed in that trade turned the southern cape, and proceeded northward along the coast of Coromandel, toward the Ganges; but that the eastern shore

of the great Indian Gulf was little if at all known to the western Indians. Thus, on the information that Alexander could acquire, his supposition that India was the extreme of the Asiatic continent, and that the ocean bounding it was connected with the Caspian, which was also supposed a portion of the farthest northern sea, may seem not utterly unreasonable.<sup>5</sup>

At his new towns on the Hydaspes Alexander had provided that, while he was engaged on his expeditions eastward, a fleet, very numerous, though of small vessels, should be built. Beside the labour of the conquered country, which he could command, he had, in Arr. 1. 6.  
c. 2. & 3. his army, many Carians, Phenicians, Egyptians, and Cy-

[<sup>5</sup> Arrian mentions here a much greater, indeed an almost inconceivable, deficiency of the geography of the age. Alexander, no doubt, would have all the geographical information that the best informed Greek could give. Yet, crocodiles being found in the Indus, and that kind of bean which had been reckoned by the Greeks peculiar to Egypt, being observed on the banks of the Akensines, he is said to have imagined he had discovered whence the Nile had its source; supposing it to flow through immense deserts from India to Æthiopia, whence it was well enough known to pass through Egypt to the Mediterranean sea. It is added that he actually mentioned this idea in writing to Olympias his mother; but, before the letter was dispatched, getting better information, he effaced what he had written about the Nile (Arr. 1. 6. c. 1.). The historian neither quoting authority here, his common practice for extraordinary matters, nor mentioning how it became known what the effaced passage expressed, it may seem not too much to doubt the correctness of his information about it. We find Plutarch quoting numerous *Letters of Alexander*, as authority for important matters political and military. It has not fallen in my way to find the authenticity of those letters discussed, or, I think, at all noticed, by any of the numerous commentators on Alexander's history. That they should have been unknown to Arrian, contemporary, or nearly so, with Plutarch, seems hardly to be supposed. If then he believed them genuine, that he should have noticed, among them all, only some blotted lines concerning a question of geography, would be somewhat extraordinary. [They have been appealed to by an earlier writer, and one whom Mr. Mitford would have considered much more trustworthy, than Plutarch. Among the "*Auctores Externi*" enumerated by Pliny as authorities for the sixth book of his Natural History, appears the name ALEXANDER MAGNUS. In the nineteenth chapter (ed. Harduin.) he attests a fact merely by the words, "*Alexander magnus prodidet*;" but in the twenty-first he refers expressly to the *Letters*. Having stated certain distances of places according to the measurement of Diognetus and Bæton, "*itinerum ejus mensores*," he says: "*Epistolæ quoque Regis ipsius consentiunt his.*"]

priots, practised, some in ship-building, more in navigation, all capable, beyond mere landsmen, of assisting toward the building and equipment of a fleet. Of these, the historian proceeds to say, Alexander principally formed his crews; no Greeks, either of the continent, either of Europe, or of Lesser Asia being mentioned; whence it seems probable that all were of the new levies, and that the Greeks, engaged in the first of the expedition, had mostly been discharged, either to return home, or to settle among the various new colonies. The vessels, mostly boats, in our phrase, rather than ships, were of various kinds, adapted for different purposes: some for carrying infantry, some for cavalry, some for stores, and some for battle. Of the latter, no hostile fleet being to be apprehended, none exceeded the triaconter, or galley of thirty oars, the smallest of those commonly used among the Greeks, for action by water. Of every description the whole number was said by Ptolemy to have been two thousand.

During these preparations the veteran general Cœnus died; one, as we have seen, most trusted by Alexander with great command, and, as Arrian's phrase bespeaks him, of his most confidential friends. The funeral obsequies were performed with suitable magnificence, apparently the utmost that circumstances would admit.

When all was ready for the proposed movement southward, Alexander called together all the attending ministers of Indian princes, together with all the principal officers of his army; and, in their presence, declared Porus king of all the conquered part of India westward of the Indus. The Nysæan cavalry, which seems to have been the only Indian force he had used, excepting that under Porus, he dismissed to return home. Of his remaining army, one division, under Craterus, was directed to march by the right bank of the river; another, the larger, under Hephæstion,

with all the elephants, in number two hundred, was ordered, on the left side, to make the utmost speed to the capital, unnamed, of a prince called Sopithus. Alexander himself took the immediate command of a chosen force of horse and foot to go by water; ready thus to give attention and support to either side, and also to strengthen either from the other. A fourth body, under Philip, whom Arr. 1. 6. c. 2. he had appointed satrap of all the country westward of the Indus, as far as the confines of Bactria, probably the same person formerly described as Ch. 53. s. 4. of this Hist. Arr. 1. 5. c. 8. son of Machatas, was to remain four days, apparently to manage some business not indicated by the historian, and then follow.

At daybreak sacrifice was performed. Then the divisions for the left bank and for the river navigation embarked. Alexander, on reaching his galley, poured from a golden flagon a libation into the Hydaspes, invoking the deities of that river and of the Akesines, which it joined at some distance, and of the Indus, which receives their united waters. After this ceremony, he poured to Hercules, to Ammon, and, as ancient Macedonian custom prescribed, (so the historian describes it,) to other gods. This pious ceremony being concluded, the trumpet, at his command, gave the signal, and the fleet moved. Such a number of vessels, passing along the river in regular order, with signals of trumpets and words of command heard on the shores, and occasionally reverberated by rocks and woods on the banks, the effect was greatly striking even to the Greeks; but still more to the multitude of Indians, led by curiosity from the populous neighbourhood on each side of the river, to whom everything seen and heard was new, and whose wonder, the historian says, was particularly excited by the sight of horses conveyed by water. Singularly given to

singing, he adds, their songs, on this occasion, heightened the extraordinary chorus.

On the third day of the voyage the fleet arrived  
Arr. l. 6. c. 4.

where Craterus, on one side of the river, and Hephæstion, on the other, according to orders, met it. Alexander directed them to proceed immediately, and still by the river's course. With the fleet he waited himself two days, while Philip, with his division, joined. This body, probably with a view to the more easily finding provisions for all, he ordered across the country to the Akelines, with instruction to follow the course of that stream to its junction with the Hydaspes, on which he himself pursued his voyage, in a width of water, according to the historian, nowhere less than twenty Greek stades, which on no computation would be so little as a mile.<sup>6</sup> In five days he reached the confluence of the two rivers. There a contraction of the channel, through which the combined waters were of necessity to flow, produced what our seamen call a race, and of very dangerous violence. Of this both Alexander and the army had previous intelligence from the country people; but, for the fleet to proceed, the passing must be hazarded. On approaching the strait, the roaring of the waters was such that the rowers, appalled,

c. 5. as if by consent, without command, rested on their oars. Orders were issued to proceed with

the greatest and most unremitted exertion; assurance being added, that so the force of the whirlpools might be overborne or evaded. The round vessels, (as the Greeks called vessels of burden, nearly such as the modern for ocean navigation,) though the irregular violence of the current alarmed those aboard, all passed safely. But the long vessels, with low sides, adapted to swift rowing, and

<sup>6</sup> Οὐδαμοῦ μείονα ἐν τῷ κατάπλῳ ἑκοσι σταδίων τὸ εὖρος. Arr. l. 6. c. 4.



especially those of two benches<sup>7</sup>, the rowers of the lower bench, whose rowloops were little above the level of the water when smooth, being unable to disengage their oars from the rising billows, were greatly distressed. Two of these falling against each other were lost, and many of the men they bore perished. Fortunately it happened that, presently below the rapid, on the right bank of the river, was a shore advantageous for receiving and refitting the damaged fleet. Alexander, attentive to the danger and suffering of his people, having himself passed safely, landed there, and diligently superintended assistance to the injured vessels and those they carried. At this place Hephæstion, Craterus, and Philip, with their several divisions, joined.

Hitherto the people on either shore had mostly been submissive, and the few refractory were with little effort compelled to obedience. But more powerful states were next in the way, those of the Mallians and Oxydracs; people, according to Arrian, living under republican government, and eminent among the Indians as military people.<sup>8</sup> Assurance being received that these, in alliance, were determined upon resistance, it was judged expedient to increase the force on the right bank of the river, where their territory lay. Philip's division, and Polysperchon's, and all the horse-bowmen, and all the elephants, such was Alexander's opinion of the power of that animal in battle, were conveyed across the river, and put under the command of Craterus. Of the rest of the army, one division, under Hephæstion, was sent forward Arr. l. 6. c. 5. a five days' march; another, under Ptolemy, the historian, was ordered to remain three days behind. The immediate command of a chosen body of foot and horse Alexander

<sup>7</sup> "Οσαι δίπλοτοι αὐτῶν. Arr. l. 6. c. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Memorials of these people, whose names the Greeks wrote Μαλλοὶ and Ὀξυδράκαι, Vincent has observed, remain in the modern names of their countries, *Mooltan* and *Ooche*.

took himself, to go upon the most active service. The fleet he directed to proceed the space of a three days' march down the river.

An object is not indicated by historians to require these measures, which yet possibly may have been ably adapted to circumstances; and Arrian, from whom most is always to be expected, though he rarely goes beyond his purpose of a military history, has stated, as cause for war with the Mallians, only that they declined acknowledging Alexander's imperial authority on terms he offered them; whether claiming their allegiance as once subjects of the Persian empire, or only considering them, like all other people, out of compact, and so, according to the ordinary Grecian principle, fair objects of conquest. Simply as an addition to his vast dominion, their country could be but a small object. But all the Indian tribes, like them of warlike reputation, were predatory people. Whether the

Vincent on Nearchus. Mallians might have means to interrupt the trade on the Indian rivers, supposed eminent among Alexander's objects of protection and encouragement, we hardly have ground to judge; but that security for the peaceful cultivators of the soil in the provinces would be precarious in the neighbourhood of a people of that character, holding complete independency, cannot be doubtful.

But if just cause for engaging in the war may be supposed, neither the following severity against the enemy, nor the prince's rashness in the exposure of his own person to dangers even for him beyond the common, appears at all within excuse. It may seem that, in smothered ill humour with his army, of which he knew himself, notwithstanding the recent opposition to his fancy, highly the favourite, and whose favour it greatly behoved him to cultivate, venting his spleen on the foe, he would waste the exertion upon small, for which great enterprise was denied him.

A sandy waterless desert divided the rich country of the Mallians from the river Akesines. Marching in the morning, from his camp on the bank of that river, at the distance of about nine miles he reached a smaller stream, where he gave his troops midday rest. Proceeding then in the afternoon and throughout the night, and himself hastening with his cavalry before his infantry, in the morning he approached a principal town of the Mallians.

That people, refusing tribute to the mighty conqueror of the continent from the Hellespont and the African desert to the Indus, confident in the security of their situation, were found unprepared to expect an enemy. Many about the fields, unarmed, fled toward the town for safety : those overtaken were put to the sword. The horse then were stationed around the town to prevent egress. The foot arriving, the assault began ; and the Indians, after some vain efforts at defence, withdrew to their citadel. This was then attacked, and being carried, those within, about two thousand, were all put to death. No reason is mentioned by the historian for such severity ; nor for what ensued. Perdicas had been sent against an inferior town. At his approach the inhabitants fled. He pursued ; and his light troops, practised in running, overtook many, whom they put to death. Neighbouring marshes afforded refuge for those who could reach them.

Alexander, resting only till the first watch of the night, proceeded, by a forced march, to the Arr. l. 6. c. 7. river Hydraotes, where, at daybreak, he overtook the flying and scattered Mallians. Most had crossed the river, but many were killed by his cavalry in the water, and many more in the continuation of pursuit. Some were made prisoners ; of course for profit of the troops by sale to slavery. The greater part however were enough advanced to reach a town strongly situated and walled. Against

these Python son of Agenor<sup>9</sup> was detached, who presently took the town by storm. The lives of the survivors here were spared.

Meanwhile Alexander himself went against the town of the Bramins<sup>10</sup>: thus only the historian describes it. The Bramins were then, as now, the wise men or philosophers of the Indians.<sup>11</sup> They seem to have encouraged the people in opposition to Alexander, as afterward the Druids, who were of nearly similar rank and character among the ancient Britons, encouraged them in opposition to the Romans. But the Grecian art of sapping, used against their walls, quickly produced effect, which caused such alarm that, without attempting to defend the breach, they withdrew into their citadel: yet in such deficient order that some of Alexander's troops, following, entered also. These however were presently overpowered and driven out with loss. Twenty-five were acknowledged to have been killed. Alexander then ordered the sappers to the wall, and the scaling ladders to be ready on all sides. A tower being reduced to ruin; and part of the adjoining curtain falling with it, Alexander himself led the forlorn hope. Zeal thence becoming vehement among the troops, the place was quickly carried. Most of the Indians died fighting. The less able set fire to the houses, where whole families perished: a few only, such, observes the historian, was their fortitude, were saved for slavery.

It seems to have been this passive courage, characteristic still of the Indians, that provoked the youthful conqueror. They could not resist him, yet would not yield. Nor was this stimulation single in his mind. Angry yet, though no longer avowing anger, with his army for refusal to follow him against the powerful kingdoms of eastern

<sup>9</sup> Πύθωνα τὸν Ἀγήνορος. ARR. I. 6. c. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Βραχμάνων. c. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Σοφισταί. c. 16.

India, this new incentive came upon him from those whom, in contempt, he would have left behind him, could he have prosecuted the greater object of his desire. Allowing his troops therefore only one day's rest, he detached Python and Demetrius, with a force suited to the purpose, back to the thickets on the bank of the <sup>Arr. 1. 6. c. 8.</sup> Hydraotes, whither many Mallian families had fled, in hope of security which they found their towns could not afford them. His orders were sanguinary. Any Mallians who came to surrender at discretion might be spared, but all others found were to be put to the sword.

Meanwhile he proceeded himself against the principal town of the Mallian country. But the Indians had already so experienced the weakness of their fortifications against the Grecian art of attack that, before he could arrive, the town was deserted. The people, with those of many inferior towns, having crossed the Hydaspes, occupied the farther of its lofty banks, in number, it was said, fifty thousand armed men, with the purpose of disputing the passage. Alexander, after a rapid survey, rode into the river at the head of his cavalry. He had hardly reached the middle of the channel when the resolution of the Indians failed them, and, with hasty steps, but in good order, they withdrew from the bank. He followed. But they then, seeing his infantry yet afar off, stood, and so resisted his charges that he found it expedient to wait for his infantry. The Agrian and other select light-armed arrived first, with the bowmen.<sup>12</sup> These, together with the cavalry, began a desultory action, which they maintained till the phalanx approached;

<sup>12</sup> Arrian here distinguishes the *ψιλοὶ* and the *τοξόται*. I think Xenophon and Thucydides always reckoned the bowmen among the *ψιλοὶ*, though a distinguished and superior branch of them. Arrian's *ψιλοὶ* seem to have been the *πελτασταί*, middle-armed, of the elder writers; and indeed probably Alexander would not take with him to the farther end of Asia any of what Thucydides has called *ἄχλος τῶν ψιλῶν*.

and then the Indians, of whom many were already wounded, presently fled. At no great distance a town strongly situated was their refuge, but the pursuing horse killed many.

Next day, committing one division of his army to Perdiccas, leading the other himself, Alexander assailed the town in two places. His own division forcing a gate entered first. Apparently the fortification was very imperfect. The Indians, no longer attempting defence of the town, withdrew into the citadel, stronger by art as well as by local circumstances. Immediately he proceeded to storm it. At the same time sapping was begun, and scaling-ladders were applied. But the efforts of his men not satisfying his impatience, he took a ladder from one bearing it, placed it against the wall, and mounted, under protection only of his shield carried over his head. Peucestas, the bearer of the sacred shield, taken, as formerly mentioned, from the temple of Minerva at Troy, immediately followed; Leonnatus, a lord of the body-guard, was third; Abreas, apparently a common soldier, but of those who, for merit, received double pay, mounted nearly at the same time by another ladder. The hypaspists<sup>13</sup>, (who seem to have attended Alexander's person in every action in which infantry could join,) zealous to follow, overloaded the ladders and they broke. Alexander thus, with three others only, was on the top of the wall, and, for the splendour of his armour, the principal object for the enemy's missile weapons. Within the wall the soil was raised, so that he might leap down without other danger than exposing himself still more to the

<sup>13</sup> Ὑπασπιστής. Failure of desirable explanation concerning the body distinguished by this title has been formerly observed. Taylor's edition of Herdier's Lexicon gives for version, *Clypeatus satelles*, quoting the Glossaria Veterum, and agreeing with Scapula, who may probably have drawn from the same source. But this, leaving the distinguishing ἵππῳ unnoticed, as a version is clearly defective, and as explanation nothing.

enemy. In advancing the hazard thus was of one kind, in retreating perhaps equal of another. In advancing there might be glory, in retreating shame. With a moment's consideration, he leaped down into the citadel, and, for defence, stood with his back against the wall. The Indians, seeing him alone, closed upon him. The excellence of his armour, with his skill in arms, protected him, while he killed an Indian chief, and wounded several. The three who had mounted the wall with him presently joining Arr. 1. 6. c. 10. him, the Indians no longer dared to close, but plied them with missile weapons. Abreas, wounded in the face with an arrow, fell. Alexander himself received a shot, which pierced his breastplate, and the effusion of blood following was such that he presently fainted. Peucestas and Leonatus remained to maintain the unequal contest.

But the troops, whose eagerness to prevent had enhanced their prince's danger, so indiscreetly incurred<sup>14</sup>, soon succeeded in relieving it. The wall was only of earth, or unbaked clay, and, even without ladders, some of the soldiers found means to mount. A gate at hand was so infirm, or so ill guarded, that it was presently forced. Attack, from powerful numbers, ensuing, was, at first, withstood by the Indians vigorously; but they could not long maintain close fight against the superiority of Grecian arms and discipline. Before however the relief arrived, all Alexander's supporters were wounded, and nearly disabled. He was himself borne away, uncertain whether to survive. There was then no restraining his victorious soldiery. Every man, woman, and child found in the place was put to the sword; his own latter conduct having indeed, on some occasions, afforded too much encouragement for such illiberal revenge.

Such an adventure as this, of the conqueror of Asia, would be likely to be variously dressed by the numerous

<sup>14</sup> . . . μή τι αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθη, οὗ ξὺν νόρῳ κινδυνεύων. Arr. 1. 6. c. 10. .

writers of his age, and ages following, candidates for public favour ; and Arrian mentions, among other instances, one remarkably showing excess of carelessness, if not rather impudence, of some among them, while, in the scarcity and dearness of copies, examination and comparison of accounts could be within the power of a very few. Some authors, he says, reported that Ptolemy, the historian, was one who mounted the ladder with Alexander, and protected him when disabled ; “ whereas,” he proceeds, “ Ptolemy in his own narrative relates that he was not then present with the army under Alexander’s immediate orders, but commanding a detached body on a distant service.” Ptolemy however would have full means to learn all circumstances, so as to give an exact account ; and this Arrian appears to have carefully followed.

ARR. I. 6. c. 12. Alexander’s danger put the army, through all ranks, upon serious and anxious consideration. What might be the consequences of his death, for which no provision had been made, and who should succeed to the command-in-chief, were questions most seriously involving the interests of all, and for which none had a ready answer. Since Parmenio no one had been so distinguished by the king as to be at all marked for such pre-eminence ; and the troops were rather, in their several divisions, attached to their several leaders, than generally disposed to allow to any one the command over all. What then would result among the conquered nations ? Their chiefs had been not only subdued by the arms, but gained by the favours of Alexander ; whose name also the people revered, as of the most glorious of sovereigns, under whose rule they enjoyed all their former advantages, with less apprehension, than before, of a troubled government. Who would be for settling in the empire gained, and fighting still, if necessary, for its maintenance ; and who for the return home, the extensive earnestness for



which had recently so grieved their lost leader? And for either settling in the conquered provinces, or for a length of march, before so unheard of, as the return through so many provinces, which to be friendly, which hostile, none could know, who was to decide, and what were their means?

The news reaching the army remaining, under Hephæstion's command, in the camp whence Alexander had set out for his expedition against the Mallians, produced even greater and more lasting anxiety than where he was present. The first report was that he was dead. Contradiction soon arrived, but did not obtain immediate credit; suspicion arising that it was an artifice of interested leaders, desirous of gaining time for their purposes. Even when at length Alexander, unable to come, wrote himself for assurance, apprehension that this might be a forgery still gave uneasiness.

Informed of all circumstances, as soon as he could bear the motion of a litter, Alexander proceeded to the Hydaspes. On that stream a vessel bore him without fatigue to the station where his fleet, under Nearchus, lay, with the main body of his army, under Hephæstion, encamped hard by. The litter was ready for him again at the landing-place; but, feeling himself beyond expectation able, he ordered his horse; and, mounting, to the joyful surprise of the surrounding anxious soldiery, though apparently not without hazard, and perhaps injury, rode to his tent, and, without assistance, dismounted. Universal acclamation, gratulation, and, the historian says, tears of joy attended him. So does personal valour commonly engage the esteem of the multitude, especially of valour in high station, and more especially where exerted of free choice, without any pressure from necessity. But still more, with the added opinion of talent capable of directing multitudes, so as both to lead them to glory, and provide for their welfare, better than they could

do for themselves, or any other for them, an enthusiastical attachment arises : and such Arrian describes as prevailing toward Alexander. Among his more judicious friends however, universally dissatisfied with his rashness, some took the liberty to admonish him, that the merit of the lowest soldier should not be the object of the general's ambition ; and that one whose life was so important to so many thousands, and even millions, should not so waste his safety. Alexander bore this, but with some demonstration of impatience ; which an old Bœotian officer, more a soldier than a general, observing, exclaimed, in his Bœotian dialect : " O Alexander, such deeds become men : the proverb says, Bear the evils which great actions bring, and enjoy the glory." This is among the few anecdotes of the more private life of Alexander, authentically transmitted ; Arrian having given it from the narrative of Nearchus, the commander of the fleet ; who added, that the old Bœotian was thenceforward in much favour with the king.

ARR. I. 6. c. 14. The army in the Mallian country appears to have remained to complete its subjugation, and then proceed against the Oxydracs ; represented as a powerful nation, whose purposed junction of forces with the Mallians had been disappointed by Alexander's rapidity. Terrified now by experience, both of the force and of the severity of the conqueror come from afar, both people sent deputations offering submission and soliciting pardon ; the Mallians for their resistance, the Oxydracs for having failed of an earlier submission. The latter seem, on information received, to have devised a mode of flattery grateful to Alexander : " They were desirous," they said, " of freedom and independency ; to which, if any people, they were entitled, having enjoyed them from the time when Bacchus came to India : but, understanding that Alexander also was of the race of the gods, if it was his pleasure to appoint a satrap over

them, they would submit and pay such tribute as he might require." The terms, on their compliance with which he insisted, were not mild. He would have a thousand of the principal men of the two nations sent to him, to be held as hostages; or, at his pleasure, to be employed as soldiers in his proposed subjugation of the rest of India. Again they seem to have had politic consideration of his character. They sent him a thousand men, selected for size and comeliness of person, with assurance also, true or otherwise, of their eminence of rank; and, with them, five hundred armed chariots, with the necessary horses and drivers, as a voluntary tribute of auxiliary force. Pleased with this, he accepted the chariots with their appendages, and dismissed the hostages; but appointed a satrap over the country, Philip, apparently the same formerly distinguished as son of Machatas, and already of satrapal dignity.

## SECTION II.

*Alexander's Navigation of the Indian Rivers. — Conquest of southern Provinces. — Division of the Army for the Return homeward. — Establishment of a naval Station in the Indus. — Arrival at the Ocean. — Establishment of a naval Arsenal at the western Mouth of the Indus.*

ALEXANDER, checked by the reasonable opposition of his army in his wild purpose of extending conquest, (wild certainly, yet in his very extraordinary circumstances at his yet early age, demanding consideration,) and apparently somewhat sobered by the severity of his last wound and the length of confinement required for the cure, again directed his uncommon powers of mind and body and fortune to projects useful to mankind. His purpose, formerly conceived, of exploring the course of the Indus, and making known to the western nations the navigation of the ocean, from the Indian

to the Persian gulf, employed his attention. During his confinement he had caused a considerable increase to be made to his river-navy; principally of the larger vessels; and, as soon as his convalescence was sufficiently advanced, he prosecuted the voyage down the Hydraotes to its confluence with the Akesines, and thence onward to that of their united streams with the Indus. There he awaited the arrival of Perdikkas, who had been sent with a division against a refractory Indian nation. In this leisure examining the opportunities of the place, and finding them inviting, he resolved to found a town there, and provide it with conveniences for a naval station. During his stay Perdikkas, successful in the business he had been sent upon, rejoined. Oxyartes, father of the queen Roxana, also arrived, reporting some misconduct of Tiristes, Tiryestes, or Tyriaspis, (for the Greeks varied in their orthography of Persian names,) satrap of Paropamisus; who was in consequence removed, and the satrapy was committed to Oxyartes. Philip's satrapy was then declared to extend to the confluence of the Akesines and Indus, including the new town and arsenal, the completion of which he was directed to superintend. A body of troops, including all the Thracians of the army, was left with him, to ensure quiet in his province.

For proceeding still downward, the ground on the left bank of the river being incommodious, and hostility being more threatened on the right <sup>15</sup>, the greater part of the division under Craterus was transported across, with all the elephants, there to continue the march toward the sea; Alexander himself, with a chosen body, being again borne on the stream. Reaching the capital of the Sogdians <sup>16</sup>, appa-

<sup>15</sup> Αἰσινεσῶν. For the interpretation here, note 17. is proposed to account.

<sup>16</sup> Possibly these may have been a branch of the nation formerly noticed (c. 51. s. 5.), of the same name, near the Caspian sea, or possibly the name here may have been corrupted in transcription.

rently without resistance, he formed there again a subsidiary naval arsenal, and provided for its security by fortifications. Already, though much remained yet to be subdued, he took upon himself to dispose of all the river-side country, some hundred miles from the confluence of the Akesines and Indus to the sea, declaring it a satrapy under the joint authority of Oxyartes and Python.

Directing the march of Craterus then by the right bank of the river, through the country which the historian describes as that of the Arachotes and Drangies<sup>17</sup>, he proceeded himself still by water to the territory said to be the richest of India, the dominion of a prince called Musicanus. That prince had not waited upon him, to offer submission for himself and his country, nor had even by an embassy sought friendship, nor had either sent those presents which common civility required for a great king, or solicited anything for himself. These are the causes stated by Arrian for treating him as an enemy. Such then was the rapidity of Alexander's movements that, before Musicanus obtained notice of the armament's approach, it was already within his territory. Apparently however he had information of Alexander's character, as well as of his power. With the most magnificent presents he could collect he hastened to meet him, and especially with all his elephants. Being admitted to audience, he began with acknowledging himself wrong<sup>18</sup>; which, says, the historian, commonly weighed most with Alexander

<sup>17</sup> By this description it seems made sufficiently evident that Arrian, for distinguishing the banks of a river as right and left, traced the water upward, whereas, in modern Europe, it seems now agreed to name them, as they stand in tracing it from its source downward. The country of the Arachotes and Drangies, stretching westward on the north of the great Desert, was of great importance to Alexander, being that alone by which, from his actual situation, there was any ready communication with Media, Persia, and all the west of his empire. But whether Arrian was clearly aware of the geography here, or whether rather some deficiency may not be in the extant MSS. of his work, perhaps not unreasonably may be doubted.

<sup>18</sup> Arrian's expression is strong, ὁμολογῶν ἀδικεῖν.

toward obtaining favour. Accordingly his delinquency was pardoned; and Alexander, having viewed his capital and his country, admiring both, continued him in the presidency, but not in independency: the capital being in a commanding situation, he built a citadel, and placed a garrison there.

Musicanus however, though sovereign over subjects, like many now in India, was not an independent prince, and therefore apparently had it not properly in his choice to submit to another. But Alexander's claim of paramount sovereignty extended to the dominion of Oxycanus, to whom

Musicanus acknowledged fealty; and Oxycanus, ARR. I. 6. c. 16.

like his subordinate, had omitted the required acknowledgments. Alexander therefore hastened to proceed against him, leaving the superintendency of the building of the new citadel, with the command of the forces there, to Craterus. So, it appears, he had now learnt to contemn the boasted Indian military that, without any infantry of the phalanx, he took, for the expedition against Oxycanus, only the cavalry which had been conveyed on the river, with his favourite middle-armed, the Agrians, and his bowmen. Nevertheless in the field he seems to have found no resistance; and presently, with a force so unfit for sieges, he took the two principal towns, in the second of which Oxycanus himself was made prisoner.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> It has been observed by Vincent that the name Porus signified Prince. The termination Canus, may seem to have been, in another language, a word signifying the same title, to which the Greeks prefixed the proper name, and added, in their usual way, a final syllable to denote the case. This title is found variously spelt, Can, Khan, Chan, Cham, even by English writers, who, too commonly, bowing to any foreign orthography of Asiatic names which foreign writers may reasonably have endeavoured to adapt to their several languages, misrepresent them, often grossly, for an English reader. By the more judicious, the same title has been written Cawn or Khawn; which I apprehend, according to English orthography, best represents the word; though to indicate exactly all Asiatic sounds by any European alphabet is impossible. Vincent, distressed by confusion and uncertainty often thus arising, has taken pains to collate various spellings of eastern names, with the purpose of ascertaining what should be the English orthography; but, in the

Meanwhile information arrived that Sambus, an Indian, satrap, under Alexander's appointment, of a neighbouring mountainous region, had absconded. Alexander on this hastened to Sindomana, the principal town; Arrian here giving the name, which often fails in his narrative, for cities

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evident want of familiar acquaintance with the pronunciation of any language but his own, he has succeeded little farther than to furnish some ground for any who may follow him better prepared. On the other hand, modern fashion has tended variously to increase this inconvenient confusion. French modes, puzzling for the English reader, have been adopted for foreign words, even for some which had become classical in our language, as the Turkish title *Basháw*. This spelling, which Johnson has followed, represents regularly, in our orthography, the sound indicated by the Italian *Basciá*; and both concur exactly with the French *Pacha*, except for the first letter. Gibbon's diligent curiosity leading him to inquiry, he learnt that in one extensive portion of the Turkish empire the people failed, as the Welsh with us, of the faculty of pronouncing the B, and in another part that of pronouncing P; whence has arisen the difference in regard to that first letter, which alone directs to a difference in pronunciation between the French and us, with whom the Italians concur. Gibbon, so far concurring with the French, has chosen for himself the peculiar orthography, *Pashaw*, which possibly may be, as he has supposed it, the most warranted by the best Turkish custom. But it may probably have occurred to many to have observed some English speakers, and not uneducated, misled by the modern fashion of French orthography, strangely to pervert the proper sound, pronouncing as if the word were written *Páka*. Thus also the fashionable French orthography of the name of an Arabian people, *Bedouin*, variously puzzles English readers; who have no difficulty when they find it written by Shaw, and other English travellers, *Bedoween*; thus properly representing the Arabic letters, and indicating the Arabic pronunciation, as far as English letters may. Legislation in orthography, and also in phraseology, rests now principally with the daily newsprinters, as those with whose works the public eye is far most continually and extensively familiar. And considering the rapidity to which they are unremittingly urged, as in a race, their general correctness ought perhaps more to excite admiration than any occasional failure of it should induce blame. A large proportion of their materials coming to them in French, it is not wonderful if, in their necessary constant haste, they frequently relieve themselves by adopting French words, French idioms, and all the torture to which the French, scrupulous of nothing which may make every thing French, put foreign names: while modesty, overstrained with us, (what the French call *mauvaise honte*.) produces scruple of whatever may make anything English. Thus an injurious change is rapidly working in our language, to which even the government gazette, not excusable as the daily newspapers, has sometimes contributed; lending its authority for the intrusion of words and phrases out of all analogy with the English language, and needless for any purpose, unless to amuse those who are aware how English voices far mostly mispronounce them.

in India, even the residence of princes. He was surprised to find the gates open, the principal friends of Sambus ready for surrender, the treasury untouched, and not an elephant removed. Those left in authority pleaded, in excuse for their chief, that he had no purpose of hostility, or of any disobedience to Alexander; but, being informed that his enemy, Musicanus, had been received into favour, he feared the consequences to himself, and on that account only had withdrawn. Alexander seems to have been satisfied with this apology for Sambus, but some bramins, accused as instigators of revolt, were put to death.

Musicanus however, urged by the bramins, probably mistimating the value of Grecian arms and discipline, and encouraged by a view of the smallness of the numbers actually attending Alexander, had revolted. Python, sent in command against him, soon took all his towns: some were destroyed, and the surviving inhabitants condemned to slavery; in some citadels were built and garrisons placed. Musicanus himself, brought prisoner, was by Alexander's order sent back to his own country, to be there hanged, together with some bramins, his advisers.

The terror of Alexander's arms now extended to the ocean; the intervening country being indeed too much divided among small sovereignties, often hostile to one another, for any to have reasonable hope of successful resistance to such a force as he could command. A deputation waited upon him from the sovereign of the insular territory, inclosed between the two principal channels by which the waters of the Indus reach the sea. Bringing the assurance of submission, which Alexander required from all within his reach who desired to live in peace, the deputies carried back with them his promise of protection for their prince in his present power and dignity; but, with it, a requisition that, at the town of Pattala, the capital of his dominion, situated at the



point of separation of the two great channels of the Indus, all convenience should be provided for his fleet and army against their arrival.

It seems, from Arrian's omission, nearly evident that the historian-generals, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, beyond whose authority he shows himself generally unwilling to pledge himself, declined to report even those accessions of strength to the army, which continued to be received occasionally from Europe, and still more would be disposed to avoid acknowledgment of the greater numbers of Asiatics, whom they styled barbarians, now forming a very important part of that nevertheless, for its general title, called the Macedonian army. But what is not found in his history of the expedition remains stated in his account of Arr. Ind. c. 19.

India, that, when Alexander embarked on the Hydaspes, his army, in that country, was of a hundred and twenty thousand men, exclusively of those auxiliary troops of the Indian princes and states which he afterward dismissed. Between India and the centre of the empire were yet objects for military measures, but not requiring such numbers, nor in countries capable of maintaining them. To divide the army therefore being necessary, a large body was committed to Craterus, consisting of three divisions of the phalanx, commanded by Attalus, Meleager, and Antigonus, with some bowmen, and all those Macedonians, among whom were some of the band of companions, who for age, wounds, or state of health, were less able for severe service. Craterus was directed to march for Persia Proper; not by the shortest, but the easiest and safest road; first returning up the course of the Indus by its right bank, and then proceeding through Arachosia, a fruitful country already explored, and where nothing hostile was apprehended. At the same time Python was sent back northward on the left bank, with the Agrians and horse-bowmen, to inspect the state of the colonies

established, and inquire concerning the conquered countries on that side of the river; with orders, after having made all necessary arrangements, to return and follow the motions of the largest of the bodies retained for service southward, which was to proceed, under the command of Hephæstion, on the right bank, to Pattala. Alexander himself embarked for that place, with a chosen division.

Having proceeded on the water two days without any remarkable occurrence, information met him, on the third, that the chief of Pattala<sup>20</sup> had deserted his country, leading the greater part of the inhabitants with him. Accordingly, on arriving, he found the town and neighbouring country deserted. Severity, overstrained, he seems now to have learnt, would defeat its own purpose. Sending in pursuit of the fugitives therefore, he gave orders not to kill, but to bring prisoners; and these he sent back again after their still flying fellow-countrymen, to assure them that all might return, and securely occupy their houses and till their lands, as before. This had, in considerable amount, the desired effect. Pattala then was presently observed to be a place

Arr. 1. 6. c. 18. Vinc. on Nearchus. of critical importance for its command of the two branches of the river, and of a country abounding with valuable produce; fruitful of cattle, especially of camels, and, for grain, of the best rice. Works were therefore put forward for making it a naval station, and securing that station for a citadel. Observing farther that much of the neighbouring country was uninhabited only from want of fresh water, though springs might be found in digging to a moderate depth, he employed parties of his troops in that

<sup>20</sup> On the first mention of this chief, Arrian calls him Ὁ τῶν Παττάλων τῆς χώρας ἄρχων. 1. 6. c. 17. s. 4. Here he calls him τῶν Παττάλων ὑπαρχος. Ib. s. 9. Under whom he was ἄρχων is not said; nor is this the first occasion on which Arrian gives the title of ὑπαρχος without mention of a superior. This, and indeed the whole of his narrative, marks his uncertainty about the political state of India.

service. Altogether this southern part of India appears to have been less civilised, and less well governed, than the northern, which had been already subdued. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Pattala, through ignorance, jealous of the beneficent works going forward, killed some of those employed, but were soon repressed by a force sent against them.

The question arose now by which of the branches of the great river, which here divided, the fleet should proceed to the ocean. Alexander resolved himself to examine both, and to begin by the western. For escort on the water he took a select squadron of the vessels which had been found the swiftest, and he put eight thousand foot and one thousand horse under the command of Leonnatus, to attend his motions, marching on the left bank. The season was adverse, being that of the stormy monsoon, blowing from the ocean; and pilots failed; those Pattalians most practised in navigation, perhaps informed of previous severities, and therefore less confiding in promises of protection, not being found among those who had returned to their homes. Nevertheless Alexander, not probably without information of what might be expected, yet not believing it in its full extent, and of a temper indisposed to yield to any conquerable obstacles, persevered in his purpose. The first day of the voyage passed smoothly. But, on the second, a violent adverse wind not only prevented progress, but, meeting the stream which favoured the fleet's course, produced so troubled a surface that the vessels laboured greatly: some were so injured by collision as to be rendered useless; but the crews all reached the shore. Parties then pursuing still the fugitive natives, some prisoners skilled in the river navigation were taken, and, being well treated, were found highly useful. In the farther progress of the fleet the water widened to the extent of some miles, and here another storm came

on ; but, the Indians showing a bay near, capable of affording shelter, damage was avoided.

Already here the river was affected by the singular tides of the neighbouring ocean. To the astonishment of the Greeks, accustomed only to the Mediterranean and Euxine seas, the ebb left all the vessels aground ; and then again to their surprise the following flood set them afloat.<sup>21</sup> Inform-

<sup>21</sup> Very early, in the course of this work, occasion occurred to animadvert upon the too common practice of critics, ingenious as well as learned, but who, speculating much, have seen little, to assume judgment on matters of which their information has been very deficient. The commentator on Nearchus has also found occasion for such animadversion. "The surprise of the Macedonians, and their ignorance of the tides," he observes, "have been ridiculed by Voltaire, who thinks it incredible that Alexander should not know the nature of tides ; as he must have seen the Euripus when in Bœotia, and must have known that Aristotle wrote on the subject. Major Rennell has corrected this petulance, by showing that the tide in the Indus is the Bore, which operates along the whole coast,—runs in the Hoogly river seventy miles in four hours, rises, at Calcutta, five feet in an instant, in the Megna twelve feet." Vinc. on Nearch. b. 2. p. 171. The learned commentator might have added, what Voltaire, with modest inquiry, might readily have learnt, that the tides on the coast of his own country, as of England also, especially on the western coasts, are so much greater than those of the Euripus, that these would hardly furnish a conception of what was to be expected. Lord Lyttelton, in his History of Henry the Second, has wasted labour to refute Voltaire's at least equal petulance, in contradicting the report of historians, that the first William made New Forest. "Les historiens," he says, in his *éssay* on general history, "ne font pas attention qu'il faut au moins vingt années pour qu'un nouveau plan d'arbres deviennent une forêt propre à la chasse. On lui fait *semmer* cette forêt en 1080. Il avait alors soixante-trois ans. Quelle apparence," &c. — Those who know the country and its history will see it every way probable that, when William subjected his new forest to the same forest laws and government, or nearly the same, which he found already established for many forests in his acquired kingdom, it was already prepared by nature to be a forest, differing little, if anything, in general character, from that it bears at this day. In large tracts oak is the weed of the soil, coming every where without human care, and protected in early growth by holly, but still more advantageously by hawthorn, also weeds of the soil, even against deer. Intervening large tracts, bearing nothing but heath, deny equally the growth of indigenous trees and advantageous return for tillage. That these tracts, or much of them, were then wild, cannot be doubted ; and that William afterwards made large additions from cultivated private estates, has been given to general knowledge since Lord Lyttelton's time by the publication of Domesday Book, compiled by William's order. Most of those estates were granted again to individuals in presently following reigns, and mostly hold, to this day, the same names by which they are re-

ation was obtained that near the river's mouth was an island called Killuta, affording advantageous harbours. Two light vessels were despatched to ascertain the circumstances. On their return, their commander's report encouraging, the squadron proceeded thither : and Alexander himself, eager to explore the great expanse before him, went on, with some chosen vessels, some leagues, till he came in sight of another island. But he had neither vessels fit to proceed far on the ocean, nor means to be sure of his course beyond sight of land. Returning therefore to Killuta he there sacrificed to the gods, to whom the oracle of Ammon, he said, had directed him to address such worship. On the following day however he ventured to proceed as far as the island last discovered, and there sacrificed to other gods with other ceremonies; still asserting that all was done in conformity to instructions from the oracle of Ammon. Directing his course then eastward beyond the mouth of the Indus, and finding no land southward, he celebrated a magnificent sacrifice ashore to the god Neptune. The carcasses of bulls, slain with due ceremony, were thrown into the sea. Golden cups being then filled with wine, from a golden flagon, he himself, after pouring libations upon the waves, threw in both cups and flagon.

An object worthy of this hazardous expedition in a distant corner, so separated from the body of the empire, where most important matters of regulation necessarily pressed for attention, is so obscurely and deficiently indicated by ancient

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corded in Domesday Book, or so nearly the same as not to be mistaken. All of these, with hardly an exception, are at this day still so wooded, among their cultivated fields, as to be perfect for all the purposes of a forest. The very ingenious French poet-historian-philosopher's argument then, contrasted with these matters of fact, can be matter only for ridicule.

This, wide as it is from the subject, it is hoped, may be allowed in a note, for its tendency to warrant observations offered in former notes, and perhaps some yet to come.

writers that the pomp with which its success was celebrated, and the pretension to the favour of divine admonition concerning it, might appear even ridiculous, if the petition, which Alexander is stated to have addressed to the deity on the occasion, did not open light upon the large policy, the spring of all: he prayed "that the fleet, which he was about to send from the Indus, by the ocean and the Persian gulf, to the Euphrates, might prosperously make the voyage." That voyage, for vessels wholly unadapted to ocean navigation, and seamen wholly unpractised in it, whether indeed ever before performed being apparently unknown, was evidently enough of extraordinary hazard, and might well want extraordinary encouragement and stimulation for those to be employed on it.

Arrian, prosecuting his purpose of a military history of Alexander, has been often led, as here, to notice important facts beyond that particular object; and these, in the part with which we are now engaged, have attracted the just attention of the commentator on the narrative of his admiral

Vincent on Nearchus, b. 2. p. 165. Nearchus. "That Alexander," says that diligent inquirer, "had conceived a plan of the commerce which was afterward carried on from Alexandria in Egypt to the Indian ocean, I think capable of demonstration by his conduct after his arrival at Pattala. In his passage down the Indus he had evidently marked that river as the eastern frontier of his empire. He had built three cities, and fortified two others on this line; and he was now preparing for the establishment of Pattala, at the point of division of the river, and planning other posts at its eastern and western mouths. Upon his arrival at Pattala he had despatched light troops in pursuit of the fugitive people, who, upon promise of safety and protection, mostly returned. His next care was to explore the deserts, to find water, and to dig wells. This is evidence rather of a commercial than a

military purpose; for so all who have travelled the deserts will esteem it, and such was Arrian's opinion, who says it was to render the country habitable.

Reckoning Pattala then the advantageous place for the great emporium proposed for the east, as Alexandria in Egypt for the west, he enlarged his plan for making it a naval arsenal, and resolved to leave a part of his fleet there. Informed that the eastern branch of the Indus, having a less rapid current, afforded a more advantageous communication with the ocean than the western, he would himself explore it. In approaching the sea his pilots pointed out an extensive lake, with a convenient harbour, or landing-place, and good communication from the river. Leaving there the greater part of the land force which had attended him, with all his smaller vessels, he proceeded with the larger only. Reaching the ocean, and landing on its shore, he employed three days in examining that part of the country, and then returned to his haven in the lake. Having directed there whatever his purposes appeared farther to require, he pursued his way back to Pattala.

He was now satisfied of the imprudence of undertaking in that season of the adverse monsoon, with the means possessed by the ancients, and vessels adapted to such deficient means, the navigation of the Indian ocean. He therefore directed the collecting of four months' provisions for the force intended for that service. Even the river navigation had been found in that season hazardous. Nevertheless, in returning to his main army, he would share, with his navigators, the peril of going by water. In his extensive survey of the shores, and, as far as time and circumstances would allow, of the country, having observed its wants, and the opportunities for relieving them, he sent additional parties to dig wells in various places, that water, that indispensable

necessary, of which his vessels could not carry a supply for many days, might abound for his fleet in passing.

### SECTION III.

*Arrangement for the Return of the Army to Persia, and for exploring the Means for Navigation between India and the Persian Gulf. — Difficulties of the proposed March. — Colony settled near the Coast. — Failure of ordered Preparation. Sufferings in traversing the Desert.*

THE northern countries, which now separated the recent conquests from Persia and Media, Alexander knew from having traversed them; the southern only by report. Before he detached Craterus by the known way, he had large assurance that the other was, from natural circumstances, of difficulty, for the march of an army, extraordinary, of a numerous army insurmountable. Nor were these ARR. I. 6. c. 21. circumstances unknown to those selected for the expedition, but, on the contrary, rather exaggerated in report and in fancy. Several armies, which had attempted to cross the wilderness, it was said, had wholly perished there, and, even of the commanders, only two had survived; Semiramis, queen of Assyria, celebrated in earliest profane history, and the great Cyrus; the former reaching her own dominion with only twenty attendants, the latter saving only seven. Alexander nevertheless persevered in an undertaking, however hazardous, indispensable toward the completion of his great design of providing advantageous communication and connection, for the body of his empire, with the highly valuable newly acquired eastern provinces. Without co-operation and occasional support from a land force, it were beyond hope for a fleet, of the ancient construction, and with only the ancient means for navigation, to make the proposed voyage along such an extent of unknown coast;



mostly desert, and, where inhabited, hostile. So Arr. l. 6. c. 21. however his liberality, his reputation for piety, the historian says, toward the gods, his pretensions to assurance of divine favour, supported by his extraordinary and constant successes, but especially his profuse unsparingness of himself, his readiness upon all occasions for any fatigue, any privation, and every danger, had gained the attachment and confidence of those under him, that no unwillingness appears to have been finally shown, either in the army or in the fleet, to proceed upon the expeditions proposed for them; in which he was to accompany the one, with promise of all possible support to the other.

It was, according to the commentator on Nearchus, founding his calculation on combined information from Strabo and Arrian, early in September, that he set out from Pattala with his land force, leaving his fleet to await there the season for navigation. The first requisite toward his great object being to facilitate communication by the ocean between the river Indus and the Persian gulf, his purpose was to march the nearest to the coast that the circumstances of the country would allow. Always then ready to take the business of most fatigue and danger, he committed the main body to Hephæstion, to proceed by the less forbidding road, higher up the country, while, with a chosen division, he diverged himself toward the barren shore, where he caused wells to be dug, and other provision to be made for the welfare of his fleet when it might pass.

B. C. 326.  
Ol. 133. 3.  
Vincent on  
Nearchus.

As generally in India, so in proceeding now westward, the population was found divided into communities unable to resist, yet unwilling to obey. On the army's approach, the Arabites, (called so by the Greeks from their river, the Arabis,) quitting their cultivated lands, had fled to the neighbouring wilds. The river was not of depth to make

the passage difficult. Beyond it was a desert; of extent however not requiring much more than one night for the march across it, so as to reach, soon after daybreak, the cultivated country of the Orites. The disposition of that people being hostile, insomuch that they were prepared, not only for emigration, should it be needful, but first for resistance, Alexander hastened forward with his cavalry; and, attacking those found in arms, killed many and made many prisoners. Encamping then on the bank of a small river which crossed the way, he was there joined by Hephæstion, and the united army proceeded to Rambacia, which Arrian, though describing it as the largest town of the Orite territory, calls nevertheless a village. Apparently it was unfortified; but the advantages of its situation, and the fruitfulness of the surrounding soil, engaged Alexander's attention. Not on the coast, it was yet so near that a fleet might have easy communication with it; and being, by all circumstances, says the historian, singularly promising for a great and flourishing city, he resolved to establish a colony there, and took measures accordingly.

Beyond the Orite country was Gadrosia, a province of that formerly the Persian, now his own empire, where his Grecian satrap, Apollophanes, commanded. The western part of that extensive region, bordering on Carmania and Persia, with exception for the coast, is fruitful; the middle an immense sandy wilderness: the people of the eastern part thus, under the lax rule of the Persian satraps, had been little habituated to civil restraint. For the number of important offices to which, among his extensive and rapid conquests, Alexander had often, in necessary haste, to appoint; that selection should be always fortunate would not be to be expected from the most penetrating of mankind, even if also the most experienced. Apollophanes, according to Arrian's phrase, had done nothing

of what had been commanded him. The eastern Gadroses, whether through his failure, or otherwise, not only gave a friendly reception to numerous fugitive Orites, but concurred with them in occupying a strait, on their frontier, with the purpose of disputing the passage. Information of this reached Alexander at Rambacia. To be quick, and not to commit to others what he could do himself, seem to have been always his maxims in all difficulties. He gave to Hephæstion the comparatively easy officé of superintending the projected works there, while himself, with a select body, proceeded against the united Orites and Gadroses. Nor was his presence unavailing toward an easy success. Assured that Alexander in person was come to attack them, and that, on the spot, proposal or solicitation might be addressed to him, the united people deserted their strong post; and shortly the chief of the Orites arrived at his camp, surrendering themselves, and offering the surrender of their nation. This being precisely what, for his objects at his new colony, he desired, he dismissed them, with direction to inform their people "that all who would go home should have his protection for person and property."

Returning then, he constituted Rambacia the capital of a surrounding satrapy. To the charge and dignity of satrap he appointed an officer named, in our copies of Arrian, like the satrap of Gadrosia, perhaps through error of transcribers, Apollophanes<sup>22</sup>, and he selected a body of horse and foot to remain there, under the command of Leonnatus. His earnestness to maintain the dominion acquired in these eastern parts, to use the advantages it offered for the benefit

<sup>22</sup> The circumstances stated by Arrian indicate that this Apollophanes was a different person from him recently mentioned by the same name to have been satrap of Gadrosia, and it seems more likely that, for the description of one or the other, transcribers may have been careless, than that Arrian would have failed to add some such distinction as that of the father's name, usual with him on other occasions, had the names of the two persons been the same.

of the whole empire, and, with that view, to assure the safety and success of his fleet in exploring the coast, are, among numerous other indications, not lightly marked in the amount and in the selection of troops for the station of Rambacia. Beside a large body, not particularly described by the historian, he left there all the Grecian mercenary horse, those middle-armed, the Agrians, whom he had distinguished as his chosen companions in dashing enterprises, and a complete division of bowmen. The whole was directed to await the passing of the naval armament, and meanwhile to support the satrap in measures for its relief and welfare.

In the march from the Indus, thus far, rivers had been found at no very great intervals. But, in the country next to be traversed, in the way to Persia, the inconveniences of a very extensive sandy wilderness were to be encountered. The heat of the air there is beyond that ordinary in other the most sultry climates. Myrrh-bearing trees, and the nard plant in great abundance, are the only produce noticed. Some Phenicians, who had followed the army in this perilous march, with mercantile views, loaded their cattle with these, in such quantities, that the abundant nard, bruised in carrying, perfumed the air. Alexander's view to the encouragement of commerce, and his earnestness in it, are, in this incidental information from the historian, clearly and strongly shown; for the merchants could not have engaged in such an undertaking without, beyond his permission, assurance of his support. In this wilderness here and there only a very scanty population was found; food and water were every where scarce; and the nearer the coast, where Alexander's great object required his course, every deficiency and every inconvenience greatest. It seems indeed indicated that all were greater than might have been, had his satrap of Gadrosia executed, ably and diligently, the duties expected of him.

Under necessity therefore to diverge inland with his main body, Alexander detached Thoas son of Mandrodorus, with a small division of horse, to explore the country toward the sea. That officer, on rejoining, reported, that he found inhabitants only on the coast, and those few and miserable ; living on fish, in huts formed of shells and fish-bones, with water in very small quantity, to be had only by digging in the sand near the shore, and all brackish.

As the army proceeded, difficulties and distresses increased. Hills of accumulated sand, crossing the way, yielded to the step as mud, or, says the historian, rather as snow. Progress for wheeled carriages soon became impossible. Horses and mules, though not drawing, with difficulty got forward, and through fatigue and hunger and thirst, many perished. The march, regulated necessarily by opportunity for finding water, was sometimes very long. Night was always preferred for it ; both to avoid the heat of the sun, singularly scorching in that country, and to obviate as far as might be the misery of excessive thirst. Food also was scanty and bad. The summits of palm-trees, used by the few inhabitants of the desert as a culinary vegetable, were resorted to by the troops, when the rare opportunity offered. But, as the urgency for hasty progress, and of course for bodily exertion, increased, the strength of many failed. Carriages then being necessarily left behind, and cattle, still more than men, fainting through hunger and thirst, relief in conveyance, for sick and wounded, and weak, was impossible. In necessary care for all, says the historian, regard for individuals was lost : and, through the urgency for every one to make the greatest possible speed, the disabled were left to perish unattended. In the need of provisions and unavoidable laxity of order, with this haste, and among such distresses, numbers of horses and mules, lean as they were and exhausted, were killed by the soldiers for food. On inquiry it was always pretended that

they died of hunger and fatigue: and though this, in many cases, was disbelieved, and report was made to Alexander accordingly, he judged it, says again the historian, better to seem still ignorant of the irregularity, than either to punish that for which necessity would so plead excuse, or, as knowing, yet not punishing, to appear to warrant it.

Many days these distresses had been suffered, when, from a new cause, apprehension of worse arose; the guides declared they could no longer discern the way; the sand, driven by the wind, having obliterated every beaten track, and the country furnishing no landmark; not a tree, nor even any permanent irregularity of ground; while, contrary to what had been experienced in the outset, when the scorching ray had been a principal grievance, the sky was become so constantly clouded, that neither sun could be

Vinc. on  
Nearch.

seen by day nor star by night. And this is ascertained, by modern observation, to occur regularly

toward the change of the monsoon. Should they proceed, in these circumstances, they might soon become uncertain even in what direction they were going. Alexander, having considered all information, resolved, while yet the direction was known, to seek the sea. Thus far his anxious desire to explore the coast had yielded to the urgency for conducting his army, with the least delay, to a land of food and water. Now the surest, if not the shortest, course to that object concurred with the other. Probably the guides, knowing yet where they were, knew that the sea was not far off. Alexander would himself lead the party for the search; though, on inquiring for horses, only five, of the whole army, it is said, were found able for the undertaking. Fortunately however, within an easy distance, he was gratified with a view of the Indian ocean. Returning then with the best speed, and conducting his suffering troops to the shore, he had the farther good fortune, in following

its direction, to find everywhere, by digging in the sand, a sufficient supply of wholesome water; an advantage not probably unlooked for, as not only common on a sandy shore, but having been recently found by the detachment, under Thoas, which had been sent to the coast. In this course, after some days' progress, a farther advantage occurred. Objects came in view, so giving character to the face of the country, that the guides declared they could now safely quit the coast, and lead the more direct way toward that distinguished as the fruitful Gadrosia. Soon then an advantageous change was found. Cultivation came in view, and presently corn was obtained in sufficient plenty.

The numerous accounts, Arrian says, in his day extant, mostly concurred in asserting that Arr. l. 6. c. 24. the sufferings and losses of the army, in passing the Gadrosian desert, were greater than in all the preceding years, since it crossed the Hellespont. Whether the march was indeed rashly undertaken, or whatever amount of the disaster may have been owing to the failure of the satrap Apollophanes to provide expected supplies, that the king should escape blame from the vulgar tongue, or from a party adverse to himself, or to his ministers, would not be within reasonable expectation. But that, in the distresses of that march, Alexander bore his share admirably, all testimonies agree. Early in its course, when the relief of carriages was lost, and those disabled by disease, wounds, deficiency of food, or its badness, or by excessive heat, were, in the urgency to reach the station where relief might be obtained, necessarily left behind, probably to perish, Alexander, instead of riding, as usually, with his Arr. l. 6. c. 26. Strab. cavalry, dismounted, and walked at the head of his infantry. Throughout the march a party was advanced before the army to seek water, attended with pioneers to dig for it where anything might afford a promise of success; of which

the growth of palm-trees is said to be sure indication. In one day's march of extraordinary length, in the course of which, under a scorching sun, no water had been found, and all were suffering, some of the light-armed discovered a very small pool remaining in the bed of a winter-torrent. Proposing from this to make a grateful offering to their king, in failure of another vessel, they carried him a helmet full. Alexander taking the helmet, and commending the intention of those who brought it, poured the water on the ground. The effect, says Arrian, in encouragement to the troops, was as if every man had been refreshed with a draught: "And I commend Alexander," he proceeds, "for this, as an eminent instance of forbearance, and of conduct becoming a general."

Having at length reached that distinguished from the desert by the title of the fruitful Gadosia, where his army would be presently beyond want, his fleet became his care. It appears probable that he may have had information of its departure from the Indus before the appointed time; but of the delays, which in the sequel we shall find occurring, intelligence is not so likely to have reached him.

Anxious therefore for its welfare, he sent a quantity of corn, in packages sealed with his signet, under an escort, to wait its arrival on the barren coast, distinguished as the land of the fish-eaters, which extended from the Orite country nearly to the mouth of the Persian gulf. On this desolate shore the provision for the escort itself was consumed, while no fleet yet appeared or could be heard of. Hunger then pressing, the store in charge was invaded; and, nearly all being used, while still no intelligence of the fleet arrived, the escort rejoined the army. In its report, the necessity of its situation was made so evident that Alexander, says the historian, forgave the irregularity.



But, as he proceeded, he found farther proof of what Arrian, in his commonly concise way, sums up in saying, that his satrap of that extensive province, to whom he looked for relief for his fleet, his army, and himself, Apollophanes, had done nothing of what had been commanded him. Failure to provide food for all seems to have been at least among his deficiencies. Alexander therefore, taking on himself, as usual, any office for the duties of which he was anxious, rode around the country to superintend and enforce the collection of corn and flour; which he committed to Telephus, of his band of companions, and Cretheus, another confidential officer, to escort to different parts of the coast, there to await the fleet's arrival. Meanwhile others were directed to procure, from the northward, flour, and dates, and sheep, which should follow.

Proceeding then, it was, according to Arrian and Strabo, about the sixtieth day after the departure from the Indus, and, according to Vincent's careful computation, toward the end of October, that the army arrived at Poora, the capital of Gadrosia, situated in a plentiful part of that province so extensively a barren wilderness. Here Alexander gave his wayworn troops the rest they so much needed. Apollophanes was dismissed from the satrapy, and Thoas, whom we have seen lately successful in a critical military command, was appointed to it. Probably that deserving officer had suffered from his exertions in the severe service of the desert; for he died presently after. The Gadrosian government including Arachosia, for extent, together with its critical situation, must have been a very important trust. It was committed to Sibyrtilus, who previously held the satrapy of the smaller neighbouring province of Carmania, where Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes succeeded him. It seems to have been at Poora that a large supply of horses and camels arrived from the northern provinces,

provided by the diligence of Stasanor, satrap of Aria and Zarangia, and Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, to repair the loss of troop-horses, and baggage-cattle, which had been foreseen as hardly avoidable in crossing the desert.

The army then being refreshed, supplies obtained, and necessary arrangements settled, the march was resumed westward. Some progress had been made, when intelligence arrived of a mutiny in the army in India, wherein Philip, commander-in-chief there, a man apparently much esteemed by Alexander, had lost his life; with the satisfactory addition however, that it had been completely quelled by the surviving officers, supported especially by the Macedonians of the commander-in-chief's body-guard, and that the principal mutineers, mercenaries of various nations, had been put to death. The steady and animated loyalty of the Macedonians, left in that distant province, would be the more gratifying to Alexander on account of his late difference with all the Macedonians of his army. Such was the assurance of complete order restored that he judged it sufficient to send a written commission for Eudemus, apparently a Macedonian, and the Indian prince Taxiles, jointly to superintend the affairs of the Indian dominion, till he might appoint another satrap.

The province he was now approaching, Carmania, bordering eastward on Gadrosia, westward on the Persian Gulf, northward on Proper Persia, was toward the coast a continuation of the Gadrosian sandy desert, with intervals only of a soil somewhat, and not greatly, better; but within land an elevated country, of a more tempered heat of atmosphere, and eminently fruitful. The people were in manners, habits, and language Persian. Though difficulty in the march from Poora is not specified, yet Alexander seems not till he had reached Carmania

Strab. l. 15.

to have reckoned that the troubles of his painful march were decidedly over, and that he was completely returned to the body of that rich empire, so rapidly conquered, whence, separated by a range of mountains the longest in the world, and among the loftiest, and by a desert among the largest, he had been absent near six years. In Carmania Craterus was to join him with that large portion of the army which, for avoiding the desert, had been directed to march through Arachosia. In Carmania Stasanor came to wait upon him from Aria, and Pharismanes, deputed by his father Phrathaphernes, from Parthia; apparently to report circumstances of the important governments over which they presided.

In the rapidity of his earlier successes, having allowed but a few weeks of his presence in any one place of his extensive conquests, for the establishment of his dominion, it cannot be wonderful if, on his return now, he did not find the negligence of his satrap of Gadrosia alone a cause of dissatisfaction, but rather that, in such an absence from so new a dominion, so extensive, so rich, and so populous, great troubles, and of difficult suppression, had not arisen. Deficient as our information is of particulars, the result enough shows that he employed able ministers, and that his own judgment in selection and direction was excellent. Nevertheless the distance to which his ambitious and roving temper had led him, his purpose declared to carry conquest to an unknown extent still eastward, his frequent serious dangers, giving occasion sometimes to reports even that he was dead, encouraged those left in command, if inclination at all prompted, to malversation in office; some only for private lucre, to the oppression of those under them, others with revolutionary purposes. Craterus arriving, according to orders, with the largest portion of the army, and all the elephants, brought with him, as a prisoner, an eminent

Persian, Orsanès ; who, among the people between northern India and Carmania, had been exciting revolt. In pursuance of commands also the generals Cleander, Sitalces, and Heracon arrived from Media with part of the forces, formerly under Parmenio, and, since his death, under their command. The names indicate Sitalces to have been a Thracian ; the two others Greeks, whether of Macedonia or the republics. Accusation had been preferred against all for oppression and peculation. Alexander ordered their trials ; and, evidence from the army itself confirming that of the people of the country, Cleander and Sitalces were condemned and executed. Heracon was acquitted. But the fame of Alexander's severe justice, confirming former assurances of his anxiousness for the welfare of all under his empire, and of his determined impartiality in providing for it, encouraged the Susians to institute accusation against Heracon. Among other matters, robbery of the treasury of one of their principal temples was proved against him, and he then suffered death. These just severities, the historian says, were highly consolatory to Alexander's new subjects, and powerfully conciliated their attachment. The manner of the trials is not mentioned ; but, considering

Ch. 50. s. 4.  
of this Hist.

Alexander's recent concession, or rather submission, to the Macedonian part of his army, together with the circumstance that, in these accusations, the army itself concurred with the people of the country, no dissatisfaction among the old subjects being noticed, it seems every way probable that, as in the trials of Philotas and the Lyncestian Alexander, all was conducted according to the Macedonian law.

The army being now reassembled, and business, pressing for immediate attention, being settled, the usual ceremonies of piety toward the gods, and gratification for the troops, followed. A magnificent thanksgiving sacrifice was offered

for the Indian victories, and for the preservation of the king, and his surviving companions in arms, among the perils of the wilderness; and this was followed by gymnical exercises and theatrical entertainments.

Rewards to deserving officers at the same time engaged Alexander's attention. Among these Peucestas, to whom he reckoned himself indebted for the preservation of his life, when he rashly leaped within the Mallian fortification, was eminently distinguished. Hitherto the number of those great officers of the court, entitled body-guards, had been limited to seven. This number being full, Peucestas, now added, made an eighth.

Falsehoods, affecting the character of eminent men, if they have obtained any extensive credit, may be objects for historical notice, not only in justice to those men, but as they assist to mark the character of the times in which they were published and held credit. Arrian has mentioned the report of some authors, that Alexander traversed Carmania, lying in a vehicle formed of two of his ordinary chariots, surrounded by his favourite companions, with music continually playing, while the troops marched, as in a procession of the festival of Bacchus, with licentious merriment, by short stages, at each of which luxurious fare was provided for them. Among the promulgators of that report we find Diodorus; and it was too inviting for the taste of Curtius, and perhaps of those to whom principally he looked for readers, to be omitted by him. On the contrary Arrian, after reporting the story, says, "I do not believe it; as it is noticed neither by Ptolemy son of Lagus, nor by Aristobulus son of Aristobulus, nor by any other author worthy of credit. For my account I have followed Aristobulus."

Diod. l. 17.  
c. 106.  
Curt. l. 9.  
c. 10.

Arr. l. 6. c. 28.

## CHAPTER LV.

## VOYAGE OF NEARCHUS.

## SECTION I.

*Authority for the Narrative. — Deficiency of Means for the Undertaking. — The Fleet to be employed. — The Monsoon. — Appointment of Officers. — Foreseen Difficulties of the Undertaking.*

ALEXANDER was still in Carmania when he had the satisfaction to receive information of the safe arrival of his fleet, from the Indus, at a harbour of the Persian Gulf; and soon after to see his admiral, Nearchus, coming to report to him the circumstances of the voyage.

For this interesting, and singular, yet formerly neglected portion of ancient history, neglected apparently because difficult and doubtful, it is no ordinary advantage, for the writer of the present day, to have it before him elucidated by the learning, talent, and devoted diligence of the late dean of Westminster, Vincent. Of his commentary on the narrative, derived, through Arrian, from that of Nearchus himself<sup>1</sup>, as of a gift to the world, free use will be made; while nevertheless liberty will be taken for any animadversion which the duty of a writer for the public may appear to require. If thus the account, here following, should, in some places, have more of the character of a dissertation than

<sup>1</sup> We have Arrian's express testimony to this in his history of Alexander :  
 Οπως δὲ ἐπλείυσθη αὐτῷ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τίγρητος, ταῦτα ἰδίᾳ ἀγγέλω, αὐτῷ Νεάρχῳ ἐπόμενος.  
 Arr. de exped. Alex. 1. 6. c. 28.

were desirable in the flow of history, it will be found, it is hoped, not more than the circumstances demand.

To begin then with the words of the able commentator :  
“The voyage of Nearchus is the first event of general importance to mankind in the history of navigation. In the first instance it opened a communication between Europe and the most distant countries of Asia. At a later period it was the origin of the Portuguese discoveries, the foundation of the greatest commercial system ever introduced into the world, and consequently the primary cause of the British establishments in India. The narrative of this voyage has been preserved to us by Arrian, whose peculiar felicity it has been to rise in estimation in proportion to the attention bestowed on the transactions he records. As our knowledge of India has increased, the accuracy of his historical researches has been established; and, as the limits of geography have been extended, the exactness of his information has become daily more conspicuous, and the purity of the sources, whence he drew, more fully established.<sup>2</sup> At this

<sup>2</sup> The authenticity of that narrative, which has been preserved to us as Arrian's, is proved, I think, almost superfluously by his able commentator; for to me there seems never to have existed reasonable cause to question it. Yet among those who have endeavoured to throw doubts on it is a critic to whom I have found occasion formerly to acknowledge no inconsiderable obligation, Dodwell; of whom, however, Vincent says that he has been apt to be extreme in scepticism, as some others in credulity; an assertion which I will not undertake to controvert, though I do not recollect that it has formerly occurred to me. But I think scepticism has been not a little a prevailing passion among critics; not a few of whom may be found arrogantly, and for the matter often ignorantly (as in the instance of Voltaire on New Forest, mentioned in a former note, p. 198.), and altogether mischievously, controverting ancient authority. For the voyage of Nearchus, three accounts of it having, beyond question, been published by persons who performed it, and a fourth, in the same language, by Arrian, abridging that of Nearchus himself, that it should, with any imaginable view, in any imaginable age, have been attempted to impose on the world a spurious account, pretending it to be Arrian's, and especially one so simple and concise as that which has been transmitted, appears so strikingly improbable that the attempt to disprove its authenticity seems to me hardly more mischievous than extravagant and absurd.

day we may deem lightly of a voyage which required so much preparation to accomplish, and which a single sloop would now perform in a tenth part of the time." The able commentator however would be aware, as will also the reader, that the great advantage of the modern navigator is owing to the discovery of powers in nature, and the possession of instruments to profit from them, unknown till near two thousand years after Alexander; without which hardly could the voyage be rationally undertaken at all, in any of our vessels adapted to the navigation of the ocean. Vincent accordingly has well added, "but the merit of the attempt is to be estimated by the originality of the conception;" and, it may be farther added, by the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking, and the judgment which saw it, with all its difficulties and dangers, not absolutely impracticable, even with the scanty means which the age afforded.

For the fleet to be employed, a small portion only was wanted of that, mostly adapted to river navigation, which had borne a large division of the army, cavalry as well as infantry, with stores for all, down the Indus, and wafted elephants from shore to shore. Of the two kinds of ancient vessels, distinguished by the names of long ships and round ships, we have observed the former, though utterly unfit to keep the sea, alone used as ships of war; being the best adapted to naval action with ancient arms, and alone capable of action in the calms, to which the Mediterranean is subject. Experience of a more stormy atmosphere, with shores varying twice daily with the tide, and in some parts greatly, led the ruder people bordering on the Atlantic to a different construction. Thus those of that part of Gaul now called Brittany, with vessels better adapted to their sea, long distressed the invader of their country, the great Julius; and though his numerous fleet would combine the improvements of the Carthaginians with

C. J. Cæs.  
de Bell.  
Gall. l. 3.



those of the Greeks, yet the able use of a fortunate occurrence of very calm weather seems alone to have enabled him at length to overcome them. When Alexander proposed his expedition on the ocean, his naval advisers had had no experience of the kind; and even the Roman navigators remained so attached to their old ways that, for the commerce between the coast of Gaul and the mouth of the Thames, the trading vessels, to avoid the North Foreland, threaded the narrow and shallow channel which formerly made Thanet an island, but now remains distinguishable hardly as a ditch.

That an enemy was to be apprehended on the seas, capable of contending with the force which Alexander might give to the expedition, seems no way probable; but, for a survey of the coast, perhaps not less than for battle, the long ships were, with the ancient art of navigation, best adapted; able always to hold to the shore, to make way without wind, or, if not over violent, even against it, and to land without the intervention of boats. For a voyage of any length however they had very considerable inconveniences. To so many hands as were wanted for giving sufficient impulse with oars they afforded, as Vincent has well observed, "neither space for motion nor convenience for rest; so that continuing on board at night was always a calamity." Beside the proper crews therefore, liable to great fatigue with rowing, a military force was wanted for a nightly camp ashore; and thus the vessel was still the more encumbered.

But neither of the number of the vessels employed has clear information reached us, nor of the quality, farther than that they were all of the galley or rowboat kind. In the fleet on the river were some of the most powerful commonly yet used in battle by the Greeks, the triremes; and some of the second rank, the biremes. Vincent seems clearly right in supposing that none of these were allotted to the fleet for

discovery. Even the penteconter, or vessel of fifty oars, which was, to the Greek fleets of triremes, as our frigates to line-of-battle ships, is not mentioned, but only the triaconter, or vessel of thirty oars, the smallest used for war, as our sloops. And this vessel seems clearly to have been best suited to the purpose. The seamen would know it to be better adapted to bear a rough sea than the bireme, or any of the vessels which, with more than one tier of oars, were more powerful in battle; and so much we have seen proved even for the landmen, in the voyage on the river. It was also more convenient than even the penteconter, for frequent landing, and for being lodged in safety on a beach, beyond reach of waves or surf. The number of vessels would be calculated to carry the force requisite for resisting, or deterring, hostilities to be expected, not on the waves, but ashore. Thirty-three triaconters are mentioned as of the river fleet, and Vincent has not unreasonably reckoned all to have been probably assigned to the expedition on the ocean. Store-ships attended; but these, for power to accompany a fleet of rowboats, being necessarily also rowboats, their room for stowage would be scanty. It is indicated, in the course of the narrative, that the fleet altogether could carry water for only five days, and food for ten.

Of that extraordinary circumstance of the Indian ocean, and most important for navigators, the regularity of the winds, known by the name of Monsoon, some experience had been acquired, and no doubt much information. That the wind blew nearly six months of the year regularly from the north-east, and six from the south-west, would probably be ascertained. Its extent, which is from Madagascar to Japan, none then could know; and even whether it held throughout the proposed course along the coast of the ocean, complete assurance would hardly be gathered. For its fluctuations, ordinary for many days about the seasons of

change, and the various disturbance to which it is liable, in approaching the coast, from mountains, capes, and bays intercepting or directing its course, and, in nearer approach, the occasional but uncertain prevalence of the land and sea breezes, which alternate every twenty-four hours, if any undertook to know, yet whom to trust for knowledge, and at the same time for fidelity, would be difficult to judge; and then to find interpreters able to explain clearly the information given might be a second and not less difficulty. The existing monsoon was adverse, not only as opposing the proposed course, but as enhancing another adverse circumstance, of which, in Alexander's voyages to the ocean, not only information would have been obtained, but something would have been seen. On the shores of the Indian seas, generally, the surf is greater than in most other parts of the world; and this inconvenient agitation of the water would be stimulated by the wind of the monsoon, then existing, blowing from the sea; abated by the wind of the monsoon to come, blowing from that land along which was to be the course. Accordingly Alexander ordered that the fleet should wait at Pattala, where he had provided great advantages, till the promised change of the monsoon were completed. Arr. Ind. c. 20.

For a commander of the proposed expedition, he had difficulty. Earnest upon the enterprise, he dreaded its failure, not only for the disappointment of his great purposes, but as it might tarnish his already acquired glory, and deprive him of the advantage, not a small one, of his reputation for never-failing success. Among the ancients, Romans as well as Greeks, the duties of the land and sea service, as we have had occasion formerly to observe, were not allotted to different establishments of officers; a general commanded the fleet, as a branch of the military of the state, and the captain of a trireme had commonly his equal com-

mand in the land service; a combination of military and naval rank, which, with all its far greater inconvenience for modern naval war, remarkably enough subsisted, till of late days, in the French service. For the importance of the trust, and the glory to ensue from success in it, Alexander was desirous of committing the command-in-chief to one of his most favourite and confidential generals; for so much, though not avowed, appears enough marked in the account which Arrian seems to have given in Nearchus's own words. But, for a voyage of discovery, a nautical skill was necessary which none of those generals had had opportunity to acquire. For directing the navigation therefore two others had been principally in view; Onesicritus of Astypalæa in the island of Cos, and Nearchus son of Andromenes, born a Cretan, but become, by settling in Amphipolis, a Macedonian subject. Both appear to have been bred seamen of the Ægean; though Onesicritus is said, at one time of his life, to have studied in the school of the celebrated Cynic philosopher Diogenes. The view, ordinary among the Greeks, to profit from military service in Asia, seems to have been the inducement for both to engage in the army, for the invasion of that inviting country; and Nearchus, whether for previous reputation, or recommending himself in the course of the expedition, had been chosen to command, under the king only, the immense fleet in the voyage on the rivers. Onesicritus, as the better-educated man, probably the pleasanter companion, had been preferred to command the vessel in which the king himself sailed. Nearchus, with talent, activity, and courage not to be doubted, has put it equally beyond doubt that he had much vanity and self-importance, with little liberality. His own account, invidiously directed, in exalting himself, to vilify the Macedonian generals, may alone justify their unwillingness to undertake a highly important and most critical command, for the most essential

business of which, the direction of a difficult and hazardous navigation, they must be dependent on such a man, commanding under them. All declined it, and none appear so to have lost anything of Alexander's estimation or favour. The command-in-chief then, according still to his own account, as reported by Arrian, was committed to Nearchus alone; but Strabo, who appears to have compared all accounts in his time extant, mentions Onesicritus as having had a joint authority with him; though whether as equal, a mode common with both Greeks and Romans, or only second, is not clearly said; but even Arrian's narrative, in the sequel, indicates that he had a share in the command, and moreover that there was a third in the commission, a Macedonian of distinction, Archias son of Anaxidotus of Pella. This person had held the rank of trierarch in the river voyage; probably a young man, and little a seaman, but willing, for the honour and emolument, to share the dangers and troubles of the expedition. In adverting to Alexander's former policy, it seems every way likely that a Macedonian would be joined with the islanders in such a trust. Nearchus however, with all his haughty pretensions, having the suppleness and art to gain Archias, appears to have held effectually, through a majority in the triumvirate, what his own account has claimed for him, the command-in-chief.

For the success of the expedition nothing within Alexander's large means had been omitted. The fleet was not only fitted well but splendidly; a matter not indifferent toward conciliating and encouraging the many. The crews were mostly practised seamen, selected, from the army, among recruits from the various shores of the Ægean and Propontis, Cyprus, Phenicia, and Egypt; and, as the project appears to have been long in Alexander's view, likely to have been engaged for the purpose. These would all have

become, in some degree, practised soldiers; but, with a view to probable urgency, a chosen body for land service was also put aboard. The officers appear to have been mostly such as Nearchus approved, inasmuch as he has given them general praise for zeal and activity in preparation for the voyage, though for nothing farther. He seems indeed to have had more talent for commanding the cheerful obedience of those under him, necessary to his own credit and interest, than disposition either to agree with his superiors or equals, or to give merited praise to his inferiors, when he no longer wanted them. Nevertheless readier, as on some occasions he has shown himself, for illiberal slander, than just commendation, yet he has so far done justice to his king as to acknowledge, not only the excellent condition of the fleet committed to him, but also the advantage he derived from Alexander's example in venturing himself among the first to enter the ocean, by each branch of the Indus; and he has added, that the confidence, thus excited, was strengthened by the solemn ceremonies of thanksgiving and prayer to the gods, performed on the occasion, and by the consideration of Alexander's never-failing success in whatever he had undertaken; which Grecian piety was ordinarily disposed to attribute to the favour of the gods toward the successful adventurer.

Pilots had been found for the river, as far as the ocean, and perhaps they might have been found for proceeding along the coast of Malabar; where circumstances certainly afforded great invitation for trade, which Vincent, though without any direct information from antiquity, has supposed already flourishing. But for the long and hazardous course along the barren and ill-inhabited coast, repelling for the merchant, from the mouth of the Indus to the entrance of the Persian gulf, no man, according to the narrative, was

found who could serve as a pilot ; and, probably enough, no man who had ever made the voyage.

Nevertheless there appears large indication that Nearchus would not be unattended by persons acquainted with the land along the coast as far, at least, as the country of the Arabites and Orites extended, whom Alexander, in passing, had reduced to obedience. For the long desert shore of Gadrosia, in which were only scattered habitations of the fish-eaters, there would be some greater difficulties, but probably also some advantages. Gadrosia, a satrapy of the late Persian empire, had now been years under Alexander's dominion. His satrap there indeed had not duly executed orders ; but this deficiency, on his own arrival, we have seen him active to repair. Guides had been found for the army's way across the desert ; so that, though reduced, by the circumstances of the season, to difficulty for the course in the sandy plain, yet, having reached the coast, and followed its direction for some days, as soon as they could perceive the highlands, they again knew where they were. Means then hardly would be wholly wanting for Alexander's power to extend communication to most parts of the shore, and his will clearly would not fail to provide information and assistance for his fleet in its progress.

## SECTION II.

*Published Narratives of the Voyage of Nearchus. — Remarkable Omissions in the extant Narrative. — The Voyage begun during the adverse Monsoon. — Delays in the River. — Early and long Delay on the Shore of the Ocean. — Arrival on the Coast of the Orite Country.*

THE account of the navigation on the rivers, as far as Pattala, and down the two channels of the Indus to the ocean and back again, have been already given from Arrian's history of Alexander, drawn from the generals Ptolemy and

Aristobulus. But their narratives of naval measures are not likely to have gone farther than they accompanied the fleet. Of the adventurous following voyage on the ocean however three accounts were published by persons who served on it; Nearchus, the commander-in-chief, Onesicritus, either his associate or second in command, and Androstenes, of the island of Thasos, become, by settling in Amphipolis, like Nearchus, a Macedonian subject. He had held, as well as Archias, the naval rank of trierarch on the rivers, and now probably was commander of one of the vessels, or, as that rank might rather require, of a division of them. All these works have perished: of the last only one passage remains noticed by Strabo; of the second, several by the same eminent writer, and Pliny, and others: of the first, Arrian having chosen it for his guide, the essence fortunately has been preserved, and probably all that was valuable in it: unless that, as a singularity, among relics from the ancients, a seaman's journal, as it came from his hand, might have been an interesting curiosity. The form however given it by Arrian, little differing from that of a journal, and his known judgment and scrupulous adherence to authority, afford every likelihood that in using generally his own, yet sometimes, apparently, the original words, he has given everywhere fairly the original sense, omitting nothing important, and even abridging little. Strabo, referring frequently to the original of Nearchus for geographical information, adds to Arrian's account in regard to one important matter, confirms it in others, and contradicts it in none.

The accounts then of those two eminent writers concurrently show, that the fleet quitted the port of Pattala, and proceeded for the ocean, in a most unfavourable season,

<sup>3</sup> This, on comparing the passages, in Arrian, twice mentioning Androstenes, appears the probably just description of the writer of the voyage.



near two months before the ordinary time of the change of the monsoon, for which Alexander had directed that it should wait. Arrian, without mentioning any cause for this, begins his narrative of the voyage with stating, that, in remission of the etesian winds, his phrase for the monsoon, the fleet set out, not then from Pattala, but from a port unnamed, hardly so little as a hundred miles lower down the river, being within ten or twelve miles of its mouth; and after this he proceeds to add the remarkable circumstance, that Nearchus had previously solemnised a sacrifice to Jupiter the preserver, and treated the armament with the amusement of gymnastic exercises.<sup>4</sup> But Strabo has mentioned, what is not found in Arrian, that Nearchus, in some publication, stated a cause for his measure, which necessity only could justify. The Indians, he said, desirous of throwing off a foreign dominion, and resuming courage after the king's departure with the army, came against him in arms. But here also the place where he was so attacked, or threatened, is unnamed; and this failure, in both the accounts, is the more remarkable, as the name of every the most insignificant place touched at by the fleet afterward, and of some which it merely passed, are stated by Arrian, and several are also noticed by Strabo. As far as ground then is offered for conjecture, when it is considered that even the mutiny in the army, which produced the catastrophe of the governor-general, Philip, shook Alexander's Indian dominion but for a moment, it seems utterly unlikely that any Indian force could compel Nearchus to quit Pattala, fortified as it was by Grecian art, prepared with care for a naval station, and plentifully provided.

<sup>4</sup> Ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐτήσια πνεύματα ἐκοιμήθη—τότε δὲ ὤρμηστο. Arr. Ind. c. 21. In prosecuting the account he shows in clear terms, that the stormy and adverse monsoon, blowing from the ocean, was not even near its end: *Πνεύματα μεγάλα ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἔπνεε, καὶ συνεχία.* Ibid.

Nor is this important failure the only one in the narrative requiring notice, and the more for causes which will appear in the sequel. The naval station provided by Alexander at Killuta, as subsidiary to that of Pattala, and on the same side of the river, the eastern, or left, appears marked by its distance from the ocean for the place of the sacrifice offered and games exhibited by Nearchus, and whence the fleet took its departure. Yet Vincent, in his careful comparison of ancient with modern accounts, has expressed a doubt whether that place was not on the opposite bank. Thus altogether we are without any information of the circumstances of the voyage, perhaps more than a hundred miles, down the river, from Pattala, where Arrian's narrative, derived from the generals Aristobulus and Ptolemy, leaves it, till the moving of the fleet from the station within ten miles of the bar against the ocean, with which his narrative, following, as he professes, that of Nearchus, begins. Where then the hostilities occurred, as reported by Strabo, seems yet more doubtful; and where even was the place of the sacrifice and games, mentioned by Arrian, is far from clear; yet so far not likely to have been the same, as such ceremonies and festivities indicate secure possession and leisure; if not in perfect peace with all around, yet at least such as might have some assurance within good fortifications with a strong garrison.

The time of the departure from that station seems well ascertained, by Vincent, to have been about the beginning of October, and a month or six weeks after Alexander's departure with the army for the march across the desert. But then occurs farther difficulty. The first progress was of a dilatoriness not accounted for. In an acknowledged remission of the adverse wind, with opportunity therefore to be supposed, and in no degree denied, to profit from the tide's alternacy, the first day's

course was of only about six miles. For the measure, Vincent's calculation, the result of unsparing pains, amid indeed extraordinary difficulty, is followed here, and will be in the sequel. The fleet then reaching a large creek, entered it, and the crews, landing, remained ashore two days. The name of the place, though that of the more important previous station fails, is here given, Stoorā; but neither of inhabitants is anything said, nor of cause for the stay, nor is it in any way shown on which side of the river Stoorā lay. Circumstances only suggest the supposition that, if Killuta was the place whence the fleet took its departure, the shelter of a lee-shore, and the advantage of a shorter course by that shore toward the point to be turned at the river's mouth, would combinedly invite to cross the river at the earliest opportunity.

On the third day the fleet moved again, but to advance only about two miles, to another similar creek. Here again the name of the place is given Caumana; but reason still for the smallness of the progress fails, though the station is acknowledged to have been disadvantageous, as affording no water uninjured by the tide from the ocean. The progress then on the next day was of only one mile, to a third inlet, at a place called Coreatis. All these inlets are marked, by the phrase describing them, to have been canals, partly at least artificial<sup>5</sup>; and Vincent seems justly to have supposed them such as are, at this day, numerous among the flats widely spreading from the banks of Indian rivers. Names of places commonly indicate population, and such works moreover indicate commerce and wealth; yet no people are mentioned; nor any produce of the places but water. Whether then, after Alexander's protecting presence was withdrawn, exaction or other ill treatment had been suffered by the people here, or accounts

<sup>5</sup> Διόρυχες.

from other parts had so excited apprehension that, like those of Pattala, on the first approach of the fleet and army, all had fled, must be left for such conjecture as the narrative itself, without farther help of ancient testimony, may afford ground for.

The progress now made in six days, according to Vincent's careful computation, was of only about nine miles. He has supposed the opposition of the wind may have sufficed to prevent better speed. It must indeed have been violent, if it denied opportunity to use the ebbing tide for progress, under protection of a lee-shore; yet, though on several following occasions hindrance from violence of adverse wind is mentioned in the narrative, it is wholly unnoticed here.

On the seventh day however the wind, as the circumstances related show, was not violent. Early on that day the fleet reached the bar at the river's mouth, now called the bar of Sindi; a feature of nature which, though liable to great alterations, is yet of a kind so far permanent as to afford some sure assistance for geographical calculation, which Vincent has not failed to use. In proceeding toward the ocean, with the view to a westerly course along its shore, it would be highly desirable for row-boats to hold to the western side of the river. But on that side, it seems, was no channel across the bar. This however, though a great hindrance for trade westward, with vessels deep with burthen, and, for economy, carrying few hands, was little for Nearchus, whose vessels were floaty, and hands numerous. Any natural channel indeed, the course crooked, and depth varying, and both liable to alteration from every storm, might have difficulties and obstructions, hazardous for such a fleet, under guidance of the most practised pilot. Nearchus therefore, using the opportunity of low water, caused a straight and even-bottomed channel

to be dug through the easily moved sand, and the fleet passed on the supervening balanced flood without accident. Wind then being still evidently moderate, it turned the western headland, and, in a course of nine or ten miles, reached the channel between the mainland and an island, whose name, written by the Greeks, Crocala, is nearly preserved to this day in that of a bay of the opposite coast, which our fellow-countryman Robinson, who was employed to survey it, proposing to indicate the oriental pronunciation as nearly as might be with our letters, has written Crotchey bay.

Here first, in the narrative, occurs any notice that the country passed, and so often landed on, was peopled. Hostility is avowed to have been apprehended. Mostly barren toward the coast, but fruitful within, this was the territory of the Arabees; a predatory horde, like the Belooches or Bloachees who now hold it, and reduced by Alexander, in passing, to but uncertain order. For better security therefore the desert island was preferred for the repose, wanted by the crews after their labour, and they stayed through the next day. Proceeding on the day following, the fleet turned the headland called by Arrian Irus, by our navigators Cape Monze. Here, first, violence of wind is mentioned. Fortunately a little onward a haven was found, most commodious for vessels of the galley kind, protected by a small island against the assaults of the adverse monsoon. The haven was called Sangada, the island then Bibacta, now, by our navigators, Chilney. In three days the fleet had yet advanced hardly twenty miles on the ocean, when such was the threatening aspect of the weather that, in apprehension of necessary delay, Nearchus fortified his station; and not merely in the common manner of a wayfaring camp, but strengthening the outer face of the rampart with stone, which the neighbourhood fortunately

afforded. No less than twenty-four days the fleet was detained here by storms violent and continual. Notwithstanding the mention of apprehended hostilities, no actual communication with inhabitants of the country, friendly or hostile, is noticed; nor is it said that the place afforded anything of value but an abundance of shellfish, with perhaps other fish<sup>6</sup>, and water, which however was all brackish. Yet Nearchus, in honour of his sovereign, the harbour itself being excellent, named the place Alexander's haven.

No doubt as soon as the fleet, having crossed the bar of Sindi, was fairly on the ocean, the adverse wind blowing, and the adverse waves rolling, without check from the farthest point of Africa, would affect row-boats very differently from what had been experienced within the river, and in a manner they were ill calculated to bear. Surely the pressure must have been severe that could drive the admiral from the advantages of Pattala, even to proceed down the river; and it must have been actively and strongly maintained, apparently on both shores, if it could compel him to abandon all the shelter which the river afforded, and meet certain peril from adverse gales on the ocean, or seek safety in a temporary fort, on a coast, still hostile, and affording nothing but fish and brackish water. The learned commentator, in his report, anxious for the reputation of the commander of the expedition, which he so zealously devoted himself to illustrate, has imagined what seems to deserve notice only for the high character of its proposer. In Strabo's age, he observes, powerful pirates, such as in modern times have infested the Indian seas, were formidable on the coast of Malabar; and, supposing that, already in Alexander's age, a rich commerce was carried on between that coast and the Indus, piracy,

<sup>6</sup> Μύες θαλάσσιοι. [Muscles.]

having there its object, may already have been also flourishing. But on the coast eastward of the Indus evidently there was no maritime commerce ; insomuch that Vincent himself has stated it as doubtful whether a single ship had ever performed the voyage which Nearchus had undertaken. Robbery by land, such as, according to all the histories of Alexander, was practised by so many Asiatic hordes, required little preparation and little expense ; but piracy much of both. No cargo that the fleet under Nearchus could carry, unless it were gold, the plunder of injured nations, could be an object for piracy ; and the prospect of hard blows and no profit will not allure to that crime against nations. But hostility on the sea, had any ground or pretence for apprehension of it existed, would have been so much more an interesting matter for the narrative than the acknowledged fear of attack by land, that the failure of mention of it seems enough to prove that none existed.

When Alexander, on moving with his army eastward, left orders with his admiral Nearchus to await the change of the monsoon for moving, it could not be in his contemplation, or that of his council, that, before the fleet had advanced twenty miles from the mouth of the Indus, it would be in distress for provisions. Nevertheless considering that the object of his perilous and painful march was to assist his fleet, and considering moreover all that is indicated in Arrian's accounts of the march and of the voyage, it may seem probable that a supply of provisions, furnished through Alexander's care, though not acknowledged in the narrative published after his death, was found at that place which, with the purpose of compliment to him, while living, the admiral named Alexander's haven.

After so long a stay at a place so little  
inviting, the adverse season was not yet ended,

when, in a remission of the gales, the fleet moved; but proceeded only about six miles to a desert island which, with protection against winds and waves, afforded also the comfort of sweet water. Here however only one night was passed. On the morrow the advance was of near twenty miles, and in the evening the fleet reached a good situation, where sweet water was found within half a mile of the shore. These, and some following circumstances, are interesting only as, through their accordance with modern accounts, they evince the accuracy of the narrative, wherever the private interests of the narrator are not involved. On the following day, after nearly an equal progress, a passage between two rocks, barely leaving room for the oars, led into an extensive haven, with deep water, and shelter against all winds.<sup>7</sup> Here however again only one night was passed. In issuing on the morrow by the same outlet, the swell was such that the rocks were with difficulty cleared; but, with just exertion, damage was avoided. In proceeding then choice was offered of a channel, sheltered by a woody island, but so narrow that, the narrative says, it might have seemed a work of art. Appearing however sufficient for such vessels, it was preferred to the open sea, and the fleet seems to have rested the night within it. Moving at dawn, the mouth of the river Arabis was reached early in the day. Here was shelter against wind and waves, but no fresh water. The fleet therefore proceeded immediately two miles up the river; and, having supplied itself, returned, in the afternoon, to the station at the mouth. This

Vinc. on  
Nearch.

<sup>7</sup> Vincent assumes two days here; and of course a greater yet unascertained progress; not without some, though, as he has professed, doubtful, ground in the narrative. For his purpose of measuring both the time and the space of the course, it has been necessary to state precisely his best conjecture where certainty has been unattainable. For a merely historical account it is little important.



procedure seems to strengthen the probability that Nearchus had the assistance of persons aboard with him, acquainted, if not with the sea, yet with the shore, at least as far as this river, and who could inform him where the needful supply, denied at the river's mouth, could be so obtained. An abundance of shell, and other fish, found here, afforded farther refreshment, but inhabitants remain unmentioned.

Thus far the country of the Arabees, and with Arr. Ind. c. 23. it (that people being of Indian race and language and manners) India, in ancient estimation, extended. On the western bank of the Arabis the land was claimed by the Orites, who were not Indians. Their country, as appeared in Alexander's march, within land was good, but toward the shore, as it has been ascertained by modern navigators, a barren sand; not everywhere absolutely unproductive, nor wholly, as modern accounts show, denying habitation, but having much of the wilderness character. Along this coast the fleet having proceeded about twelve miles, a party was sent ashore for water; but good anchorage being found, the crews passed the night aboard.

Moving again at day-break, the progress was of hardly twenty miles, when, night already approaching, such a surf broke on the shore that it was thought advisable to lie at anchor again.<sup>8</sup> Uneasy in this situation, though the weather was unpromising, the course was resumed at dawn. Such then was the supervening gale that two long ships, and one of the kind called *kercurus*, apparently a storeship, were lost; nigh enough however to land, for the crews to save themselves by swimming. Nevertheless the advance made was of twenty miles, but to reach only a desert shore, where still a surf deterred landing. About midnight therefore the

<sup>8</sup> I completely admit, and gratefully accept, Vincent's interpretation of Arrian's word *ῥηχίση* or *ῥηχίση*, as the surf. Confirmation of this interpretation will be noticed hereafter.

fleet moved again, and, after proceeding about twelve miles, found a place where landing was safe, and the vessels might ride at anchor safely near it. So the rowers now wanted rest that Nearchus here fortified a camp for security against hostility apprehended from the Orites.

### SECTION III.

*Slowness of the Fleet's Progress. — Supply to the Fleet from the Army. — Inhabitants mentioned to have been seen. — Passage along the Coast of the Fish-eaters. — Supply obtained by faithless Violence. — Town deserted on the Fleet's Approach. — Entrance of the Persian Gulf. — Arrival at Harmoza in Carmania.*

IN about forty days, now, from Killuta, or from whatever port from the mouth of the Indus the fleet took its departure for the ocean, the progress, according to Vincent's reckoning, on a careful comparison of modern accounts with ancient, including the delay of twenty-four days at Alexander's haven, had been of only eighty miles. Had the change of the monsoon been waited for, the narrative itself, in its sequel, appears enough to show, that, unless circumstances more than commonly unfortunate intervened, the voyage might have been completed in two, or at most three days. In no calculation therefore that Alexander or his council could have reason to make would it be necessary for the fleet to carry stores for the time actually employed; nor probably could such vessels, even including those provided for the purpose, as it has been already observed, carry them for more than a fourth of the time. Hence arose Alexander's determination, at extreme hazard for himself and the army attending him, to march near the coast, instead of going the secure way by which he sent the larger division under Craterus; and thus his foresight and indefatigable diligence, stimulated by his

anxiety for the success of his naval expedition, had provided that on this desert shore food should be found. Rambacia, the capital of the Orite country, had, according to Pliny, a seaport. It does not follow that Pliny supposed the town situated on the haven; as there has been frequent occasion to observe that, with the Greeks, and it appears to have held equally with the Romans, the seaport of a town was any with which it could command ready communication, either by water or land. Thus Piræus was the port of Athens, Nauplia of Argos, Ostia of Rome; the latter, though considerably most distant from its port, alone having a water-communication with it, and that only for very small vessels. Rambacia, as Arrian shows, not itself a seaport, was however not far from the coast. It seems probable that, among advantages of its situation, which recommended it to Alexander, may have been opportunity for water-carriage to its port. To superintend the civil government of Rambacia, it will be remembered, he had established a Grecian satrap, Apollophanes; and, to ensure the obedience of the people, and thence a friendly reception for his fleet, when it might pass, he had left a chosen military force, under one of his most approved generals, Leonnatus.

Nevertheless, after his departure with the main body of his army, the Orites, engaging some neighbouring people in their cause, revolted; and, in an ensuing battle, the contest, as Diodorus seems on good ground to have reported, was severe; for Apollophanes is stated by Arrian to have been killed in it. Leonnatus however gained a complete victory, with slaughter said to have been of six thousand of the Orites and their allies, among whom it is added were all their chiefs. Nor does this appear improbable; for it seems to have been eminently required, among the Asiatics, for the chief officers, especially in adverse fortune, if they would have those under them fight, to set the example

Arr. exp. Al.  
l. 6. c. 27.  
Ind. c. 23.

of desperate valour ; and indeed, under the misfortune of defeat, they appear to have been often in no less danger from their prince and their people than from the enemy. On the Macedonian side, fifteen only of the cavalry are acknowledged to have been slain, with a few, unnumbered, of the infantry ; and, considering what troops Leonnatus commanded against those whose irregular discipline would not probably be better than that of Asiatics at this day, and allowing for wounded, the account may not be very extravagant.

Through this important success Leonnatus was enabled to give the attention expected from him to the arrival of the fleet on the Orite coast, and to relieve its immediate needs. There seems indeed every probability, though not acknowledged in the narrative, that it was a place appointed for the purpose. Nearchus, however, was not only soon freed from apprehension of an enemy, but supplied with corn sufficient to serve the armament ten days. Alexander's great means, and his earnestness for the welfare of his fleet, being considered, together with the necessary construction of vessels to make way with oars, it seems probable that the supply was limited to that quantity only by the failure of stowage for more ; means however being in view for furnishing a fresh supply before this should be exhausted. But important relief of another kind is acknowledged in the narrative. Under Alexander's munificent encouragement, and through his popularity, a sufficient number of men had been found willing to risk the future difficulties of the voyage, in relief of those already disabled in body by its hardships, or indisposed in mind, for rewards in prospect, to bear a continuance of them. All such therefore were now dismissed from the sea-service, to follow Leonnatus by land. What his course afterward was we do not learn. Alexander was already engaged in the perils of the desert, whether to survive or

perish among them none could tell. Possibly report of them, and probably exaggerated, might promote a disposition, among those arrived with Leonnatus, to exchange service with any desirous of relief from the experienced severities of the sea-service at the hazard of uncertain troubles and dangers by land.

The shore, where Nearchus chose his principal station, seems to have forbidden the common practice of hauling the vessels on it, common whether for their greater safety or for giving the crews completer rest. Yet he found means to repair damages; possibly at what Pliny has called the haven of Rambacia, which might be little distant. During his stay however the long-wished-for advantage of the change of the monsoon took place. The wind hitherto had blown constantly from the south-west, over the ocean, toward the land, often violent, and generally adverse to the fleet's course, and always increasing the surf on the shore. Now, after a short period of fluctuation, it became fixed toward the north-east. Blowing thus from the land, and never with violence, it stilled the surf, and generally favoured the course; which was farther favoured by a current, observed by modern navigators in that sea, setting constantly to the westward. Whether Nearchus was fully apprised of all these advantageous circumstances, may, as Vincent has remarked, be doubted, yet probably he was not without considerable information about them.

Toward the end of November the fleet proceeded again; and, with the improved state of the weather, and favour of wind and current, made, on the first day, a greater progress than on any former of the voyage; reaching at the distance of more than thirty miles the mouth of the river Tomerus. From the Indus thus far, though the coast was mostly barren, so that modern navigators have observed little produced but brushwood, and here and there

Vinc. on  
Nearchus.

Ibid.  
Arr. Ind. c. 24.

a few palm-trees, yet the inland country was fruitful and well-inhabited. The Arabees, we have observed, were reckoned of Indian race : the Orites, though of different origin and language, are described as of Indian manners ; implying that they were a people considerably civilised, cultivating at least the more necessary of the arts of civil life. But westward of the Orite country was the great desert, where barrenness extended from the ocean hundreds of miles inland. Food, and raiment, and means for shelter, thus denied in the interior, were however still found on the coast, such as might maintain some unfortunate families, whom the failure of security elsewhere against human violence had driven thither. The coast abounded with fish ; which was almost their only food : their dwellings were stifling huts<sup>9</sup>, formed of the bones and skins of the larger fish ; of which even whales are mentioned as then frequenting that coast. Their clothing, principally wanted for defence against the burning sunbeam, was of skins, either of beasts or fish. From their dependence on fish for food came the name, by which alone they are distinguished, as a nation, by either Greek or Latin writers, in the Greek language describing their diet, Fish-eaters. In these circumstances, to become barbarians was unavoidable. They are represented, in the narrative of the voyage, equally as in the account of Alexander's march, like the wildest of those found in modern times on any shore of the Pacific ocean ; and Vincent's diligent inquiry has led him to the conclusion, that the inhabitants of the same coast, at this day, in way of life and manners nearly the same, are in condition rather worse than those described by Nearchus when he passed it.

It is remarkable enough that though apprehension of

<sup>9</sup> Καλύβαι πνιγγραί. " Such are the cabins described by Cook, in a thousand instances, into which you must enter crawling, and when entered you cannot stand upright." Vincent on Nearchus.

hostilities is more than once mentioned, yet of inhabitants seen, in any of the various places of landing, notice here first occurs. If in other parts of the coast the people had fled, here, less informed or uninformed of the power of Grecian weapons and discipline, they were prepared to resist. The shore was lined with men armed with strong spears nine feet long. To regard any rights of such people, even to their lives, we have had much occasion to see, was little within Grecian rules, either of the law of nations, or of morality, or of philosophy. Nearchus, without any endeavour to approach them in peace, made his fleet advance within bow-shot; and then, having observed that the barbarians had no missile weapons, he judiciously formed his plan of attack. Selecting, among his light-armed, the best swimmers, he ordered them to swim toward the shore; and the foremost, as soon as they could reach ground, to stand in the water till the rest arrived, so that the whole might form regularly in three ranks. Meanwhile, from bows and engines in the vessels, he plied the barbarians with arrows and stones; so much to their astonishment as well as injury, that, when the swimmers approached, running and shouting, they presently fled. Many are said to have been killed in flight, and many taken, whence opportunity was gained for observing their persons. In the account of these, the hairiness of their bodies, and the length and strength of their nails, resembling tigers' claws, and doing the office, not only of butchers' but of carpenters' tools, perhaps may be somewhat exaggerated. Their weapons may have been truly represented as resembling those found, in modern voyages, among islanders secluded from the civilised world, of wood only, with the point hardened by fire.

This shore of hostile savages Nearchus chose for a stay of five days; the narrative says, to repair damaged vessels, though of recent storms, or other

Arr. Ind. c. 25.

cause of injury, no mention is made. But information concerning a more interesting matter also wholly fails: it is not said what was the fate of the numerous prisoners. The ordinary object of the Greeks in making prisoners was profit in the slave-market. If the wretches here taken were to be conveyed to a slave-market, it must have been in miserable plight.

Arr. Ind. c. 26. The fleet moving then in the second watch of the night, its course was of near forty miles, to a convenient haven, where was a village, named Pasira, and its people Pasirees. The stay there was only for the night's rest, and no mention is made of communication with the people. On the next day a lofty precipitous promontory, with a surf on the shore, made difficulty for the commanders, and labour for the rowers. The following night, on account of the surf, was passed at anchor. Men were however sent ashore for water; and by digging in the sand a sufficiency was obtained, but all brackish. On the succeeding day the fleet advanced little more than twelve miles; but, moving again at dawn, a progress of near forty had been already made, when a village seen on the shore, with date-trees about it, seems to have been as a signal for landing.

At this village, named Carnina, another and an important novelty occurs in the narrative. Thus far communication with the natives of the coast is mentioned only on occasion of the bloodshed of a few days before; here, first, hospitality is acknowledged; the people furnished not only fish but sheep. These, the land bearing no grass, are stated to have been fed on fish; whence their flesh was fishy, such is the expression, like that of sea-birds. Arrian, as if unwilling himself to answer for this, has particularly mentioned that it was so affirmed by Nearchus. Vincent, always diligent in inquiry, has found modern writers asserting that, in some parts of Africa, fish have been found



a food not incapable of supporting cattle. Yet, as in Arrian's account of Alexander's march it is mentioned that, among other provisions, sheep were forwarded to the coast for the fleet, it may seem the more reasonable conclusion, that the sheep, furnished by the fish-eaters of Carnina, were not bred among them, but, however unacknowledged in the narrative, had been sent by Alexander from the country northward.

Ch. 54. s. 3.  
of this Hist.

Though at that unnamed village, where many of the natives were killed in battle, and many made prisoners, the fleet stayed five days, yet at this place, where such accommodation was found, the stay was only of one night. The next progress then was but of thirteen or fourteen miles, when temptation to land again occurred. Fishing-boats were seen on the shore, and a village not more than two miles from it. The corn, furnished by Leonnatus, was now all consumed. So it is here observed in the narrative, without any notice of the several supplies asserted, in the account of the march, to have been afterward sent for the fleet. But the country, near the coast, had begun a little to improve, and hope was entertained that some corn might be found. The inhabitants however, whether in reasonable fear, or otherwise, had all fled, and no corn was discovered. Some goats, left wandering, being caught, made a meal for the night, and next morning the fleet proceeded.

A lofty promontory, supposed that called, by our navigators, Posmee, was then turned; and, after a progress of about twenty miles, the fleet entered a commodious haven, where was a village of fishermen, called Mosarna. No communication with inhabitants, even here, is acknowledged in the narrative; yet by the mention of an important incident assurance is afforded that there must have been communication with them, and great probability that the fleet was expected, and friendship prepared for it. A practised

mariner, a native of the inland Gadrosia, was found at this village, who undertook, as a pilot, to conduct the fleet the remaining length of the coast to the Persian gulf. Thus it appears evident that the Mosarnians, though of the race of fish-eaters, were not, by the circumstances of their country, so excluded from communication with the fruitful Gadrosia as those of the coast eastward. The indication indeed is strong that here was a port, by which the fruitful Gadrosia commonly communicated with the sea; and that commerce was carried on along the coast westward, though eastward only by land. In return for what Gadrosia wanted, the nard and myrrh of the Desert, the fame of which appears to have induced Phenician traders to hazard all the miseries and dangers of the march of the army, may have been valuable articles for export here. A concurrence of indications moreover seems to furnish nearly assurance that Mosarna and its commerce were known by report to Alexander in India, and that the information obtained concerning them afforded both instigation and encouragement to direct the voyage and undertake the march.

Ch. 54. s. 3.  
of this Hist.

A pilot being acquired, Nearchus henceforward, for less fatigue to his rowers, used the night mostly for progress; which before, while none abroad had any knowledge of the coast, could seldom be prudently ventured. The wind also now favoured, and thus the first run from Mosarna to a resting-place was of near fifty miles. In the next, the improved character of the country, within view, tempted to put ashore at little more than half that distance. About a village numerous palm-trees were observed. On landing, a garden was found, where flowering plants were numerous; and the narrative distinguishes the myrtle as flourishing. Chaplets of herbs and flowers, originally used in sultry climates perhaps not more for ornament than relief, were a

favourite luxury of the Greeks at their feasts; and the gratification of the crews, in finding here the myrtle for the purpose, is mentioned as if it were that of meeting a friend long unseen. Here moreover, first, in the course of the voyage, cultivated fruit-trees were found; and, the narrator adds, men not wholly savage. He has also given the name of the place, Barna; but what communication was had with the inhabitants, or whether any, is not said. The heat of the day only seems to have been passed there.

Whether then revenge from the assembled natives was apprehended, or what else occasioned so hasty a departure from a place, in description, more than any before, inviting to stay, the fleet proceeded to a station where the crews were exposed to the inconvenience of resting aboard: still whether fearing the inhabitants of the coast, or for what other cause, is not said. Moving however again about midnight, and advancing near twenty-five miles, a secure haven was found. But here again the inhabitants are described as of uncultivated character: their employment fishing, their vessels mere canoes, rowed, not with oars, but, what seems to have been new to the Greeks, with paddles; so that to describe their action in rowing, it is said to have resembled that of men digging the ground. No communication with the people thus is mentioned; nor any refreshment obtained, but from abundance of good water; which, as it had so often failed in the course of the voyage, might be a valuable relief.

Under the Gadrosian pilot's direction the fleet proceeded again by night, and the course was continued to the next evening; when, after a progress of about sixty miles, a tremendous surf was found breaking on the shore. Anchors therefore were cast, and supper was taken aboard. That such a circumstance was thought worthy of notice in the narrative, shows the character of navigation, in this voyage,

to have been the same as we have seen it commonly for vessels of war in the days of Thucydides and Xenophon, when the crews of fleets, though hastening to an object, were landed even twice in a day for meals. It may further deserve observation here, that the provision which supplied strength for so long a run, and afforded the supper, must have been acquired in some way not acknowledged in the narrative.

After refreshment however thus taken, and ensuing repose, the fleet had proceeded about thirty miles, when an object, not probably before seen in the voyage, engaged attention: a fortified town, small indeed, but situated on a hill advantageously for defence. On nearer approach stubble was seen in the fields around, whence it was conjectured that corn would be in store at the place. Thus the cupidity of the commander, according to his own account, and probably also that of the crews, difficult for the commander wholly to restrain, was excited. He thought however, he says, that in a country producing corn so scantily the people would not willingly part with their store. His numbers, he supposed, with Grecian arms and Grecian skill, might, by open force, compel surrender, but not without inconvenient delay. He therefore resolved upon fraud; and this he has not only avowed, but boasted of; for to his fellow countrymen of his age in general, though the flourishing age of Grecian philosophy, it appears too evident he might avow it without fear of reproach. Imputation therefore perhaps should rest less upon the individual than upon the morality of the age altogether; which too clearly little fostered the nobler sentiment of Agesilaus; who, according to Xenophon, reckoned that, in war, to deceive those who refuse you their confidence is fair, but those who trust you infamous. For war with this people however Nearchus had not a pretence; unless universal hostility for Greeks against barbarians were

Ch. 19. s. 8.  
& ch. 26. s. 8.  
of this Hist.

allowable. It was with the avowed purpose of deceiving and robbing those who trusted him, that Nearchus directed the course of his fleet along the coast, as if to pass the place, while he landed himself with a small party from a single vessel.

The people, who hitherto, from within their walls, probably not without apprehension, had been observing all, seeing only six men approach, went out, and, with ready hospitality, presented, in baskets, some tunny-fish dressed, some cakes, which seem to have been partly of meal, and some dates. Nearchus, affecting to receive the gift graciously, told them by an interpreter, one of his attendants, that he was desirous of seeing their town; and they, without suspicion, assented. He must then have managed very artfully to amuse the principal townsmen, so as to be enabled to abuse their confidence in the manner which he has proceeded to relate. His plan, decided before he left his ship, had been communicated to Archias, whom it appears he principally trusted in command under him. On a signal agreed on, Archias reversed the course of his fleet, landed all that could be spared from care of the vessels at anchor, and hastened toward the town. The people, seeing such an armed body approaching, ran for their weapons. Nearchus, on entering the town, had left two of his escort at the gate, probably very narrow, such as are seen now in many old towns of the continent, not proposed to admit carriages. No guard of the townsmen however appears to have been there. With the other two, who were bowmen, he and his interpreter mounted the town-wall. The people assembling underneath, the interpreter engaged their attention by a proclamation, which he concluded with telling them that, "if they would save their town and themselves they must furnish grain for the armament." Answer was made that there was no grain in the place. Presently then numbers

were preparing to attack the intruders in their lofty station. But, though more civilised than those before met in arms, they were still of the fish-eater nation, and seem, like the others, to have been without missile weapons. Some bow-shots therefore from the two who attended Nearchus, perhaps surprising, sufficed to check them. The two at the gate meanwhile, probably in full armour, held possession of it. The whole force from the fleet then being soon near, the people, in complete consternation, declared their readiness to give all their grain, if they might otherwise be spared. Nearchus, upon this, directed Archias to take possession of the gates and the wall with sufficient numbers, while the rest were employed in seeing to the surrender of grain, wherever to be discovered. Great store of a kind of meal prepared from fire-dried fish was found, but of grain little. Without any notice of millet, or any other seeds commonly used for food in the hot climates, wheat and barley are mentioned; the barley no doubt of the round-eared kind, which we distinguish by the names of big, or bear, the ordinary barley of the south of Europe; where summer-heat denies the growth of the flat-eared sort, which we in preference cultivate.

The people here were so far civilised as to dress their fish: all formerly met with, according to the narrative, ate it raw. On fish was their principal dependence for food; bread was considered only as a sauce for their fish; a desirable delicacy, but not a necessary. Nevertheless the corn, which Nearchus took, was what he supposed would serve his people till they might reach a more fruitful country. Payment seems to have been no more in his contemplation, than in that of any of the predatory highlanders whom Alexander in his course had chastised, or our borderers of Scotland and Wales, or the Miquelets on the verge of France and Spain, when they stole their neighbours' cattle; nor is

there any other evidence than the author's silence, that the loss of corn was the only injury suffered. The name of the place, thus made remarkable, is not given; and this failure is certainly among those, in the narrative, of a kind to excite suspicion.

The fleet stayed here no longer than to complete its commander's project of fraud: its course appears to have been resumed in the afternoon of the same day, though to reach no advantageous situation for the night. In the evening it anchored off the headland named Bagia, the western point, according to Vincent, of that now called Gutter Bay. About midnight it moved again; and, wind no doubt favouring, the run was continued to the extent of sixty miles. A good harbour was then found, called Talmona; good, apparently, as affording convenience for the crews to rest ashore.

A progress afterward of twenty-five miles brought the fleet to a town named Canasida. If, as seems likely, Nearchus expected corn here, he was disappointed. A well is mentioned to have been found, artificially formed. Whether this might indicate advancement in civil arts among the people beyond that of those eastward, or whether it was one of the numerous wells, mentioned in the account of the army's march, to have been provided for the fleet by Alexander's care, seems utterly uncertain; no result of that care appearing to have been acknowledged by Nearchus, with a single exception for the relief he received from Leonnatus. The town however was found deserted, for what cause is not said; and the heads of palm-trees were the only food obtained. Distress therefore urging, the fleet proceeded through the afternoon and all the following night, and still, at daybreak, was on a desert shore. Rest however being then necessary, anchors were dropped. Here Nearchus has avowed that he feared to let the crews quit their vessels; such being the dissatis-

faction among them that, rather than return aboard, he apprehended they might endeavour to join the army by land. Among the many very remarkable omissions in the narrative, the failure to acknowledge any information obtained of what must have so excited the attention of every inhabitant of the coast as Alexander's march along it, and according to Vincent's probable supposition, through Canasida<sup>10</sup>, is not the least striking. As soon as, turning inland, he had reached a fruitful country, not there so distant from the sea as farther eastward, he had hastened, it will be remembered, unsparing of his own labour, to collect and forward provisions, under escorts commanded by confidential officers, to two different parts of the coast, to await the fleet's passing. However then acknowledgment may have failed in Arrian's narrative from Nearchus, yet on comparing with it what he has given from Ptolemy and Aristobulus, it seems utterly improbable that the commanders of the fleet, even should they have missed the supplies, were without intelligence of the army: the admiral, we have recently seen, had an interpreter, whom he esteemed worthy of confidence: and it is unlikely that such intelligence could be wholly concealed from the crews. Thus neither the project imputed to the seamen will appear so extravagant, nor the fears of the admiral so without reasonable ground, as the narrative of the voyage, unassisted by that of the march, leaves them to be supposed.

But, among indications here, as sometimes before, produced by the narrator's care to earn credit for accuracy in whatever related to the seaman's business, it is shown that not only information, but supplies, unowned, must have been received. Here first the crews are said to have been starving, and this after great fatigue; yet they were able to persevere in a run

<sup>10</sup> Vincent's map carries the march through Canasida.



of near fifty miles to a place called Canate. There artificial watercourses were found, clearly indicating population and cultivation; yet neither supply is acknowledged to have been obtained, nor people seen. Nevertheless the strength of the crews did not fail; for, after no unusual time stated to have been allowed for repose, the progress was again of fifty miles. It seems to have been through this speed that the inhabitants of some small villages, of a district on the coast not wholly unproductive, called Troisi, were so far taken by surprise that, though all fled, they left behind them not only some corn and dates, which were seized, but also seven camels. The flesh of that animal is said to be neither an unwholesome nor an ungrateful food. Accordingly all were devoured. The prize would be valuable for the fleet, if, against Alexander's intention, food could be had for it only by violence; but the loss of seven camels must have been severe upon villagers on such a coast.

The crews, thus however recruited, were allowed only short rest, the fleet moving again at daybreak. At a distance of about twenty miles it reached Dagasira, a place frequented by herdsmen; sure indication that, though still within the line of coast called that of the fish-eaters, the change toward a more productive country was already considerable. But herdsmen could readily move their all beyond the reach of rapacious hands, whose approach by sea might be seen afar. Accordingly nothing valuable appears to have been found there.

After rest therefore during the midday heat only, progress was resumed toward evening, and prosecuted through the night and all the following day. The wind apparently favoured, so that, for a course of near a hundred and fifty miles, the labour would not be severe. With this fortunate speed the boundary of that called the fish-eaters' coast was passed, and hope was entertained of immediately finding the

relief which accounts of the adjoining country, Carmania, promised. The surf however being such as to deter landing, the repose, now necessary for the crews, was only such as they could take in the vessels at anchor.

c. 32. The general direction of the shore of the ocean from the mouth of the Indus, or near it, thus far, modern observation confirming the account of Nearchus, is remarkably direct, east and west, with only occasional indentures and projections of bays and promontories, small in proportion to the length of line of above six hundred miles. Hereabout, still coinciding with modern observation, Nearchus says the course, guided still by the coast, was turned to the north-west. Soon then the fleet reached Badis, a cultivated district of Carmania, producing corn and good wine, and all the ordinary fruits of Greece abundantly, except olives. And yet no mention is made of supply obtained, or of any inhabitants seen, in this plentiful district of a province, not only for years past governed by Alexander's officers, but in which he had himself been now some weeks with his army.

Important assistance of another kind, acquired on this part of the coast, and probably at Badis, is however indicated. The Gadrosian pilot had undertaken no more than to conduct the fleet to the Persian Gulf. Now other persons were aboard, more extensively acquainted with land and sea in those parts. After a run of fifty miles from Badis, for which refreshment obtained there must have prepared the crews, a lofty promontory came in view, afar off; which, says the narrative, persons familiar with those parts declared to be a projection from the Arabian shore, marking the entrance of the gulf, and eminent for the trade which supplied the great cities of Assyria with perfumes and spices. Cinnamon alone is distinguished by name; probably furnished from

Vincent on  
Nearchus,  
p. 300.

southern Arabia, till, through Alexander's measures, the way was opened for the Arabian traders to the coast of Malabar, and thence to the island of Ceylon, which produces that ever since the most in estimation. The name of the promontory, with Arrian Maketa, with Strabo Makai, is now, with our navigators, Mussendon.

Vincent on  
Nearchus.

Here difference of opinion arose, among the principal officers, concerning the course to be pursued. On the Carmanian side the shore receded, so as to form a bay, near thirty miles deep, and sixty wide, with a barren coast, as far as eye could reach, and a surf breaking on it. Onesicritus, since the fleet's outset now first mentioned in the narrative, recommended avoiding the circuitous line of the bay, with so forbidding a shore, to stretch away immediately to the promontory on the Arabian side; the distance being estimated not to exceed an ordinary day's run with oars. Nearchus opposed this. In rather offensive phrase, according to his own account, he told Onesicritus "that he was foolish<sup>11</sup> indeed, or strangely inattentive to the king's instructions, if he did not know that they required the examination of all shores, havens, islands, bays, maritime towns, with observation where the land was fruitful, and where barren. Already the principal dangers and labours of the expedition were surmounted, and no serious difficulty remained in view, if they proceeded in the course hitherto pursued; but, what might be beyond that promontory on the Arabian shore, he feared more than any on the Carmanian." This opinion, we are told, prevailed; a phrase appearing to mark that the authority of Nearchus was not perfectly independent of colleagues or council. Accordingly the fleet, resting that night at anchor, proceeded on the morrow along the Carmanian shore, about

<sup>11</sup> Νῆπιος. The exact value of such phrases can be estimated only by those practised in the conversation of the day, and rarely can be given in another language.

thirty miles, to a place described only by its name, *Arr. Ind. c. 33.* Neoptana; and, moving again at daybreak, by a course of no more than six miles, reached Harmoza or Harmozia<sup>12</sup>, on the river Anamis, a principal port of Carmania. There an officer of considerable rank under Alexander commanded, friendship was ready, and, as in a very plentiful country, every necessary abounded.

#### SECTION IV.

*Occurrences at Harmoza. — Journey of Nearchus to wait upon the King. — Return to Harmoza.*

THE merit which the learned Vincent was the first probably to discover, but certainly to ascertain to the world, in the narrative of Nearchus, has led that worthy person to an esteem of the author's character surely much beyond what any, more versed among men, can be disposed to allow. His praise, that it deserves all credit, cannot be admitted (supposing, as Vincent has supposed, that Arrian has given justly the meaning, if not even the words, of his author) without exception for what Nearchus related of himself. The account of his conference with Alexander, previous to his appointment to the chief command for the voyage of

<sup>12</sup> The name of Harmoza remains to this day, though, among the revolutions to which the finest parts of Asia have been singularly liable, transferred to another place. The people, on occasion of which three conquests of their country, suffered between the beginning of the thirteenth and the end of the fifteenth centuries, is uncertain, to avoid the dominion of a conquering despot from the interior of the continent, migrated to a small island, not far from the mouth of the Anamis, completely of the wilderness character. Affording nothing but safety against hostile attack, not even water, but what fell from the sky, yet Ormuz, as we write it after the Portuguese, like Venice and Amalfi in Europe, in nearly similar circumstances, flourished from commerce, eminent among the marts of the east. Even under the Portuguese it flourished; but an English fleet, in war with Portugal, enabling another conqueror from the interior of Asia to become its master, its prosperity soon ended.

discovery, reviling the principal officers of the army, and representing himself as the king's dearest friend, for whose welfare he was even absurdly solicitous, has evidently been calculated only for the most uninformed of the sovereign multitudes in the Grecian republics, among whom, as well as for whom, it was published, not till after Alexander's death. For the transactions of his extraordinary voyage indeed, the narrative is generally perspicuous, always probable, corresponding, beyond what might be expected, with modern observation in its geography, the sure test of its authenticity, and failing only by omission of matters of which some account most reasonably might be expected. But now, when account is to be given, no longer of the navigation, but of the narrator's conduct ashore, among a civilised and friendly people, and in communication with his king, it becomes in some parts mysterious, in others strangely extravagant.

Already the fleet had coasted for many leagues a province not only for some years commanded by Alexander's officers, but in which he actually was with his army. On that coast, in the fruitful territory of Badis, abundant supplies were found : of course there had been communication with the people ; and now a seaport was reached, apparently the principal of the province, where all was friendly, and where the governor of a considerable district resided. Nevertheless, though Alexander's unremitted anxiety and even painful activity to afford all assistance to his fleet is, in the narrative, as in all other accounts, largely testified, yet, in the same narrative, it has not been scrupled to assert that, at this friendly port, Nearchus could obtain no news of his king, or information where any one in authority under him was to be found. Some men from the fleet, wandering, it says, as those long confined ashipboard are fond of doing, to their surprise, not less than to their joy, met a Greek from

the army ; who informed them where the king and the army were, and readily conducted Nearchus to the prefect of the district. It is implied that the admiral was anxious to wait upon the king the soonest that might be, and it is clearly expressed that he obtained all necessary information from the prefect for making the journey, reckoned, at the utmost, of five days for a party afoot. Nevertheless he neither immediately went, nor sent any intelligence of himself or the fleet. His first business, after hauling his vessels ashore, was to fortify his naval camp, as if in an enemy's country, and with more than common care and labour ; for he surrounded it with a double rampart, and a ditch deep enough to be floated from the river. As a reason for such a work, it is stated that, his instructions directing him to survey the Persian gulf and meet the king at Susa, he reckoned the whole of the fleet needless for that continuance of the voyage, and therefore he would leave a part at Harmoza. Thus he seems to have assumed to himself to decide on a matter for which, if nothing else pressed for communication with his king, he should have hastened to desire orders.

ARR. IND. c. 34.

But the prefect, his duty requiring that the king should have the earliest information of the fleet's arrival at a port of his district, whether dissatisfied with the admiral's conduct, or having other causes, instead of sending, went to make the report himself. This displeased Nearchus, who has not scrupled to represent it as an interested interference with business which, clearly with the purpose to impose only on those most ignorant of what would become persons in their situations, he intimates should have been left entirely to him.

Ch. 54. s. 3.  
of this Hist.

The place of Alexander's residence in Carmania, probably the capital, had been made remarkable, as we have seen, by transactions there ; and is among those also remarkable for being, in the narrative,

without a name. This however Diodorus has supplied, writing it, as we perhaps best, with Vincent, may render the Greek orthography, Salmoon; which, the first syllable being said to mean a fort, seems preserved in the modern Maaun.<sup>13</sup> That place is less distant from the port where the fleet lay than may seem implied in the narrative; in which however confusion, rather than clearness, appears to have been, on this occasion, studied. The tale that follows is indeed extraordinary, and even absurd; and yet may deserve notice as a sample of what might be offered for belief among the Grecian republics. Alexander's impatience at the failure of Nearchus to arrive, as expected, is described as unfit for a man, and his measures to acquire information as ineffectual as could be those of a child: he sent messenger, it is said, after messenger, to various parts of the coast to acquire intelligence, and none brought any. Were this related as happening before the fleet reached the Carmanian shore, it might appear not only credible, but likely. The narrative however goes much farther; some of the messengers, it says, never returned. For such failure no cause is mentioned; and how it should have happened, unless Nearchus himself managed to detain them, seems not easily imaginable. The king's impatience however, the narrative proceeds to say, at length became so extravagant that, supposing the prefect's hasty intelligence of the fleet's arrival deceptive, he ordered him to prison. Nevertheless he sent horses and carriages to conduct Nearchus; and these so took the right road (by what information or what good fortune guided, is not said) that they met him, already on the way. If it was to convey him prisoner to Salmoon, even from his own account, he seems to have deserved it. Nor indeed is the suspicion, that so it was, without some apparent ground.

Diod. l. 17.  
c. 106.  
Vinc. on  
Nearch.

<sup>13</sup> In the Greek it occurs only in the dative, Σαλμοῦντι.

For, after having been at the friendly port of Harmoza several days, (Vincent reckons only three, but the narrative, describing the works at that place, and the going and return of the king's many messengers, implies considerably more,) Nearchus set out, taking Archias only for his companion, and four inferior attendants; though on account of the lawless state of the country, if what follows in the narrative should be credited, prudence would have recommended a stronger escort, had he shown himself in his proper character of commander-in-chief of the imperial fleet. But he chose (for after such delay at a friendly and plentiful seaport it must have been choice) that all should go in the same soiled clothes, soaked with brine, and with the same weatherbeaten and toilworn looks as when they landed; in his description altogether miserable. Such, it may be observed, among the Greeks, was the kind of appearance ordinarily affected by those, who, in the character of suppliants, desired to excite commiseration. The escort sent by the king, on meeting them, not guessing who they were, would have passed them unnoticed. But they could not fail to know of what description those of the escort were; and yet they hesitated to declare themselves. At length however, resolving to inquire where they might find the king, and explanation ensuing, they were taken into the carriages, and conducted to the place of his residence.

Arrived there they presently waited upon him, still in the same soiled clothes in which they had set out from Harmoza, and altogether with the same appearance, studiously described as wretched. Alexander, like the escort they had met on the road, hardly knew them; but as soon as he had assured himself he took Nearchus, the narrative says, by the hand, and led him to a private apartment. Still supposing his fleet lost, (for still the prefect's account had no credit with him,) he was so overborne with joy at seeing Nearchus



and Archias safe that, for a long time, tears prevented speech. Being then informed by them that the fleet also was safe, tears of joy flowed afresh, and he swore by the Jupiter of the Greeks, and the Ammon of the Libyans, that he was more gratified with that information than with the conquest of all Asia. The prefect of Harmoza Arr. Ind. c. 36. was yet under arrest. Finding opportunity however to prostrate himself before Nearchus, and obtaining his intercession with the king, he was at length released. Alexander then solemnised a sacrifice to Jupiter the preserver, and Apollo the evil averter, and Neptune, and (such is the expression in the original) whatever other seagods might be; Nearchus leading the procession, and the whole army throwing on him flowers and garlands. Gymnic games and theatrical exhibitions concluded the celebrity.

After this boast of honours to himself, and imputation of imbecility to his sovereign, follows the remarkable confession, that Alexander proposed to remove him from the command of the fleet. To disguise this disgrace, the same extravagance has been resorted to which was not scrupled to colour Alexander's hesitation ever to commit to him the command-in-chief: the king, he says, assured him it was because he could no longer expose so dear a friend to such labours and dangers. This assertion, that a prince of such great views, and so unsparing of himself, would, in weak tenderness for any man, deny a difficult but honourable command to him whom he thought fittest for it, and who also desired it, is evidently enough what could be proposed for belief only to the most uninformed of the people who shared sovereign power among the Greek republics. The narrator's pretension, twice stated, that he was himself the object of such regard, and that Alexander was the man so to yield to it, seems indeed too ludicrous, and the pub-

lication of it too impudent, to admit comment in terms becoming the sobriety of history.<sup>14</sup>

What Nearchus has proceeded to relate we find satisfactorily confirmed by other testimony: on his earnest solicitation that he might not be deprived of the credit of completing a great undertaking, the larger, and far the more difficult part of which he had already successfully executed, Alexander finally yielded to his request.

In returning then to Harmoza, he was allowed a military escort, sufficient, he says, for a country in peace. Thus he could not avoid showing himself in his proper character of commander of the fleet. In this character, and so attended, he was attacked on the road, twice or thrice, by different parties of the country people, insomuch that with difficulty he made his way. But, in these attacks, of number so doubtfully stated, it is not said that there was slaughter, or even wound on either side; nor are the assailants described as of a predatory horde, but simply as people of the country, where the satrap, Tlepolemus, recently appointed, had not had time to establish proper order. The late satrap Sibyr-tius however, it should be remembered, had been removed to a more extensive and critical command in Gadrosia, not surely for having failed to keep order in his former province. Nor are the Carmanians anywhere described as among the predatory hordes of Asia; not even in an account of those hordes by Nearchus himself, preserved to us by Strabo.

Strab. l. 16.  
p. 745.  
ed. Cas. Whether then the tumults mentioned were more than those of an unarmed multitude demanding reparation for plunder, or other injury, such as, on several

<sup>14</sup> It were tedious to notice all the absurdities in the account given from Nearchus by Arrian. The reader curious about them, and they are indeed matter of some curiosity, will be best referred to the original; or, if a translation be wanted, not to what Vincent has given, in tenderness to Nearchus omitting some things and softening others, but rather to Rooke's, which is not indeed elegant, but much more exact.

parts of the coast, it is acknowledged the people suffered from the fleet, seems left uncertain.

Though supposition should not, without much caution, nor indeed without a degree of necessity, be mixed with history, yet, if important facts are found involved in mystery, and eminent characters implicated; especially if there is any appearance of studied disguise or concealment; and most especially if it is moreover clear that the narrator's interest has been deeply concerned; it must be the historian's hazardous duty to offer, as he best may, what may tend to show the matter in a just light.

From earliest history then, even to the present day, Piracy, we know, has been familiar and flourishing in the Ægean sea; ordinarily patronised by sovereign power, by republics not less than by single tyrants, and suppressed, in the course of so many centuries, if completely ever, only in short periods of uncommon vigilance and vigour in the administration of the Roman dominion. In this eminent kind of highway robbery we have formerly observed the admirals of the Athenian democracy, in the zenith of its power, holding an imperial lead. When their means were checked by the successes of Philip king of Macedonia against them, the Cretans rose to the first eminence in the same line; favoured by the situation of their island, and by the failure of opportunity to control them, when the Macedonian kingdom became again implicated in war with some of the republics. The increased traffic which Alexander's conquests afterward opened, for Greece and countries westward, with Phenicia and Egypt, and the advantage of situation for intercepting it, enabled the Cilician robbers to overbear the Cretan, and hold the superiority; till, under the new power of the Roman republic, the evil was, perhaps for the first time, effectually stopped by the great Pompey.

Strab. l. 10.  
p. 477.  
ed. Cas.

Strab. *ibid.*

Piracy thus, in its various practices, seizing ships, landing for plunder, (of which, men, women, and children for the slave-markets were no small object,) or, like the states of Barbary in modern days, arrogating payment for forbearance, would be familiar, at least from information and in idea, not to the commanders only, Nearchus, a Cretan, and Onesicritus, of the island of Cos, in situation between Crete and Cilicia, but to every seaman of the fleet; and what was little scrupled by the Greeks toward one another, we have had enough occasion to observe, would be less so toward Indians. Alexander's determination to protect his new subjects was sufficiently known. His promises of reward to all engaged on his favourite project of maritime discovery no doubt would be highly liberal; and probably would be trusted, as far as performance might depend on himself. Nevertheless the restraint which he put upon all under him in favour of barbarians, far beyond that of the Athenian republic in favour of Greeks, might, in the natural partiality of men for their own interest, be considered as a grievance; and that the desire to plunder the Indians, whose wealth, in Vincent's supposition, the result of his careful inquiries, even exceeded that of modern times, was very extensive in the fleet, will hardly be doubted. But moreover it could not fail to occur that, should all success attend them in their voyage, yet Alexander might perish; whether from the severity of the torrid climate, to which he was exposing himself, or from the hand of an enemy, from which recently he had so nearly met his fate; and then reward for them would be utterly precarious. If then through the uncertainty of their king's life, with the consequent uncertainty of either reward for merit, or punishment for misdemeanour, together with the consideration that, even if he survived, naval command put choice both of measures and course much in their power, such temptation prevailed, no difficulty

will remain for what appears otherwise unaccountable in Nearchus's narrative. The departure from Pattala, in most adverse season and against orders, might be even necessary for the purpose: the omission of all account of the voyage of not less than a hundred miles down the river, to some unnamed place near the ocean, will be no longer strange: the enmity of the Indians (reported by Strabo, but unnoticed in the narrative) which is said to have compelled the departure from some again unnamed; the shortness of the first advances of the fleet, in its way from that unnamed place, would also be accounted for; as would also the failure to notice any intercourse with the inhabitants of three named places of the river-side country, at which the fleet stopped, and which circumstances noticed indicated to have been populous and wealthy. The following measures, quitting all the shelter which the river would afford, to meet the adverse monsoon in the ocean; preferring, for a day of repose there, which seems to have been immediately necessary, an island of sand to the shore of the nearly adjacent continent; and, presently after, through inability to contend with the violence of contrary winds, waiting near a month in such a situation as he has described that which he named Alexander's haven, and the care to fortify the naval camp there, would all be necessary consequences. The perfect acquiescence of the crews, under all hardships, difficulties, and dangers, thus, against their king's orders, undergone, which, though implied in the narrative only by the failure of mention of discontent, has excited Vincent's admiration, would be the ready and even necessary consequence of their voluntary concurrence in a scheme of forbidden plunder. Along the fish-eaters' coast nothing hostile is mentioned by the generals, in their account of the march. Whether then the hostility, found by the admiral, originated with the people of the country or with himself, remains matter of

question. If wells, which Alexander had been diligent to provide in other parts, were rarely seen there, it may have been because the water obtained by digging in sand, near the sea-shore, is found to become more brackish as it lies longer exposed. But, of the stores of food which, according to the account of the generals, were sent, that none should have been received, or even heard of by the fleet, though notice of them in the narrative wholly fails, is obviously unlikely; and that no information of Alexander's march along the coast should have been received, though none is acknowledged, appears utterly incredible. The pretension then, stated in direct terms, that even at the ports of Carmania no intelligence of Alexander was to be obtained, till some of the crews, wandering about Harmoza, accidentally met a Greek from the army, also wandering, carries the face of falsehood strongly enough to warrant the supposition of any probability to supersede it. Nevertheless, though information could hardly have failed that Alexander and the army had some time ago entered Carmania, it might be unknown that he remained there, and had not yet proceeded for Persia. But if, at Badis, intelligence, as seems likely, was obtained that the king was still at Salmoon, and especially if information of the execution of the generals, Heracon, Cleander, and Sitalces, had reached the place, then anxiety to avoid him might pervade the fleet; and reason would be obvious for the advice which is attributed by Nearchus to Onesicritus, to avoid the Carmanian shore, and proceed directly up the gulf on the Arabian side; though to judge fairly between them the lost account of Onesicritus is wanting. Yet, still on the same supposition, the praise of both judgment and courage may be due to Nearchus, who did not despair of making his peace with the king. To the hope of this indeed he may have been encouraged by the consideration of more than one important

difference between his case and that of the generals who had suffered: their oppression of the conquered people seems to have been for profit only to themselves, or in share with a very few; for the troops under them, we are assured, supported the accusation against them; but Nearchus, more politic, seems to have managed so as to have the whole fleet on his side. All then having a common interest with him in preserving plunder, in which all shared, the laborious work of fortifying the naval station at Harmoza, for its protection even against Alexander himself, might be cheerfully undertaken. Flight would thus be in their power, if final resistance were not; and Alexander had not another fleet with which to pursue them, whether returning to wealthy India, or whether any other course might more invite. The admiral's delay then to wait upon the king, however against his duty, might be grateful to them all. When at length he resolved to go, they would probably be encouraged by the consideration, that, what they had, beyond general hope, effected, was but a beginning of what Alexander was known to desire in the way of maritime discovery. And thence Nearchus, if he was popular in the fleet, as seems probable, might estimate his own importance and theirs with their sovereign. Alexander, with his large experience of men, though in early years, would know that he could find none perfect; and that, for the execution of great and extraordinary purposes, he must use the means which he could not make. Probably there was not a seaman unimplicated with Nearchus, nor another known to be, equally with him, capable of the command. Moreover for the completion of the voyage proposed neither the temptation which India offered, nor the opportunities of freedom from observation and control, would again occur. Nor is the admiral's boast of the favour of the army, publicly shown, on occasion of the thanksgiving procession,

by throwing flowers on him and presenting garlands, at all out of probability; for the soldiery would naturally be disposed to be partial toward that very system of plunder which would excite their juster sovereign's indignation. With all these considerations it may appear not wonderful that Alexander so far smothered even a reasonable anger that the earnest entreaty of his admiral to be reinstated in his command was finally successful.

## SECTION V.

### *Procedure of the Fleet up the Persian Gulf.*

NEARCHUS being returned, through whatever difficulties in his journey, to the fleet at Harmoza, measures without delay seem to have been taken for proceeding on the voyage up the gulf. No farther mention occurs either of the fortified naval station, or of the formerly professed purpose of leaving there any part of the fleet. Whatever then may have been Alexander's disposition toward his admiral, his usual liberality would not fail toward the fleet altogether. Accordingly, as the concluding preparation for the outset, a feast was given to the armament, in the usual manner, under the name of a sacrifice to the Preserving Jupiter, followed by the amusement of gymnical exercises. Nearchus of course presided; and the narrative seems to claim the whole magnificence for him. But it cannot be doubted that it was under his king's order; and if at his own expense, hardly so, but also under command so to apply a portion of ill-gotten wealth.

Vinc. on  
Nearch.

For the voyage now to be pursued, up the Persian gulf, the able commentator on the narrative says that its correspondence with modern observation is most satisfactory, insomuch that, through the correctness of English charts for the seaside, and the assistance afforded by the eminent French geographer D'Anville, for the land,



he satisfied himself, even without difficulty, of every station at which the fleet anchored. For Persia Proper, or, as, conveniently enough for distinction, he writes it, with the Greek termination, Persis, the general description of the coast, he says, in Arrian's narrative is perfect, and the principal harbours as fully ascertained as in modern geography.

According to his careful reckoning, it was about the first of January, of the three hundred and twenty-fifth year before the Christian era, that the fleet departed from Harmoza. The first day's course was of less than twenty miles<sup>15</sup>, to a large island, fruitful then, as now, in corn, wine, and dates, which seems to have retained its name, written by modern Europeans Vroct, but by the Greeks, according to their common practice of adapting foreign names to their own habits of pronunciation and the inflections of their language, variously, Oaracta, Doracta, and Ouoracta, or, as we should perhaps rather write it, Woracta. Among European navigators of the present day the name of the principal town, Last, has prevailed as that of the island; precisely as, in the Mediterranean, the island of Crete is most known by the name of its principal town Candia. Not only all ordinary accommodation was found here, but the governor, Mazenes, a Persian, offered himself to accompany Nearchus, and assist with his advice for the whole course up the gulf, and the inland navigation afterward, to Susa; an offer which Nearchus accepted. Some explanation, which the narrative ought to give and does not, is clearly wanting here. For a person intrusted with the government of a large and fruitful island, critically situated in the way of all the commerce

B. C. 326.  
Ol. 113. 2.

Arr. Ind. c.37.

<sup>15</sup> For this measure, which seems sufficiently ascertained by modern observation, and its difference from that stated in our copies of Arrian, Vincent's observations may be seen.

between the coast of Arabia and the three capitals of the empire, to quit his important duties there in pure friendship to an utter stranger, and simply as an adviser for the navigation, would be carrying hospitality to a very extraordinary length. In the Indus such an offer might perhaps have been made, with a view to share in plunder; and accepted to obtain useful assistance for it; but hardly in the Persian gulf, where Alexander's just severity against oppressors and peculators would be known and dreaded. Altogether therefore, following circumstances of the voyage being found of a character to support the supposition, it seems hardly to be doubted that the advantageous reception in Oaracta was prepared by Alexander's orders, and that Mazenes was directed to accompany Nearchus, not without a share of authority; perhaps in the room of Archias, whom the narrative mentions no more. Without imputation against Archias, Alexander might reckon a noble Persian, acquainted with the sea and its coast, and known everywhere as the governor of Oaracta, a fitter associate in authority with the admiral, for the rest of the voyage, than a Macedonian who had no such qualifications.

From the unnamed port where Mazenes joined the fleet, the first day's progress was of no more than twelve miles, to a port still of the same island. The reason appears in what followed. Daybreak was waited for; and, the fleet moving then, the rapidity of the ebbing tide was such that, notwithstanding the assistance obtained of mariners familiar with the navigation, three ships grounded, and the rest, not without difficulty, making their way through the receding surf, reached the deep water. Why the flood was not used rather than the ebb, for this troublesome passage, perhaps may be accounted for by those who know the coast. With the rising tide however the grounded vessels floated, and rejoined the fleet, apparently undamaged.

The coast of the gulf, in this part, is, to a considerable extent, barren, sandy desert. The fleet therefore, in a course of twenty-five miles, made for an island eighteen from the main, where it passed the night. But to hold that distance would not suit rowboats, for which frequent landing was necessary. Moving therefore at daybreak, the course was directed again toward the mainland, though the country in that part was most uninviting. The inhabitants of the village of Sidodone, where the next night was passed, separated as they were from the extensive coast of fish-eaters, yet, through similarity of circumstances, a sea abounding with fish, a soil almost perfectly barren, were of similar character, fish-eaters. In proceeding from this place the promontory of Tarsias was doubled, and the course was again directed to an island, whose name, written by the Greeks Cataia, seems preserved in that written by our navigators, not from Greek but oriental mouths, Kaish. This island, though low and flat, is, in modern description, fruitful and even beautiful. Overagainst it, on the mainland, was the boundary of Carmania against Proper Persia, Arr. Ind. c. 38. or, as with Vincent we may call it, Persis.

The first course then on the Persian shore was of only four or five and twenty miles to Ila; a name which, as Vincent has remarked, seems preserved in that which some modern Europeans, meaning to represent oriental pronunciation, as they best might, have written Gillam and Gella; thus endeavouring to indicate the incipient guttural, to which English speech has nothing analogous, and which the Greeks would be likely to leave unnoticed. The Arr. ibid. Vinc. on Nearch. station for the next night was an island, where then was, and still is, a pearl-fishery. Under a lofty promontory of the mainland, called Ochus, was found a harbour convenient for rowboats, where the following night was passed. This high ground seems to have been but as

a point projected from the inland mountains, intersecting the general flatness of the coast. A course of about thirty miles then brought the fleet to a situation where were many vessels ; and, not on the shore, but about four miles within land, a village called Apostani ; whether the barrenness of a sandy soil dissuaded nearer habitation, or the distance was preferred for better security against piratical adventurers, where the late government had given little protection.

The character of the land on the coast however now was changing for the better, while that of the sea, near it, was becoming more disadvantageous. Through the whole length of the gulf on the Persian side, at no great distance from the shore, is a range of mountains ; whence, in the rainy season, numerous torrents run, drenching the flat that extends from their foot to the sea, which is shallow to a great extent. The mouths of the better rivers are obstructed by bars, the tides great, and a surf everywhere breaking on the shore. In advancing up the gulf the mountains more approach the coast, and the intervening soil has no longer the desert character : on the contrary it is fruitful, but the sea is to a still greater extent encumbered with shoals. At the distance of four or five and twenty miles from Apostani was found an advantageous exception to this general character of the sea, in a bay, with a fruitful country around, bearing, beside palms, which Greece had not, all the fruit-bearing trees common in Greece. Nevertheless no stay is mentioned there. The next course, of near forty miles, was to a town called Gogana, in a populous country at the foot of the mountains, which here approach the shore ; but only a scanty harbour was found. Proceeding then fifty miles, the fleet reached Sitakus, probably the best of all the inconvenient harbours of the Persian shore. Here large store of corn, provided by Alexander's care, is acknowledged to have been found. It is remarkable enough, that with all the

assurance we have of his earnestness for the accommodation of his fleet, and of the severe sufferings he underwent, and dangers to which he exposed himself, to ensure such accommodation, none received from him, since that early in its voyage furnished by Leonnatus, is, till now, noticed in the narrative. Here the fleet stayed twenty-five days, to be overhauled and receive necessary repairs. It seems altogether likely to have been under Alexander's strict order that, on the return of Nearchus to Harmoza, the fleet immediately proceeded on its voyage, and that Sitakus was the place appointed for any repairs, beyond what might be urgently necessary, as well as for receiving supplies.

On moving again, the first day's course was of near fifty miles, to the town of Hieratis on the river Heratemis. An artificial canal, communicating with that river, was here the anchoring place. The next day's run was to the mouth of a winter-torrent. This expression indicates mountains to have been near; but the immediate neighbourhood was fertile, abounding especially in fruit-bearing trees. Proceeding then only twelve miles, the fleet entered a river of better character, the Granides, where was a town called Troca; at the distance of about twelve miles from which, up the country, according to information of the inhabitants, was an ancient palace of the Persian kings. Then again the mouth of a torrent afforded, for such vessels, a safe harbour. The violence of the water running from the mountains seems to have had, on this part of the coast, its singular value; keeping channels open, by which small vessels might securely reach the shore, which the shoals and the surf would otherwise have made everywhere difficult and dangerous, or even impossible. The place next resorted to, after a run of four or five and twenty miles, though otherwise of similar character, had its peculiar disadvantages. The coast was rocky, and about the torrent's mouth were

breakers, which, obstructing the course of the fresh water from the mountains, produced shoals; and these were troubled with a surf.<sup>16</sup> If the place was sufficiently known to the pilots, the failure only of a better, when the crews wanted rest, could have persuaded the admiral to halt there. The fleet took its station, it appears, nearly at high water, with the hope of continuing to ride at anchor; but the ebb left all aground. Crowded on their thwarts, without room to lie at length, the situation of those aboard, uneasy for sleep, even when the vessels rode on an even keel, would be still more uneasy when, being grounded, the position was oblique. The next flood however relieved them from the uneasy attitude and temporary bondage, and on the following day they reached the river Arosis, the largest yet seen in the whole course from the Indus to the boundary of Persis against Susiana.

New difficulty for the navigation now occurred.

Arr. Ind. c. 40. The extent of the shoals was greatly increased, and toward the shore such a surf broke that landing was not prudently to be attempted. Thus rest could be taken only aboard, and, should winds be adverse, fresh water might fail. The greatest quantity therefore, that means of stowage in row-boats would admit, was to be taken aboard, and this appears to have been limited to a five days' ordinary supply. Badness of water we have observed often noticed: but absolute want, or even short allowance, nowhere mentioned as before occurring, was not suffered now.

After a progress of thirty miles from the Arosis, the fleet anchored in a channel among the shoals, abounding with

<sup>16</sup> Πηχίη ἦν, καὶ βραχίαι, καὶ χοιράδες ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἀνῆγον. Here is a most satisfactory assurance that Vincent has been right in his interpretation of *πηχίη* as the surf. The adoption of this interpretation in the last edition, Taylor's, of Hederic's lexicon, does credit to the diligence of the editor. *Χοιρὰς* clearly implies that character of rock which our seamen denominate a breaker.

fish, which would afford relief. The next day's course was of difficulty, though the way was marked by stakes; nearly, says the narrator, as on the western coast of Greece, between the island of Leucas and the mainland of Acarnania. Nevertheless the indication was not so perfect but that there was hazard of grounding; and then neither poles were availing, nor could the strength of men without relieve a stranded boat; for the mud was of so yielding a substance that they sunk presently to the breast: landing was everywhere impracticable; and thus, after a most laborious course of between thirty and forty miles, the crews (it is mentioned as a hardship worthy of notice) were to take their supper aboard. Fortunately however the fleet had so cleared the shoals that progress in the night might be ventured. Persevering then till next evening, in a course of between fifty and sixty miles, and overrunning the channel leading to the mouth of the river Pasitigris, by which was the navigation to Susa, it reached Diridotis, a commercial town of Babylonia at the mouth of the Euphrates; eminent as the principal interposit for the trade between Mesopotamia and Arabia.<sup>17</sup>

Mystery here again occurs in the narrative, and of the same character as before; respecting, not the voyage, but the commander's conduct only. Mazenes, who had been taken aboard to advise for the navigation, would surely be attended by the ablest pilots that his authority, supported by

<sup>17</sup> Πρὸς κώμην τινὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίης χώρας· ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Διερίδωτις· ἵνα λιβανωτόν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίας γῆς οἱ ἐμποροὶ ἀγινέουσι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα θυμιάματα ἢ Ἀράβων γῆ φέρει. Arr. Ind. c. 41. Vincent has rendered κώμη a village. Occasion has occurred formerly to observe, that the Greek word κώμη answers rather to the legal and technical than the familiar sense of our word *village*. Thus Manchester is a village, though larger and more populous than perhaps any city of Great Britain, London only excepted.

Gronovius has noticed different translations of the phrase, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίας γῆς, κ. τ. λ. Neither, I must own, quite satisfies me, and that least of which the commentator has declared his preference. The learned reader will judge how far I have expressed the author's meaning.

Alexander's, could procure. The mart of Susa must have been a considerable object for the commerce with Arabia, and the navigation to it well known; yet no cause is stated for missing the proper course and deviating so far as Diridotis. That it could here be in view of the commanders to avoid Alexander, and proceed directly for Babylon, would appear hardly imaginable, if the course taken, the most direct for the purpose, or perhaps the only one accommodated to a fleet of row-boats, was not matter to suggest the supposition, and if the failure of due explanation, and the mysterious difference between the narrative derived from the admiral, and that from the generals, by the same writer, did not afford support to such a supposition. Likely enough it may have been necessary for the fleet, after its long course through the shoals, to touch at Diridotis for supplies. Nevertheless the stay there, not specified, seems to have been only of one night; and the cause assigned for hastening away is doubly remarkable. Information was obtained, the admiral's narrative says, that Alexander was marching for Susa. But it must have been well known to him, as he had been directed to meet Alexander at Susa, that he would be marching thither, if not already arrived; and, considering the stay of the fleet at Sitakus, with Alexander's no more than ordinary rapidity of progress, notwithstanding the halt of some days at Parsagardæ, he might well have been arrived, as the narrative from the generals implies that he was. The acknowledgment then here of intelligence of Alexander is farther remarkable, as it is the first found, in the admiral's narrative, of any obtained in the whole voyage, after the meeting with Leonnatus, early in its course, excepting that at Harmoza, which is asserted to have been not official, but merely accidental; and shortly again we shall find that, where information might reasonably have been expected, it is asserted to have been unaccountably failing. Notice of



these mysterious circumstances appeared requisite, though guide for conjecture of what may have given occasion for them fails. The fleet returned hastily, by its former course among the shoals, to the channel which it should before have entered, and, without any recorded difficulty, proceeded to the Pasitigris.

The great rivers of the south of Asia, having their sources at wide distances, in that vast chain of mountains which divides the continent in its length from west to east, are driven, by the form of the land, toward a few openings to the ocean, some joining in their courses, and others nearly approaching at their mouths. The Persian gulf receives, beside the Euphrates and the Tigris, two other rivers, inferior, yet still large, anciently named Pasitigris and Eulæus. These, for a considerable way before reaching the gulf, have their courses nearly parallel, and not very distant, through a flat country. Susa stood on the Eulæus. But this river was, toward its mouth, so inconvenient for navigation, that the preferable course for vessels, from the gulf to Susa, was up the Pasitigris, to a canal communicating with the Eulæus. The fleet therefore entering the Pasitigris proceeded up it, through a rich and populous country, fifty miles, to a bridge on the great road leading from Carmania, across Persis to Susa. There was found a division of the army, not unprovided, it may be believed, with supplies as well as orders for the fleet, and directions for any needful assistance ; while Nearchus and Onesicritus, in obedience to command, proceeded by land to wait upon the king at Susa.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> These, on careful comparison of Arrian's narrative of the voyage, from Nearchus, with his narrative of the march, from Aristobulus and Ptolemy, appear to me most likely to have been the circumstances, greatly amplified in the former, and wholly unnoticed in the latter. In a note at the end of the next section the matter will be farther noticed.

## CHAPTER LVI.

TRANSACTIONS IN THE MARCH FROM CARMANIA THROUGH PERSIA AND SUSIANA. MEASURES FOR IMPROVEMENT OF TERRITORY AND EXTENSION OF COMMERCE. AFFAIRS IN GREECE.

## SECTION I.

*March from Carmania to Parsagardæ. — Persia described. — Spoliation of Cyrus's Sepulchre at Parsagardæ. — Delinquency of Officers in high Authority. — Rebellion obviated. — Oppression punished.*

B. C. 325.  
January.

HAVING dismissed Nearchus to resume the command of the fleet, and proceed with it up the Persian gulf, Alexander moved with the army again westward. His presence, it appears, was urgently wanted in the rich and extensive regions, conquered so rapidly, and left so soon, and now so long in large part confided to governors from among the conquered people. Attended therefore only by the companion-cavalry, some infantry, apparently heavy-armed, but chosen for ability to bear a fatigue, and a division of bowmen, he took himself the shortest road, over a hilly country, to Parsagardæ<sup>1</sup>, the capital of Persis, committing the main body, with all the elephants, to Hephæstion, to go by a more circuitous road, through a lower country, near the coast; where provisions were plentiful, and the winter air mild.

<sup>1</sup> Among the various spellings of the name of the metropolis of Persis, found among the Greek and Latin writers, I have been induced by Vincent's observations to prefer that in the text.

Persis, the first dominion of the great Cyrus, a small portion only of the extensive country which in modern times has borne the name of Persia, is less known at this day than any other country of equal fame. Modern observation however, as far as it has gone, confirms the account given of it by Arrian, from Nearchus. Toward the gulf is a tract known by our navigators by the name of Ghermeseer<sup>2</sup>; low, with a sandy soil, mostly barren, and a torrid atmosphere. A range of mountains bounds this unprofitable country. Beyond these, the plains, holding a considerable elevation above the ocean, though so near the tropic, enjoy a most advantageous temperature; summer not violently hot, nor winter severely cold. The soil being mostly excellent, grapes, and all the fruits common in Greece, olives excepted, are plentiful: the country is well watered; in some parts the rivers expand into lakes, well stored with fish, and frequented by waterfowl; pasture is plentiful, and meadows are common; woods are frequent, affording timber and fuel, and protecting game: cattle are numerous; horses especially excellent; and the human form is said to have been, and to be still, found there in its greatest perfection. Beyond this valuable country, against Media, is a range of lofty mountains, where, in summer, the air of the valleys is suffocating, and in winter snows prevail.

Alexander, having crossed the mountains which divide the fruitful part of Carmania from the rich plains of Persis, on reaching Parsagardæ, was informed of a matter that gave him great displeasure. The magnificent sepulchre of the great Cyrus, which he had left uninjured with all its rich

<sup>2</sup> Vincent shows here, what is to be regretted, his almost total failure of acquaintance with any modern speech but his own. "I have retained *Kermesir*," he says, "which is the orthography of Niebuhr; but Mr. Jones writes it *Ghermeseer*, which I conclude is more correspondent to oriental authority." I cannot but prefer Mr. Jones's orthography as that proposed to direct English, and not foreign, voices to the oriental pronunciation.

contents, in the care of a kind of college of Magians, established for the purpose by the Persian kings, had been plundered. The description of this monument which Arrian has given, after Alexander's general and historian, Aristobulus, hardly would the modern historian excusably pass unregarded.

The sepulchre of Cyrus, he says, was in the paradise of the palace; an eastern phrase signifying those extensive pleasure-gardens, with adjoining parks, ordinary appendages of the houses of the Persian great, and adopted by the Greeks, because, to them, living mostly within city-walls, and always in fear for their fields, that elegant luxury had not, in their own language, a name. The building stood on a lawn, surrounded by a wood of various trees, and enlivened by a stream. In so warm a climate the lawn was admired for its luxuriant grass and unfading verdure. The building consisted of a chamber, raised on a quadrangular basement, and having the roof of the same stone with the walls. It may seem that the construction of the dome was already known in the East, and that the style of sepulchral monument, seen yet among the ancient buildings of India, of considerable art, but of more magnificence than elegance, was already in practice. The door-way was so narrow that a man even of ordinary size had some difficulty to enter; a circumstance observed of the sepulchral chambers in the Egyptian pyramids. In the chamber stood a bed with golden feet, having furniture of purple cloth, and a coverlet of Babylonian tapestry. On the bed was a coffin of gold, containing the embalmed body of Cyrus. A table bore the various articles of a splendid regal dress, with the ornamental appendages usual in the East, chains and ear-rings of gold, and scimitars with hilts of gold, all enriched with gems. An inscription on the wall, in the Persian language and characters, said: "O man! I am Cyrus son of Cambyses, who

acquired empire for the Persians, and reigned over Asia; envy me not this monument."

Such still was the state of the sepulchre when Alexander saw it, while passing the winter at Parsagardæ. At its foot, and near the steps leading to the chamber, was a small building allotted to the residence of the magians, who had been constituted its hereditary guardians; the sons succeeding their fathers in the office. For their maintenance a sheep was allowed them daily, with a proportionate quantity of meal and wine, and monthly a horse to be sacrificed to Cyrus. This establishment, maintained by Alexander, had not, in his absence, answered its purpose. All the rich furniture of the chamber had been taken away. The coffin and the bed remained, but not uninjured. The lid of the coffin was gone; and upon the rest marks of violence were evident, with the purpose of cutting or breaking off parts, whence the body itself had suffered. Alexander, in vexation and anger at this sacrilege, caused the magians, so evidently in fault by connivance, or at least by negligence, if not even actively concerned in the crime, to be put to torture. Their perseverance however in denying that they had either participated in the sacrilege, or had any knowledge of its authors, unlikely as it may seem that this could be truth, induced him to allow their release. He was then careful to have the monument restored, as far as might be, to the former state, committing the superintendence of the business to Aristobulus, from whose history of Alexander Arrian took the account here given. The door-way was then blocked up with masonry, and the impression of the royal signet was given to every joint.

Other and greater delinquents than the magians were soon after denounced. Alexander, at his departure for the conquest of Media and pursuit of Darius, had committed the satrapy of Persis to Phrasaortes, a Persian. While he

was in India Phrasaortes died, and then Orxines, also a Persian, whether in office under the deceased satrap is not said, took upon himself to fill the vacant situation. That he incurred any blame simply on that account is also un-  
said, but numerous complaints were now preferred against him by the Persians; that he had plundered temples, that he was the robber of the royal sepulchre; and that he had unjustly directed the execution of many persons, some of them Persians. To what manner of trial he was subjected, in consequence of these accusations, the historian has not mentioned; reporting only the result, that Orxines was publicly executed.

The appointment to the important satrapy of the ancient kingdom of Persis then rewarded the fidelity and zeal of the new lord of the body-guard, Peucestas; who had not merely recommended, but, in a matter of no small moment, qualified himself for it, by the diligence with which he had acquired the Persian language. This was very gratifying to the Persians. Peucestas moreover had been the first of the Macedonians to appear in their national dress, and by his conduct altogether he became very popular among them. Alexander approved his conduct, as tending to reconcile the proudest of his new subjects to their new situation, under the dominion of a foreign conqueror.

The urgency for a politic condescension toward the conquered nations appears in what had occurred in the adjoining kingdom of Media; which, for its several advantages of situation, climate, population, and wealth, was perhaps the most important province of the empire. While Alexander was far eastward, Baryaxes, a Mede, had led a revolt, assuming the title of king of the Medes and Persians. The satrapy of Media had been intrusted to Atropates, who also was a Mede or a Persian, (for the Greek writers have been rarely solicitous to distinguish them,) and with what judgment.

appeared in the event. Atropates had quelled the rebellion, and came now to wait upon the king at Parsagardæ, bringing Baryaxes and some of his principal supporters prisoners. These were presently executed.

After no long stay at Parsagardæ Alexander hastened to Susa.<sup>3</sup> His vigour, in repressing and punishing opposition to his new sovereignty, appears to have been not greater than his earnestness to prevent oppression of his new

<sup>3</sup> In Arrian's narrative from Ptolemy and Aristobulus, without notice of any circumstances of the march, Alexander's arrival only at Susa is mentioned in three words, *παρελθὼν ἐς Σούσα*. But in his narrative from Nearchus matters remarkable enough are reported. Alexander, it is there said, at the head of his army, joined his fleet lying in the Tigris, and, notwithstanding the urgency for his hastening forward, indicated in the account from the generals, he delayed his progress to celebrate there the happy junction, with sacrifice, procession, and games, among which Nearchus was singularly honoured by the army. Vincent, earnest for the credit of his admiral, has been anxious to reconcile the two narratives, and flattered himself that he had succeeded. Wherever these may differ I cannot, for myself, hesitate to prefer that of the generals; which, as far as it goes, is clear; and they had no obvious interests in giving a false colouring to any of the circumstances. But there are awkwardnesses here as elsewhere in the report from the admiral himself. At Diridotis, in a corner of the Persian gulf, far out of Alexander's way, intelligence of the king and the army, the admiral has acknowledged, was ready for him; yet afterward, in the rich and populous country on the banks of the Pasitigris, across which the king and the army were necessarily to pass, if indeed not already gone by, information so failed that he had to send messengers some days' journey to inquire for them. How it should be, not only that such intelligence as was ready at Diridotis should fail on the Pasitigris, but also that Alexander's care, acknowledged in the supplies found at Sitakus, also should fail, where least of all it may seem to have been likely to fail, is left for conjecture. Why, in the admiral's narrative, the bank of the Pasitigris has been chosen for the place in which he would have the Greeks at home believe that he, among sacrifices, processions, and games, received from the hand of his king the honours which the testimony of the generals, surely more creditable for him, attributed to him at Susa, we also inquire in vain. His omission to acknowledge that his colleague Onesicritus received, as the report from the generals assures us, the same honour with him, is quite in consonance with all that appears of his character.

These differences, clearly not unworthy of historical notice, it may be observed, are so far from impeaching the general credit of the history that they vouch for it. Were not the more important facts beyond suspicion true, these minor matters in controversy would never have reached us. For the credit of Roman history we might desire, oftener than they are found, similarly conflicting reports from writers of different interests.

subjects, his diligence in attending to their complaints, and the strictness of his control over those in authority among them. Information of his condescension and of his justice having preceded him, complaints preferred to him were numerous. For, says Arrian, when it had become known that Alexander was beyond the Indus, and the Hydaspes, and the Akesines, and the Hyphasis, daily exposing himself to danger, and still proposing to proceed to more unknown regions; and even afterward, when, instead of returning by the safe way of Arachosia, by which he sent the largest division of his army under Craterus, he had resolved himself to brave the horrors of the Gadrosian desert, many, left in authority, throughout the conquered countries, proceeded to enrich themselves in all ways within their power, plundering temples and sepulchres; and oppressing the people. The satrap of Susiana, Abulites, a Persian, and his son Oxathres, were accused as eminent in this course. Both suffered capitally. But the greater number of those implicated in such crimes were Greeks. The impartiality then with which Alexander proceeded to punish the guilty, whether Persians or Greeks, Macedonians or republicans, would not be generally approved by the conquering nation. It was imputed to him that he was extreme in believing accusations, and punishing what they called small crimes. But this imputation is left quite general; insomuch that no particulars of either the offenders, or the offences, which Arrian has mentioned as so numerous, have reached us. Excepting the generals Heracon, Cleander, and Sitalces, whose eminence would make notice of their fate hardly avoidable, not even the name of any European, who suffered in any way, has been transmitted.



## SECTION II.

*Difficulties of Alexander for his civil Government. — His Purpose to make, of his various Subjects, one People. — Marriages of Greeks with Persians. — Bounty to the Army.*

To settle the government of his vast empire, Alexander had a business before him of greater difficulties perhaps than all his conquests; never such occurred for any man besides known in history. To estimate that difficulty, it will be necessary, among other considerations, to look back to the earliest evidence of that distinction of Greek and barbarian, which became so strong in Grecian minds, forming a prominent feature of the national character. Homer, as occasion has occurred formerly to observe, knew nothing of it; and even Herodotus, in whose time the prejudice was already powerful, shows that less than a century before him it hardly existed. In the age of Cræsus the Lydians appear not to have been considered by the Greeks as any otherwise distinguished from themselves than the several modern European nations at this day from one another. Even Æschylus shows nothing of that insolent claim of superiority for those of Grecian blood and language, and that principle of uncharitableness toward all others, which however grew in his time; resulting from the Persian invasions of Greece, and encouraged by the extraordinary victories obtained by the little republics, on land and sea, which delivered them from the slavery, or even annihilation, which they had dreaded from the vast power of the Persian empire. Then grew that narrow pride, which would deny to the Macedonians and Epirots their claim to be of the Greek nation; while yet all the boasted advancement in philosophy left uncorrected that cruel selfishness, found in modern times only among the merest savages, whence the whole population of even Grecian republics was, without remorse, reduced to

slavery, and in some instances extirpated, by their fellow Greeks of other republics. But now the military glory and political importance of the Macedonians would not only raise their claim to consideration among the Greeks, but give them an effectual superiority; while on the other hand the republicans, with the presumption and illiberality common to republicans, though hating one another, assumed still to be all superior to the rest of mankind.

Differing thus among themselves, yet the agreement was general in aversion to allow the subdued nations any equality of rank or advantages. The conquest of the greatest part of the civilised world, comprising countless millions of inhabitants, had been wonderfully made with an army of comparatively a very few thousands. But how those millions should be held in that state of degradation and oppression, which so many of the conquerors desired, and yet continue to furnish the wealth which was their great object, and what should be the form of government to satisfy, not the conquered, but even the small proportion of conquerors, and maintain that union among them necessary to the continuance of their dominion, were problems which human wisdom would hardly solve.

Alexander, on the other hand, it appears, had early conceived the magnanimous and philanthropic project to consolidate his new empire by bringing his subjects of distant parts, and different languages, manners, and religions, to coalesce as one people. So early as in the second year of his progress in conquest he made this evident by his measures in Egypt. His successes afterward were of amount that might stimulate less capacious minds to extravagance of ambition. His purpose of carrying conquest to the extremity of the East clearly was extravagant, and his abandonment of it, in compliance with the wishes of his army, was evidently in no small amount forced; yet, in the manner of

that concession, as well as in following measures, he made the greatness of his mind conspicuous. Where just consideration must have convinced him that he was wrong, he yielded, yet with dignity. But, when the eager desires and stubborn prejudices of a large majority among all his original subjects were adverse to a good purpose, he would not yield. Nevertheless, in whatever might be done toward softening their prejudices, satisfying any reasonable desires, and reconciling them to what was requisite for the permanency; not more perhaps of his own power than of their advantages, he was most liberal and most diligent.

Already, as we have seen, he had himself taken a wife from among the conquered people. Many probably before, but more after his example, had done the same. This mode of amalgamating nations would be more adverse to the prejudices of the republican Greeks, whose illiberal jealousies forbade intermarriage even of Greeks beyond their several townships, than of the Macedonians, whose customs, warranting their princes, probably allowed subjects also to take wives from other states. Alexander resolved to prosecute it, and in a signal manner. At Susa he had left the family of the late king of Persia his prisoners. Married as he was already to the daughter of the Bactrian chief Oxyartes, he now took, as an additional wife, Barsine, eldest daughter of Darius, who probably, when he left her at Susa, was under marriageable age. Concerning this measure, which certainly was not consonant to Grecian common rule, nor, as we learn, to Persian, what was the public opinion at the time is much less indicated by ancient writers than might be expected. The marriage with Barsine, or, as others have given her name, Statira, (if one of these be not rather a title,) was reported by all historians of the time. Aristobulus, in his history, as Arrian assures us, added that Alexander also married Parysatis, daughter of the former

sovereign of the Persian empire, Artaxerxes Ochus; not however mentioning when this took place; nor does it appear that the fact was noticed by any other contemporary writer.

Consonantly then with what afterward, under the feudal institutions, prevailed over Europe, he was probably warranted by oriental custom, as sovereign of the empire, in assuming to himself to dispose, in marriage, of the daughters of the greatest families. To cement the union of the conquering and conquered nations, he gave them to his principal officers. Whether any of these, like himself, had already wives, is not said. For his eminently favoured friend Hephæstion he made the most illustrious match, giving him a younger sister of his own new queen, another daughter of Darins Codomannus. He then gave Amastrine, daughter of Oxyartes brother of Codomannus, to Craterus, whom he appears to have esteemed the ablest of his surviving generals: the daughter of Atropates, satrap of Media, was betrothed to Perdicas; one of the daughters of the venerable Artabazus to Ptolemy the historian, afterward king of Egypt; and another to Eumenes his chief secretary, eminent not so only, but as a military officer perhaps inferior to none. Eumenes was not of a Macedonian family, but of the republican Greek settlement of Cardia in Thrace; whose people, in Philip's reign and before, had distinguished themselves by their perseverance in resisting the tyranny of the Athenian people, and maintaining their right to prefer the alliance or patronage of the Macedonian kings. The loss of his history of Alexander is, in the destruction of ancient memorials, especially to be regretted. The services of Nearchus, recently arrived from the fleet, were rewarded with a present of a wife whose mother only was Persian, her father that eminent Greek in the Persian service, Mentor; who, had he and his brother Memnon

survived, if human speculation should be trusted, were likely to have given a very different turn to the affairs of the civilised world. Extensive as their interest was among the Grecian republics, and at the same time high as their esteem in the Persian empire, not only they might probably have stopped Alexander's career, but produced another kind of a revolution, still by a union of Greeks and Persians, in which however it could hardly have been but that the Persian interest must have predominated. The match made for Seleucus, eminent afterward among the successors to the empire, was remarkable, as it tends to show the extent of Alexander's views in uniting his subjects of the two nations. To that highly esteemed officer he gave a daughter of his persevering opponent, who had fallen in the adverse cause, the Bactrian Spitamenes. Possibly Seleucus had made acquaintance with the lady, and solicited the match; though that he could then have had any view to the splendid fortune, to which it may nevertheless have assisted to lead him, is utterly unlikely. Altogether from illustrious families of the conquered empire he made eighty matches for his principal officers.

These marriages of the most eminent being arranged, all the Macedonians who had taken oriental wives, apparently including all Greeks of that which, for a comprehensive name, was called the Macedonian army, were assembled; and, a roll of them being taken, they were found to be above ten thousand. The weddings were then celebrated after the Persian manner; a compliment which could not but be gratifying to the families of the ladies. The ceremony was followed by a magnificent supper for the men only. We have observed formerly that, in the Greek republics, women, unless of the lowest ranks, lived in much seclusion; far more than in the previous times of kingly government; but among the Persians that seclusion was

yet stricter. Among neither people however was allowed the society of reputable women with men at table. But after the meal, whether approved by republican manners, or, as the particularity of the description may lead to suppose, only in the Macedonian and other surviving Grecian monarchies, the ladies were introduced. Each, as she entered, was received by her betrothed husband, joining right hands, and saluting her with a kiss, and then seating her by him. This society however was of short duration. Presently, the king leading throughout the ceremony, every husband severally handed away his wife. The association thus of the king with his subjects, so contrary to that sullen though pompous seclusion of the royal person, which had gained establishment as a rule among the Persians, was highly gratifying to the Greeks, and softened, in some degree, the ill-humour excited by the extensive favour to the conquered, and the adoption of their customs in so many instances.

That ill-humour was farther obviated by a magnificent liberality. Dowers were given with all the wives; and this was followed by a bounty more out of all expectation. The disposition, eminent among our seamen, to be eager to acquire riches, and careless of them when acquired, had grown in Alexander's army. His donations, or what we call prize-money, rapidly gained, were rapidly dissipated. From this extravagance many profited, perhaps more of the conquered than of the conquering nation, and, with the view to farther profit, gave credit to those who, having acquired expensive habits, were unwilling to forego them. Many debts however were contracted beyond all reasonable hope of means of payment. Conquest ended, the former opportunities were ended; creditors became uneasy; and debtors feared complaints, which might excite the severity of the king's justice against them. Alexander, informed of this,

ordered a return of all debts contracted by officers and soldiers, adding a promise that they should be paid. This liberality had not immediately the proposed effect. Not improbably credit had sometimes been extorted by threats. All accounts mark that, under republican commanders, such and even greater violence to barbarians, as they were termed, could not have been either prevented or punished. Even in Alexander's army such had been the extravagance in borrowing, whether by extortion or favour, yet such the jealousy which the signal demonstration of his determination to dispense equal justice to all his subjects excited, that, some fearing the reproach of violence, some of fraud, some, according to the historian, only of extravagance, few would acknowledge any debts.

Alexander's measure was of a kind not to be prompted by either extravagance in himself, or by simple liberality, of which indeed it could be no prudent result. He saw a storm growing which it behoved him to obviate. Not satisfied therefore with the evasion of his offered bounty, in following orders he reproved the suspicion which had been so extensively entertained. "As it became a king," he said, "to be strict in speaking only truth, so it ill became subjects to entertain groundless suspicion that it could be their king's purpose to deceive them." Tables were then placed in a convenient manner throughout the camp, with a sufficiency of money on them; and, under direction of proper officers, accounts were called for, debts paid, and receipts given, without any memorial kept of the debtors' names. The amount of this largess, if the copyists may be trusted for numbers, was, according to Arrian, reported to have been twenty thousand talents, between four and five millions sterling. The army, it is added, was more gratified by the generous allowance to conceal the debtors'

names, than even by the relief from debt, and apprehended consequences.

From this indulgence for misconduct Alexander proceeded to reward merit. To all who had distinguished themselves he assigned largesses in proportion to their rank and services; but to a few of the more eminent he added an honorary present, ordinary, as we have formerly seen, among the Grecian republics, a golden crown, in general assembly placed on the head of the receiver, and, on this occasion, by the king in person. Peucestas, to whom he reckoned himself principally indebted for the preservation of his life, when he had so rashly leaped singly into the Mallian fortress, was the first so distinguished. The second honour was given to Leonnatus, who, beside having shared in that singularly perilous service, had distinguished himself on several occasions in India, and still more afterward in the return westward, when, left with the command in the Orite country, he had, by a signal victory, quelled the rebellion of the Orites and their allies, and then, with great prudence, settled the government of that wild part of the empire, where any powerful hostility might have been even fatal to the fleet in passing along its coast. The king's value for the service of the fleet itself was shown in giving the third crown to Nearchus, and the fourth to Onesicritus.

Prudence, a virtue not generally attributed to Alexander, though in his progress in achievement largely indicated, is in this distribution of honours remarkable. No man he is said to have valued as a friend and confidential adviser equally with Hephæstion, and no man was more distinguished by ordinary honours. Hephæstion appears nevertheless to have been not of splendid talents, nor so esteemed by Alexander. The qualities valued in him were good sense, sincere friendship, a sober mind, and a warm heart. Accor-



dingly the more difficult enterprises were never committed to him, but he was selected for the highest and most confidential commands when the business was only to maintain loyalty and good order. It was on the present occasion resolved that Hephæstion, and with him all the other lords of the body-guard, whose chief he seems to have been, should receive the honour of a crown for their faithful services altogether; but secondary only to those who had earned it in laborious and hazardous enterprise. Thus Hephæstion, though clearly first in the king's favour and confidence, was only fifth in the number of those now distinguished. Nor was the honour extended beyond those high officers, his associates; a limitation which would make it the more flattering to those who first received it.

In this, and in all measures at this time taken, there seems to have been a view to those farther resolved on; apparently necessary to the consolidation of the new empire, but of a kind to be generally offensive to those by whom that empire had been acquired. Many satraps of the conquered provinces arrived at Susa, bringing recruits for the army, natives of their several countries, to the number of thirty thousand; all completely instructed in the Grecian discipline, and a considerable part of them in that of the horse-service. The whole cavalry of the army, previously in four divisions, was now arranged in five; not by adding one composed entirely of orientals, but by distributing these among all. In the number of the recruits was a body of Persians bearing among their fellow-countrymen a distinguishing title in their own language, not explained to us: the others were all from the north-eastern countries, Bactria, Sogdiana, Arachosia, Zarangia, Aria, and Parthia. Alexander's preference for the character of those whom he had found most difficult to subdue is thus made evident. But for their very virtues they would the more be objects of

jealousy among his old subjects, who had long been in the habit of despising the southern and western Asiatics, but could not despise these. His confidence in the men of higher rank among them was remarkably enough demonstrated; the highest commissions in his new division of cavalry being assigned to them exclusively. The chief command of the whole body was committed to Hydaspes, a Bactrian. Under him Cophes son of Artabazus, Hydarnes and Antiboles, sons of Mazæus, Pharasmanes son of Phrathaphernes satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, Itanes brother of Alexander's first queen Roxana, and Ægobares and Mithrobæus, described only as brothers, but marked, by their association with those before named, as men of eminent dignity, held the next rank. Nevertheless, however this may have been required by just consideration, not only of the general interest of the whole empire, but also of the particular interest of the people both of the Macedonian kingdom and the Grecian republics, yet it would not be satisfactory to those of either, who, now in high situations, were aspiring to higher. At the same time the mass of the Grecian army saw, with particular envy, some of the barbarians, as they were called, admitted into that distinguished body the royal-companion horse. Discontent thus was brooding, but nothing immediately broke out.

### SECTION III.

*Alexander's Voyage down the River Eulæus to the Persian Gulf, and up the Tigris to Opis. — Correction of Mal-administration under the Persian Government. — Mutiny of the Army. — Renewed Loyalty of the Army.*

ARR. l. 7. c. 1. ALEXANDER, already when at Parsagardæ and Persepolis<sup>4</sup>, according to Arrian, expressed an

<sup>4</sup> 'Ὡς δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας τε καὶ ἐς Περσέπολιν ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πόθος καταλαμβάνει αὐτὸν, κ. τ. λ. This, the only instance of the occurrence of the

earnest desire, as he had explored the courses of the Indus to the ocean, to examine those of the rivers that discharge their waters into the Persian gulf. Some writers, he adds, have reported that he had in view to circumnavigate Africa, little as its extent southward was then known; and entering the Mediterranean by that now called the strait of Gibraltar, and subduing Carthage, to bring all under his dominion. Others said that his purpose was to return to Greece, and in the way add the Scythian and other countries about the Euxine sea to his European kingdom. According to the fancy of others again, he had been alarmed by report of the threatening progress of the Romans in conquest, whence his first purpose was to secure Sicily and the Grecian towns of Italy against them. "For myself," adds the historian, "I can neither gather with any certainty what were his purposes, nor do I care for conjecture: only of this I am confident, that he would not remain idle in the enjoyment of what he already possessed, and that his view would not be limited to small objects; but, on the contrary, could he have added Europe to Asia, and the Britannic islands to Europe, he would still have sought unknown lands; and, when nothing remained to contend for, the restlessness of his mind would not have ceased."

With regard to the Grecian settlements in Italy and Sicily, it may be observed that, as members of that eminent nation of which Alexander was the elected head, they would of course be objects of his care; but for his apprehension of the Romans, beside the negative evidence, formerly noticed, that even the name of Rome is not found in the works of Aristotle, who survived him, the positive

Greek name Persepolis in Arrian's extant works, must be what Vincent has meant to refer to as marking Arrian's distinction of Persepolis and Pasargadæ, or Parsagardæ. How far Arrian has intended to mark any such distinction, the curious reader, observing the many instances in which the name of Pasargadæ is found in his history of Alexander, will judge for himself.

testimony of Roman history marks it for a vain fancy, originating in later ages. When his kinsman and contemporary, Alexander king of Molossis, lost his life in war in Italy, the power of the Roman people was not yet formidable to the Greeks, even of that country; nor became at all alarming till half a century later, when, after considerable conquests among the Italian states, it showed itself in the war with Pyrrhus, successor of the Molossian Alexander.

The next objects of the greater Macedonian Alexander's pursuit, made fully known to us, were of a kind worthy of a great prince. The bounty of nature, often not immediately obvious to man's view, nor profitable to him without exertion of his ingenuity and industry, offered to the possessors of the vast plain about the rivers flowing into the Persian gulf great reward for such exertion. Periodical floods brought sometimes destruction, sometimes plenty, as the season was more or less favourable. Under the Assyrian princes, commanding a great population, supported by a soil highly, but precariously, productive, measures had been taken, with great labour, to extend the inundations in some parts, to confine them in others, and to form canals for the convenience of water-carriage. Thus the land formerly valuable was protected, a very great extent, formerly barren, was made highly fruitful, and the produce was cheaply conveyed to its market.

The Assyrian kings had their residence in Mesopotamia; and, from their comparatively moderate extent of dominion, the revenue from that country would be of principal importance. With the Persian dynasty, afterward, neither the land, nor the climate, nor the people were in favour; the flat and often flooded soil unsuitable both for their pleasure-gardens, entitled paradises, in which they delighted, and for their favourite amusement of hunting, the climate hot and moist the people of another language and another religion;

nor, in the extent of the Persian empire, was the revenue from that one, though a very rich province, important equally as for the Assyrian princes. Thus not only improvements were discontinued, but the maintenance of those already made was neglected; left apparently to the means of the proprietors, or of the neighbouring townships, under the government of conquerors who disliked them.

The Assyrian kings appear to have thought little of maritime commerce. But the extraordinary successes of the Sidonians and Tyrians, whose merchants, like those of Florence, Venice, and Genoa in modern ages, are described as princes of the earth, had excited the attention of the able early sovereigns of Palestine, and their patronage of that source of public and private wealth had been largely successful. Whether Alexander's views toward it had originated, as may seem probable, from his father's policy, whose principal revenue appears to have been derived from the commerce of the Thessalian

Ch. 36. s. 2.  
of this Hist.

ports, or had been excited by what he had observed in Phenicia, where he would no doubt obtain information enabling him to enlarge them, they were evidently already extensive, when, at the early age of twenty-four, he took possession of Egypt, and there, in the space of a few months, laid the foundation of the greatest commercial system that had been seen in the world, and which flourished after him near twenty centuries. India offered a field in which his mind, with such a favourite purpose, would not fail to expatiate; and, on his return toward Babylon, after having not only opened the way toward that wealthy country by land, but proved the possibility of also reaching it by sea, that it employed his extraordinary diligence greatly, we have assurances from all historians. Arrian especially, expressing himself doubtfully concerning the extravagant views to farther conquest, attributed to him by

some, affords evidence of his speculating on the extension of commerce, clear and decisive. Nevertheless, though to what extent must remain utterly uncertain, yet that he meditated some farther conquest as necessary, not only to commerce in view, but to the peace of his subjects in some of the richest parts of his actual empire, appears more than probable.

Genesis, c. 10.

Babylon, the capital of the first prince on record as powerful in arms, was not chosen by him with a view to those pleasures of the chase, of little danger, but no use, in which his successors in empire delighted; it would be a work of peril and labour to dislodge the lions from their thickets, and make the plain secure for the husbandman. But the beasts of the forest were not the only disturbers of the peace, and invaders of the property, of the industrious cultivators of that wide and rich plain, the best part of the Assyrian dominion, called by the Greeks Mesopotamia, the Midriverland. Bounded on one side by the great sandy desert, spreading through Arabia to Egypt, on two others by rugged and lofty mountains, these became retreats for the idle and profligate of mankind, who multiplied into nations of robbers, depending on rapine for the best part of their livelihood. From earliest history to the present day such has been the character, and such the profession, of the scattered, but altogether numerous population of the extensive desert, from the border of the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and of the highlanders generally throughout Asia. As then it seems indicated that the first conqueror obtained his title of a mighty hunter, by destroying, as we are told of some of the Grecian heroes, the wild beasts which infested his country, so the more general description of him by the first known historian, as "a mighty one on earth," appears to mark that, as it is said particularly.

Ibid.

of Hercules, he was successful in supporting the industrious and peaceful of the cultivated country against the violent and lawless of the wilds.

Ch. 1. s. 2.  
of this Hist.

Alexander however, presently on returning to those rich plains whose state he had formerly seen, took measures for repairing the damage suffered from neglect under the Persian monarchs, and moreover for carrying improvement far beyond what had before been in contemplation; he would promote agriculture by maritime commerce, and maritime commerce by agriculture. But, bordering on Babylonia, touching on the Euphrates, if not even holding part of the country on both sides of that great river toward its mouth, were hordes of Arabs, whose propensities were adverse to the quiet and welfare both of the husbandman and merchant. The allowance of the Persian government for those pirates of the desert appears to have been nearly such as we have formerly seen it for those of the mountains; marking either extreme weakness in itself, or extreme negligence of the welfare of its subjects. To awe, if not to subdue these would be in Alexander's view.

Having resolved then himself to examine the circumstances both of the rivers and of the country, he began with the stream on which Susa stood, the Eulæus, by which of course would be the readiest communication with the sea, if, in approaching the gulf, it could be made as free for navigation as it was upward toward the city. With this object he embarked with a small escort of horse and foot, directing the main body of the army to attend his motions, marching on the bank; the whole fleet accompanying him as far as the canals which communicated, one with the Pasitigris eastward, the river by which Nearchus had ascended, another with the greater river Tigris westward. For the more difficult navigation, from the canals to the mouth of the Eulæus, he would not hazard the whole fleet,

but, with a few of the lighter vessels, proceeded himself. Without accident he reached the gulf; and then, turning westward along its shore, entered the Tigris, and ascended that stream to its junction with the canal, where he rejoined the main bodies of both the fleet and the army.

This greater river also had its obstructions, now to be examined. The measures of the Persian monarchs for the protection of their Mesopotamian subjects against the inroads of the Arabs, formidable only as pirates, are indeed remarkable. Instead of proposing to facilitate maritime commerce, and repress piracy, by a powerful marine, instead of anything consistent either with their duty to their Mesopotamian subjects or their own dignity, their resource for checking depredation was to establish a perpetual blockade of their own river. Dams had been formed at intervals across the stream, to stop the ascent of vessels. Alexander, causing these to be removed, laid the navigation open.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "Alexander removed the dikes with which the Persian monarchs had obstructed the stream. His historians delight in attributing these obstructions to the timidity of the Persians, and the removal of them to the magnanimity of the conqueror; but Niebuhr, who found similar dikes both in the Euphrates and Tigris still existing, observes, that they are constructed for the purpose of keeping up the waters to inundate the contiguous level; if so, the demolition is as derogatory from the policy and sagacity of the monarch, as it is flattering to his intrepidity." Vinc. on Nearch. p. 505.

This passage had escaped my recollection when I wrote what is on the subject in the text; but, on my best consideration, it appears to me that the worthy and diligent dean has not used his ordinary caution here. The exact situation of Opis he acknowledges to be unknown; and therefore whether any dam, which Niebuhr saw, was below it, must be somewhat uncertain. The neglect of the beneficial works of the Assyrian monarchs, by the Persian, the dean has stated; and Alexander's general diligence of inquiry, and earnestness in improvement of his dominions, have been objects of his warm praise. Alexander's engineers surely would have had no difficulty to draw water from a higher situation to a lower, for the purpose of irrigation, without obstructing the navigation. With a little more extent of observation than perhaps the very respectable critic had opportunity for, he might have had seen, even within his own country, that a part of the waters of a river may be diverted for the purpose of irrigation without preventing navigation. Altogether I am quite disposed to adhere to the ancient authority, that of Arrian, on which the account in the text rests.



As far as Susa the promised progress of the army homeward had been interrupted only by the necessary halting for rest, or for business obviously requiring attention. But the expedition to the Persian gulf was of another character. Not only it was an interruption of the progress homeward, uncalled for by any necessity obvious to the many, but would be likely to excite jealousy of views to farther conquest, and promote rumours on the subject, which might not otherwise have arisen. The predatory habits of the bordering Arabs would be known by report; and Alexander's earnestness to reduce to civil order all such, within or bordering on his dominions, had in the course of his progress eastward been largely shown. But it might be farther apprehended that the fame of conquering a country like Arabia, never known to have been conquered, might allure him; and to command the whole of the sea-coast, so far at least as to repress piracy, would be readily supposed, if not even known, to be within his views. The torrid zone had been imagined, by some of the elder Greek philosophers, to be uninhabitable for heat, as the frozen for cold; and, though heat equal to any ordinary in Arabia may have been already suffered by some of the army, yet apprehension of the unexperienced circumstances of the torrid zone might heighten an indisposition to warfare there, which had been excited by memory or report of the sufferings in the Gadrosian desert. With uneasiness thus likely to have possessed many, the general offence to all of Grecian blood and language from the assumption of the Persian dress occasionally by the king himself, and, after his example, and through his encouragement, by some of his principal officers, concurred to make dissatisfaction extensive and violent. Nor was this limited to those of the lower orders: on the contrary it appears that some, and even many, of high rank, not only were so affected,

but themselves promoted the disposition. Great advancement, instead of satisfying, is often apt to excite ambition; and probably no man ever experienced more than Alexander what the fourteenth Lewis of France is said to have wittily complained of, that, when he conferred a favour, he provided ingratitude in one man, and discontent in twenty. It was treated as matter for indignation, that Peucestas, appointed to govern Persia, condescended to use the Persian language in speaking to the Persians. Nor was it alone offensive that Macedonians accommodated themselves to Persian manners: the allowance of the Macedonian dress, and instruction in the Macedonian discipline, and the adoption of Macedonian manners, for those of the new levies, whom the Greeks called barbarian youths, also gave umbrage. These were matters of open and loud complaint among one another. Altogether however, in the unfortunate failure of Persian historians, it appears, even from the Greek, that the just protection afforded to conquered subjects, and the denial of that plunder, habitual to the Greeks hardly less than to the Asiatic highlanders, plunder extended even to the persons of the conquered, carried off for slavery, had principally produced the already threatening spirit of discontent in the Grecian part of the army.

*Arr. Exp. Al.*  
l. 7. c. 8.

Alexander, not unaware of this, had not neglected preparation for meeting it. At Opis, the principal town on the Tigris, was a palatial castle, apparently such as were everywhere found at the place of residence of Persian governors of provinces, which would afford convenient opportunity for seclusion, desirable for his purpose, and means for security, which a just precaution would recommend. Arriving there about the ordinary season of the Macedonian Olympiad, he caused the festival to be proclaimed. In careful conformity now,

*Diod. l. 17.*  
c. 109.

as formerly, to the Macedonian constitution, which so far, at least, agreed with the Greek republican, he called the whole Grecian army together, and addressed it as a popular assembly :

“ Their attendance,” he said, “ he had required for the purpose of informing them of his intention immediately to discharge all whom age, wounds, or any infirmity disabled for farther active service, with ample means for those to return home who might desire it. But it was not his intention so to limit the indulgence ; for any future service he desired only willing minds ; and for these the advantages should be such as to make them the envy of others, and excite emulation among the youths at home, for a share in future labours and dangers.”

Numerous as the exiles were always from many of the Grecian republics, the proportion of them among the mercenaries of Alexander’s army would be likely to be large ; and for them leave to return to their own countries would be no boon, unless they might be protected by a powerful foreign hand. Alexander therefore, according to the probable account of Diodorus, had promised them protection. Arrian’s, and indeed all accounts indicate that the leaders in the tumult were Macedonians. To go home was not their object, or however not their immediate object : so much he had already yielded to them in India : they would now have more. Voices exclaimed : “ He no longer cares for Macedonians ; all his favour is for barbarians ; Arachosians, Parthians, and others, of names even unknown in Greece.” Some, in terms of complete mutiny, went so far as to vociferate : “ Dismiss us all, and, for your associate in future campaigns, take your father :” alluding to his pretension, or the pretension put about for him, to be the son of Jupiter Ammon.

Alexander’s conduct now, whether to be successful or not,

was decisive. Leaping from the tribunal on which he was sitting, he rushed among the multitude, accompanied by his principal generals and his guard; the former no doubt prepared for such a measure; and, directing his view wholly to the Macedonians, he caused thirteen to be apprehended. This being done, apparently without resistance, he ordered them to be led away, and, as liable under military law, immediately executed. Ascending then again the tribunal, he

Art. 1. 7.  
c. 9. & 10.

spoke to the surprised multitude thus: "I do not address you now to divert you from your eagerness to return home. All are welcome to go, as far as depends on me. But I desire first to remind you of what you were when you left your home, and to what circumstances you are now advanced. In doing this, as in all duty bound, I must begin with acknowledging my obligations and yours to my father, both incalculably great." He proceeded then to mention briefly the poverty of the Macedonian people, and their distressed circumstances at Philip's accession, and the various improvements under him: security provided for the land against invasion, before always apprehended, frequently suffered; commerce flourishing in the ports, formerly all in the hands of enemies, now restored to the kingdom; the Macedonian capital become the resort of the wealthy from all parts; and, finally, the king elected general auto-crator of all the republics of Greece for war against Persia, and Macedonia raised to the first dignity among Grecian states. "Succeeding my father," he then continued, "inheriting from him that kingdom, so improved for the people, but through exertions which left the treasury poor; some gold and silver plate in it, but in money not sixty talents; (about twelve or thirteen thousand pounds sterling;) yet loaded with a debt of five hundred talents, I found means to borrow eight hundred. Such was the fund with which, together with you, I left Macedonia; which was not yet

among wealthy countries, though already affording, for its inhabitants, subsistence in security. Soon then, through our success in arms, Ionia, Æolia, Phrygia, and Lydia were added to your dominion, and made subsidiary. Cœlesyria and Palestine became yours, and, in the same campaign, the wealth of Egypt and Cyrene followed without contest. Mesopotamia, Babylon, Susa, Bactria, the Persian treasure, the wealth of India, and the command of the ocean beyond are now yours. From among you, satraps, generals, officers in all degrees have risen. And, after so many labours in which I have shared, what distinguishes me from you but this purple robe and this diadem? Individually I have nothing. Nobody can show treasures of mine which are not yours, or preserved for your sakes. For my own use indeed I want no more than you possess. I sleep in the same manner, I eat the same food; or rather, I think, I fare less luxuriously than some of you; and I am sure I have sometimes watched for you, when you have slept in all quiet. Who among you can say that he has borne more fatigue for me than I for him? Look well now among you, and see who can show more scars from wounds, not only from weapons striking from afar, but also from those used in close action. For your glory and your wealth I have led you conquerors over plains and mountains, lands and seas. These labours completed, the recent business has been of another kind. Nuptials have been joyfully celebrated, and marriage portions have been given with all. Though your ordinary pay has been beyond all former custom great, and large prize-money has accrued to many, yet, to obviate uneasiness, liable to arise from extravagance perhaps thus excited, all verified debts have been paid, without inquiry why they were contracted, and without memorial kept of by whom. To all who have distinguished themselves by their merits honours have been added, such as will be a testimony for them even

to late posterity. None have fallen in battle who, beside the ordinary glory of such a death, have not had their merits recorded by a splendid funeral and lasting monuments. Brazen statues have been erected at their homes to many; and their parents and families have not honour only, but the advantage of immunity from those burthensome offices required in all civil communities. This then remains for my gratification, that under my lead no man has perished in dishonourable flight. It was my intention to have sent home those less qualified for farther service, the envy of mankind. But as it is the desire of all to go, go all, and tell those at home, that your king Alexander, who has conquered the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sacians, and reduced under obedience the wilder nations of Arees, Arachotes, Drangies, Chorasemies, Parthians, and Hyrcanians; who has led you over Caucasus and through the Caspian gates, and across the rivers Oxus and Tanais, and not only afterward the Indus, which no conqueror ever before passed except the god Dionysus Bacchus, but also, beyond the Indus, over the Hydaspes, the Akesines, and the Hydrotos; and would have crossed the Hyphasis, but that your spirits failed; who nevertheless entered the ocean by both mouths of the Indus; who led an army across the Gadrosian desert, which no leader before ever attempted to cross but to the destruction of his army; who so equipped and provided his fleet that, at the same time, it made its way along the inhospitable coast of the ocean and through the difficult navigation of the Persian gulf, so that fleet and army have together hailed him conqueror at Susa; tell at home, I say, that having shared with him in all glories thus far, you then deserted him, turning him over to the care and guard of barbarians, whom, with him, you had conquered. Such is the account you will have to give, for your honour among men, and for the favour you would pray for from the gods."

Having thus spoken he descended hastily from the tribunal, went to his palace, and neither on that nor on the following day admitted any one to his conversation. Apparently waiting for concessions which were not made, he would not implicate, in disfavour with the army, those of his principal officers who concurred with him in the more liberal opinion of the propriety, or rather necessity, of admitting the many millions conquered to some fellowship in common rights with comparatively the few thousands of conquerors; he would take the whole responsibility upon himself. On the third day, nothing conciliatory from the army having reached him, he proceeded to measures for dispensing with their favour. Sending for the principal of those orientals of different provinces, who, for the convenience of a common name, are often described together by that of Persians, he distributed the chief command of the several bodies of his army among them; and he limited the privilege of saluting him, in the Macedonian manner, with a kiss, to those who, by marriage, were become his kinsmen. Having before admitted many Persians into his body of royal-companion cavalry, he now formed a body of royal-companion infantry, composed entirely of orientals. A distinguished body of Persians, who, from their silvered shields, had the title which the Greeks translated into their own language, argyraspides, he took among his guards; and to another Persian body he gave a Macedonian title.

In this, altogether perhaps the most difficult and distressing business of Alexander's short but eventful life, he completely succeeded. Arrian's concise account implies that he implicated in disgrace, on the occasion, every Macedonian of his army; unless those become his relations, by taking oriental wives, were allowed to retain the privilege of the Macedonian salutation, in common with the Persians in the same manner connected with him. It is indeed ex-

pressly stated that, in returning to his palace, after his speech to the army, he was attended by the lords of the body-guard and his usual companions, though not by the crowd of followers which it seems had been ordinary. The nerves of the mutiny had been at once palsied by the bold measure of seizing the ringleaders, and sending them to immediate execution. When the king left the assembly, the Macedonians, Arrian says, stood silent, as men at a loss for measures. Those looked to for leading being disposed of, and no others putting themselves immediately forward, the multitude remained quiet.

How far, in the extreme case of mutiny, Alexander's decisive measure, directing capital punishment by his simple mandate, was justifiable under Macedonian law, from the scantiness of our information concerning that law, we have means only for conjecture. In the different republican states the military law would differ, and in some would be more, in others less regular. An Athenian general might not unreasonably fear to exert the most warranted and even necessary authority over Athenian soldiers, before whom, as his sovereign judges, on returning home, he was, in regular course, to answer for the whole of his conduct in command, and whose simple displeasure might condemn him to banishment, or death. The several rights of Spartans, Lacedæmonians, and Laconians in the Lacedæmonian states, remain little explained by ancient writers; but a very remarkable instance of the most despotic exercise of the power of capital punishment by a Lacedæmonian commander, not of regal rank, over those other republican Greeks, allies of Lacedæmon, has been formerly noticed, as related by the contemporary Athenian historian, Xenophon. To assist judgment then, in Alexander's case, the analogy, also formerly noticed, between the Greek republican governments, of most regular form, and the Roman,

Ch. 18. s. 5.  
& elsewhere  
of this Hist.

Ch. 20. s. 3.  
of this Hist.



which was an improvement on them, may deserve consideration. On military service the Roman consuls claimed, and sometimes exercised, a summary jurisdiction in capital cases; and, under a special commission from the senate, in civil disturbances also. The dictator's authority, by his simple command to his lictor, to inflict death by the axe, seems never to have been controverted. The failure of imputation against Alexander, on this occasion, among extant ancient writers, all advocates for free constitutions, must be considered as evidence in his favour; though of the less weight as, among the ancient republics, the most atrocious irregularities in civil contest were familiar. The completeness of his success in the following reconciliation with his offended army, reported by all, affords perhaps the best testimony that he was, in general estimation at the time, warranted in his measures. If there remained, as doubtless would be, discontented men, their murmurs were so little heard as to have passed unnoticed in extant ancient history. On the other hand, such was at least the apparent general change of mind that the whole repentant army in a manner besieged the palace with expressions of regret for past misconduct, and entreaty for restoration of their king's favour, grounding their arms, as supplicatory offerings, and requesting admission; with a declaration that they would surrender the surviving leaders of the mutiny, if required, but would not rest day or night till Alexander would forgive them.

Diod. l. 17.  
c. 109.  
Ar. exp. Al.  
l. 7. c. 11.  
Plut. v. Al.  
p. 704.  
Q. Curt.  
l. 10. c. 4.

Perhaps allowance should be made for some partiality in the account of the generals, whose report Arrian followed. Not only however all the historians nearly concur in it, but ensuing matters prove that, even if the picture be a little inflated, Alexander's conduct on the occasion was most politic, as well as most vigorous and most successful. The

king, Arrian says, yielding at length to the general wish, strongly manifested, the palace-gate was opened, and he appeared at it. A general cry of lamentation immediately arose from the army. He shed tears, and they shed tears. He was advancing, as if with the purpose of speaking, when Callines, an elderly officer of the royal-companion cavalry, addressed him thus: "O king! it grieves the Macedonians that, since you have made Persians your kinsmen, and allow them the honour of saluting you with a kiss, that honour is denied to Macedonians." How far this may have been prepared we cannot know, but Alexander was ready with a most politic answer. As if he knew of none ill-disposed toward him, "Not so," he said; "on the contrary I consider you all as my kinsmen, and so henceforth will always call you." On this Callines proceeded to salute him with a kiss, and the same honorary freedom was denied to none. Taking up their arms then, with loud hoorahs they returned, singing the pæan, to their camp.

Previous arrangement with the principal Macedonians and principal Persians, and a perfect understanding of both with the king, is clearly enough marked in what followed. A sacrifice was offered to those gods to whom, according to the historian's phrase, the Macedonian laws prescribed such reverence from the chief of the nation. The sacrifice would, in usual course, afford a feast for the whole army. After this, a regular supper was served, at which, if report might be credited, and the manuscripts giving that report should be trusted for notation of numbers, nine thousand persons were entertained. Alexander presiding, the principal Macedonians sat next him, and below them the principal Persians; who were prepared, it thus appears, to hold rank below the Macedonians. Others, of both nations, then took place in corresponding order.

After this conciliatory festival, all Greeks, whether Mace-

donians or of the republics<sup>6</sup>, who desired their discharge, received it, and they are said to have been about ten thousand; though few, it is implied, if any, put themselves forward for it who were not, through age or wounds, or failing health, proper objects. Every man, beside his regular pay, which was to be continued till his arrival at home, was presented with a talent, above two hundred pounds sterling, as a gratuitous reward for his services. Those who had children by Asiatic wives were required to leave them, lest the extreme aversion, common among the Greeks, to admit any of foreign blood to share with them in civil rights, might be so excited as to occasion disturbance; Alexander however promising to provide that those children should have a Grecian education, and that, when they should be grown up, he would himself be their conductor to Macedonia, and introducer to their fathers, and to the rights of the children of such fathers. Here, as what follows in Arrian's account implies, Macedonians only are intended; Alexander having been careful to avoid, as Philip before him, to interfere with the merely civil concerns of the Grecian republics, till recently, urged by the circumstances of the moment, he had pledged himself in favour of the republican exiles in his army who should desire to return home, that they should be received in their several states. Seemingly aware of disturbance hence likely to arise, and which actually did ensue, he avoided now to extend his engagement to them. The appointment of Craterus to be commander for the march home, with a commission moreover to supersede Antipater

<sup>6</sup> The Greek writers themselves wanted terms for readily and clearly distinguishing Greeks of the kingdoms from those of the republics: whence, in Arrian's history, all Greeks are sometimes intended to be included under the Macedonian name, as well as Macedonians under the more properly comprehensive name of Greek. In this passage he uses the Macedonian name only, to denote all who desired and received their discharge; but a following phrase clearly proves that he meant to include all Greeks of the army.

in the viceroyalty of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, and the protectorship, such is Arrian's expression, of the freedom of the Greeks, appears to have been grateful to all; Craterus being not higher in the king's confidence than in esteem with the Grecian forces, whose interest he had always favoured in preference to that of the new Asiatic levies.

Here then it may deserve observation that, throughout the expedition, in such various trying circumstances during so many years, though discontents of both are recorded, no failure of harmony between the republican Greek troops and the Macedonian is marked in any account. Now all the dismissed appear to have set out, on their long and difficult march, with a general spirit of perfect loyalty; shedding tears, says the historian, at the ceremony of parting with their victorious prince, who sympathised with them.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Curtius continues to show that he had before him the same authorities which Arrian followed. He has described the mutiny, the seizure and execution of the thirteen ringleaders, the immediate stupor of the army, and its ensuing repentance and lamentation and solicitation, as if he had, in his flowery way, translated from the same Greek originals from which Arrian drew. But he has added some things, and differently reported others, from writers adverse to Alexander's fair fame; himself not adverse to it, but as he was led by his constant eagerness for high colouring, strong contrast, and great scenic effect. Hence his eagerness to relate, as certain, transactions the most secret, and his boldness to answer for words spoken either in the greatest privacy, or amid the completest tumult, with such carelessness for consistency and probability, that Horace's *incredulus odi* cannot fail to be the frequent sentiment of his more considerate readers; who nevertheless perhaps may find amusement even from his extravagances. A man of his talents of course would adapt these to the taste of his age; and thus they may, possibly, in some degree, assist those curious to ascertain his age. Probably those extravagances are not wholly his own, but derived from Grecian writers; yet may have been heightened in many instances by his fondness and talent for high colouring. It seems to me, though mere conjecture, not improbable, that Curtius's work, recent and in vogue, was among those which, as Arrian says, stimulated him to compile and publish a history of Alexander from the best authorities.

## SECTION IV.

*Affairs in Greece.*

PREVIOUSLY to this fortunate accommodation with his Grecian army, Alexander's situation appears to have been highly critical; and some knowledge of the circumstances probably had encouraged the promoters of the mutiny. He proceeded from Opis still northward into Media; wide of the way homeward, so long since generally desired by the Grecian part of the army; with what view direct information fails; a vacuity, fortunately not large, and the only one in Arrian's valuable narrative, being found here in every known ancient copy. But it is obvious that in that extensive, fruitful, and populous country, the favoured seat of the Persian monarchs, critically situated in the middle of the empire, bordering southward on its richest and most submissive provinces, northward on those which had been far the most difficult to conquer, itself the seat of a rebellion while he was in India, his presence was likely to be urgently wanted. Aware of the importance of securing an interest among the warlike people of those northern countries, we have seen him remarkably attentive to engage the attachment of the men of most influence among them. Should this fail, a Grecian force only could be depended upon for maintaining a conquest on which the quiet of the rich southern countries, and even the communication with India, unless by sea, depended.

Meanwhile matters had occurred in republican Greece, and in Macedonia itself, of a kind to excite anxiety. Alexander had always treated his mother, the dowager queen, with great attention and respect. But he had intrusted her with no share in the regency, while she reckoned she ought to have been, in his absence, chief, if not sole administratrix of the royal authority. Antipater, who, as far as appears, was,

for his honesty, as well as his ability and diligence, worthy of the late king's esteem and his successor's confidence, was disturbed by her attempts at interference. Mutual complaints passed from them to Alexander; and her charges against the viceroy went so far as to impute to him the purpose of rebellion. In these delicate circumstances it seems to have been a fortunate opportunity, which Alexander judiciously used, for preventing the inconvenience of farther difference between them. The declining health of Craterus afforded reason for sending that valuable officer home, in command of the large body of returning invalids; and this urgency for parting with the general, in whose military talents he had long shown the highest confidence, afforded cause, honourable to Antipater, for requiring him to supply the place thus vacated, and, instead of commanding the comparatively small kingdom, under the sovereign at a distance, to direct, with him, the affairs of the new Macedonian empire.

In republican Greece, at the same time, unquiet spirits had been stirring; encouraged, like those in office in Asia, by accounts of the distance to which Alexander was carrying his arms, and the hope that he would never return. The scrupulous attention of Philip, while he lived, and of Alexander afterward, to avoid offence to the irritable spirit of republicans, and especially of that large portion of them which anxiously desired their patronage, is largely indicated. That the leaders of the adverse party, avowedly taking subsidies for their states, took also notoriously presents and pensions for themselves, from the great enemy of the Grecian name and of free constitutions, the despot of Asia, while they were imputing corruption to their opponents, remains abundantly asserted. If then some indulgence for the ordinary effect of party-spirit may be allowed to the Greeks, yet that so large a majority of modern writers on the subject should have concurred, not only in railing against the Mace-

donian kings as the oppressors of the free, but in eulogy of their opponents so notoriously the hired associates of a despot, as the assertors of independency, is matter not incurious in the history of literature.<sup>8</sup> Pre-engaging thus the modern public mind, they have provided some hazard for the writer who desires to do equal justice. Fortunately however for the character of the Macedonian princes, and their party among the republics, testimony remains, even from their opponents, ample to overbear at least modern calumny. It is indeed remarkable, and, even after allowance for the tendency of fervent party-spirit to lead men into contradictions, appears matter for wonder, that the testimony of all antiquity, and even of those most zealous in the democratical cause, admits the patriotism of Isocrates and the rigid virtue of Phocion; who, always in opposition to Demosthenes and the Persian interest, were steady to the Macedonian. For a very extensive preference, among the Grecian republics, of the Macedonian supremacy to the Persian, we have observed evidence from Demosthenes himself.

The death of Memnon, perhaps relieving to Demosthenes, so far as it removed an over-powerful rival for the lead of the Persian interest in Greece, was a very severe blow to the party. Their hopes however rose again, together with those of Demosthenes, on assurance that the king of Persia was advancing in person, from the interior provinces, toward Lesser Asia, at the head of an army formidable, not only by its numbers, and the just estimation of its large proportion

<sup>8</sup> This, as observed in former notes, has been carried farther by learned men of the continent than of our own country; unless the compiler of the chronology of the Ancient Universal History should be excepted; who, taking upon himself to go far beyond his proper office of referring to the valuable work for which he was employed, has reported, from the stores of his own learning and judgment, many extravagances of fact and character, as if to be found in that work, which the better judgment of its authors had wholly avoided.

of cavalry, but still more by having, among its numbers, a powerful body of Greeks their friends. The event of the ensuing battle of Issus, with the rapid following conquest of Syria, Phenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, by the Grecian prince whom they opposed, brought them again low, and their hopes must have been finally extinguished, had the conqueror accepted the terms offered by the Persian king. But his determination still to pursue conquest eastward, beyond the Great Desert, afforded new prospect. The body of friendly Greeks, remaining in the Persian king's service, was yet considerable for number, and eminent for faithful attachment to the cause in which they were engaged; and, for the Persian party in Greece, of still greater consideration on account of the Persian king's confidence in it, which ensured their importance with him. Communication indeed with that body, as well as with their ministers yet attending the Persian court, would be now difficult and hazardous, yet probably not wholly precluded. But the ensuing victory of Arbela, and the consequent submission of Babylonia, Susiana, and Persis, were again stunning blows. Nevertheless, while Darius lived, and Grecian troops remained in his service, and the ministers of the party still attended and were respected at his court, hope of advantage was not wholly extinct. A Persian dynasty might yet be maintained on the north of Caucasus, or, what would be all they desired, a dynasty hostile to Alexander. Far more than the death of Darius then, the surrender of those faithful Greeks would be discouraging to them, and yet their perseverance remained unabated. Even their signal defeat at their own doors, in that battle in which the king of Lacedæmon, Agis, lost his life, did not reduce them to final dejection. Information that the ardent spirit of the youthful conqueror led him to persist in pursuit of endless conquest gave them new encouragement.

Ch. 50. s. 3.  
of this Hist.



Meanwhile how moderately Alexander's vicegerent Antipater, though reported to have been a man of a severe temper, had used the victory by which peace, disturbed by the ambition of the king of Lacedæmon in combination with Demosthenes, was restored to Greece, is evinced by facts, which the flatterers of democracy have blazoned as, for them, matter for boasting and triumph. We have observed it become common, among the Grecian republics, to testify the general sense of eminent public merit, by a popular decree for the honorary reward of a golden crown, to be placed on the head of the meritorious person in solemn public pomp. This honour we have farther seen, in the testimony of Demosthenes, offered by the democratical republics of Argos and Megalopolis to Philip king of Macedonia. The Athenian people had been in the habit of so honouring their own fellow-citizens, popular favourites; and, in the wildness of democracy, had gone to such excess in it that, in some favourable moments, prudent men had found opportunity to persuade the multitude to enact laws for restraining their own improvidence. It was forbidden to propose a crown for any man actually holding office, or till, after its conclusion, he had rendered an account of his administration, and received what our law terms his quietus; and it was farther enacted that, if a crown were decreed by the council, it should be presented only in the council-hall; if by the people, then only in the square called the Pnyx, the ordinary place for holding assemblies of the people. Moreover, for the prevention of irregular and ill-considered decrees, it had been made penal, as we have observed formerly, to propose any alteration of an established law, without the previous measure of procuring its repeal. These provisions were obviously wise; worthy of the republic of which Solon had been the legislator. But, in an absolute democracy, which

Ch. 40. s. 2.  
of this Hist.

Æsch. de cor.  
init.

was not Solon's constitution, such precautions were ineffectual. Instances had been numerous of contravention of those salutary laws; and what was everybody's business being that of no one man more than another, no prosecution following, no punishment had followed.

Such was the state of things when, between the first and second Phocian wars, while the contest was warmest between the parties of Chares and Demosthenes on one side, and Isocrates and Phocion on the other, Ctesiphon, an eminent member of the former, confiding in its support, had ventured to propose that a golden crown should be presented to Demosthenes, though then holding the office of superintendent of repairs of the city walls, and, in virtue of that office, receiving from the treasury all the money issued for the service; and moreover that it should be presented, not in the Pnyx, where, unless when some party-purpose called for the exertion of conflicting interests, attendance was commonly small, but in the theatre of Bacchus, on the first day of the representation of tragedies in the feast of the Dionysia, when it would not fail to be large. The offence to the law being, in this measure, glaring, Æschines entered a prosecution against Ctesiphon, stating the penalty at fifty talents, more than ten thousand pounds sterling. But, whether restrained by the moderation of his party, or its weakness, and the consideration that an unsuccessful effort would tend to its injury, he carried the business at that time no farther. We have already seen that his opponents, if not then already holding, soon after obtained, a decisive superiority, enabling them to lead the republic to the crisis which ended in their complete discomfiture at the battle of Chæronea. According to most writers of the Demosthenic party, Philip then commanded Athens. Much certainly came into his power; yet, such was his forbearance, that in the short interval before his death Demosthenes again obtained an ascendancy, which,

on occasion of the monarch's assassination, he used, as also formerly seen, insultingly. Taking then the lead in again exciting war among the republics, he forced those adverse to the dominion of his party to seek refuge in the patronage of Philip's youthful successor. Again brought low by Alexander's success at Thebes, the great orator fled, not from the vengeance of the conqueror, but from the indignation of his fellow-citizens.

Ch. 44. s. 3.  
of this Hist.

Whether then through the usual moderation, or the over-scrupulousness, of Phocion and his party in Athens, or through negligence of the Macedonian government, or instructions from its absent king to avoid interference in the internal politics of any republic, though in his office of captain-general accountable for the peace of all, there was indulgence, clearly rather extreme, for agitators, in Athens and throughout Greece. When that party among the republics which relied upon the captain-general, as formerly they had been accustomed to rely on the imperial republic of the day, Lacedæmon, Athens, or Thebes, for support, was most seriously threatened, Antipater was slow to interfere. Perhaps difficulties arose for him which remaining information will not enable us to appreciate. By a novelty in the ever-troubled political system of that eminent yet not fortunate nation, Lacedæmon, for preceding centuries the determined enemy of democracy, at one time successful in abolishing it throughout the republics of Greece, Thrace, and Asia, now, under an ambitious and apparently popular king, became leader in its cause. Alexander, when in Egypt, had been apprised of this; and he was moreover apprised that Athens was wavering, parties there being nearly balanced: insomuch that it became doubtful whether those two rival republics, which had successively tyrannised over all the others, might not now combine to recover the sovereignty in partnership. Nevertheless Anti-

Ch. 49. s. 1.  
of this Hist.

pater was unprepared to meet the growing storm. His difficulty seems to have been that ordinary in confederacies, the difficulty of procuring simultaneous and universally ready exertion; for which it is not likely that he had the advantage of Philip's popularity or authority, or perhaps talent. The dissolution of the adverse league nevertheless being

Ch. 50. s. 1.  
of this Hist.

effected by the battle in which the Spartan king fell, the ensuing moderation of the Macedonian confederacy toward the vanquished was beyond all example, when a republic, whether democratical or aristocratical, Athens, Thebes, or Lacedæmon, held the supremacy. The

Demosth. de  
cor.

boast of Demosthenes remains, in his own words, that he had been the leading agitator under whose advice and stimulation the Spartan king had acted; yet he was allowed not only to live undisturbed in Athens, but to prosecute his measures for maintaining a commanding influence there. Immediately however open disturbance could offer no hope for him or his party: and thus, without any reported interference from Macedonia, the republics enjoyed such unusual quiet for several years that the ordinary troubles of the country offered nothing prominent enough for the notice of any of those recorders of military events whose works remain to us. But, during this freedom from the miseries of war, in the unrestrained licentiousness of popular governments, political contest ran high, and eminently in Athens, where, producing what has singularly interested the republic of letters through all following ages, it has been the means of preserving to us some important political information.

While Alexander, already master of the greatest and richest part of the Persian empire, was yet engaged in his arduous struggle with the northern nations, if not already

Plut. v.  
Demosth.

moved toward India, (for the time is not exactly ascertained,) Æschines prosecuted his accusation

of Ctesiphon, after it had rested, it is said, ten years. The party of Demosthenes then held the superiority in Athens, and that of Phocion was uneasy under it. No hostility however toward Macedonia, or toward regal government, appears to have been at the time avowed. On the contrary, complimentary intercourse, common among the Greeks, and similar to that of modern times, was maintained by the Athenian government; probably with the Macædonian court, as we are assured it was with a court nearly connected with the Macedonian. Alexander king of Molossis, or, as, in consequence of extension of the dominion or influence of the Molossian kings, they have been often entitled, of Epirus, losing his life in war in Italy, an embassy was sent, with compliments of condolence, in the name of the Athenian people, to his widowed queen Cleopatra, sister of the great Alexander king of Macedonia; and a friend of Demosthenes, Ctesiphon, was the chosen ambassador on the occasion.

*Æsch. de cor.*

Ctesiphon was recently returned from that embassy, when Æschines resumed the prosecution against him for his illegal conduct in moving the decree for a crown to Demosthenes. Why this time of prevalence of the adverse party was chosen for the hazardous undertaking is marked in the opening of the prosecutor's speech; and confirmation is found in his adversary's reply. Addressing the sovereign multitude, "You see, Athenians," said Æschines, "the arrangement of the forces of my opponents; you have been witnesses to the solicitations in favour of extraordinary and irregular measures. I, on the contrary, offer myself to you now, desirous only that the council, and you, the assembly, should abide by the constitution, and support the wise regulations which Solon established for the order of your proceedings: namely, that the oldest citizen should first ascend the bema: that he should declare gravely, and

*Æsch. de cor.  
p. 381. ed.  
Reiske.*

undisturbed by noise and tumult, what his experience led him to believe the assembly, for the republic's good, should decree : that then, others, who might desire it, should deliver their opinions, with a preference always for the older. This salutary provision for order having been overborne, decrees against law we have seen often proposed ; presidents, not regularly chosen, have declared the majority of votes in favour of what the majority disapproved ; and, if any objection was made to such irregularities, and a councillor duly chosen to the presidency claimed his right, he has been threatened with citation before the people. Thus the sober judgment of the courts, provided, by the wisdom of Solon, for the security of individual subjects of the republic, has been superseded by passionate decrees of the general assembly : orators, confiding in the experienced efficacy of such threats, assume sovereign power ; neither the laws nor all the magistrates can restrain them ; and the constitutional right of the ward, presiding, in its turn, to stay the proceedings, is utterly disregarded."

Evidently enough this accusation of Ctesiphon was adopted as a mode of attacking the great leader of his party, Demosthenes. Ctesiphon having grounded his decree of honour on that orator's merit toward the republic, it has been the object of the adverse orator to show that Demosthenes was wholly unworthy, not only of that honour, but of any public esteem. It is remarkable then that, in favour of that authority among the republics, formerly conceded to the imperial people of Athens and Lacedæmon, and since given, in more constitutional form, successively to Philip and Alexander, he has not ventured a word ; even alliance with Macedonia he has avoided to mention as desirable ; and this is the more remarkable as, even before that kingdom had acquired any great pre-eminence, Isocrates had boldly and zealously contended, not only for the alliance, but also for

the presidency of the king of Macedonia, as highly desirable for the welfare of the Athenian people and the Greek nation. But Æschines reproached Demosthenes with having been notoriously the pensioner of the Persian king, and moreover at times the flatterer of both Philip and Alexander. He then mentioned, as recent matter, or even actually going forward, that, though, by the Athenian law, Æsch. de cor. p. 641. it was a capital crime for individuals to hold correspondence with foreign potentates, yet Demosthenes and his associates not only corresponded by letters with foreigners in power, both in Europe and in Asia, but received from them what the orator calls embassies<sup>9</sup>, at their own houses, and even boasted of such communication. In such contempt, he said, were the laws and constitution held by the demagogues who commanded a majority in the general assembly: so ready was that tumultuous sovereign to use its tyrannical power for dispensing at pleasure with its own enactments.

The reply of Demosthenes is a wonderful example of eloquence, and of talent for leading such an assembly as that of the Athenian people. A long exordium, boasting of his services to the republic, and thus directing the minds of the hearers to matters foreign to the accusation, has been admirably adapted to provide a favourable reception for the very weak defence to follow. That the proposer of the decree for the crown was guilty of a breach of the law, and that the orator, to whom the honour was prostituted, had never given a regular account of his disposal of the public money intrusted to him, is not denied.<sup>10</sup> But, what particularly deserves observation here is that, while Æschines feared to speak in favour of the Macedonian connection,

<sup>9</sup> Πρεσβείαι ἀφικνούμενται εἰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας.

<sup>10</sup> That warm admirer of the politics of Demosthenes, the learned and ingenious translator, Auger, has been candid enough to notice this in his summary of the speeches on the crown.

Demosthenes did not scruple to abuse the father of the conquering Alexander, and all connected with him, as freely as before the battle of Chæronea ; thus completely proving the hypocrisy and falsehood of the lamentations of ancient writers, adopted and even exaggerated by many modern, on the fall of the freedom of Greece under the Macedonian supremacy. To judge of some assertions of Demosthenes, in answering some in his adversary's speech, it should be known what that adversary might have replied, had the course in the Athenian courts permitted ; or what an able chief justice, moderating between the parties, might have remarked. But, the Athenian courts acknowledging no such moderator, reply to the accused was denied to the accuser. Indeed, for the numbers composing their courts, all standing, and in the open air, that length of discussion, which a jury of twelve, sitting under shelter, may well allow, was inadmissible. Even had it not been so, yet, in the circumstances of the Athenian constitution, altered as it was from that of Solon, and with the Athenian many, commonly eager for prosecution of any of their superiors, the denial may have been rather an advantageous and even necessary check upon the malevolent or sinister views of accusers, and altogether desirable for well-disposed subjects. Under this rule therefore Æschines had to contend with the same disadvantage as the foremost speakers in the ordinary debates in our house of commons ; he must anticipate his adversary's defence, and reply to it, as he best might, by conjecture ; and to this accordingly we find him, with great ingenuity, directing much of his celebrated speech.

A law was in force, to which the multiplicity and frequent frivolousness of accusation among the Athenians had given occasion, subjecting an accuser, who did not obtain a fifth of the voices of the multitudinous court, to banishment. Æschines, no doubt, had considered this law, as well as his



own situation in Athens under the ruling faction. It is exultingly said, by the friends of the politics of Demosthenes, ancient and modern, that he failed of obtaining one fifth of the voices of the Athenian people. But Æschines would hardly have ventured to prosecute his accusation without assurance of support from the party which looked to Phocion as its head; and the circumstances, not reported by ancient writers, must have been extraordinary which could either have reduced that party so low, or could have led it so to neglect a powerful member in need. But, as the previous uneasiness of his situation, under the sway of the adverse party, appears to have been the stimulation for Æschines to the hazardous undertaking, so, after the loss of his cause, for which probably he would be prepared, Athens could be no pleasant, nor perhaps safe, residence for him. However, as so many men, eminent by their civil and military services, some compelled by a decree of the despotic sovereign, others choosing among evils, had done before him, he quitted Athens, and passed the rest of his life partly in Rhodes, partly in Ionia; leaving the anti-Macedonian party in command of the republic's politics. From such a result of that celebrated contest may be estimated the justness of the imputations against Philip and Alexander, as destroyers of the freedom of the Grecian people, tyrants over the republics. Nor does the refutation rest here: whoever will investigate the history of following times will find confirmation of it in the whole tenor of succeeding events.

Plut. v.  
Demosth.  
p. 857.

Plut. v.  
Demosth.  
ibid.  
Diog. Laert.

The magnanimous kindness of Alexander to the friend of his earliest youth, Harpalus, will be remembered; kindness carried perhaps to the extreme of rash indulgence and confidence. Harpalus, apparently of the school of Aristotle and Callisthenes, was probably a man of considerable talents, and, unlike Callisthenes, of

Ch. 49. s. 1.  
of this Hist.

insinuating manners. Alexander had left him, at Babylon, in the office of treasurer of his newly acquired empire, or of a large part of it, and, according to Diodorus, satrap of B-

Diod. l. 17.  
c. 108.  
Plut.  
Demosth.  
p. 857. bylonia. Harpalus was among those who, speculating upon the improbability of his sovereign's return, abused the trust grossly; insomuch that, fearing now to stand the accusations ready against him, he resolved upon a new and greater crime, involving, with direct treason, the extreme of ingratitude. Holding the first civil authority in a great and rich satrapy, and commanding the treasury, it would not be difficult for him to engage and arm men to proceed to Greece under his orders. But, according to the probable account of Diodorus, he found soldiers with arms and discipline ready for his purpose. For men in the unhappy condition of exiles from their republics, always very numerous, usually wandering over Greece, Thrace, Lesser Asia, Phenicia, and Egypt, in search of any military service in which they might hope for a livelihood, the opportunity offered by Alexander's expedition would be a great relief; but especially after the battle of Issus, when the plunder of all the East came in view, it would be most inviting. Accordingly the republican Greeks in Alexander's army seem to have been, in large proportion, of this description, and those who had amassed wealth, with remaining constitutions to afford hope of enjoyment at home, would be likely to desire to return home; all claiming merit which would entitle them to their captain-general's patronage for their purpose. His scruple then to interfere with the civil government of any republic would be disappointing to them. Revenge was a passion commonly warm in Grecian minds, and the view to gratify both revenge and ambition, by returning in a body capable of overbearing their domestic adversaries, under a leader whose interest was united with theirs, and whose pecuniary means

were large, would stimulate them. Thus it appears to have been that Harpalus was enabled quickly to collect to the number of six thousand, armed, disciplined, and zealous. Arriving with these on the Phenician coast, he procured shipping, with which he conveyed his army to the promontory of Tænarus, in Laconia, where he landed. Possibly he had hope of countenance from Lacedæmon; but, though in this he seems to have failed, yet neither opposition to his landing, nor molestation, in probably a strong post which he occupied, is mentioned. Leaving his army then in present security there, he proceeded himself by sea to Athens.

His principal hope of ultimate success, in a desperate enterprise, if he could not gain Lacedæmon, seems to have rested on his knowledge of the violence of party, which still divided Athens, and on his old connection with the leading men there, adverse to his sovereign. But, in the moment, whatever the change may have been since the victory of Demosthenes over Æschines, their party had no decided superiority. For Harpalus therefore, a rebel against the captain-general of the confederated republics, even to appear in Athens, but still more to prosecute his purpose there, would be highly hazardous. His resource accordingly was to go in the character and habit of a suppliant, but carrying money in large amount. The most eminent orators of the high democratical party are said to have been readily engaged to advocate his cause, Demosthenes only excepted. He, at first shrinking from the hazard of the undertaking, however at length concurred in it; induced, according to report even of writers generally favouring his cause, by increased bribery, of which Plutarch has not scrupled to relate the particulars. But as it remains unsaid how these became known, justice may require the observation that anxiety to

Diod. l. 17.  
c. 103.  
Plut.  
Demosth.  
p. 857.

maintain his connection and influence with the leading men of his party may have been a sufficient motive. However, whether through improved interest of Phocion's party, or mistrust of the character of the suppliant among their own, their interest and their eloquence in the general assembly failed; and Harpalus, in danger of being arrested, owed his escape ashore to the concealment and opportunity which his Athenian supporters provided for him.

Returning then to Tænarus, which, without countenance from the Lacedæmonian government, would not be a situation for him to remain in, he passed to Crete. That fine island, celebrated, as we have seen, in earliest history, for the power of its princes, the excellence of its policy, and the civilisation of its people, was naturally divided by its mountains, and, through the opportunities which these afforded, became civilly divided among many lawless communities, and thus it has been, in the more illustrious ages of Greece, almost without history. To Harpalus it appears to have been inviting as a country of pirates, among whom he and his followers might find association. Bitter disappointment to the latter, arising from early evidence of the utter inability of their leader to realise his promises, which had raised their hopes high, seems to have produced the ensuing catastrophe. Harpalus was assassinated; according to Diodorus, by one of his principal associates; yet the troops held together; all without resource if they separated, and looking for means of subsistence only from united strength, which might enable them to profit from the weakness or the contentions of others.

Meanwhile at Athens, minds being exasperated against those orators who would again have subjected the state to the evils of war with the general confederacy of the republics under the lead of Macedonia, accusation was preferred

Ch. 1. s. 2.

and  
Ch. 4. s. 2.  
of this Hist.

against them as having, under the influence of bribery, recommended measures highly adverse to the common welfare, and they were cited to answer for their conduct before the assembled people. Doubting then the sufficiency of their interest with the inconstant many, who, with little deliberation or none, might have condemned them to banishment or death, they procured a decree, (through the exertions, it is said, principally of Demosthenes,) for referring the matter to the court of Areopagus. Avoiding thus the severer sentence apprehended, that court however declared them guilty, and the fine set upon Demosthenes was of fifty talents, more than ten thousand pounds sterling. Rather than than pay, if he was able, so great a sum, and live in Athens, while his adversaries ruled there, he withdrew, in voluntary banishment, to Ægina.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch's account of this business, in his *Life of Demosthenes*, grossly uncreditable to the great orator, is curious; rather as showing how, in ancient as in modern times, political parties were given to scandalise one another, than as deserving credit for all the detail, even if he had all from the eminent author of the time, Theopompus, whom, for one circumstance, he has quoted.

## CHAPTER LVII.

TRANSACTIONS IN THE MARCH THROUGH MEDIA TO BABYLON. FARTHER MEASURES FOR IMPROVEMENT OF TERRITORY AND EXTENSION OF COMMERCE. CIVIL REGULATION. DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

## SECTION I.

*March into Media. — Amazons. — Death of Hephæstion. — War with the Cossees. — Measures for exploring the Caspian Sea. — March to Babylon.*

Diod. I. 17.  
c. 110. THE loss of a small part of Arrian's narrative has deprived us of his information concerning Alexander's march from Susa into Media, and occurrences there, apparently of some importance. The principal stations however between Opis and Ecbatana remain named by Diodorus, probably from good authority. In five days the army reached Sambana, and remained there seven; but for what purpose is not said. Proceeding then, it reached Celonæ, a colony of Bœotians, who, after the celebrated battle of Plataæ, flying to avoid the revenge of the Greeks, confederated for common defence, had sought and obtained the protection of Xerxes. Their descendants, driven by necessity to learn the language of the country in which they were settled, were found to have retained also much of Grecian speech, and much of Grecian manners. Alexander then turned from the direct road, to pass, through a tract called Bagistane, famed for both fertility and beauty, to the Nysæan plain, where was the principal stud of the Persian

kings. Here, fortunately, Arrian's narrative recommences, and so holds connection with those of Diodorus and Curtius as to afford presumptive proof of their correctness concerning the matters of which his report is lost. The number of mares in that magnificent stud, he says, had commonly been a hundred and fifty thousand, but was now reduced, by robbery, or mismanagement, or both, to little more than fifty thousand.<sup>1</sup>

At this place Atropates, satrap of Media, came to wait upon Alexander, and, according to the report of some writers, such is Arrian's phrase, presented him with a hundred women, said to be of the Amazons: skilful horsewomen, equipped in the manner of troopers; except that, instead of lances, they carried battle-axes: but that careful historian adds that no mention was made of these women by Aristobulus, or Ptolemy, or any other writer of credit; and he proceeds: "If Atropates really produced some armed horsewomen to Alexander, I should incline to suppose they were of some other barbarous nation, and not of that familiarly known to the Greeks, through tradition and fable, by the name of Amazons."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Our copies of Curtius agree exactly with those of Arrian concerning those numbers, and those of Diodorus differ only as they give sixty, in both places, for fifty.

<sup>2</sup> The various stories of people described by the name of Amazon, are among the mysteries of early Grecian history, concerning which Strabo, Plutarch, and Arrian, all curious about them, have been unable to satisfy themselves. All however appear to have held that a people of that name existed, and, emigrating from Scythia, made extensive conquest in Lesser Asia. According to the geographer, they were not such determined vagabonds as the Scythians have been commonly described; for they founded some of the principal cities afterward occupied by the Greeks, Ephesus, Smyrna, Cuma, and others. But migration of hordes, men, women, and children, we know has been an Asiatic practice from earliest history to this day; and the remarkable instance, in western Europe, among the Gauls, in the authentic account of the ancestors of the Swiss nation by Julius Cæsar, is known to all. The Lacedæmonian women, we are assured, were required by law to be so exercised in the use of arms as to be qualified for battle among men, and some instances are mentioned of the practice. If Amazonian women were seen acting in arms among men, in an invasion of Attica, such a circumstance may have

In the course of this march a dispute, necessarily distressing to Alexander, happened between his principal secretary, Eumenes<sup>3</sup>, a man of superior talents, much esteemed by him, and Hephæstion, in whom he had most confidence as a sincere friend and grateful companion. This was matter for Plutarch to relate in his usual way, as if he had perfect information of the most private transactions, and of words spoken in the most private conversation. A broken sentence of Arrian, where extant copies resume his narrative, assures us that such a dispute occurred; and so much farther confirms Plutarch's account, as it indicates that Alexander interfered, and that Hephæstion, probably the younger man, submitted to his decision with rather an ill grace, Eumenes showing more liberality on the occasion.

Arrived at Ecbatana, Alexander celebrated a magnificent thanksgiving sacrifice for his various and extraordinary successes, with the added amusements of gymnastic games

afforded to Grecian ingenuity and love of the marvellous foundation for all that is fabulous in their history. That Amazon was a Greek name, signifying Breastless, appears to have been a late and an unfounded imagination. The father of history, where mentioning the reported invasion of Attica by the Amazons, to ascertain that they were females of whom he was speaking, has added a syllable, calling them Amazonids\*; thus implying that he considered the name Amazon as applicable to men equally as to women. The absurd tale, gravely told by both Diodorus and Curtius, of Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, marching some hundred miles from her own country, between the Caspian and Euxine seas, over hardly practicable mountains, to visit Alexander in Hyrcania, utterly unworthy of political history, is yet, like some matters formerly noticed, of curiosity for the history of letters. It was no invention of those writers, or of their age, but first propagated in Alexander's (Plut. v. Alex. p. 691.); and perhaps it may justly be reckoned less wonderful that such a story should then have some degree of popular credit, when the Greeks, through all previous ages limited to their own country and the shores of the neighbouring seas, now had the whole interior of Asia newly laid open to their curiosity, than that it should have been afterward tolerated by the popular taste in the most flourishing and enlightened times of the Roman empire.

<sup>3</sup> He is entitled by Arrian Γραμματεὺς βασιλικὸς (Arr. exp. Al. l. 7. c. 4.), by Plutarch Ἀρχιγραμματεὺς. Plut. v. Eum. init.

\* Ἀμαζονίδας. Herod. l. 9. c. 27.



and theatrical exhibitions. The sacrifice being a feast for the whole army, there were other feasts for more select company. Amid the hilarities here Hephæstion was seized with a fever. It is obviously probable that the officers more immediately about Alexander's person would sometimes have very severe service. Possessing himself singular power of body, and ability to bear heat and cold and hunger and thirst, fatigue in all shapes, he would be likely to measure others by his own standard, so that those most favoured by him, most emulating his exertions, would be most liable to suffer from their own. His ordinary diet, according to his own account, reported by Arrian, and according to all most authentic accounts, was abstemious; but in times of festivity (as it is said of him by others, and even by Arrian admitted) he would indulge, as his constitution would bear, and youth and company prompt, sometimes extravagantly. Hephæstion's fever probably arose from a combination of fatigue, frequent exposure in bad air unregarded, extremes of heat and cold alternate, abstinence occasionally unavoidable, and, when temptation occurred, excess, at his age, not unnaturally following. It was on the seventh day of his illness, when he seems to have been supposed convalescent, while the principal physician who had attended him was indulging in the amusement of the gymnastic games where Alexander presided, that finding appetite return, he would have a meal of meat, of which he ate heartily; and then, finding himself oppressed, and fever returning, drank a quantity of iced wine. A paroxysm ensued, such that information of it was sent to Alexander, who instantly quitted the celebrity, at which he was presiding, to visit his suffering friend, but found him already lifeless.

His grief on this melancholy event, marking a feeling mind, was however, according to all accounts, immoderate. Numerous stories were circulated on the occasion, and

reported to posterity; writers differing in them according to their disposition to extenuate or exaggerate the failings to which so extraordinary a man, as a man, was liable. All however agree, says Arrian, that for three days he refused both society and food. He then ordered a funeral of extravagant magnificence; with games, after the manner of the funerals in Homer's age, in which no less than three thousand persons contended for prizes.<sup>4</sup> The affection of his mind nevertheless so lasted as to cause great uneasiness to his surviving friends; whose endeavours to relieve it were but incompletely successful, till, whether new circumstances occurred, or the matter was before less regarded, cause or pretence was found for recommending to him a new military expedition. In the extensive highlands, bordering northward on the plains of Media, southward on those of Susiana and Persis, was a numerous horde, the Cossees, who either had not acknowledged subjection to his dominion, or had renewed their predatory practices. His mind, lately devoted to projects for improving the condition of his subjects by arts of peace, but rendered torpid by the sudden loss of the most confidential partaker in all his councils, was roused to energy by the view to active exertion, which might contribute toward the previously conceived purpose. Winter was

<sup>4</sup> Of remaining historians, Diodorus has been very succinct on this subject, and, to his credit, simple and sober. Even Curtius has almost exactly concurred in what Arrian has reported as from authority, adding little; though strange extravagances, as we learn from Arrian as well as Plutarch, were circulated on the occasion. The moral philosopher indeed, in this part of his *Life of Alexander*, seems to have been borne away by his passion for fable the most extravagant, or even absurd, which might afford ground for moral reflection. It may seem that when Addison referred to Arrian and Plutarch together as the writers of clearest credit for the history of Alexander, he rather hazarded the assertion on the ground of the general reputation of both, than confided in any examination of their differences. Yet it must be said for Plutarch that, for some of his most extravagant stories, he quotes authority; which so far gives them value, as they contribute to mark the extent of that bad taste which, under the tyranny of the Roman empire, arose, in a great degree, from deficiency of general information. For the important public occurrences Plutarch agrees with Arrian.

approaching; but the change from the summer fervor of the plains, in which he and his army had been living, to the frozen air of the snowy mountains of the Cossees, would not at all deter him. On the contrary, judging that to be the season for the most effectual warfare against them, he resolved to use it. For, in summer, the highlanders, dispersing among hardly accessible rocks, might defy the pursuit of regular troops; but if, in the season in which they did not apprehend attack, he could drive them from the stores collected from their neighbours' fields, they must surrender or starve. Ptolemy, who seems, like himself, to have been endowed with superior power of limb and hardness of constitution, was the general chiefly employed with him. The Cossees being brought to submission, his measures were what our Edward, entitled the First, pursued in Wales. Building and fortifying towns in commanding situations of their territory, and placing garrisons there, he forced them to peaceful industry for their livelihood, by denying them means for preying on their neighbours.<sup>5</sup>

The Caspian sea, one of the boundaries of Alexander's empire, imperfectly known, even in modern times, till of very late years, had been best described to the Greeks by their early historian Herodotus. Succeeding writers had given such erroneous accounts of it that, as we have formerly observed, the supposition had obtained credit that it was open northward to the Arctic, and eastward to the Pacific ocean. Alexander's strong and apparently just curiosity led him to measures for having its ARR. I. 7. c. 16. extent and boundaries and means for communication ascertained. He sent Heraclides son of Argæus into Hyrcania, in the command of a body of shipwrights, to build vessels, both open and decked, for the purpose.

<sup>5</sup> The name of this people, according to Vincent, remains among the same mountains to this day, but without any relic of the improvement of their manners effected by Alexander.

Probability appears, in Arrian's account, that the completion of arrangements in the Cossee country was committed to Ptolemy, while, in spring of the three hundred and twenty-fourth year before Christ, Alexander led the main body of the army to Babylon. No circumstance of the march is reported, by any historian, till he was within thirty miles of that city, when, according to all, a very extraordinary matter occurred. A deputation from the body of Chaldean priests arrived, commissioned to represent that, as Alexander had paid just honour to their god, so their god was disposed to be favourable to him, and, accordingly, had authorised them to admonish him that to proceed to Babylon, at that time, would be unfortunate for him.<sup>6</sup>

When, presently after the battle of Arbela, while the former sovereign was yet living and yet master of half the empire, Alexander entered Babylon, he had been received with general joy, as a deliverer rather than a conqueror. He had since shown great favour to the Babylonians. A

temple, of extraordinary magnificence, raised by the Assyrian kings for the worship of Baal or Beel, or, as the Greeks and Romans wrote the

name, with their added termination, Belus, signifying The Lord, had been destroyed by the Persian kings, averse to the Chaldean superstition. Alexander had directed the rebuilding of this temple with increased magnificence, and committed a large revenue to the management of the priests for the purpose. He had moreóver projected great works for the benefit of the city and surrounding country; and it appears that, for the advantages of its situation, he proposed to make Babylon the capital of his Asiatic dominion. To be told then that to enter that city would be unfortu-

<sup>6</sup> Μη̄ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ οἱ εἶναι τὴν πάροδον τὴν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε. Arr. l. 7. c. 16.

nate could not but be surprising to him, even though aware of the motive ; having received information that the rebuilding of the temple had been but little prosecuted ; whence he gathered that the priests, like so many others in high employment under him, speculating on the improbability of his return from the East, had been using the revenue assigned for that great work for their own profit and enjoyment. Accordingly, as Arrian, always cautious of answering for words spoken, says was reported, he replied to the extraordinary admonition, or perhaps only expressed himself to the royal companions attending, by a verse of Euripides ; “ He the best prophet is who guesses best.”

But with his great purpose of bringing all his subjects of all religions to friendly union, and with his especial desire to hold complete his popularity in his proposed capital, it might be important to maintain a good correspondence with the Chaldean priests. Their deputies accordingly, though denied their first object, finding a reception altogether favourable, ventured, with what reasonable view is not obvious, to recommend to him at no rate to proceed by the direct road, by which he would enter the city facing the west, but, if he determined to persevere, rather to make a circuit by which he would enter facing the east. They must have known, and it is unlikely that he would be without information, that to proceed by the road they indicated was impossible. Nevertheless, as Arrian assures us Aristobulus related, he conceded so far as to take that road ; and possibly a prudent consideration for Grecian as well as Chaldean superstition may have determined him to this ; the Greeks, generally ready to adopt any superstitious belief not directly adverse to that in which they had been educated, being especially attentive to predictions. But, having shown his army the floods and marshes which at that season absolutely prevented progress in the course recommended, he turned, and

entered the city by the way before proposed. The people, whether informed, or not, of any pretended adverse foreboding, received him with all demonstration of joy. That he took any severe measures against the priests, for their misconduct in the charge committed to them, is not said; whence it may seem probable that he used toward them a politic forbearance.<sup>7</sup>

## SECTION II.

*Embassies from Greek Republics and Foreign Nations. — Measures for maritime Discovery and Extension of Commerce. — Slavery among the Ancients. — Floods of the Mesopotamian Rivers, and Works to profit from them. — Regulations civil and military.*

THROUGHOUT the Grecian republics, not less than in Asia, but rather more, minds would be affected by the news of Alexander's return victorious from India, with not only the whole of the Persian empire, but nations beyond, in peace acknowledging the sovereignty of the elected captain-general of the nation. Some citizen of almost every state, either of the party friendly or of the party adverse to that in the moment ruling, would have shared in the glorious achievements, either among those who first passed into Asia, or in the numerous levies which afterward reinforced the army. At home all would have information that, as all Greeks had always been treated as fellow-countrymen in Macedonia,

<sup>7</sup> The business with the Chaldean priests was of a kind likely to be variously reported. Diodorus has been partial to them. Relating the matter in more detail than is usual with him, yet avoiding to mention the imputed peculation, he has spoken of their skill in prophecy as superior to that of the seers of his own nation. Curtius, more concise than Diodorus, appears however to have followed nearly the same authority. Plutarch has been prudently short on the subject. Arrian, generally preferring Ptolemy's account, has here deferred to Aristobulus. Indeed, if Ptolemy, as seems indicated, had been left on service in Media, the matter may have been unnoticed in his narrative. Aristobulus appears, in Arrian's quotations from him, to have been either addicted to belief in augury, or to have had his views in promoting it.

and especially by the late king, so now, in the progress of conquest, distinction had become less and less between Macedonians and republicans; many of the latter had been raised to very high situations, military as well as civil; men of science, and artists of every description, were especially encouraged; extension of commerce was a favourite object of the sovereign, and all Asia was open for all Greeks, to seek fortune or to settle in. The party adverse to the Macedonian supremacy would thus be nearly silenced; the zeal of the friendly would be forward; and ordinary compliments to the captain-general of the nation, who had so extended its renown, and so opened the commerce of the world to it, would not fail.

Consequently many embassies from Grecian republics were arrived at Babylon, charged with various business; all with those compliments of congratulation which appear to have been customary among themselves, and all with their ordinary token of gratitude for public services, presents of golden crowns. According to the probable account of Diodorus, here the more valuable as Arrian's is defective, those charged with representations concerning temples and sacred ceremonies were esteemed entitled to audience before those commissioned on political matters only, though of no small importance; some to state controversies of republics with republics, and some, which seems to have been in itself of weightiest consideration, to object to the restoration of citizens, exiled in consequence of political differences. Such unfortunate men the history of the republics shows to have been always very numerous. Their restoration would be indispensable toward the establishment of that peace throughout the nation, the great object of the Athenian patriot Isocrates, which, as formerly has been observed, he blamed the magnanimous king of Lacedæmon, Agesilaus, for at-

Arr. l. 7. c. 19.  
Diod. l. 17.  
c. 113.  
Plut. vit. Alex.

Ch. 43. s. 5.  
of this Hist.

tempting over-hastily, but for which the season, if ever to be, might seem now arrived. Those commissioned on this subject, the historian says, were last heard; probably not, though such may seem to have been the historian's opinion, because their purpose was ungracious, but rather on account of its difficulty, and the variety of discussion to which it would give occasion. All however were received and dismissed with the honours that, among the republics, were commonly esteemed gratifying.<sup>8</sup> The arrival of these embassies, while Alexander's mind was intent upon improving his Asiatic empire, seems to have put him upon considering what might be immediately gratifying to his own nation, which he showed himself disposed always duly to respect, however he might judge it improper, or even impossible, to provide for it all the advantages which, through oppression of the conquered, were expected from him. He now renewed his inquiry for statues of the gods, and of eminent men, and whatever other spoil Xerxes, carrying from Greece, had deposited either at Babylon, or Parsagardæ, or Susa, or elsewhere; and all that could be found were sent back to the cities whence they were taken.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> That the embassies were so received and dismissed Arrian says; but adds, that he could not satisfy himself what, beyond compliment, was the object of any of them. Occasion has occurred formerly to remark that Arrian, though sometimes venturing to show a just liberality of political principle, has been altogether extremely reserved on civil matters, and especially cautious of noticing republican affairs. Plutarch, in the same age, and under the same government, an obscure individual, could venture more; but, failing of Arrian's advantage of practice in political business, and being under the disadvantage, common to both, of knowing no government, from experience, but a military despotism, which had already, for a century and half, pervaded the civilised world, his politics are of no consistency, vaguely directed to recommend republican principles, and altogether little better than a kind of barking at he knew not what.

<sup>9</sup> There appears again in this part of Arrian's history of Alexander some indication of what has been observed in a former note of this volume, that, though clearly intending his work for the public, he never completely prepared it for publication. In reporting Alexander's first taking possession of Susa, in his third book, he says, as it has been already mentioned in its place, that,



But the fame of Alexander's conquests, and the known great means afforded by the mighty empire now at his command, with rumour, true or exaggerated, of his farther ambitious views, would of course interest nations beyond the narrow bounds of Greece and the Grecian colonies. According to historians of his age, many such embassies waited upon him at Babylon, or in his way thither. To some of these Arrian gave full credit; doubting however some, and rejecting some. He mentions confidently those from Libya, and from Lucania, Brutium, and Tuscany in Italy; and ground for this is obvious. The embassies from Libya probably were from the Grecian colonies on its coast, and perhaps from some neighbouring Africans; to whom Alexander's favour, possessed as he was of Egypt, and commanding the eastern end of the Mediterranean sea, would clearly be important. The recent death then of his kinsman, Alexander king of Molossis, in war in Italy, might give occasion for both the friends and the enemies of that unfortunate prince there, the former to desire the protection, the latter to obviate the enmity, of the great conqueror of the day. The accounts of embassies from Carthage, from Ethiopia, from European Scythia, and from some Gallic and Spanish people, which the cautious historian mentions, though with apparently less confidence, seem yet not improbable. For the connection with the Tyrians sufficed to make the Carthaginians alive to the consequences of Alexander's conquests; Ethiopia, bordering on his kingdom of Egypt,

Arr. l. 7.  
c. 15.  
Diod. l. 17.  
c. 113.

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among many other things brought from Greece, were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which he sent back to Athens. Here in his seventh book he mentions again those statues, as if not till now they had been sent back, without noticing his former mention of the same fact. The question when the measure took place is in some degree interesting, as it would indicate the devotion of Alexander's mind to his interest in Athens, and throughout Greece, at the time.

could not be wholly uninterested; and European Scythia was in the habit of communicating, in war and in commerce, with both the Macedonian kingdom and the maritime Grecian republics. An embassy from Rome, the two Greek writers whom Arrian has named, had had the hardihood to assert it, he considered, I think justly, for reason more than he mentions, as mere fiction. Yet, for the desire of the more distant tribes of Spain to engage Alexander's friendship, there is no improbability; the prosecution of the Carthaginian conquests there apparently sufficing to make them look out, at any distance, for connection with enemies to Carthage. The Cisalpine Gauls, bordering on the Triballians and Illyrians, were quite within reach for being affected with either hope or fear from the wonderful increase of the Macedonian dominion.

In choosing Babylon for the capital of his Asiatic empire, Alexander was not led, as the Persian monarchs formerly to a preference for Susa and Ecbatana, by any pleasantness of climate, or beauty of surrounding country, or its fitness for royal sports, but wholly by political considerations. It was nearly central among the nations newly owning subjection to him. The extent of rich plain around, traversed by great rivers, was most advantageous for the production and conveyance of supplies for a great collected population; and, by the gulf, receiving those rivers and conveying their waters to the ocean, means were open for maritime communication unlimited. But these great means had been only prepared by nature, leaving the completion to the ingenuity and industry of man.

This now especially engaged Alexander's attention. Much toward it indeed he had already done. Together with the shore of the ocean eastward the eastern side of the gulf had been explored. But the western side remained known almost only to the predatory hordes of Arabs, its

possessors, whose manners deterred the approach of strangers, and against whose hostility the Persian monarchs appear to have provided but very deficient protection for their people on land, and none for their sea-faring subjects. Alexander would have discovered and prosecuted around the whole of the Arabian peninsula, and provide means and security for maritime commerce, as eastward with India, so westward with Egypt, and through Egypt even with Greece. Hostility on the water, hardly looked for in the way from India, was in this course to be apprehended; and he prepared accordingly. The country, within any convenient distance around Babylon, furnished no timber, fit for ship-building, but cypress. Of this, perhaps not the best for the purpose, he directed some vessels to be built; but the timbers for the greater part of his fleet were prepared in Phœnicia, conveyed over land to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, and, being there duly put together, passed down the stream to Babylon.

In the naval battles of the Greek republics the trireme, or vessel of three benches of oars, had been the most powerful ship of war; and of such the majority or almost the whole of contending fleets hitherto had been composed. But as, with experience, art improved, the naval architects had found means to make more powerful vessels capable of naval action in the ancient way. Proceeding to four, they quickly advanced to five benches of oars; beyond which, though vessels to carry many more hands were built occasionally for stateliness and show, yet, for naval action, all being still necessarily rowboats, none appear to have been advantageous. The Phœnician builders seem to have been the first to go beyond the ordinary Grecian rate; unless, which may seem probable, they gained the plan from the Carthaginians. The vessels framed in Phœnicia, and conveyed to Babylon,

were two quinqueremes, three quadriremes, twelve triremes, and thirty triacontors, or vessels of thirty oars.<sup>10</sup>

At Babylon then a great work was undertaken for the accommodation of a fleet. By excavation and embankment, a port was to be formed, capable of containing a thousand vessels, unmolested by either the superfluity or deficiency of the stream, and provided with shelter for them, as usual with the ancients ashore. Meanwhile to provide crews, Miccalus, a Greek of Clazomene in Lesser Asia, was employed to engage seamen from Phenicia: and, it being Alexander's purpose, for the security and convenience of commercial intercourse, to establish colonies on the shores of the Persian gulf and in its islands, the same officer was authorised to offer advantages for settlers there. To prepare then for this, three others, Archias, apparently the associate of Nearchus in the voyage from the Indus, Androstenes, described only by his name, and Hieron of Soli in Cilicia, were sent, each in a vessel of thirty oars, to explore the Arabian side of the gulf, and proceed farther if it might be. The latter alone was successful enough, on that difficult coast, to reach the promontory, formerly described, at the mouth of the gulf; nor can it now be wonderful if, with such a vessel, single he dared not proceed, or, rather, if he thought it utterly unbecoming him to hazard farther, not only the lives of those with him, but also the information which, in going so far, on a coast before unknown, he had acquired.

The Euphrates has its sources in the highlands of Armenia, so raised above the level of the ocean that, in a

<sup>10</sup> I have been surprised to find my friend Sainte Croix misled to the adoption of a criticism of a French engineer, who, calculating the burthen of an ancient, as of a modern, ship of war, by the hands she bore, has reckoned it impossible that the Euphrates could carry quinqueremes from Thapsacus to Babylon. Sainte Croix, though of the land service, having served in the West Indies, would know modern ships of war. The engineer certainly had a very erroneous notion of the ancient.

latitude to expect a mild winter air, Xenophon had found, and modern travellers have confirmed his account, the severity of an arctic sky. Issuing a torrent from the mountains into the very extensive plain of Mesopotamia, there, on a bed of clay, covered with a sandy soil, the stream formed a channel, within which, during the greater part of the year, it has continued to pass, by a course of some hundred miles, to the Persian gulf. But, as other rivers whose sources lie among lofty mountains, with the melting of snow in spring, its waters are so increased as to overflow the flat country to a very great extent. In these circumstances it was observed that the sand, otherwise barren, when saturated with water resting on the retentive clay, became highly fruitful. Accordingly art was early used to assure and extend the benefit. But about fifty miles below Babylon, on the western side, the floods found a hollow in the clay; into which the waters rushing dispossessed the sand and became a very extensive lake; whence, with farther increase, they penetrated variously through the surrounding loose soil. Here much was lost, while much so forced its way, in the course of a gentle and hardly perceptible declivity of the land, as to form a new channel to the gulf. The greater part of the flood passing thus, the benefit of irrigation for the lands lower on the river side was lost. To provide the advantage then, or restore it, the Assyrian kings had constructed a dam across the opening toward the lake, with a vent that might be regulated, so that the land below should be duly irrigated while the superfluous water might still be discharged. The lake obtained the name of Pallacopas, and the channel toward it was called the river Pallacopas.

Ch. 23. s. 4. !  
of this Hist.

Under the Persian kings these valuable works had been neglected, and were gone far to decay. Alexander would not merely restore but greatly improve them. For such a

business very numerous hands would be wanted. According to report, thirty thousand men at one time had been employed on it. Among the Greeks, we have observed, not only such extraordinary operations, but almost the whole of the manual labour necessary for the support of mankind, was considered, even by the philosophers, as unfit for freemen, but properly imposed on their fellow-men in the condition of slaves; so that, in every republic, the slaves would out-number the freemen, and in the more flourishing were many times more numerous. Among European nations of old indeed, if a more liberal system anywhere prevailed, it has failed of notice from those writers to whom we owe all extant accounts. On a former occasion it has been observed, that to take slaves for the Roman markets appears to have been a chief object of Julius Cæsar's invasions of Britain; the demand being urgent for large and continual supplies of men in that wretched condition; not domestic service only, but the labours of husbandry, throughout Italy, under the Roman dominion, being committed almost wholly to slaves. Julius was certainly among the most generous and humane of Roman conquerors; yet, when he had, not without difficulty, brought the Cæs. de  
Bell. Gal. people of the territory of the town now called Vannes, in Brittany, to unconditional submission, he condemned all of higher rank to death, and sold the whole remaining population to slavery.

Of slavery among the Asiatics we have little from Grecian writers, and nothing from any other, excepting the Jews; whose institutions were so decidedly proposed to maintain a constant separation between them and other people that what held among them can indicate nothing for any others. But when the kings of Assyria, successively conquerors of the Samaritans and Jews, carried, at unquestionably great expense and trouble, the former into Media, and afterward

the latter into Babylonia, it would not be with the liberal and humane views which the modern European law of nations and maxims of religion and morality require toward a conquered people, and on which their practice for many centuries has been founded. The treatment however of those prisoners of war, condemned to slavery, as far as light is thrown upon it, appears rather to have resembled that of the Israelites in Egypt than to have been so inhuman as was ordinary, less indeed among the Greeks than the Romans. Yet we have full assurance from the Jewish historian that the purpose was to employ them; and the pathetic exclamation of the poet, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept," may perhaps afford some confirmation to the otherwise highly probable supposition, that the great works under the direction of the Assyrian kings, which gave to the Babylonian plain the benefit, and secured it against the ravages, of floods, were in large part executed by Hebrew hands.

In India, it is said, slavery, at least such as that among the Greeks and Romans, was little, if at all, admitted. But Alexander, coming there instructed in Grecian principles by Aristotle, condemned to that state some whole communities of Indians, reduced by arms to unconditional submission. Crimes indeed were alleged to justify such severity; and modern information concerning the various people of that extensive country shows it probable, that a just humanity toward a larger portion of the population may at least have promoted the policy, so severe toward a smaller; for the transportation of some thousands of the caste of warriors, born to the profession of robbery, and bound to die in it, could hardly fail to afford relief to many more thousands of the valuable caste of husbandmen. Nearchus, we have seen, in the course of his voyage, took prisoners; but his means for carrying them to a market were scanty. Accordingly

none are mentioned till the fleet was approaching the commercial towns near the Persian gulf. What became of such unfortunate people it was not in the way of ancient historians to be solicitous to tell. Probably Nearchus relieved his crews by compelling his prisoners to work at the oar till they might be sold at Mosarna, Badis, or Harmoza. But many thousands might be subsisted while attending the march of the army, under Craterus, from India through the fruitful countries northward of the great Desert, and probably would be afterward employed on Alexander's great public works.

In some degree to indicate the value of those works, and so assist toward a just estimate of the great conqueror's character and policy, a summary history of their fortune, even to the present day, as given by that very diligent and able inquirer, Vincent, may be useful here: "While Babylon was the capital of the East," he says, "the control of the waters invigorated all the contiguous districts. But, when the Persian conquerors dwelt at Ecbatana, Susa, or Persepolis, due attention being discontinued, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and their capital declined together." Alexander, he proceeds, proposed to restore and improve the works. Concerning what followed under his successors, till they were dispossessed by the Parthians, extant history gives no information. The Romans then becoming masters of all westward, and the Parthians of Babylonia itself and all eastward, the latter not only neglected the beneficial works, but "encouraged the extension of a desert against the Roman frontier. In following vicissitudes of power, despotism and neglect completed what policy might have commenced. Still it has happened, in every age, and under every government, that the neglect was not universal. The grand canals have failed; but a partial distribution of the water has constantly been preserved: insomuch that, even under the desolating



empire of the Turks, it is to this hour an object of comparative importance. While Ives was on his passage up the river he met a bashaw coming down, with a commission to direct the places where the bank was to be opened, or the outlet closed. The office is still of dignity, for this bashaw was a commander of thirty thousand men; and, as we may conclude that, under the Turkish government, every drop of water is paid for, though the service will be performed badly, still it will be performed." The extent of the ancient improvement, ancient account of it failing, the able and diligent commentator proceeds to show thus: "No traveller passes the great desert between Basra and Aleppo without finding traces of habitation, buildings, and remains of towns: hardly Arabian relics, for this is not the country where the Arabs live in towns; they are probably Chaldean, Syrian, or Macedonian. They must all have possessed water as the primary means of existence, and they have ceased to exist because the Euphrates has ceased to convey them the means of fertilising the desert."

Alexander, leaving Media, as Arrian indicates, in spring, and delayed by nothing on the march, would reach Babylon early in the season of the floods. That season, adverse to the excavation of the proposed dock, though not perhaps to the erection of the necessary buildings around it, would be most favourable for the business which he in person executed; going by water to the mouth of the channel of the Pallacopas, and proceeding by that channel to a survey of the lake. The country around that expanse of water, in the neglect of the Persian government, mostly barren, and left open to the incursions of the freebooting Arabs, was capable of being made greatly productive. But, for the improvements which Alexander meditated, defence for the workmen to be employed would be necessary. Selecting  
Arr. l. 7. c. 1.  
therefore a convenient situation on the border of

the lake, he directed the building and fortifying of a town, for a settlement for such Greeks of his army as might prefer such an establishment, under their captain-general's protection, to returning to their several republics, where probably they might be at a loss for both protection and means of livelihood.

It has been formerly observed that Arrian, emulating the simplicity and candour of Thucydides, has, unfortunately for the highly interesting history which we owe to him, failed to emulate that excellent author's accuracy in marking times and seasons. Among extant historians, after Thucydides, chronology has been proposed to be regularly given only by Diodorus; whose inaccuracies, canvassed by many able critics, have been the subject of former necessary notice. Thus, among very able and diligent modern inquirers, there has been much question concerning a whole year, or nearly so much, following Alexander's return from the eastward to Babylon. Such assurance however as ancient testimonies afford of what was executed may assist the judgment where indications of time alone are doubtful. A powerful fleet was partly built on the spot, partly brought over land from a distant country. A dock was excavated on the bank of the Euphrates to receive it, and numerous edifices, such as ancient use required for a naval arsenal, were erected. Possibly so much may have been previously in preparation. But, clearly after Alexander's return, very extensive surveys were made, by land and by water, preparatory to works for improving the inland navigation, and irrigating the country; a town on a hostile frontier was built, fortified, and peopled; and meanwhile the restoration of the temple of Belus in Babylon was going forward. To all these works Alexander is said to have attended, and in the surveys to have taken a leading part.

But a greater, and far more difficult, as well as more

beneficial, work than all these, though details concerning it fail, evidently was accomplished. This was such as never occurred for any man, before or since. Chief of a small limited monarchy, and of a confederacy of republics, Alexander had conquered a mighty empire, composed of many nations, differing among themselves in language, in manners, and in religion, but all perhaps differing more from their conquerors, through their habit of seeing their government administered with the greatest pomp, if not also with the greatest rigour, of despotism. Educated himself to cultivate popularity among the free, he had, according to all best testimony, in imitation of his father, and in conformity to his great preceptor's instructions, persevered in the practice. The well-known story of his visit to the cynic philosopher Diogenes, when, after his first successes, at the age of only twenty-one, he bore with complacency the affected pride and rudeness of that singular man, is warranted by Arrian; who has added an occurrence of similar character in Ar. 1. 7. c. 1. India, when he already commanded the Persian empire. A brahmin, whom he sent for, not only refusing sternly to stir at his command, but adding reproaches, he took all patiently, and would allow no violence toward the man. The liberality of his intercourse, at all times, with all Greeks, whether of his kingdom or of the republics, is marked by all writers; and not least by Arrian, in occasionally reporting table conversation. To maintain his popularity with his own nation was perhaps even more important after than before his conquests; for he could hold these in no security, without the support of Grecian hearts, directing Grecian hands.

But he had now another pressing interest, in a manner at war with this. It was to gain the attachment and secure the respect of those who had been accustomed to see their sovereign only surrounded with the utmost pomp, secluded

almost as a divinity, commanding every thing by his nod, familiar with nobody; while the subjects of the higher classes, each as far as his station would admit, imitated this pomp of despotism. It had not been indeed altogether a successful policy. In the course of this history we have observed rebellions against the sovereign frequent; in some instances long lasting; in some threateningly extensive; assassinations of members of the royal family numerous; the demise of the crown always attended with trouble, and rarely free from bloodshed: in the quietest times for the throne, wars of governors of provinces with one another, each professing to act in the cause of the throne, continual; and thus, after the first Darius, security for the subject appears to have been rarely found throughout the empire, unless under the able administration of Mentor in the west, and Bagóas in the east, in the latter years of the energetic reign of Artaxerxes Ochus.

But Alexander, conquering this empire, and venturing, even while the contest continued, to commit, not only the highest civil, but also very high military commands to eminent men of the conquered, and blending even the armies of the two people, so established harmony throughout the many nations, so balanced the conquerors and the conquered, that on his premature death, leaving the succession singularly questionable, there was, except among the ever troubled republics of Greece, for some years, a quiet, not perfect, not universal, but, for the circumstances, very extraordinary. The great business of arrangement, indispensable toward providing such an amount of political tranquillity, in such circumstances, is so far marked to have been Alexander's own, as no historian has said who, after Parmenio, was his adviser. No doubt he consulted many; and the talents afterward displayed by several of the persons placed by him in the highest situations prove the judgment with which he

had selected them. These were mostly, but not all, Macedonians. Even the person, who held under him the confidential office of secretary, Eumenes, was born a republican; and, considering the superior ability shown by that officer, after the loss of his great patron, it seems at least likely that he was a principal and a very valuable assistant.

For the completion of so great a business, however long contemplated, and in whatever degree prepared at Parsa-gardæ, Susa, and Ecbatana, the leisure of one winter at Babylon clearly would be little enough; and the narrative of Arrian, and the chronology of Diodorus, though with no exactness marking the times of transactions, concur in showing that one winter was passed there. Thus it appears every way probable that the flood of the first summer was used for the first voyage down the river to the lake. For the excavation of the dock at Babylon, the absence of the flood, and therefore winter, would be requisite. For building and fortifying and settling the town on the lake, time would be wanted, and still more for the very extensive arrangements, civil and military; which were completed, so far at least as to produce the very beneficial results already noticed.

The flood of the second spring is then sufficiently marked as the season of a second voyage ARR. I. 7. c. 22. to the lake. Circumstances, on this occasion related by the historian, show Alexander's personal attention to the business of the survey. The water, issuing from the river far below Babylon, had spread back again, dispossessing the sand, northward toward the city. In extending the survey in this direction a part of the fleet became entangled among shoals. The king, observing or informed of its difficulty, found, among the pilots attending on himself, one who undertook to know that part, and who, being immediately despatched, conducted the erring vessels into the

proper channel. But another matter, unimportant in itself, and perhaps not then much noticed, greatly engaged the public mind afterward. The plain in this part, while dry, or but partially floated, had been chosen in previous ages for the sepulchres of Assyrian kings ; for which islands appear to have been, among the Asiatics, and perhaps others, favourite situations. About those monuments the collected sandy soil favoured the growth of reeds. Among them Alexander, in his aversion still to inaction, as formerly when crossing the Hellespont, was himself steering the vessel which bore him, when the diadem which he wore was blown from his head by a violent gust of wind, and lodged on a bed of reeds. Some one from the vessel swam after it, and to obviate wetting, returned with it on his own head. Among the occurrences of Alexander's active life this was little likely to be much regarded at the time. But, being recollected afterward, in other circumstances, the anecdote became popular, though in very various report. Some related that the eminent general Seleucus was the person who swam after the diadem ; thus rather making their story complete for their purpose of showing an omen verified, than regarding the real fact. According to more probable accounts, an obscure man was the adventurer ; doubtful whether fortunate or unfortunate ; for, according to some, as the careful historian informs us, the king rewarded him with the present of a talent, according to others, caused him to be whipped.

Returning however in safety to Babylon, Alexander found more embassies from Grecian republics arrived, with the ordinary present of golden crowns. Ancient writers have noticed the spirit of adulation which had been growing among the republican Greeks, and which, in following ages, became extravagant in extreme ; a natural consequence of extravagant violence in the spirit of faction. When one

Arr. ut ant.  
Vinc. on  
Nearch.

party proposes to rule through the favour of a licentious multitude, its opponents of the weaker party, being in danger of the cruellest oppression of which history tells, will not be scrupulous of extravagance in endeavours to avert or resist it; and so will be ready for any adulation to obtain powerful protection, and any subserviency to avoid destruction. This observation indeed is at least as old as Aristotle, who has reckoned democracy and tyranny congenial governments, and Ch. 43. s. 1. of this Hist. remarked that the Grecian demagogues of his age and before, failing of their object to attain command, were commonly ready for any submission. If however there was anything extraordinary in the compliments from the republics, by their embassies to Alexander, it was not such as to attract the notice of historians; though favours said to have been solicited for some, nominally for their temples and religious service, appear rather extravagant. Alexander however gave a polite attention to all; his interest indeed requiring the maintenance of peace between them, and a good disposition toward him among all.

At Babylon he found also large re-enforcement arrived to supply the numerous recent discharges from his army. From the eastward his satrap of Persia, Peucestas, had brought a body of twenty thousand Persians, beside a considerable force of highlanders, mostly Cossees and Tapoors. The judicious conduct of Peucestas in his government, and also the loyalty of the Persians under it, received the king's particular commendation. It appears indeed probable, from the combined accounts of Diodorus and Arrian, that the Persians, reckoning themselves unworthily neglected by the late Median dynasty, were prepared with a disposition to be engaged by Alexander's talent for popularity. Recruits for the infantry were arrived from the westward, under Philoxenes and Menander, the former from Caria, the other

from Lydia, and Menidas had brought a body of cavalry; but in what proportion any of these were Greek is not said. In admitting orientals however into the establishment of the army of the empire, Alexander avoided to leave them distinct bodies : he so mixed Greeks, whether Macedonian or of the republics, among them that the Greek officers, and of these probably the Macedonian, had the greater share of command.<sup>11</sup>

While thus arranging the business of the army, so as to suit the circumstances of the acquired empire, the fleet still appears to have been, for Alexander's indefatigable mind, with purposes immediately in view, the object of his more studious care. In frequent exercise on the wide summer course of the river the rowers vied with one another; those in vessels of the old construction, the triremes, striving to equal or excel in swiftness the quadriremes and quinqueremes, proposed, with more numerous hands, to be capable of more rapid motion.

### SECTION III.

*Omens. — History of an Indian Brahman. — Respect for Prophecies among the Ancients.*

OMENS, supposed to portend the death of eminent men, less found in earlier history, abound in that of Alexander, and of many following ages; perhaps recommended to public attention, and thence to the regard, not only of writers seeking, for their profit, to engage public curiosity, but also of statesmen, with political views, not least by circumstances about this time occurring, and rumours gain-

<sup>11</sup> Here again Arrian's work seems to show the want of his revising eye. He says the oriental soldiers, forming in bodies together with Greeks, retained their national arms. But, on a former occasion, we have his assurance that large bodies of orientals were completely instructed in the discipline of the phalanx, and armed accordingly. What is here said does not indeed necessarily imply contradiction: it is obviously possible that bodies of orientals, skilled in the use of the bow, might be advantageously annexed to the phalanges. But perfect coherency, or at least explanation, seems wanting.



ing popularity and raised to importance through Alexander's fame. Commonly, where reported by different ancient writers, they are found differently reported.

Arrian speaks of the admonition of the Chaldee Arr. l. 7. c. 16. priests to Alexander, "not to enter Babylon," as founded on an oracle delivered to them by their god Belus, declaring that misfortune would follow, but not specifying what. Diodorus, after some other authority, says that Diod. l. 17. c. 112. the priests positively foretold his death as to follow if he entered Babylon, but that all misfortune might be avoided if he passed by; and that they knew this, not by any communication from their deity, but through their skill in astrology. With other particulars, unnoticed by Arrian, he has added what is perfectly probable, that the Greek philosophers, of Alexander's retinue, held the science and the prophècy of the Chaldees together in scorn. What followed seems to have raised both in public esteem; and the historian shows largely his own respect for them, and his opinion of the inferiority of the science of the philosophers of his own nation. It appears to have been in consequence of what followed that, the public mind being greatly agitated throughout the empire, not the prophecy of the Chaldees only, but numerous occurrences, in themselves utterly unimportant, engaged public attention deeply. Recollection, and imagination, and invention, through various feelings, and with various views, all became busy. Facts were remembered, and representations of them were made, and importance was attributed, and interpretations were insisted on, which otherwise never would have occurred to thought, or would have been little regarded.

But a matter which had passed at Parsagardæ, Arr. l. 7. c. 2. & 3. while Alexander was yet there, of neither political nor military concern, yet, as simply related by Arrian, in itself interesting, becoming afterward implicated in report

with following events, may perhaps best have its place in narrative here. Alexander, in the course of his conquests, appears to have met nowhere so determined an opposition as in India, from those known, then, as now, by the title of Bramins or Brahmans.<sup>12</sup> Hence, as we have seen, he was induced to treat those singular men, on some occasions, with great severity. Nevertheless the peculiarities, and, among these, the merits, of their doctrine and of their manners, excited his curiosity, and even engaged his esteem; so far at least that he did not refuse friendship with those among them who would cultivate friendship with him. One eminent man of their caste, Calanus, as the Greeks wrote his name, acquiring his favour, was enough gratified with it to be induced to attach himself to his court, and even to attend him in the march, threatening in outset, and dangerous and painful in experience, through the Gadrosian desert.

Athen. l. 10.  
c. 10.

Some writers, amid the profligacy of aftertimes, imputed to this man, and even generally to the brahmans, a propensity, in most decided opposition to their avowed principles, to indulge in the sensual pleasures which Alexander's court might afford, and especially to drinking. Whether there were or not, among them, men of such a disposition, nothing seems to warrant the imputation against Calanus. Sensual pleasures were surely not expected in the Gadrosian desert. To study nature was among their objects on principle; and extension of that study, in observation beyond Indian bounds, might be among his motives. But, if he had any less worthy, what followed appears to show it to have been the pride of exhibiting, among strangers, the ordinary fortitude of his brotherhood; first in bearing great hardships, clearly expected in the march, and

<sup>12</sup> Bramin seems French orthography, ill adopted by our writers, as suiting no language but the French. The Greek orthography, Βραχμῶν, perhaps represented the Indian word, both of Alexander's and of the present day, as nearly as could be with Greek letters.

then in a contempt of life, when the prospect of opportunity for sensual gratification became open.

It is not said that he did not bear the evils of that desperate undertaking, the march through Gadrosia, with unreproved constancy. But, arrived at Parsagardæ, when ease and pleasure were, in ordinary course, within hope of all, being seized with severe illness, no unlikely result for one habituated to a life of the greatest, abstinence indeed, but of the most perfect quiet, he became it is said impatient of life. According to the brahman doctrine, death is but a parting of the immortal soul from Arr. l. 7. c. 2. an unworthy associate, the mortal body, which every one might choose for himself, regardless of farther duties among men. Of his faith in this doctrine, and of his contempt for whatever enjoyments might be reserved for him in this world, Calanus resolved to show an example; ordinary in his own country, but which, where he now was, would be striking and memorable. Accordingly he made known to Alexander his desire to die by fire on a funeral pile, pursuant to the practice of his sect. The prince kindly remonstrated, and at first refused permission. But Calanus persevering, against all solicitation and argument, in declaring that he would use his right of choosing death for himself, and, if denied the more honourable mode, warranted by the practice of his caste, still he would die, Alexander at length reluctantly yielded.

Avoiding to be present at the mournful exhibition, he would otherwise do his wilful parting friend the utmost honour. The whole army was ordered out, under the command of the historian, Ptolemy son of Lagus. Calanus, so weak from sickness as to be unable, if not rather unwilling, to walk, was provided with a horse. A company preceded him, carrying offerings of vessels of gold and silver and royal robes. He was crowned in the Indian

manner, and sang as he went. At the foot of the pile he was taken on a couch, perhaps a palanquin, and carried by men to the top. The decent gracefulness and apparent composure with which he placed himself there were remarked by the beholders. While the flames approached him he remained, to the admiration of all, motionless, till, with the smoke, they hid him from sight.

“Such,” says Arrian, “is the account given  
Arr. 1. 7. c. 3. by writers worthy of credit,” and it seems to have been all that he found given by writers whom he so esteemed. But an addition gained popularity, which he has noticed on a following occasion. “This is reported,”  
c. 18. he says, “of the Indian philosopher Calanus. On leaving the palace to proceed to the funeral pile, having saluted the rest of his friends, he avoided that ceremony to Alexander, saying he would salute him at Babylon.” Such a story could hardly fail of Plutarch’s favour, who has given it, without naming authority, as an authentic prophecy of Alexander’s death. But he might have named, what may deserve notice, the authority of Cicero. That extraordinary man, who, in the stormy time in which he lived, deeply engaged in political and civil business, could yet give much attention to philosophical subjects, has left, it is well known, a treatise in support of belief in prognostics, as prophetic intimations, (whether from one god, or from some of the various deities of the Greek and Roman creed,) and in the ability of men, versed in divination, to interpret them. In that treatise he has not scrupled to state, as an instance of true prophecy, that the Indian philosopher Calanus foretold the death of Alexander as to follow, within a few days, that to which he was going immediately to put himself. Here we have a strong instance, how much at hazard, in failure of the modern convenience of printed books and indexes, the most informed

men among the ancients would refer to historical matter, when history was not their principal object. The prophecy of Calanus, disregarded (for so Arrian says) at the time, seems, most probably, to have been unheard of till after Alexander's death.

It may appear indeed, in modern times, extraordinary, that such and so many prognostics, as here load Arrian's narrative, should have been thought worthy of it by one of his eminence in civil and military office, and of the understanding shown in his extant writings. But, as they remain noticed not by him only, but by other eminent men, they so mark the character of three ages, the most enlightened of antiquity, those of Alexander, of Cicero, and of Arrian himself, that still some farther notice of them may be required of the modern historian. The authority of Aristobulus, cited by Arrian for three which he has related, indicates the importance attributed to them in Alexander's own age. One of these, involving other men in eminent situations, may most deserve attention, and may suffice for example.

When Alexander left Babylon for the eastward, committing the important satrapy of the province to the Persian Mazæus, he appointed a republican Greek, Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of his band of companions, to the chief military command. When assurance was obtained that, in returning from India, he was proceeding to Ecbatana, Apollodorus, whether according to order, or to obviate imputations against him, repaired thither. Informed of the king's severe justice, already exercised toward oppressors, in alarm, he wrote to his brother, Pithagoras, an eminent seer, of that branch which pretended to know the future from observation of the intestines of victims killed for sacrifice, desiring prophetic information concerning his own future safety. Pithagoras, in answer, inquired from whom particularly

fearing danger he desired a prophecy on the subject. Apollodorus wrote him, that he feared the king himself, and Hephæstion. Pithagoras then sacrificed first concerning Hephæstion; and, finding the victim's liver defective, wrote to his brother that there could be no danger from Hephæstion, for he would be very shortly out of the way; and Aristobulus related that Hephæstion died the next day after the letter's arrival. Pithagoras then sacrificed concerning Alexander, and found the victim's liver again faulty. Of this Apollodorus informed the king, hoping so to obtain the credit of solicitude for his welfare; and so far he succeeded, that he lost no favour. According to Aristobulus, Alexander was enough impressed by the story to be induced to communicate with Pithagoras upon it, when he arrived at Babylon. The seer assured him boldly that the failure in the victim's liver portended him great misfortune; and Alexander was so satisfied with what he esteemed the honesty of the declaration, that Pithagoras was thenceforth in more than former favour with him. Aristobulus, who related all this, in his history, as having had it from Pithagoras himself, added other instances of the skill of that seer in divination, shown afterward, as he said, in foretelling the fate of other eminent men.

Considering the eminence of both Aristobulus and Arrian, we have here indeed very remarkable evidence to the estimation of that called the science of divination, in the most flourishing ages of Grecian and Roman philosophy. But in the report, from Aristobulus, of Alexander's communication with Apollodorus and Pithagoras, this moreover will deserve notice. We have there the testimony of those in the habit of conversation with Alexander, published when there could be no purpose of flattery, to the temper with which he received such communications. And this will deserve to be borne in mind by any whom curiosity may lead to the

stories told by ancient writers, some even by Arrian, of which two are from Aristobulus, imputing to him unworthy alarm and base resentment.

But, in estimating these tales of prognostics, so solemnly and authoritatively told, still some other matters may deserve the modern reader's consideration. Both in the Roman republic, and afterward under the empire, the various offices of the priesthood, even the highest, were held by men holding at the same time, not only the highest civil, but also the highest military situations, and were no mean political engine in their hands. Arrian, with both civil and military office, is said to have held a priesthood of considerable power and emolument. Thus he would not only have a personal interest in the subject which Cicero, before him, had recommended to public respect, but would have a duty toward his office, while he held it, to consider. But, before Arrian's time, that had occurred, whence had arisen a conflict, both of opinions and of interests, which could in no degree be in Cicero's contemplation. Already the credit of the Christian religion was so advancing (to this purpose the testimony of Arrian's contemporary, Pliny, is decisive) as to have become alarming to those, from opinion or from interest, attached to the heathen rites: and thus, in emulation of those prophecies by which the Christian faith was promoted, a desire and an interest to maintain and promote the credit of heathen prognostics was excited.

Fortunately for the short but interesting portion of Alexander's history to follow, extraordinary authority has been preserved; neither confirming nor confuting the various accounts of facts, reported as prognostics, but affording ground for estimating the value of tales transmitted of any effect from them on that extraordinary man's mind.

## SECTION IV.

*Sacrificial Feast for the Armament. — Alexander's Illness and Death.*

EXTREME in bearing fatigue when business required bodily exertion, careless of bodily exercise when the mind could be employed; extreme also occasionally in watching and fasting, and occasionally indulging his power of sensual enjoyment; regardless always equally of the winter atmosphere of snowy mountains and of the summer heat of plains under a tropical sun; such was the excellence of Alexander's constitution that, except what he had brought upon himself, at Tarsus in Cilicia, by bathing, when violently heated, in a river singularly chilling, it does not appear that he had ever suffered sickness. The transition from the summer heat of Gadrosia and Persia to the keen winter air of the Cossee mountains, and thence again to assiduous employment among the marshes of the Babylonian plain, under a burning sun by day and among rank vapours by night, would put the strongest constitution to severe trial. This however he had borne, apparently uninjured; and, after a following winter, had hazarded, in the returned heat of summer, again to employ himself assiduously, careless, it appears, of weather, in an open boat among the marshes.

Arrian marks it to have been shortly after his second return to Babylon, from this variously hazardous business, that, preparation for his long-projected expedition to the southward being completed, he resolved to proceed upon it; trusting that, with arrangements made, he might commit the administration at home to those whom he had appointed to the several departments and provinces, while he should be absent for uncertain time in uncertain distance. In his usual way then of cultivating

Arr. 1. 7.  
c. 23, 24.  
Plut. vit.  
Alex.



popularity among all ranks in his service, previously to departure he gave a magnificent sacrifice, affording a feast for the combined fleet and army, in which he shared at a table provided for himself and his more select companions.

After the death of Hephæstion, the person with whom he most communicated as a confidential friend and grateful companion was Medius of Larissa, in Thessaly; probably of that race of Thessalian nobles who claimed kindred with the Macedonian royal family, as of the blood of Hercules, and to whom the reigning branch was largely indebted for the possession of the throne. According to report, which Plutarch has followed, and which Arrian appears to have reckoned trustworthy, Alexander was retiring from his magnificent sacrificial entertainment with the purpose of going to rest, when Medius requested him to join a company at supper.

Arr. 1. 7.  
c. 24, 25.  
Ch. 34. s. 2.  
of this Hist.

Mid-day being in the hot climates, for those of easy circumstances, the season of repose, when, with the light of the sun, the heated air also, for domestic comfort, even in the south of Europe, is commonly excluded from all apartments, night is the season rationally chosen for social enjoyment; and sitting late, in itself, no indication of debauch. Night of course was the preferable season for that conversation in which, as on the best authority we are assured, Alexander delighted, and in opportunities of leisure indulged; sometimes it appears drinking to excess, but, according to far the most trustworthy testimony, that of Aristobulus, reported by Arrian, and confirmed by every account of what was accomplished by Alexander, generally without excess, and rather abstemiously.

The interesting sequel is given by both Arrian and Plutarch, from the royal daybook formerly mentioned; said to have been compiled under the direction of that very eminent man, Eumenes, the king's principal secretary. Their reports

differ; but so only that Plutarch, confirming much, invalidates nothing of what is stated by the other far more careful writer. <sup>3</sup>

According to both accounts, Alexander, after the feast given to the whole army, joined a select company at supper with Medius. Bathing before the meal, we find, was common among the Greeks in Homer's time. In the hot climate of Babylonia it appears to have been the common practice on rising and going to rest. Alexander, according to Arrian's report from the daybook, bathed on rising from supper, and then retired, already, according to Plutarch, who apparently has meant to speak of the same day, feeling fever. The next day was passed in conversing, drinking, and playing at dice with Medius, nobody being admitted on business; a course utterly adverse to what the sequel decisively marks to have then strongly engaged Alexander's mind. Thus it appears highly probable that, as Plutarch's account indicates, a disabling illness was already felt; yet such only as to leave the hope ready that, with one day's quiet, power for the usual exertion of mind and body might return. Late at

<sup>13</sup> These reports are noticed by Vincent, in his commentary on Nearchus, p. 524., thus: "The extract preserved both by Plutarch and Arrian does not materially differ in the accounts of the two reporters, except that Arrian has preserved more notices of the fleet." Sainte Croix describes the same extracts somewhat differently: "Un fragment, conservé par Arrien, extrait avec peu de fidélité par Plutarque." Exam. des Hist. d'Alex. p. 157. It seems evident to me that neither writer has proposed a rigidly exact copy, but that each has extracted what he reckoned for his purpose, using often the original words, (as Plutarch has professed for himself to have done,) but abridging and connecting with their own phrases as they saw convenient. The publication, entitled the royal daily transactions, or daybook, being a dry register of facts, and not a work proposed for general amusement, is unlikely, as it has been formerly observed in the text, to have been in many ancient libraries. The two extracts from it, transmitted by two ancient writers of the eminence of Plutarch and Arrian, however differing, together furnish authority more than commonly satisfactory for such matter in ancient history. They are indeed documents altogether so singular among the relics of antiquity, and of so interesting a kind, that I have been induced to offer translations of them side by side at the end of this chapter, to enable the curious reader the more readily to form his own judgment of the use here made of them.

night he bathed, ate a little, and, the fever then running high, retired to rest in Medius's house. Most extravagant stories were, perhaps not till long after, circulated of his drinking on this occasion; some refuted by their very extravagance, all made doubtful by their varieties, and all virtually contradicted by the daybook.<sup>14</sup>

An eminent modern physician has reckoned, from the circumstances most authoritatively reported, that the disorder was what, in modern medical phrase, is termed an irregular semitertian fever; precisely the kind of disorder which, not excessive drinking, but incautious and unlimited exposure to alternate heat, cold, and damp, with great exertion of the body, and intense application of the mind, also in alternacy, would be likely to produce.

On the third morning, impatient of idleness, though so oppressed by illness as to be unable to rise, the king was carried on a couch to the sacrifice, which the law prescribed for every day. This, a thanksgiving to the gods for the meal, seems to have been little if anything other than a more ceremonious manner of what was practised by our fathers, and perhaps ill neglected among ourselves, in our phrase, saying grace. Lying then on his couch, he received his principal officers, and gave orders for the proposed expedition; so trusting yet that his indisposition would be transitory that he named the fourth day forward for the army to move, and for the fleet, in which he proposed himself to embark, the fifth. Both accounts indicate a remission of the disorder on this day. After despatching business, he

<sup>14</sup> I hardly know whether fitter refutation of those extravagances could be than is virtually involved in the hyperbole of our dithyrambic poet, who may indeed seem to have proposed exposition of their absurdity, rather summing up than exceeding them, in saying:—

“ Alexander hated thinking,  
 Drank about at council-board,  
 And subdued the world by drinking  
 More than by his conquering sword.”

could attend to the amusement of hearing Nearchus, and others who had made the voyage with him, relate the circumstances of the Indian ocean and its shores. In the evening, probably for fresher air than that of the palace in the city, carried still on a couch, or in a palankeen, he crossed the river to a paradise, a pleasure-ground appendant to a smaller palace, where, having bathed as usual, he rested for the night.

On the fourth day, whether feeling fatigue from the former day's exertion, or compelled by increased fever, or refraining with the hope of acquiring better power from quiet, he admitted only Medius to his conversation. The principal officers were directed to attend next morning. In the evening he ate a little, but throughout the following night the fever was high.

On the morning of the fifth day there seems to have been such a remission as to encourage him, who scarcely ever before had known illness, to hope that his disorder was wearing off; for after having bathed, and attended the usual ceremony of sacrifice, he gave orders to the principal officers for the armament to move on the third following day.

On the sixth day, after bathing, and the never-failing ceremony of sacrifice, the fever became again high. Nevertheless he would see the principal officers, and gave farther orders for the expedition; but in the evening his disorder was evidently increased.

On the seventh day, perhaps again for cooler air, he was carried to a building described as that where was the great swimming bath. There the ceremony of morning sacrifice was performed in his presence: and, though very ill, he yet would see the principal officers, and gave some orders concerning the expedition.

On the eighth day, though so reduced that with difficulty he attended the sacred ceremony, he would nevertheless

see the principal officers, and gave some orders, showing himself still intent on the expedition.

On the ninth day, in extreme illness, he would yet attend the accustomed ceremony of sacrifice. Thus, and indeed throughout the extracts from the daybook, is marked what Arrian has attributed to Alexander, his careful attention to the ceremonies of religion prescribed by the customs of his forefathers, in which he concurred with almost every eminent man known by ancient history; but in no part of them is found any warrant for the unmanly and disgraceful superstitions attributed to him by Plutarch, not then writing from the daybook, which are contradicted by the whole tenor of his previous conduct, as reported, in concurrence with all other historians, by Plutarch himself.<sup>15</sup> His mind remained intent upon the expedition. The officers were ready, as usual; and, though he was in no condition to receive them, all were directed to wait; the generals within the great hall, the chiliarchs and pentacosiarchs without. In the course of the day it appears to have become evident that he was near extremity, and, in those circumstances, it was thought proper that he should be carried back from the paradise to the palace. There the principal officers had access to him; but, though he showed that he knew them, he was unable to speak.

During that night, and throughout the next day, the fever continued violent. Great uneasiness pervaded all the lower ranks of the army. Who was to command, and what was to become of them, in the event of the king's death, none could tell. Suspicion ran that he was already dead,

<sup>15</sup> Plutarch's excuse for himself, stated in the beginning of his *Life of Alexander*, has perhaps escaped the observation of some, and rarely obtained due consideration from others, who have quoted his authority for historical matters. "Writing," as he says, "not histories but lives," though he has not directly claimed, yet he seems often to have reckoned upon, the poet's privilege of knowing what only the Muse could tell.

and that the principal officers, with views of their own, concealed the catastrophe. Consistently then with what the Macedonians, even on military service, esteemed their right, they would have assurance on the highly interesting subject, and nothing under ocular evidence would satisfy them. Their importunity at length proceeding to threats of violence, should their just desire be longer denied, it was deemed expedient, or even necessary, to admit a number without arms, in civil dress, to pass regularly, in single file, through the chamber where the king lay. He showed himself yet sensible, raising his head a little, holding out his hand, and marking intelligence by his eyes, but remaining speechless.

In the severe disorder which he had brought on himself by bathing at Tarsus, he was attended by a physician; his confidence in whom has become matter of celebrity. Hephæstion also, in the illness which ended his life, we have seen, was attended by a physician. Hence it appears the more extraordinary that, among so many particularities of Alexander's last illness, in no account is an attending physician mentioned. Yet an omission of what the ordinary practice of the age in common decency would have required, had it been real, hardly would have escaped the notice of all extant authors. Probably it may have been, in failure of remaining hope from medical skill, to pacify the army, and protect physicians, together with all other attendants, against vulgar resentment, that a measure was resorted to altogether of extraordinary aspect, though perhaps not without some near parallels among modern nations. Seven men, in the highest military offices, Python, Attalus, Demophoon, Peucestas, Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, passed a night in the temple of Serapis, to solicit relief for their suffering sovereign, and especially to seek information whether it might be advantageous for him to be lodged in

the temple, and there himself solicit succour from the god. The existence of a temple of the Egyptian god in the metropolis of the Chaldee religion seems to mark its origin from Alexander's great purpose of bringing his subjects of all religions to friendly union. The preference of it for the solemn occasion, so interesting to all of Grecian race, appears rather extraordinary. Possibly however among the Greeks, whose lively fancy was commonly ready to adopt additions to their religious faith, some partiality for this new deity may have prevailed, or, possibly, the men in power may have reckoned upon it as the most manageable of auguries within ready reach, or under direction of priests the most friendly to them. The eminent persons appointed to consult it however reported, that a voice, issuing from the divinity, declared that it would be better for the king not to be brought to the temple, but to remain where he was. Shortly after, on the eleventh day of his illness, Alexander expired, "as if," Arrian has added, "that were best for him."

"Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad; and in the archonship of Hegesias at Athens. He lived, as Aristobulus says, thirty-two years and eight months, and reigned twelve years and eight months." Thus imperfectly Arrian has indicated the time of an event the most extensively and deeply interesting to the civilised world of perhaps any recorded in profane history; ancient chronology apparently failing to furnish means for more exactness. By this account however, compared with that of Diodorus, it appears marked not altogether unsatisfactorily, the ordinary deficiency of ancient chronology considered, that the catastrophe occurred about Mid-summer of the three hundred and twenty-third

B. C. 323.

<sup>16</sup> A note on this subject will be found in the Appendix.

Arrian, whose disposition to careful examination, and whose desire of impartial judgment, will be most striking to those most versed among the ancient historians, has concluded his narrative of the actions by declaring his opinion of the character of that extraordinary man thus: " Alexander was in body most graceful, most active, most indefatigable; in mind most manly, most ambitious of glory, most indifferent to danger, most diligent in devotion to the deity. In sensual pleasures he was most temperate; of praise for the gifts of the mind only insatiable: singular in readiness to see the best to be done in the most critical emergencies, and, from what was evident, to conjecture concerning what remained obscure: in all the business of arraying, providing, and ruling an army most able in encouraging the soldiery, filling them with hope, and, by demonstration of his own fearlessness, dispelling the fears of others, excellent; in doubtful enterprise most daring; in anticipating even the enemy's suspicion of his purposes most skilful; in his own engagements most faithful; in avoiding to be deceived by others most acute; of expense upon his own pleasures most sparing; in bestowing upon others perhaps profuse.

" If then, through vehemence of temper, and in highly provoked anger, he became criminal, or if, through inflated pride, he gave too much into barbarian fashions, I think candour will find large extenuation for him; his youth, and his uninterrupted course of the most extraordinary great fortune, being considered, together with the flattery with which kings, to their great injury, are constantly beset. On the other hand, the severity of his repentance for his faults I reckon his great, and, among what is recorded of kings, his singular merit. Even his claim to divine origin I cannot esteem a blameable extravagance; his object having been to gain that veneration from those he had conquered which might contribute to the stability of his new empire; and the



example of Minos, Æacus, Rhadamanthus, Theseus, and Ion, men acknowledged by the Greeks to have been sons of gods, being familiar to him and all about him. His assumption of the Persian habit, while living among the Persians, avoiding thus to appear a stranger in the country over which he reigned, I consider as a just policy. His long setting at table, Aristobulus assures us, was not for the sake of wine, for he commonly drank little, but for conversation, and to discover who might deserve his esteem, and with such to cultivate friendship.

“Let, then, whoever would vilify Alexander, not select, from the actions of a man, fallible as of mankind, only what may be blameworthy ; but, putting together all his deeds, consider how comparatively insignificant, in whatever situation of high fortune placed, he himself has been, engaged through life in comparatively little matters, and not even in those doing always well. My opinion therefore I will profess, that not without especial purpose of the Deity such a man was given to the world, to whom none has ever yet been equal.”

## APPENDIX

## TO THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER.

*Passage in Arrian's History of Alexander* [l. 7. c. 24.], leading to the extract from the royal daybook.

*Passage in Plutarch's Life of Alexander*, leading to the extract from the royal daybook.

SOME have written of Alexander, that, retiring from the feast given to the army and fleet, his purpose was to go to rest; but Medius, then his most favourite friend, solicited his company to supper; urging that he would find a pleasant company.<sup>1</sup>

After the magnificent feast given to Nearchus and those appointed with him for the expedition, Alexander was retiring to rest, but at the solicitation of Medius, joined a company at supper, and drinking there all the next day, he began to have

<sup>1</sup> *Κωμίσαι παρὰ οἱ γενέσθαι γὰρ ἂν ἦδὸν τὸν κῶμον. — Πίνειν παρὰ Μηδίου αὐτὸν κωμάσαντα.* Desirous as I have always been to avoid verbal criticism, yet the choice of modern historians and translators, and commentators, very generally to infer from these phrases something very disgraceful to Alexander, makes me reckon it right to observe that I apprehend the words *κῶμος* and *κωμάζω* do not always, among the Greek writers, imply any thing disgraceful, or even at all indecorous. So much the lexicographer's quotation from Euripides, I think, sufficiently proves, *Τὸν καλλίνικον μετὰ θεῶν ἐκώμασεν.* Herc. Fur. 177. And I am not aware of any reason for supposing the historian to have proposed those words in a sense at all differing from that, clearly no way dishonourable, intended by the poet. Nevertheless, whether those, or almost any other words, may, in common acceptance, have acquired shades of difference in Alexander's age, and whether others in Arrian's, and whether, throughout the divided portions of the Greek people, they were precisely of the same import in any age, I will leave for more diligent investigators of such matters to say. Yet I cannot pass unnoticed the learned commentator Gronovius's remark on this passage: "Nec commentarii regii," he says, "debuerunt omittere quod annotarunt alii, nempe *κυβίωσαντα*. Hoc enim fuit alterum lutum in quo hæsit Alexander, præter τὸ πίνειν."

A Dutch doctor of the eighteenth century, in a university near the mouth of the Rhine, thus undertakes to say what Alexander's secretary ought to have reported Alexander to have done more than two thousand years before, in private company at Babylon. And on this occasion his inadvertency has

*Arrian's extract from the day-book.*

*Plutarch's extract from the day-book.*

The daybook also says as follows :

a fever. Not that he emptied the cup of Hercules at a draught, nor that he was suddenly seized with a pain in the loins as if struck with a spear, as some have thought expedient to report, supposing something superlatively tragic and pathetic necessary for the conclusion of a great drama. Aristobulus indeed relates that, being light-headed and suffering greatly from thirst, he drank wine, and so promoted the delirium, in which he died on the thirtieth day of the month Dæsius. But in the daybook it is written of the illness thus : —

*First day : —<sup>2</sup>*

That he drank in festive company with Medius, on rising

*First day : —<sup>2</sup>*

On the eighteenth day of the month Dæsius he slept in the

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nearly equalled his malice and his arrogance ; for, if he had taken the trouble to look into Plutarch's Life of Alexander, he would have found there the daybook quoted for that very matter which he has so arrogantly blamed the daybook for omitting, nempe *κυβέουσαντα*. Why Arrian has mentioned, as from the daybook, the *πίνεν*, omitting the *κυβέουσαντα*, and Plutarch has noticed the latter, omitting to claim the authority of the daybook for what he had previously said of the former, are questions I apprehend to be but on doubtful conjecture answered. The graver question perhaps would be, why, in such a register as the daybook seems to have been, either was noticed. The simplicity of what follows in both the extracts from that register may however warrant the compiler against the imputation of any malignant purpose. The probability then may seem, that the king being disabled by illness, so that no one was admitted to him on business, these trifling matters alone occurred, and, if really in the daybook, were, for their novelty, and to account for the failure of more, entered there.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, in his extract from the daybook, has marked time only by the daily transactions. Plutarch has named the month and the days of the month, passing however unnoticed two days of the illness, the twenty-third and the

*Passage in Arrian's History of Alexander.**Passage in Plutarch's Life of Alexander.*

bathed, and then went to rest, and

bathing-hall, because he had a fever.

*Second day : —*

next day ate again with Medius, and again sat drinking till late at night, then bathed, after which he ate a little, and slept there, because he had already a fever.

*Second day : —*

On the nineteenth, after bathing, he returned to the bedroom-apartment, and, during the day, played at dice with Medius. Late in the evening he bathed; then, from the supper, he made the accustomed offering to the gods, and ate<sup>3</sup>, but had fever through the night.

twenty-eighth of the month. Plutarch mentions fever in the first day's report; Arrian not till the second. Whether both meant to begin with the same day therefore may be questioned.

Of the various calendars of the Grecian states the Attic is that of which most, and yet very imperfect, information remains. The very learned and diligent Vincent, after laborious comparison of different opinions of former learned and diligent inquirers, has been utterly unable to satisfy himself with what Attic month the Macedonian Dæsius corresponded, or most nearly corresponded. Considering then the varieties and perplexities of the Grecian calendars, it may be no severe imputation upon Plutarch to suppose that even he was unable to state the day of either an Attic or a Bœotian month corresponding with the eighteenth of the Macedonian Dæsius, and therefore gave only the Macedonian name. The circumstances of Alexander's history seem to afford the best ground remaining for conjecture of its place in the modern European calendar, but no farther than as it is indicated to have been near midsummer. [See a note from Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici* at the end of this Appendix.]

<sup>3</sup> Τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθεῖς, ἐμφαγὼν, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐπίρριξεν. Plut. vit. Alex. The pretended translation of this passage, under the names of Crusenius and Xylander, runs thus: "Sacris operatus, cibum sumpsit avidius. Hinc nocte febre tentatus est."

Vincent, in his commentary on Nearchus (p. 526. n. 80.), has noticed the falsehood of this translation, but with mind apparently divided between a just care for the assailed character of Alexander, and respect, far more than due, for the learned assailants; who, by the insertion of the utterly unauthorised words *avidius* and *hinc*, have been guilty of nothing less than a most impudent and malicious forgery. Though occasion has occurred to notice emulation of such democratic virtue in the translator of Arrian, and also in the learned and acute commentator, yet I think neither has anywhere equalled this instance of it in the learned translators of Plutarch.

*Arrian's extract from the day-book.*

*Plutarch's extract from the day-book.*

*Third day : —*

Next morning, being carried on a couch to the sacrifice, he performed the ceremony required by the law for every day; and the sacrifice being offered<sup>4</sup>, he continued lying in the great hall till evening. During the day he gave orders to the commanders for the march of the army and the outset of the fleet, appointing the fourth day forward for the former, and the fifth for the latter, in which he proposed himself to embark. He was then carried on a couch to the river, which he crossed in a boat to a paradise, where again he bathed and rested the night.

*Fourth day : —*

On the following day he bathed and sacrificed, as the law

*Third day : —*

On the twentieth, having bathed, he again performed the customary duties of the sacrifice, and passed the day lying in the bathing-hall; amusing himself with hearing Nearchus, and those who made the voyage with him, relate the circumstances of the ocean and its shores.

*Fourth day : —*

Passing the twenty-first in the same manner, the fever in-

<sup>4</sup> Ἐκκομισθίντα δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης πρὸς τὰ ἱερά, θῦσαι ὡς νόμος ἐφ' ἑκάστη ἡμέρᾳ, κ. τ. λ. For explanation of this, which both translator and commentator have avoided, we look in vain even to the learned Archbishop Potter, in his large collection on the religion of Greece. Xenophon however has afforded some light, especially in the sixth book of his narrative of the expedition of Cyrus, noticed in the fifth section of the twenty-third chapter of this history. In comparing what is there found with what is here mentioned by Arrian, it seems clear that the sacrifice was a ceremony of thanksgiving to the deity for the meal; analogous to that religious and moral ceremony of our forefathers (now, perhaps as little to the advantage of morality as religion, grown rather unfashionable) which we call Saying Grace, and differing only by some little additional formalities. These appear hardly to have differed from what are repeatedly described by Homer, especially in the beginning of the third book of the Odyssey; but I know not that they are mentioned as of daily practice at ordinary meals anywhere but in extracts from the royal daybook.

*Arrian's extract from the day-book.*

*Plutarch's extract from the day-book.*

required, and then going to the bedchamber-apartment<sup>5</sup> he lay there conversing with Medius. The generals were ordered to attend next morning. In the evening he took a light supper, and, being carried to his bedchamber<sup>5</sup>, had fever through the night.

*Fifth day: —*

On the morrow again, having bathed and sacrificed, (breakfasted,) he admitted Nearchus and other principal officers to audience, and gave orders for the expedition, naming the third day after for moving.

*Sixth day: —*

Next day, after bathing, he performed again the prescribed ceremony of sacrifice; and the meal, thus sanctified, being set, though there was no intermission of the disorder, he would see the generals, and gave orders for the expedition, requiring all to be ready. In the evening he bathed again, and was afterward extremely ill.

creased, and he had a very bad night.

*Fifth day: —*

On the twenty-second, the fever being violent, he was carried to the great swimming-bath, and lying by it he conversed with the generals about persons fit to be appointed to some vacant commands.

*Sixth day: —*

Account omitted.

<sup>5</sup> Εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἰσελθόντα. — Κομισθέντα δὲ αὖθις εἰς τὴν καμάραν. It seems by these differing expressions implied, that in a remission of the disorder he could walk from the sacrificial breakfast to his chamber in the morning, but that, its violence returning, it became necessary or expedient that he should be carried from the evening meal.

*Arrian's extract from the day-book.*

*Plutarch's extract from the day-book.*

*Seventh day : —*

Next morning he was carried back to the house where was the great swimming-bath, (apparently within the paradise,) and there the customary ceremony of sacrifice was performed. Though very ill, he would see the principal generals, and gave some orders about the expedition.

*Seventh day : —*

On the twenty-fourth, though the fever was violent, yet supported at the ceremony he sacrificed. The generals were directed to wait in the hall, the chiliarchs and pentacosarchs to pass the night without.

*Eighth day : —*

On the next day he ill bore to be carried to the sacrifice, and go through the ceremony, and yet would give orders to the generals about the expedition.

*Eighth day : —*

On the twenty-fifth, being carried back to the palace, he slept a little; but there was no remission of the fever, so that when the generals came to attend him he was speechless.

*Ninth day : —*

On the following day, though very ill, he nevertheless attended the sacrifice, but ordered the generals to wait in the hall, the chiliarchs and pentacosarchs without. The disorder becoming extreme, he was carried from the paradise to the palace. There the generals had access to him; and he knew them, but said nothing, being speechless. That night the fever was violent, and

*Ninth day : —*

On the twenty-sixth he was in the same state. The Macedonians, supposing him already dead, clamoured at the gate, and threatened the royal companions till they were admitted; and, in civil dress, without arms, they passed his bed one by one.

On the same day, Python and Seleucus, being commissioned to go to the Serapion, consulted the god whether he should be carried thither: but the god directed that he should remain where he was.

*Arrian's extract from the day-  
book.*

*Plutarch's extract from the day-  
book.*

*Tenth day : —*

continued so the next and following night. So it is written in the daybook. Moreover it is there said, that the soldiers were eager for admission : some anxious once more to see their king living ; others uneasy because it was rumoured that he was already dead, and suspicion went that the lords of the body-guard desired to conceal the event ; but, as I conjecture, the greater part through grief for the apprehended loss of their king, and anxiety for his safety. However their violence was such that they obtained their purpose. As then they passed him in just order, though he was speechless, yet it is said he held out his hand to them, with difficulty raising his head a little, but with his eyes showing intelligence still remaining.

*Tenth day : —*

Account omitted.

*Days unascertained : —*

The royal daybook also says, that Python, Attalus, Demophon, Peucestas, Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus passed the night in the temple of Serapis, to obtain information from the god whether it were advantageous and best for Alexander to be carried to the temple, and himself solicit his cure from the



*Arrian's extract from the day-book.*      *Plutarch's extract from the day-book.*

god; and that a voice came from the god, forbidding carrying him to the temple, and declaring that he would better remain where he was. So, according to the daybook, the king's companions reported; and, not long after, Alexander died; as if that were best for him. Nor do the accounts of either Ptolemy or Aristobulus considerably differ from this.

*Eleventh day: —*

On the twenty-eighth\*, toward evening, he expired.

These things, mostly word for word, are so written in the daybook.

#### EXAMINATION OF MR. MITFORD'S DATES OF THE CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER.

[From Mr. Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, pp. 231, 232.]

OUR faithful guide, Arrian, determines the campaigns of Alexander by marking the dates of the principal events. Mr. Mitford has too much neglected Arrian in fixing the times of the transactions of Alexander's reign. It will be seen by the Tables, that Alexander passed into Asia in spring B. C. 334; that *four winters* intervened between his arrival in Asia and the death of Darius; that this event happened in the *fifth* campaign of Alexander in Asia. It will be farther seen, that *three winters* intervened between the death of Darius and the defeat of Porus;

[\* "A part of *Thargelion* coincided with a part of *Dæsius*, as a part of *Hecatombæon* would coincide with a part of *Lous*" [the Macedonian month in which Plutarch states that Alexander was born]. "According to Ælian, Alexander died on the *sixth* of the month *Thargelion*. If this account be true, the 6th of *Thargelion*, in that year, corresponded with the 28th of *Dæsius*; consequently, the 1st of *Thargelion* fell upon the 23d of *Dæsius*. The observation of Ælian, that the death of Alexander and his birth happened upon the same day of the month, namely the *sixth*, is confirmed by Plutarch. (Alex. c. 3.) — He was born on the *sixth* of *Hecatombæon*; he died on the *sixth* of *Thargelion*." May or June. Clinton's *Fasti Hellen.* p. 230.]

that two campaigns were consumed in the northern provinces, and a third in India, in which Porus was encountered. Now, Mr. Mitford has deranged the times of these transactions. He supposes Alexander to be "toward twenty-seven"<sup>a</sup> at the conclusion of that campaign in which Bessus was tried and put to death, during the winter-quarters at Bactra; and "twenty-two" when he passed into Asia: which nearly describes the actual interval. Again, he rightly specifies the date of Arrian for the battle of Arbela<sup>b</sup> B. c. 331.<sup>c</sup> And yet he calls the operations of the following year "Alexander's *fourth* campaign in Asia."<sup>d</sup> He rightly dates the pursuit of Darius B. c. 330.<sup>e</sup> But the operations of the next year are called "the *fifth* campaign in Asia."<sup>f</sup> Having marked the date B. c. 330 for the death of Darius<sup>g</sup>, he dates the winter-quarters of Alexander at Nautaca, after the Sogdian war, B. c. 329-328<sup>h</sup>, which implies an interval of only *one* winter between the death of Darius and the Sogdian war. And yet Mr. Mitford himself, following Arrian, has marked *two* winters between the death of Darius and the quarters at Nautaca: "Autumn was already advanced."<sup>i</sup> And he arrived at the Oxus "with advancing spring."<sup>k</sup> This, then, is the *first* winter, B. c. 330-29. He notices the<sup>l</sup> "advanced summer" during the operations beyond the Oxus; and afterwards, "winter approaching, he moved for quarters to Zariaspā."<sup>m</sup> This was the *second* winter: B. c. 329-8. Then he relates the Sogdian war.<sup>n</sup> After which "winter approached"<sup>o</sup> again. A *third* winter, then, after the death of Darius: consequently the winter of B. c. 328-7.

Mr. Mitford had supposed the battle of Issus, and the siege and capture of Tyre, to have happened in the same summer, and to have formed parts of the *second* campaign.<sup>p</sup> Hence he assigns a year too little to the succeeding campaigns: the *fourth* campaign is called the *third*; the *fifth* is called the *fourth*; and so

<sup>a</sup> Vol. X. p. 72.

<sup>b</sup> Except that he supposes the month Hecatombæon to correspond with the end of May or beginning of June, which is an error of about one month.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. IX. p. 329.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. X. p. 1.

<sup>e</sup> p. 9.

<sup>f</sup> p. 37.

<sup>g</sup> pp. 9. and 42.

<sup>h</sup> p. 79.

<sup>i</sup> p. 42.

<sup>k</sup> p. 54.

<sup>l</sup> p. 66.

<sup>m</sup> p. 69.

<sup>n</sup> pp. 75—79.

<sup>o</sup> p. 79.

<sup>p</sup> See ch. 48. s. 4. His marginal date, at p. 302. Vol. IX., is inconsistent with his own description, p. 323.

of the rest. This defect of a year it seems his purpose to supply by supposing the sieges of the two hill forts and the marriage of Roxana to have "consumed the summer."<sup>q</sup> So that, after Chorienes had surrendered, another winter arrived, which was passed at Bactra, or Zariaspa.<sup>r</sup> He again mentions these "winter-quarters at Bactra"<sup>s</sup> as the period of the death of Clitus, and the conspiracy of the band of pages; "in the winter-quarters still of Bactra."<sup>t</sup> And Alexander waited in these winter-quarters "till the spring was considerably advanced<sup>u</sup>," before he set out for the Indus. Mr. Mitford, therefore, although he rightly dates the Indian expedition in the spring of B. C. 327, yet, in the detail, has made it a year later, and has interposed *four* winters after the death of Darius, instead of three.

After the passage of the Indus, he supposes, with Diodorus, another winter, before the battle with Porus. "At Taxila he took his winter-quarters."<sup>v</sup> When Alexander forded the Hydaspes, "spring was advanced."<sup>w</sup> Thus he renders<sup>x</sup> ὥρα ἔτους, ἧ̄ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος<sup>y</sup>: misled, as it should seem, by the false reading μουνυχιῶνος.<sup>z</sup> He has therefore enumerated *five* winters between the death of Darius and the passage of the Hydaspes. These five winters would obviously bring down the engagement with Porus so low as B. C. 325, a date at which it is confessed that Alexander had already arrived in Susiana.

When Alexander took his head-quarters at Zariaspa, after his marriage with Roxana, he is said to be "now but about his twenty-sixth year<sup>a</sup>:" and yet this period is the winter of B. C. 328-7, according to Mr. Mitford himself. And, according to Mr. Mitford himself, Alexander passed into Asia at twenty-two, in the spring of B. C. 334, an interval of near seven years, instead of five. It is correctly stated that "at the early age of twenty-four<sup>b</sup>" Alexander took possession of Egypt.

<sup>q</sup> Vol. X. p. 89.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.

<sup>s</sup> p. 99.

<sup>t</sup> p. 103.

<sup>u</sup> p. 113.

<sup>v</sup> p. 138.

<sup>w</sup> p. 139.

<sup>x</sup> Arrian, v. 9.

<sup>y</sup> Arrian uses similar expressions elsewhere:—ἐπὶ τροπὰς ἄστυνας τοῦ θέρους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει (vii. 21.); which Mr. Mitford, Vol. X. p. 351., has rightly interpreted.

<sup>z</sup> In Arrian, v. 19. See the Tables, B. C. 327.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. X. p. 90.

<sup>b</sup> p. 295.

Mr. Mitford, therefore, by neglecting the true time of the surrender of Tyre, has lost a year between the first passage of Alexander into Asia and the death of Darius. He has again, by neglecting the chronology of the campaigns in the northern provinces, interpolated two years between the death of Darius and the defeat of Porus.

His arrangement, however, is judicious in the period which follows the voyage of Nearchus: and he determines rightly that Alexander approached Babylon in the spring of the 324th year before Christ. On the concluding transactions of Alexander's life, he has some just remarks. Dr. Vincent<sup>c</sup> had supposed the voyage of Nearchus to have occurred in B. C. 326, and the death of Alexander in B. C. 324. He finds it, however, to be "more probable that Alexander died May, B. C. 323."<sup>d</sup> "One objection however," he observes, "only remains; which is, that I cannot discover in any of the historians two winters after Alexander's return to Susa. One is evident: that in which he subdued the Cossæi. But the year and five months afterwards is not filled up by the transactions recorded." This objection Mr. Mitford<sup>e</sup> undertakes to answer; and has answered it most sufficiently by showing that the leisure of one winter at Babylon was little enough for the performance of the things which were accomplished in that interval:—the building and preparation of a powerful fleet; the excavation of a dock to receive it; extensive surveys for the improvement of the inland navigation; the erection of a town on a hostile frontier; the arrangement of the administration in the provinces of that vast empire. And he points out the two voyages down the river to the lake, requiring two distinct seasons of flood for their performance. Mr. Mitford in these observations has cleared this part of the history from much of the difficulty with which it was supposed to be embarrassed.

<sup>c</sup> Voyage of Nearchus, p. 36.

<sup>d</sup> p. 530.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. X. pp. 351, 352.

# GENERAL INDEX.

N. B. The Roman numerals refer to the volume, and the figures to the page.

- ABDERA**, foundation of, ii. 19.
- Aboukir**, a corruption of Albekeer, ii. 22. and note.
- Abreas**, a Macedonian soldier, his personal bravery, x. 184, 185.
- Abrynychus** accompanies Aristides and Themistocles on their mission to Sparta, ii. 258, 260.
- Abulites**, a Persian, appointed satrap of Susiana, x. 12. His execution, 282.
- Academia**, groves of, by whom established and ornamented, ii. 304.
- Acanthus**, state of parties at, iii. 250. Negotiation of Brasidas with, 251—253. Becomes a member of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, 250.
- and Appollonia send embassies to Lacedæmon, vi. 87. 91.
- Acarnanians**, the only people in Greece who did not share in the expedition to Troy, i. 40. 70.
- , **Acarmania** overrun by the Ambraciots, iii. 117. How Demosthenes was received by the Acarnanians, 185. They request him to become their commander-in-chief, 186. And elect him accordingly, 187. Battle of Olpæ, 188. And of Idomene, 191, 192. Moderation of the Acarnanians, 193. Peace between them and the Ambraciots, ib.
- , view of the history of Acarnania, vi. 52. Expedition of Agesilaus into, 53.
- Accuser**, not obtaining a fifth of the votes, subject to banishment, x. 322.
- Achæa**. See **Achaia**.
- Achæmians**, conduct of, in the invasion of Attica, iii. 79, 80.
- Achaia**, boundaries of, i. 12. Sketch of the history of, 241.
- , its several changes from aristocracy to democracy, vi. 222—224. Epaminondas leads the army of the confederacy into, 225. And displays a generous policy towards the Achæans, 225, 226. Regulators sent from Thebes to all their cities, ib. The banished Achæans recover their power, and espouse the Lacedæmonian interest, 227. The Achæan cities protect Elis, ib.
- , the first example of confederate government attributed to them, vii. 122.
- Achaioi**. See **Panhellenes**.
- Achelous**, river, i. 11.
- Achilles**, number of towns plundered by him, i. 72.
- Achradina**, a division of the city of Syracuse, taken by Imilcon, vii. 102.
- Acoris**, king of Egypt, connection of Evagoras with, vi. 305, 306.
- Acorns**, or mast of different trees, the food of the early Greeks, i. 8. And of mankind in a civilised as well as a barbarous state, 8, 9. note.
- Acræ**, foundation of, i. 319.
- Acragas**, foundation of, i. 319. See **Agrigentum**.
- Acrisius**, king of Argos, and father of the celebrated Danæe, notice of, i. 29. viii. 4.
- Acroceræunus**, promontory of, i. 11.
- Acrothinia**, or offerings to the gods after victory, nature of, ii. 167, 168.
- Actium**, sea-fight off, iii. 21.
- Acusilaus**, of Argos, an early Greek prose writer, i. 198.
- Ada**, queen of Caria, notice of, ix. 210. Her interview with Alexander, 212. Surrenders Alinda to him, 213. Re-appointed to her former dignity, 219.
- Addison**, Mr., his observations on party-spirit, vii. 334, 335.
- Adusa**, decrees of protection, v. 107.
- Adimantus**, the Corinthian commander, his reprimand to Themistocles, ii. 148. And retort of the latter, ib.
- Admetus**, king of the Molossians, his reception of Themistocles, ii. 294.
- Adoration**, ceremony of, in what it consisted, x. 94.
- Adranum** besieged by Icetes, vii. 201.
- Ægean**, pirates of the, expedition against, ii. 282.
- Ægeus**, king of Attica, reign of, i. 45. Seduces Æthra, 46. His valedictory address to her, 48. He recognises his son Theseus, 53.
- Ægina**, sieges of, ii. 322. ; vi. 68.
- Æginetans**, ravages of, in Attica, ii. 49. Origin of the enmity between Athens and Ægina, 67. War with Athens, and defeat of the Æginetans, 72, 73.
- , expelled from their island by the Athenians, iii. 85. Retire to Thyneatis, ib. Defeated at Thynea by Nicias, 228. Their town burnt, and the remaining inhabitants sent to Athens and executed, 228.
- , their freebooting war against Attica, vi. 67, 68.
- Ægisthus** usurps the throne of Argos, i. 74. His death, 162.
- Ægitium**, battle near, iii. 183.

- Ægospotami, battle of, iv. 308—311. Consequences of, 312—314.
- Ælian, grounds stated by him for the condemnation of Socrates, v. 122. By whom confirmed, 123.
- , his anecdotes of Archelaus king of Macedonia, vii. 242. A professed storyteller, ix. 160.
- Æneas and his posterity reigned over the Trojan state for some generations, i. 73.
- Æneas, general of Arcadia, compels Euphron to withdraw from Sicyon, vi. 237.
- Æolians, what part of the Grecian people comprehended under this name, i. 166, 167. Leaders of the Æolic migration, and towns founded by them, 310.
- , circumstances of Æolia under the satrapess Mania, v. 279—282.
- Æpalius, chief of Doris, bequeaths his principality to Hyllus, i. 163.
- Æropus usurps the throne of Macedonia, vii. 244.
- Æschines, the orator, his conduct in the action of the Nemean glen, vi. 231.
- , his account of the affairs of Macedonia, vii. 257, 261. and note. On a proposed correction in, 310. note. His account of the Amphictyonic council, viii. 2. Of the voting therein, 15. and note. His origin, 93. and note. Account of, 93, 94. Distinguishes himself at Tamynæ, 126. Is sent ambassador to Peloponnesus, 139, 141—143. note. His remarks on the public excitement at Athens, 163. One of the ambassadors to Philip, 167, 182. Addresses Philip, 189. His report of the embassy to Macedon, 193, 194. His change of party, 213. His invectives against Demosthenes, ib. His account of the meeting of the Amphictyons, 216. note.
- , accusation of, by Timarchus, viii. 237. Contests of Demosthenes with, 237, 238. His impeachment on the embassy, 239—241. Answer to the objections of Plutarch respecting the speeches of Æschines and Demosthenes, on the embassy, 241. note. Elected an Amphictyon, 310. Æschines charges Demosthenes with accepting bribes from the Amphissians, 310, 311. His arguments in the Amphictyonic council, 312. Elected syndic, 321. Opposes a decree proposed by Demosthenes, 343. Is sent on an embassy to Philip, 360.
- , one of the embassy to Alexander the Great, ix. 129. His account of the connection of Demosthenes with Persia, 165. His account of the bribe offered by Darius, 326. ; x. 7.
- , enters a prosecution against Ctesiphon, but does not proceed, x. 315. Resumes it, 318. His speech on the crown, 319. Replied to by Demosthenes, 319, 320. He quits Athens, 323. Spends the remainder of his life in Ionia or Rhodes, ib.
- Æschylus, his definition of the dominions of the Pelasgian princes, i. 24, 25. On the importance of astronomy, 143. note.
- , his testimony to the virtues of Cyrus, ii. 20. note. His character of Darius, 27. note. His allusions to the difference in the weapons used by the Greeks and Persians, 80. note. Motive alleged by him for the expedition of Xerxes to Greece, 110. note. Remark on a passage in, relating to the numbers of the Persian and Greek fleets at Salamis, 154. note. His sketch of the battle the most consistent on record, 156, 157.
- Æsculapius, magnificent sacrifice of Alexander to, at Soli, ix. 258.
- Æthra, mother of Theseus, notice of, i. 46, 47.
- Ætna, mount, notice of, iv. 16. ; vii. 98.
- Ætna, a town of Sicily, establishment of Syracusans at, vii. 61. They march to attack Dionysius, ib. Seven thousand return to, when defeated, 64. Besieged and taken by Dionysius, 65.
- Ætolia, geographical description of, i. 39. Ancient history of, 40.
- , sketch of the history of, iii. 180.
- Enterprise of Demosthenes against, 181. Who is defeated by the Ætoliens, near Ægition, 183.
- , embassy of the Ætoliens to Alexander the Great, ix. 132.
- Africa, notice of Greek colonies, planted in, i. 315.
- , settlements of the Phenicians on the coast of, ii. 213—216.
- Agamemnon, king of Argos, notice of, i. 33. and 33, 34. note. Character of, 70. Sacrificed Iphigenia previously to undertaking the siege of Troy, ib. His assassination, 74, 75.
- Age, reverence of, at Sparta, i. 262.
- Agésilas, king of Lacedæmon, his accession to the throne, v. 301. Offers himself for the command of the expedition to Asia, 307. Date assigned for his arrival in Asia, and the objections to which it is liable, 309. note. His measures in Asia, 311, 312. His first campaign, 313, 314. Preparations for a second campaign, 315, 316. Defeats the Persians at the battle of Pactolus, 317. His views, 320. His plan for dismembering the Persian empire, 330. His prosecution of the war in Asia, 332—335. His conference with Pharnabazus, 335—337.
- , recalled from Asia, vi. 3, 4. Is wounded at the battle of Coronea, 17. Generous action of, ib. His expeditions into Argolis and Corinthia, 42—44. Into Acarcania, 53, 54. The part he took in the congress held by Tiribazus, for concluding peace with the Greek nation, 78. Threatens hos-

- tility against Corinth and Argos, *ib.* Approves the peace of Antalcidas, 79. His remark upon it, 81. His maxim relative to Lacedæmon, 82. How connected with the republic of Mantinea, 84. Undertakes the command against Phlius, 107. And reduces that city, 110. 111. Mystery in his conduct towards the Thebans, 121. His patriotism extends to all Greece, 123. Exerts himself to procure the acquittal of Sphodrias, 130. Takes the command against Thebes, 131. Secures a passage into Bœotia by availing himself of the Clitorian mercenaries, 133. Plunders and wastes Bœotia, *ib.* Again ravages the Thebaid, 135. Disabled from commanding by severe illness, 137, 138. His embassy to Mantinea, 183, 184. Enters Arcadia with the Lacedæmonian army, 191. His influence restored by the Theban invasion, 254. Marches to Pellene with the heavy-armed, 287. Hastens his return to Sparta, *ib.* Remains for the protection of Laconia, 293. Borrows money for the recovery of Messenia, 302. Commands the Grecian mercenaries under Tachos, king of Egypt, 310. Abandons Tachos, and joins his kinsman, Nectanabis, 311. In concert with Chabrias, seats Nectanabis on the Egyptian throne, 312. Sails for Greece, and dies in a Cyrenaic port, 313. Is entombed with regal honours at Sparta, *ib.* His age, according to Xenophon and Plutarch, *ib.* note.
- Agesipolis, king of Lacedæmon, his expedition into Argolis, *vi.* 56. Undertakes the command against the Mantineans, 84. How connected with the republic of Mantinea, *ib.* Floods the town, and reduces it, by stopping the current of the river Ophis, 85. His severe conditions to the conquered, *ib.* Appointed to the command-in-chief against Olynthus, 104. Storms Torone, 110, 111. Dies of an inflammatory fever at Aphyteus, *ib.* Funeral honours to him, *ib.*
- Agis, king of Lacedæmon, commander of the Peloponnesian forces on the fifth invasion of Attica, *iii.* 193, 194. Marches against Argos, 324. Account of his operations, 325—328. Called to account by the Lacedæmonians, and a military council appointed to attend him, 329. His victory near Mantinea, 333.
- , his attempts upon Athens, *iv.* 195. 241. Proposes that a squadron should be stationed at Byzantium and Chalcædon, 242.
- , his death, and magnificent funeral, *v.* 299. Dispute which ensued on his death respecting the succession to the throne, 300, 301.
- Agis, king of Lacedæmon, son of Archidamus, notice of, *ix.* 233. His ambitious projects, 264, 265. Joins the Persian fleet, 288, 289.
- Agis, his character, *x.* 5, 6. Commences operations against Macedonia, 8. Defeated by Antipater, and slain in battle, 9.
- Agnon, son of Nicias, operations of the fleet under his command, *iii.* 98.
- Agora, meaning of the word, *i.* 103, 104.
- Agrarian law in Sicily, account of the, *iv.* 8.
- Agrians and Thracians, the, defeated by Alexander the Great, *ix.* 97, 98. Use made of the Agrians by Alexander, 103.
- Agriculture, state of, in ancient Greece, *i.* 126, 127.
- Agrirentum, or Girgenti, sketch of the history of, *ii.* 217, 218. Stupendous public works there executed by the prisoners taken by the Agrigentines, 224, 225. The remains of these still visible, *ib.*
- , [its ancient magnificence, *vii.* 24. Population, 25. Magnificence of individual citizens, 25, 26. The Agrigentines employ Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian commissioner, in their service, 29. Reject the proposals of the Carthaginians, 30. Their generals accused of treachery, and massacred, 33. A majority of the citizens flee to Gela, 35. Imilcon preserves the town for his winter-quarters, 36. The Agrigentine refugees removed to Syracuse, *ib.* Agrigentum destroyed by Imilcon, 50. How governed under Timoleon, 224. (See Acragas.)
- Agyris, chief of Agyrium, relieves Dionysius with a body of Campanian horse, *vi.* 64.
- , is supported against Magon, the Carthaginian general, by Dionysius, *vii.* 119, 120. The confidence of Dionysius in his integrity, *ib.* note.
- Aigiopelago. See Archipelago.
- Aimnestus, tyrant of Enna, deposed by Dionysius, *vii.* 71.
- Akesines, the river of, noticed, *x.* 152. Its width and depth, *ib.* Crossed by Alexander, 153. Its modern name, *ib.* note.
- Albanians, the, remark on, *vii.* 278. note.
- Alcæus, the poet, anecdote of, *i.* 369.
- Alcarnenes, appointed to the command of the Lacedæmonian fleet, *iii.* 149. Defeated and slain by the Athenians, 151.
- Alexander, his assault upon Lycurgus, *i.* 252. Noble conduct of the latter to him, *ib.*
- Alcibiades, son of Clinias, saves Socrates at the battle of Delium, *iii.* 244. Account of his family, 306. His person and manners, 306, 307. Becomes the pupil of Socrates, 308. Services in which they fought together, *ib.* His life saved by So-

- crates, *ib.* His noble conduct to his benefactor, *ib.* His master-passion, *ib.* His magnificence and ostentation, 309, 310. His ambition, 310. Connection of his ancestors with Lacedæmon, 312. Becomes head of a party, *ib.* Policy by which he effected the project of putting Athens at the head of a confederacy in Peloponnesus, 312—316. Elected general-in-chief, 320. Importance of his office, 320, 321. His influence in Peloponnesus, 323. Proceeds to Argos with twenty ships of war, and seizes three hundred Argives, 344, 345.
- Alcibiades, party formed against him by Hyperbolus, *iv.* 23, 24. Stratagem by which he procured the banishment of his opponent, 24. His policy with regard to the measures of Nicias, 25, 26. Named second in command of the Sicilian expedition, *ib.* His speech on the subject of the expedition, 28—31. Party formed, and accusation against him, 35, 36. His admirable conduct on the occasion, *ib.* His speech at the debate of the Athenian generals, 46, 47. His operations in Sicily, 48, 49. Party formed against him at Athens, 49, 50. His recall, 53. His banishment decreed, 62. Circumstances that happened to him from his escape to his removal to Sparta, 62, 63. His reception there, 63. His speech to the Lacedæmonian senate, 63—65. His plans for the aggrandisement of Lacedæmon, 152—156. Is persecuted by the new Spartan administration, 170. Said to have intrigued with the wife of Agis, *ib.* Withdraws from Lacedæmon, and takes up his residence with Tissaphernes, 171. Tries to set the satrap at variance with Lacedæmon, 171, 172. His policy, 173. His plan for returning to Athens, 174. His plot for changing the Athenian constitution, 176. Breach between him and the managers of the plot, 182, 183. His restoration decreed by the Athenians, 203. Elected general by the armament, 204. His able and beneficial conduct, 209, 210. Watches the motions of Tissaphernes, 211. His imprisonment and escape, 232. His judicious and decisive measures previous to the naval action near Cyzicus, 233, 234. The mode he adopted for collecting a revenue, 235. Defeats Pharnabazus, 247. His important successes against the Chalcedonians, 249. Captures Byzantium, 252. Services rendered by him to his country since he had been at the head of the forces, 253. His return to Athens, and his reception there, 256. Chosen governor-general, or commander-in-chief, with supreme authority, 256, 257. Gratifies the Athenians with respect to their religious ceremonies, 257. Defeats the Andrians, 263. His measures previous to the battle of Notium, 264, 265. Complaints against him at Athens, 266. Accusation against him, 266, 267. Review of his various measures, 267, 268. Is dismissed from his command, 268. The line of his conduct, and its effects, 268, 269. Retires to his estate in the Thracian Chersonese, 270. Anecdote of, on his recall from Sicily, 283. Patriotic conduct of, 307, 308.
- Alcibiades, his conduct during his retirement, *v.* 65, 66. His projects, 66. Attacked by an armed multitude in his own house, and slain, 67.
- Alcibiades the younger, his descent and character, *v.* 74. How chiefly known, 74, 75. Refuses to accompany a military expedition, 75. And is prosecuted in consequence, *ib.* Points in Lysias's oration against him, 76, 77. Second prosecution, 77. Notice of the speech composed by Isocrates, and spoken by Alcibiades, 77, 78.
- Alcidas, commander of the Lacedæmonian fleet, sent for the relief of Mitylene, *iii.* 143. His transactions on the Ionian coast, 144—146. At Corcyra, 149.
- Alcinous's garden, fruits of, *i.* 127. and note.
- Alcmæonidæ, who intended by the Greek writers under this appellation, *i.* 374. Sacrilegious conduct of, at Athens, 326, 327. The political antagonists of Pisistratus, 358, 359. By whom they are expelled from Athens, 360, 361. Rebuild the temple of Delphi, 374. They expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens, 375. Are attacked by the party of Cleisthenes, but eventually triumph, 378. Their envy and impeachment of Miltiades, *ii.* 88, 89.
- Alcon, of Molossis, notice of, *ix.* 21.
- Alexander, king of Macedonia, son of Amyntas, notice of, *ii.* 111. Connection subsisting between him and the Grecian and Persian nations, 173, 174. Sent to Athens by Mardonius, 174. How received there, *ib.* His speeches at the congress, 174, 175. His interview with Aristides at the Grecian camp, 189. Returns to his kingdom, after the battle of Plataea, leaving his son Perdiccas in command of the army, 204. Dedicates a statue of gold at Delphi, *ib.*
- Alexander, king of Macedonia, son of Amyntas II., *vii.* 253. Maintains his family interest in Thessaly, 255. Is assassinated, 256.
- Alexander, son of Philip, afterwards surnamed the GREAT, birth of, *viii.* 57.
- , state of the known world, more especially of Macedonia, when he succeeded to the throne, *ix.* 1—76. Speech of, reported by Arrian, 67, 68. Account of his life by contemporary historians, 77—79. Of later extant



writers respecting the same, 79—81. and note. His boyhood, 81. His first measures after his accession to the throne, 82—85. and notes. His election to the supreme dignity in Thesaly, 86, 87. Takes his seat in the Amphictyonic council, *ib.* Receives the embassies of the Grecian states, 88. Is chosen, at Corinth, commander-in-chief of the Grecian confederacy, 89. Returns to Macedonia, 92. Heads the army against the pirates, 96. Assembles his forces at Amphipolis, *ib.* Defeats the confederate rebels, 97, 98. His campaign against the Triballians, 98, 99. Puts the Getes to flight, 100. He enters Illyria, and defeats the Illyrians, 103, 104. Repulses the Illyrians and Taulantians, 106. Account of his march from Illyria to Bœotia, 113. His proclamation to the Thebans, 115. Amount of Alexander's force, 115, 116. He invests Thebes, 116. His forbearance, 119. Gains possession of Thebes, 121. His conduct there, 122—126. His reception of the Athenian embassy, 129. His letter to the Athenians, 129, 130. His answer to their petition, 130. Anecdote of, related by Plutarch, *ib.* His moderation to the allies of the Thebans, 132, 133. Celebrates the Macedonian Olympic festival, 133. His expedition against Persia, first campaign, 163—216. His eagerness to invade Persia, 166. His warlike preparations, and the amount of his forces, 169—171. Assembles them at Amphipolis, 171. Marches for the Hellespont, *ib.* Arrives at Sestus, 174. Visits the tomb of Protesilaus, 175. Embarks at Eleus, *ib.* Explores the site of Troy, 176. and note. His sacrifices there, 177. Rejoins the army at Arisbe, 178. The road he determines to take, 179. His progress, 179, 180. He reaches the river Granicus, 185. Disposition of his forces, 186. and notes. His personal exploits at the battle of the Granicus, 188—190. His life saved by Clitus, 189. His popular conduct after the battle, 192. His present to the Athenians, 193. Appoints Callas satrap of Phrygia, 194. Enters Sardis, 195. Anecdote of, 196. His arrangements there, 199. Arrives at Ephesus, 200. His conduct there, 200, 201. Sends Parmenio to Magnesia, 201. Besieges and takes Miletus, 203, 204. His clemency there, 205. and note. Sends his fleet home, 206. His pecuniary distress, 206, 207. The causes of his successes, 210, 211. His interview with Ada, and its consequences, 211, 212. Besieges Halicarnassus, 213. Fails in an attempt on Myndus, 214. And takes Halicarnassus, 215, 216. His winter campaign in Asia, and measures of the Persian armament,

under Memnon, against Greece, 217—252. His financial difficulties, 215—218. The measures he resolved on, 218. Rewards Ada, 219. The appointment he gave to Parmenio, 220. His successes in Lycia, 220, 221. Anecdote of, 222, 223. Account of his route to Perga, 224. Takes Marmara, 230. and note. His behaviour to the Aspendians, 230, 231. Leaves a garrison at Sida, 231. Gains possession of Aspendus, 232. Circumstances threatening to him, 233—236. He resolves to rejoin Parmenio, 235. Opposed by the Telmissians, *ib.* Makes a treaty with the Selgians, 236. Takes Salagassus, 237. Subdues Pisidia, 238. Takes Celænæ, *ib.* Makes a short stay there, and appoints Antigonus satrap of Upper Phrygia, 243. Proceeds to Gordium, 244. His answer to the Athenian embassy, 245. and note. The story respecting him and the Gordian knot, 246—249. He advances to Ancyra, 248. Enters into a treaty with the Paphlagonians, 249. Subdues Capadocia, 250. Remarks on Plutarch's treatise "on Alexander's Fortune," 250—252. His second campaign in Asia, 253—322. He passes into Cilicia, 254. His illness at Tarsus, 254, 255. Sends Parmenio to secure the pass into Syria, 256. He reaches Anchialus, 257. Subdues Cilicia, 258. Celebrates festivals at Soli and Magarsus, 259. His conduct at Mallus, *id.* Situation in which he was placed, 266, 267. He invades Syria, 267. Alarm in his council, 270. His address to his commanders, 270, 271. Amount of his forces at Issus, 274, 275. The disposition of his army, 276—279. Gains the battle of Issus, 277—284. His behaviour to the family of Darius, 284. His conduct after the battle of Issus, 287. He subdues Syria, 289. His answer to Darius, 293, 294. His treatment of the Grecian prisoners, 295. He takes Byblus, 296. His reply to the Tyrians, 297. His address to the council of war, 297, 298. His proceedings against Tyre, 299. Procures a fleet, *ib.* He besieges and takes Tyre, 301, 302. and note. His answer to Darius's second deputation, 303. Is wounded, 305. Takes Gaza, *ib.* He arrives at Pelusium, 307. Conquers Egypt, 308. Account of his religious festival at Memphis, 308—311. He founds Alexandria, 311. Receives news from his fleet, *ib.* Arrives at Parætonium, 315. Visits the land of Ammon, 316—318. and notes. Consults the oracle there, 318. Returns to Memphis, *ib.* His arrangements in Egypt, 319—322. His third campaign in Asia, 323—358. Re-enforcements received by him in Egypt, 323. Receives a third embassy from Darius, *ib.* Pro-

- ceeds to Tyre, 325. His liberality to the Athenians, 326. His conduct to Harpalus, 327. His promotions of his officers, 328. He crosses the Euphrates, 329. Marches across Mesopotamia, 330, 331. He crosses the Tigris, 332. Phenomenon witnessed by his army, *ib.* His skirmish with the Persian horse, 333. His disposition of his forces at Arbela, 338. The error which he committed, 340. Gains the battle of Arbela, 342. And takes possession of Babylon, 346. His appointments of officers there, 347. Gains possession of Susa, 348. Sends a present to the Athenians, 349. His conduct at Susa to the family of Darius, *ib.* He receives a re-enforcement from Greece, 350. His answer to the Uxians, 352. His defeat and treatment of them, 352, 353. and note. He is detained at the Susiad rocks, 354. Defeats Ariobarzanes, 355. Marches to Persepolis, 356. His conduct there, 357. and notes.
- Alexander, his fourth campaign in Asia, x. 1—36. His conduct to the conquered states in Asia, 4. He subdues Parætacene, 12. Appoints Oxathres satrap of it, *ib.* He marches towards Ecbatana, 13. Receives a re-enforcement, 14. His conduct to his soldiers at Ecbatana, 15. Arrives at Rhage, 16. Enters Parthia, *ib.* He pursues Bessus, 17. His treatment of the body of Darius, 18. Several satraps surrender to him, 20. note, and 21. His treatment of them, *ib.* And of the Grecians in the Persian service, 23, 24. He enters Aria, 25. Restores Satibarzanes to the satrapy, *ib.* Hears of his treachery, and defeats him, 26. Condemns Barzaentes to death, 27. He hears of the treachery of Philotas, *ib.* His former generosity to Philotas, 28. He superintends the trial of Philotas, 31. Measures adopted by him to quell discontent in the army, 34, 35, and note. Appoints Hephæstion and Clitus commanders of the king's companions, 35, 36. Displaces Demetrius, 36. His fifth campaign in Asia, which completed the conquest of the Persian empire, 37—89. He subdues Zaranga, 42. Sends a force against Satibarzanes, 47. Passes through Arachosia, *ib.* Finds a town in Paropamisus, *ib.* He strengthens his army with Asiatic recruits, 50. Discontent in his army, 50, 51. His mode of quelling it, 52. He crosses the river Oxus, 53. Dismisses some of his veteran troops, 54. His interview with, and treatment of, Bessus, 56, 57. Is wounded on the banks of the river Tanais, 58. Receives embassies from the Scythians, 59. And hears of their revolt, 61. His proceedings against the Scythians, 62. Gains possession of Cyropolis, 62, 63. Hears of the revolt of Spitamenes, 63. Finds a colony on the banks of the Tanais, 63, 64. Resolves to cross that river, *ib.* How opposed by Aristander, *ib.* He crosses the river Tanais, 65. Is seized with severe illness, 66. He pursues Spitamenes, 68. His treatment of Bessus considered, 70, 71. His dress noticed, 71. He winters in Zariaspa, 72. Receives an embassy from Scythia, *ib.* He makes a treaty with Pharasmanes, *ib.* Proceeds against the Sogdians, 76. He intrusts the military command to Cœnus, 80. His appointment of officers at Nautaca, 83, 84. Besieges and takes the fort of Oxyartes, 85, 86. Marries Roxana, 87. Proceeds against Parætacene, *ib.* Reduces Chorienes to submission, 88. He returns into Bactria, 89. His policy and line of conduct considered, 90—92. Philosophers in his court, 93, 94. Account of the discussion respecting "Ceremonies," 94—99. Sacrifice performed by him, 99, 100. Slays Clitus, 100. His repentance, *ib.* Character of his court, by Plutarch, 101—103. Conspiracy against him, 103—107. Anecdote of a Syrian woman in his court, 104, 105. War prosecuted by Alexander beyond the bounds of the Persian empire, 108—166. Amount of his army, 108. His mental disquietude, 109, 110. His political views in carrying conquest to India, 111, 112. Proceeds to Alexandria in Paropamisus, 113. Reaches Nicæa, 114. Receives Taxiles, *ib.* Despatches Hephæstion and Perdicas against Astes, *ib.* Crosses the river Choës, 115. And is wounded, *ib.* His successes, 116, 117. Fixes a colony at Arigæum, 118. He defeats the Arigæans, 119. Sends Indian cattle into Greece, 119, 120. Besieges and takes Massaga, 121, 123. His treatment of the Indian mercenaries, 123. and note. Takes Ora, 124. Garrisons several Indian towns, 125, 126. Besieges and takes Aornos, 125—128. He proceeds towards the Indus, 129. His desire to procure elephants, 130, 131. His reception of, and answer to, the deputation from Nysa, 132—135. His visit to Mount Meron, 134. His sacrifices to Bacchus, 135. He crosses the Indus, 137. Winters at Taxila, 138. Receives deputations, and fixes a colony there, *ib.* Passes the Hydaspes, 140. He defeats Porus, 144. His interview with him, 145, 146. Finds two towns, 147. Anecdote respecting his horse Bucephalus, *ib.* Enters into an alliance with the Glaucees, 149. Reconciles Porus and Taxiles, 150. Crosses the river Akesines, 152. Sends Porus to collect forces, 152. Pursues "the bad" Porus, *ib.* Crosses the river Hydraotes, 153. Attacks and takes Sangala, 154, 155. The loss he

sustained, 156. and note. Marches to the river Hyphasis, 158. Discontent in his army, 158, 159. He summons a council, 160. His address to his army, 160—162. Replied to by Cœnus, 162, 163. and notes. Dismisses the assembly, 163. Orders a sacrifice, 164. His arrangements for the Indian provinces, 165, 166. and note. Account of his return from India, 167—215. Commences his return, and visits his new towns, 167, 168. The merits of his administration considered, 169, 170. and notes. Compared to Julius Cæsar, 171. and notes. Remarks on his foundation of cities, 172, 173. Proceeds along the banks of the Indus, 173. Builds a fleet on the Hydaspes, 175. Declares Porus king of India, 176. Performs a sacrifice on the banks of the Hydaspes, 177, 178. Offers terms to the Mallians, 180. Takes their principal town, 181. Disperses their forces, 181, 182. Takes the town of the Bramins, 182. Attacks the capital of the Mallians, 183, 184. His personal bravery there, 184. Is dangerously wounded, 185. Anxiety of his troops respecting his wound, 186. His recovery, 187, 188. He subjugates the Mallians and Oxydracs, 188. He increases his fleet, 189, 190. Appoints Oxyartes satrap of Paropamisus, 190. Sails down the river Hydraotes, *ib.* His conduct to Musicanus, 191. and note. Takes Oxycanus prisoner, 192. and note. Proceeds to Sindomana, 194. Sends Craterus into Persia, 195. Arrives at Pattala, 196. His progress down the Indus, 197. Arrives at the ocean, 199. Makes a sacrifice, *ib.* Forms a naval arsenal, 201. Returns to Pattala, *ib.* Difficulties of the march he proposed to take, 202, 203. Leaves Pattala, *ib.* Establishes a colony at Rambasia, 205. His proceedings in Gadosia, *ib.* and note. His encouragement of commerce noticed, 206. Distresses of his army, 207, 208. Anecdote of, 210. Arrives at Poora, 211. Appoints officers there, *ib.* Enters Carmania, 212. His punishment of some of his generals, 214. His march through Carmania, 215. He receives the report of Nearchus, 216. His alleged impatience respecting Nearchus, 257, 258. His kind reception of him, 258. He reappoints Nearchus to the command, 260. Transactions in his march from Carmania through Persia and Susiana, and his measures for the improvement of territory and extension of commerce, 276—371. He proceeds towards Parsagardæ, 276. Arrives there, 278. His indignation at the plunder of the sepulchre of Cyrus, *ib.* His restoration of it, 280. His punishment of Orxines, *ib.* Appoints Peucestas satrap of Persis, *ib.* His

punishment of the Median rebels, 280, 281. Arrives at Susa, 281. and note. His punishment of various criminals, 282, 283. His difficulties in arranging his different governments, 283, 284. His purpose of uniting various nations, 284, 285. His marriage with Barsine, or Statira, 285. Unites his generals to Persian princesses, 286, 287. Account of the festival he gave them, 288. His bounty to the army, 289. His distribution of honours, 290. His motives for these measures, 290, 291. Views attributed to him by Arrian, 293. His proceedings respecting the commerce of Assyria, 295, 297. He embarks on the Eulæus, 297. And proceeds to the gulf, 298. Enters the Tigris, *ib.* His improvements of that river, *ib.* and note. Spirit of discontent in his army, 300. Celebrates an Olympic festival at Opis, *ib.* His address, *ib.* His conduct and speech to the mutinous army, 301, 302—305. His favour to the Persian officers, 305. His reconciliation with the army, 308, 309. Sends part of the troops home, *ib.* and note. He proceeds northward into Media, 311. Sends Craterus to command in Macedonia, 311. Summons Antipater into Asia, 312. Transactions in his march through Media to Babylon, and his further measures for the improvement of territory, and extension of commerce, and for civil regulations, to the period of his death, 328—369. He proceeds to Celonæ, 328. Visits the Nysæan plain, 329. His interference between Hephæstion and Eumenes, 331. His grief at the death of Hephæstion, 332. and note. His expedition against the Cossees, 332, 333. His curiosity respecting the Caspian sea, 333. Receives a deputation of the Chaldean priests, 334. His favours to the Babylonians, *ib.* He enters Babylon, 336. His reception of the Grecian embassies, 337—339. and notes. Of the foreign embassies, 339. Chooses Babylon for his capital, 340. His measures to promote discovery and commerce, 341, 342. His improvements at Babylon, 343, 346—348. The story of his visit to Diogenes, 349. His popularity, *ib.* His civil and military arrangements, 350. Anecdotes of, 352, 353. His measures respecting recruits, 353. The prognostics respecting his death, 354, 355. His friendship for the Brahmin Calanus, 356—359. He consults Pithagoras, 359. Institutes a sacrificial feast, 363. Chooses Medius as his confidential friend, *ib.* Is seized with illness, 364. Particulars of his illness, and his behaviour through it, 365—369. His death, 369. The time at which it happened, *ib.* His character by Arrian, 369—371. Extracts from the royal daybook, of Alexander, ac-

- cording to Arrian and Plutarch, 372—379.  
 Alexander's Letters, x. 175. note.  
 "Alexander's Fortune," a treatise by Plutarch, remarks on, ix. 250—252.  
 Alexander, tyrant of Phææ, presses upon the allies of Thebes, vi. 205. His rapacity and tyranny, 213. Concludes a treaty with Pelopidas, ib. But seizes and imprisons him, ib. Repulses the Theban army, ib. Kills Pelopidas in a drawn battle, 260. Makes peace under the mediation of Thebes, 261. Sends auxiliaries thither, 284. Is assassinated by Tisiphonus, his wife's brother, 324.  
 Alexander, son of Europus, notice of, ix. 85. Discovered in a plot against Alexander the Great, 221. Is arrested, 223. Residing at the Persian court, 263. Tried and executed, x. 33, 34.  
 Alexandria, in Egypt, foundation of, ix. 311, 312.  
 Alexandria, Paropamisan, foundation of, x. 43. Settlement of a Grecian colony there, 49, 50. Visited by Alexander the Great, 114.  
 Alinda, surrendered up to Alexander, ix. 213.  
 Allegorical style, origin and purpose of, i. 3. note.  
 Ἀλλόφυλος, signification of, viii. 341. note.  
 Ally, import of the Greek term so rendered, vii. 290.  
 Alphabet, every known one to be traced to the neighbourhood of Babylon, i. 5.  
 Alphabetical writing, origin of, i. 111, 112. Remarks on the vowels of the earliest Greek alphabet, compared with those of some other nations, 120, 121. notes.  
 Alps, remarks on the inhabitants of the, x. 45, 46.  
 Amadocus. See Medocus.  
 Amalfi, extraordinary prosperity of, in the middle ages, vi. 325. and note. Allusion to, x. 254. note.  
 Amanus, notice of the town of, ix. 268.  
 Amasis, king of Egypt, able reign of, ii. 22. His connection with Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, 34, 35.  
 Ἀμαζαί, and Ἀμαται, distinction between, x. 156. note.  
 Amazons, the, account of, x. 329. and note.  
 Ambraciots, their war with the Acarnanians, iii. 116, 117. Their contests with the Acarnanians, 186—193. Peace between them, 193.  
 Amiantus, notice of, ix. 21.  
 Ammon, land of, described, ix. 314, 315. Oracle of, noticed, 315. Account of Alexander's visit to, 316—319.  
 Amompharetus, a Spartan officer, anecdote of, ii. 192. Funeral honours to his memory, 200.  
 Amphictyon, notice of, i. 181.  
 Amphictyonic city, titles of its representatives, viii. 11.  
 Amphictyonic council, origin and power of the, i. 182—186.  
 —, account of, viii. 2. Its influence, 5. Superintends the temple of Delphi, 8. Regulated by Solon, 9. Alterations in, 10, 11. System of voting in, 15. and note. Its authority diminished, 16. Lacedæmon prosecuted and fined by, 19. and note. Phocis prosecuted and fined by, 23—25. Its decrees against Lacedæmon and Phocis, 25. Meets at Thermopylæ, 39. Philip's letter respecting, 194, 195. Its meeting, 215, 216. Its judgment on the Phocians, 217—219. The number sent by Athens to, 310. Proclamation made by, 312. Consequences thereof, 313, 314. General assembly of, summoned, 314. Declares war against the Amphisians, 315. Meets at Thermopylæ, 317. Appoints Philip their general, 318.  
 —, Alexander the Great takes his seat therein, ix. 87.  
 Amphilocheian Argos. See Argos.  
 Amphimnestus, notice of, ix. 20.  
 Amphipolis, situation of, iii. 253. Its importance to the Athenians, ib. Project of Brasidas for gaining it to the Lacedæmonian confederacy, 253, 254. Taken by Brasidas, 255. But the port of, retained by the Athenians, ib. Battle of, 277—281.  
 —, its connection with Athens and Lacedæmon, vii. 251. Defended by Macedonia against Athens, 261. Colony at, 294, 295. Colonists from Cyrene established there, 296. Alliance of, with Olynthus, 298. Resists the Athenians, ib. Hostages delivered by, to Iphicrates, 303. Measures against Timotheus, ib. Yields to the Athenians, 309. Its importance to Athens, 325. Besieged by the Macedonians and Olynthians, 328, 329.  
 —, decree of the Athenians concerning, viii. 236.  
 Amphissa, proposal of, to revolt to the Lacedæmonian alliance, iii. 184.  
 —, the Amphisians use the devoted land, viii. 310. Their claim upon the Athenians, 312. and note. Resist the proclamation of the Amphictyons, 313. Submit to the Amphictyonic council, 315. Again resist it, 316. Assisted by the Athenian mercenaries, 328. Reduced to final submission, 329.  
 —, surrender to the Phocians, viii. 49.  
 Amyntas, nephew of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, deprived by him of his Macedonian principality, iii. 129. Seeks assistance from Sitalces, king of Thrace, ib. His restoration, 132.  
 —, several cities desert his allegiance, and he is nearly expelled from his kingdom, vi. 88, 89.  
 —, is firmly seated on the throne after the assassination of Pausanias, vii. 245. Forced by Bardylis to withdraw to Thessaly, 247. Regains the throne,

248. Removes the seat of government, 249. Becomes an ally of Athens, 252. His marriage, family, and death, 253. Amyntas, son of Antiochus, defeats Chares, viii. 301.
- , his flight after the death of Philip, ix. 84, 85. His conduct at Ephesus, 198. Resides in the Persian court, 221. His plot against Alexander, *ib.* Notice of, 262. His attempts on Egypt, 306. Is slain, 307.
- Amyntas, the Cappadocian chief, account of, ix. 227, 228.
- Amyntas, Alexander's general, sent to the river Araxes, ix. 355. Tried and acquitted, x. 32. and note.
- Anabasis of Xenophon, the author's age at the time of his engaging with Cyrus, deduced from internal evidence, v. 267, 268. note. Objection made against Xenophon's claim to, and the solution which it is capable of admitting, 271—273. note.
- Ἀναβολεύς*, meaning of the title, ix. 188. note.
- Anacharsis's Travels. See Barthelemy.
- Anacreon, invited to Athens by Hipparchus, and maintained there by him, i. 371.
- Anactorium taken by the Athenians, iii. 225.
- Ἀναξ* and *Βασιλεύς*, distinction between, i. 104. note.
- Anaxagoras, the philosopher, notice of, iii. 2.
- , principles of the philosophy introduced by him, v. 114. How treated by the Athenians, *ib.* His principles laid the foundation for the philosophy of Socrates, 117.
- Anaxarchus, the philosopher, his character, x. 93. His arguments respecting the death of Clitus, 101.
- Anaxibius, the Lacedæmonian commander-in-chief, political views by which his conduct to the Cyrean army was guided, v. 249. His proposal to lead the army back again into Asia, 250. His treatment of them, on their quitting Byzantium, 252. His further measures, 254, 255.
- , appointed commander-in-chief of the Lacedæmonian forces in Asia, vi. 65. Is defeated and slain by the Athenians under Iphicrates, 66. His bravery, *ib.*
- Anchialus, by whom founded, ix. 257.
- Andocides, the oration on peace, attributed to him, probably of his age, ii. 840. note.
- , notice of, iv. 52.
- , account of, and of his ancestors, v. 89, 90. Implicated, when a youth, with Alcibiades, in the mutilation of the terms of Mercury, 90, 91. Proceedings against him in consequence, 93—95. Quits Athens and visits various countries, 95. Returns to Athens after the Peloponnesian war, 96. Afterwards retires to Cyprus, *ib.* Again returns to Athens, and takes an active part in public affairs, 97. His age, at that time, *ib.* note. Accused of an act of impiety in the temple of Ceres, 98. His defence, 98, 99. Prosecuted for the mutilation of the terms of Mercury, 100. Account of the oration of Lysias against him, 100—102. Of the defence of Andocides, 103—106. His age at the time of his accusation, 105. note. Notice of his second oration, 106, 107. What is learned from the prosecutions of Andocides, 108.
- Ἀνδραποδόν*, and *Δούλος*, distinction between, v. 262. note.
- Androcles, king of Messenia, notice of, i. 277. His death, *ib.*
- , assassination of, iv. 188.
- Andros, notice of the island of, ix. 5, 6.
- Androstheneis, of Thasos, his narrative of the voyage of Nearchus, x. 226. note.
- Anglo-Saxon annals, notice of, i. 199. note. Laws, account of, 232, 233. note.
- Anippus, commander of a Syracusan squadron, kills himself, vi. 150.
- Anolympiads, explained, i. 243. note.
- Anopæa, mountain of, formerly covered with oaks, ii. 126. Now woodless, 127. note. This circumstance noticed by Statius, *ib.*
- Antalcidas, sent on an embassy from Lacedæmon to the satrap of Lydia, vi. 40. His proposal to Tiribazus, 40, 41. Success of his negotiation, 41. Sent on a mission to Persia, 74. His successes against the Athenians, 75. A peace concluded by him with Persia, called "The peace of Antalcidas," 78—81. Peace of, what its real disgrace principally arose from, 82. Further remarks on, 179, 180. Compared with the king of Persia's rescript, 217.
- Antandrians, their gratitude to the Syracusans, iv. 237.
- Anthemus, in Macedonia, treatment of by Philip, vii. 328.
- Anticrates, a Laconian, honours and privileges granted him for killing Epaminondas, vi. 303.
- Antigonus, appointed satrap of Upper Phrygia by Alexander, ix. 243.
- Antiochus, king of Messenia, i. 277, 278.
- Antiochus, the Athenian commander, defeated by Lysander, in the battle of Notium, iv. 264, 265.
- Antiochus, the Arcadian minister, slighted by Pelopidas, at Susa, vi. 217. His description of the Persian empire, 219.
- Antiochus, Alexander's general, how employed, x. 129, 130.
- Antipater, the Macedonian, sent ambassador to Athens, viii. 363.
- , his advice to Alexander, ix. 166. Places a squadron under the command of Proteas, 242. Receives a

- supply of money from Alexander, 350. Sends a re-enforcement to him, 350, 351.
- Antipater, his embarrassed situation, x. 9. Defeats Agis, *ib.* Summons a congress at Corinth, 10. Sends recruits to Alexander, 70.
- Antiphon, a celebrated politician of Athens, notice of, iv. 192. Measures of, 221. Condemned to death by the council of thirty, v. 43.
- Antiphon, an Athenian, banished, viii. 321. Treatment of, by Demosthenes, 322. Accused of treason, *ib.* Acquitted, *ib.* Arrested by order of the Areopagus, 323.
- <sup>1</sup> *Ἀπίδοτος*, interpretation of, vi. 61. note.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ἀπίσθηνος*, interpretation of, ix. 69. note.
- Antisthenes, an Agrigentine, celebrates his daughter's wedding with extraordinary magnificence, vii. 26.
- Anytus, one of the accusers of Socrates, notice of, v. 125.
- Aorni, garrisoned by Alexander, x. 53.
- Aornos, description of, x. 124. Besieged by Alexander, 126. And taken, 128. Garrisoned by him, 129.
- Apaturia, account of the festival of, iv. 285.
- Apeliotes, signification of the word, i. 31. note.
- <sup>1</sup> *Ἀφ' ἡέως*, computation of the term, vi. 46. note; 124. note.
- Apia, the ancient name of Peloponnesus, whence derived, i. 25.
- Apis, a Pelasgian chief, first made the Peloponnesus habitable, i. 24.
- , sacrifice of Alexander to, ix. 310.
- <sup>1</sup> *Ἀποκρίσις*, variety of its meanings, vi. 118. note.
- Apollo, how he became the presiding divinity at Delphi, i. 175. Temple of, at Branchidæ, the national bank of the Dorians, 178. Appeal of the Cumeans to the oracle at, ii. 15, 16.
- Apollocrates, son of Dionysius the younger, commands at Syracuse, during his father's absence, vii. 175. Capitulates to Dion, and retires to Italy, 180.
- Apollodorus, of Amphipolis, appointed to the military command of Babylon, ix. 348. Notice of, x. 359.
- Apollonia, colony of, when founded, i. 239. (See Acanthus.)
- Apolloniades of Agyrium, resigns to Timoleon, vii. 216.
- Apollophanes, satrap of Gadrosia, his misconduct, x. 206. 209. 211. Dismissed from the satrapy, 211.
- Apulia, two towns founded on its coast, vii. 160.
- Arabees, notice of the, x. 231.
- Arabic language, resemblance of the Welsh to, i. 114. note. Observations on the use of vowels in, 115. 117.
- Arbela, or Gaugamela, account of the battle of, ix. 336—344.
- Arcadia, boundaries of, i. 12. Sketch of the history of, 243, 244. War of the Lacedæmonians with the Arcadians, 298.
- Arcadia, the Arcadians seek employment in foreign military service, ii. 138. Their offer of services to Xerxes, 138.
- , separate themselves from the main body of the Cyrean army, v. 230. Their marauding expedition against the Bithynians, 232. Surrounded and besieged by them, 232. But relieved by Xenophon, 233, 234.
- , proposed to be united under one government by the Tegeans, vi. 185. The union effected, and Megalopolis, a common capital, founded, 188—191. The sovereign, or Numberless assembly, of Arcadia, how composed, 189. and note. Invaded by Agesilaus, 191. The Arcadians waste Heræa, 192. Their successes under Lycomedes of Mantinea, 208, 209. Their high reputation, *ib.* They oppose the Theban pretensions at the congress of Thebes, 220. Arcadia enters into an alliance with Athens, 248. The Arcadians invade and ravage Elea, 256. 258. Desist on the interference of the Achæans, 258. Again invade Elea, 262. Besiege Cromnus, *ib.* Exclude the Eleans from the presidency of the Olympian festival, 266, 267. Are defeated by the Eleans, 268. Rob the Olympian treasury, 270. The numberless assembly forbid any further trespass, 272. The interference of Thebes solicited, 273. Their principal citizens seized by the Thebans at Tegea, 275. Reception of their ministers by Epaminondas, 277. The Arcadians divided on the fourth invasion of Peloponnesus, 285.
- , the Arcadians oppose Philip's measures, x. 120—122. and note.
- Archelaus, king of Lacedæmon, i. 249.
- Archelaus, son of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, Plato's anecdote of, vii. 237. note. His measures towards the Pdyneans, 240. His improvements in Macedonia, 241. His encouragement of science, 242. His institution of games, *ib.* His death, 243.
- Archelaus, son of Androcles, appointed to the command of Aorni, x. 53.
- Archestratus, appointed one of the ten generals on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, iv. 268.
- Archias, a Corinthian, leads a colony to Sicily, i. 318, 319.
- Archias, polemarch of Thebes, assassinated by Phyllidas and Mellon, vi. 116.
- Archias, a Macedonian, third in command to Nearchus, x. 223. Notice of, 247. Accompanies Nearchus to Alexander, 258. Sent to explore the Persian Gulf, 342.
- Archidamia, priestess of Ceres, the service she rendered to Aristomenes, i. 288.
- Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon, sup-

- presses the revolt of the Helots, ii. 309. And blockades them in Ithome, 310.
- Archidamus, his speech at the congress at Lacedæmon, iii. 49—51. Appointed to command the forces for the invasion of Attica, 74. His liberal conduct, ib. Besieges Cænoë, 79. Justness of his judgment, 79, 80. Invades Attica a second time, 91. Commands at the siege of Platæa, 109. His proposal to the Platæans, 101. His solemn address to the deities of the country, 111. Last notice of, in history, 176. Speculations as to what might have been done for Greece by him and Pericles, had their lives been prolonged, 220.
- Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, defeats the forces of Argos, Arcadia, and Messenia, vi. 211. Invades Arcadia, 262. And takes Cromnus, ib. Defeats the Thebans in the neighbourhood of Sparta, 288. Succeeds his father on the throne of Lacedæmon, 313.
- , assists the Phocians, viii. 29. Defeats the Argives, and takes Orneæ, 112. Joins the Phocians, ib. Takes Plissus, ib. Marches into Phocis, 184. Returns home, 272.
- , letter from Socrates to, ix. 63, 64. and note.
- Archipelago, etymology of, i. 139. note.
- Architecture, difference between the style of the Attic, and that of the Sicilian and Pæstian buildings, ii. 248, 249. note. Of the Ionian, Corinthian, and Doric orders, 249. note.
- Archonidas, chief of Erbita, migrates, and founds Archonidium, vii. 71, 72.
- Archonidium, foundation of, vii. 72.
- Archons, hereditary, established at Athens, i. 308.
- Ardericcia, in Cissia, settlement of Eretrians at, ii. 85.
- Areopagitic oration of Isocrates, account of, and extracts from, viii. 60—65.
- Areopagus, court of, of whom composed, i. 348. Its powers, i. 349. Depression of the power of, ii. 318. Character of, v. 87. Appoints Hyperides syndic, viii. 321. Its treatment of Antiphon, 323.
- Arete, daughter of Hermocrates, marries Dionysius of Syracuse, vii. 47. Is shamefully abused by the conspirators against her husband, 54. Destroys herself, ib.
- Arethusa, fountain of, i. 319.
- Argæus assumes the rule over Macedonia, vii. 247. Is compelled to flee, 248. Resumes his pretensions, 264. Marches to Edessa, is attacked by Philip, and slain, 268.
- Argaleonis, mother of Brasidas, anecdote of, iii. 281.
- Arginussæ, sea-fight of, iv. 279. Impachment of the Athenian generals who commanded at the battle, 282—290.
- Argolis ravaged by Agesilaus, vi. 42. Expedition into, under Agesipolis, 55, 56.
- Argonautic expedition, probable history of, i. 37.
- Argos, vale of, i. 12. Foundation of, involved in uncertainty, 23. An Egyptian colony, 26. Notices of some of its early sovereigns, 26—30. Four places of this name, 41. Its geographical situation, 42. A republican government, 231. Effects thereof, ib. Remarkable combat between the Argians and Lacedæmonians, 297.
- , the Argives apply to the Delphian oracle for advice, ii. 108. Their conduct at the time of the Persian invasion, ib. 109. War of, with Mycenæ, 311, 312. They take Mycenæ, and reduce the people to slavery, 313.
- , treaty of Lacedæmon with Argos, iii. 304. War with Epidaurus, 322, 323. With Lacedæmon, 324, 343. Change in the administration of, 343. Alliance with Lacedæmon, 339. Revolution in, 341. Renewal of alliance with Athens, 342, 343. Three hundred Argives taken by Alcibiades, 344, 345.
- , causes for the alienation of Argos from Lacedæmon, v. 294.
- , singular union of, with Corinth, vi. 26, 27. The Argives invade Epidauria, 208. Are intercepted in their retreat by Chabrias, ib. Are brought off by the Arcadians, 209. Claim Tricranum, and place a garrison in it, 251. Join Epaminondas on his fourth invasion of Peloponnesus, 284. Sanguinary sedition at Argos, termed the Scytalium, 316—318.
- , war of, with Lacedæmon, viii. 74. The armies defeated by Archidamus, 112. Isocrates's account of the Argives, 201.
- Argos, Amphiloichian, situation of, and by whom founded, iii. 116. Dissensions which led to its alliance with Athens, 117. Share of the Amphiloichians in the battle of Olpæ, 188.
- Aria, description of, x. 40. Revolt in, 47.
- Ariadne, daughter of Minos, notice of, i. 56.
- Ariaspes, second son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, death of, ix. 142.
- Ariasps, or Agriasps, account of, x. 43—47.
- Ariæus, commander of the Asiatic forces under Cyrus, his measures after the battle of Cunaxa, v. 164—169. 172.
- Arigæum, conquest of the country of, by Alexander, x. 118—120. The city rebuilt by him, 118.
- Arimasps, account of the, x. 44—46.
- Ariobarzanes, satrap of Bithynia, mediates between the Grecian republics, vi. 210, 211.
- Ariobarzanes, a general of Darius, forms a connection with Athens, vii. 299.

- Commands the Persians at the Susiad rocks, ix. 354. Is defeated by Alexander, 355.
- Aristagoras**, governor of Miletus, expedition of, against the isle of Naxos, ii. 41, 42. Quarrels with the Persian commander, Megabates, 43, 44. His critical situation, 44, 45. Procures a revolt among the Milesians, 46. Solicits the aid of the Lacedæmonians in vain, 46. Obtains assistance from the Athenians, 52. Retires from Miletus to Thrace, 54. His death, 55.
- Aristander** of Telmissus, a soothsayer, notice of, ix. 221. 235. His explanation of the eclipse of the moon, 332.
- , his auguries on the banks of the Tanais, x. 64, 65.
- Aristæus**, useful arts introduced by, into Greece, i. 110.
- Aristarchus**, how he effects the surrender of Cænoe, iv. 221.
- , his conduct towards the Cyrean army at Byzantium, v. 254, 255.
- Aristeia**, honours of the, to whom they were decreed, ii. 136.
- Aristides**, son of Lysimachus, first patronised by Clisthenes, ii. 145. Held a high military command at the battle of Marathon, *ib.* His character compared with that of Themistocles, *ib.* Banished by the Athenians, 146. But his absence generally regretted by them, *ib.* A decree passed, putting a period to his exile, 152. Hastens to join the fleet at Salamis, *ib.* Effect produced on the commanders by his appearance, *ib.* Lands on Psyttalea, at the head of a body of Athenians, and puts the Persians there to the sword, 156, 157. Wise measures of the Attic government attributed to him, 173, 174. His speeches at the congress at Athens, 175—177. Appointed to the command of the Athenian forces, 181. His answer to the Tegeans, on their disputing precedence with the Athenians, 184. The part he took in the battle of Plataea, 190, 191. Accompanies Themistocles, on his mission to Sparta, 258, 259. Causes of his popularity, 269. Wisdom of his measures, 278, 279. Last public act recorded of him, 279. His death and poverty, 279, 280. Monument raised to his memory, 279.
- Aristippus**, the Thessalian, circumstances which led him to the court of Cyrus, v. 137. Obtains his friendship, *ib.*
- Aristocracy**, import of the term, i. 230.
- Aristocrates**, prince of Orchomenus, notice of, i. 288. 294.
- Aristocrates**, king of Arcadia, treachery of, and its punishment, i. 294.
- Aristocrates**, an Athenian general, appointed one of the ten generals, on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasylbulus, iv. 268. Condemned to death and executed, 282.
- Aristodemus**, king of Messenia, offers his daughter for a sacrifice, and afterwards kills her himself, i. 280. His death, 282. (See Temenus.)
- Aristodemus**, the Spartan, disgraced for having been absent from the battle of Thermopylæ, ii. 130. Subsequently distinguishes himself, and his memory transmitted with honour to posterity, *ib.* His bravery at Plataea, 200. Is slain there, *ib.* Funeral honours denied to him, *ib.*
- Aristodemus**, the Athenian, sent to Macedonia, viii. 164. Honours voted to him, 165. Goes on an embassy, 167.
- Aristodemus**, prince of Orchomenus, notice of, i. 288. 294.
- Aristodicus**, a citizen of Cuma, attempts to save Pactyas from being delivered up to the Persians, ii. 15, 16.
- Aristogenes**, appointed one of the ten generals on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasylbulus, iv. 268.
- Aristogiton** and **Harmodius**, conspiracy of, against Hippias and Hipparchus, i. 372. Extraordinary honours decreed to the memory of, ii. 87, 88. Song of, 87, and note. Statues of, restored to Athens, by Alexander, x. 338. note.
- Aristomache**, daughter of Hipparinus, marries Dionysius of Syracuse, vii. 85. Her family by him, 158.
- Aristomenes**, commander-in-chief of the Messenians, gallant exploit of, i. 285. His various successes during the war with the Lacedæmonians, 287—294. His subsequent adventures, 296.
- Aristonicus**, a singer, his bravery and death, x. 78.
- Aristophanes**, the comic poet, his satire of the extravagant views and restless ambition of the Athenians, iii. 229. His satire of Cleon in his comedy of "The Knights," 273. Acts the part of Cleon himself, *ib.*
- , instance from, of the extravagant use made of public accusation at Athens, v. 78, 79. note. Introduces Socrates by name into his comedy of "The Clouds," 121. Reason for his hostility to Socrates, *ib.* Refused the usual record of a successful dramatist, on the representation of "The Clouds," 122. His object in introducing Socrates into it, 129. note. The story of his being bribed to write the comedy denied, *ib.*
- Aristophanes**, son of Nicophemus. See **Nicophemus**.
- Aristophon**, the Athenian, conducts the prosecution against Timotheus and Iphicrates, vii. 360.
- Aristoteles**, a Lacedæmonian, commands the Grecian mercenaries in the pay of Dionysius, vii. 110, 111. Is sent to Lacedæmon to account for his conduct, 111.
- Aristotle**, observations of, on the import of the terms "Aristocracy" and "Policy," i. 231.



- Aristotle**, his definition of a democracy, v. 30.
- , superintends the education of Alexander the Great, viii. 394.
- , his birth and parentage, ix. 5, 6. Analysis of his treatise on government, 6—13. His account of the constitution of various states, 14, 15. Several kinds of monarchies specified by him, 15—17.
- Aristus** represents the Lacedæmonian government at Syracuse, vii. 66, 67. Informs Dionysius of the Corinthian sedition, 67.
- "*Ἀρματα* and "*Ἀμαξαι*, distinction between, x. 155, 156. note.
- Armene**, transactions of the Cyrean army at, v. 227.
- Armenia**, severity of the winters in, v. 205.
- Armies and armour** of the ancient Greeks, described, i. 130—132. 134—147. Composition of the Lacedæmonian army, 266—271. And of the armies of the Grecian republics, 351—353. Their officers, 354—356.
- , mode of mustering the Persian army, ii. 95. Absurd attachment of the Lacedæmonians to the exclusive use of weapons for close fight, iii. 213. Practice of the Athenians in this respect, ib. Advantages of light troops, ib.
- , scarlet or crimson, a common uniform of the Greeks, vi. 15.
- , account of the arrangement of Alexander's troops at the battle of the Granicus, their arms, etc., ix. 186, 187. (See Military Affairs, etc.)
- Arrhibæus**, prince of Lyncus, becomes an ally of Sparta, iii. 250.
- Arrian**, his report of Alexander's speech, ix. 67, 68. His account of the conspiracy, previous to, and the events after, the death of Philip, 84, 85. and note. His account of the Persian council, 182. And of the battle of the Granicus, 185—193. His description of Halicarnassus, 214. His account of the conspiracy against Alexander, 221. Of the Gordian knot, 246—248. Of the battle of Issus, 276—288. and notes. His mode of distinguishing names, 319—322. His account of the battle of Arbela, 336—346. and notes.
- , his deficiency in treating on political subjects, x. 34, 35. His account of the Ariasps, 43—47. And of the Scythians, 59, 60. His reflections on the death of Bessus, 71. His opinion on Alexander's dress, ib. On the Scythian character, 74. His account of the controversies on the kingly office, 92—98. Of Alexander's conduct to the Indian mercenaries, 123. and note. His allusion to Hercules, 124. His account of Nysa, 132—135. Of the discontent in Alexander's army, 158—166. and notes. Defence of, against an attack of the writers of the Universal History, 165, 166. note. His anecdote of a Bœotian officer, 188. His narrative of the voyage of Nearchus, 216, 217. note. Omissions in it, 228, 229. Discrepancies in his various narratives, 280—282. note. Views attributed to Alexander by him, 293, 294. His respect for omens, 355. His anecdote of a Brahmin, 356—358. His account of the illness of Alexander, 363—369. His character of him, 369—371. Passage in his history of Alexander, leading to the extract from the royal daybook, 372, 373.
- Arrows**, letters transmitted by means of, ii. 171.
- Arsames**, becomes the favourite of Artaxerxes Mnemon, ix. 142. Is assassinated, ib.
- Arses**, son of Artaxerxes Ochus, ascends the Persian throne, ix. 160. His death, 161.
- Arsites**, the Persian, appointed lieutenant-governor of Phrygia, ix. 172. His alarm at the approach of Alexander, 180. Joined by Spithridates and Memnon, 181. The amount of their army, ib. and note. Kills himself, 192.
- Artabazus**, satrap of Bithynia, appointed with 60,000 men to escort Xerxes to the Hellespont, ii. 161. Returns from his expedition, and lays siege to Olynthus and Potidea, 170. And takes the former, ib. His treacherous correspondence with Timoxenus, ib. Raises the siege of Potidea, and proceeds to Thessaly, 171. Not engaged in the battle of Plataea, 195, 196. Retreats towards Phocis, 196. Mistake of Rollin respecting him, ib. note. Progress of his retreat to Asia, 203, 204. His rear harassed by Perdiccas, and a large part of his army cut off at the battle of the Strymon, ib.
- Artabazus**, is assisted by Chares, vii. 362.
- , solicits the aid of the Thebans, viii. 45.
- , defeats the army sent against Lower Phrygia, ix. 144, 145. Takes refuge at the court of Philip of Macedon, 145. His marriage with a Rhodian lady, 146, 147. and note. Restored to his satrapy, 156. Called to the Persian court, 172.
- Artabazus**, the friend of Darius III., his fidelity to Darius, x. 16. Surrenders to Alexander, 21. He leads the Grecians in the Persian service to Alexander, 23. Appointed satrap of Bactria, 53. Sent on an expedition with Pharasmanes, 73. Resigns his satrapy, 79.
- Artachæus**, a Persian noble, death of, and ceremonies at his funeral, ii. 98.
- Artaphernes**, brother of Darius, sends an expedition against Naxos, ii. 42. Its result, 44. Character of his administration, 52. Defeats the Greeks at Ephesus, 53.

- Artaphernes**, the younger, expedition of, against Greece, ii. 72. Conquers the islands in the Ægean sea, 72, 73. Invades Attica, 81. Defeat of, at the battle of Marathon, 82—84.  
—, sent on an embassy to Lacedæmon, iii. 225.
- Artaxerxes**, third son of Xerxes, succeeds to the throne of Persia, ii. 281. Strength of his government, 285. The existence of a treaty between him and the Athenian commonwealth disputed, 287, 288. note. Death of, iv. 145. Character of his government, ib.
- Artaxerxes Mnemon**, succeeds to the throne of Persia, v. 131. Origin of the enmity between him and his brother Cyrus, ib. Encourages a civil war between the commanders of the provinces, 132. Wounded by Cyrus at the battle of Cunaxa, 161.  
—, account of, by Plutarch, ix. 137—142. Conduct of his eldest son Darius, 141. Plot against him, ib. Favourite chosen by him, ib. His death, 142.
- Artaxerxes Ochus**, keeps his father's death secret, ix. 143. Ascends the throne, ib. State of Persia at the commencement of his reign, 144—146. He subdues Artabazus, ib. Suppresses the revolt in Phœnicia, 150. Recovers the island of Cyprus, 151, 152. and note. His character, as given by Isocrates, 152. Hires Grecian forces, 153. His expedition to Egypt, 155. His successes, ib. Anecdote of, related by Plutarch, ib. His liberality to Bagôas, 156. He restores Artabazus to his satrapy, ib. His alliance with Athens, 158. Different accounts of his death, 160, 161.
- Artemisia**, daughter of Lygdamis, succeeds to the throne of Halicarnassus, ii. 150. Fits out five galleys, and takes the command of them herself, ib. Joins the Persian fleet, ib. Her speech in a council of war, ib. Her advice rejected, ib. Her extraordinary bravery and address, 157.
- Artemisia**, princess of Caria, notice of, viii. 116. and note.
- Artemisium**, station of the Greek fleet at, ii. 116, 117. Engaged by the Persians there, 117. Sea-fight off, 133—137.
- Artillery**, the Carthaginian, improved by the Greeks, and perfected by the Romans, vii. 30. Invention of the catapultic, 82.
- Arts**, invention and improvement of, in Egypt, i. 6, 7. State of the art of music in the Homeric age, 125, 126. Of masonry, 128. Of the ornamental arts, 128. Of war, 130—132. 134—139. Of navigation, 139. Of astronomy, 141. Of physic and surgery, 144.  
—, state of the, at Athens under Cimon, ii. 301.  
—, state of the, under Pericles, iii. 5, 6.  
—, flourishing state of the arts and sciences in Greece during the republican times, vi. 331. And especially at Athens, 332.
- Arundel marbles**, date of the, i. 200; viii. 129.
- Asdrubal**, derivation of the name, vii. 23.
- Asia**, origin of science in, i. 6, 7.  
—, treaty for the emancipation of the Asian Greeks, v. 290.  
—, notice of the people of, ix. 58, 59. Remarks on the origin of its name, 193. note, 194. Constitution of the Asiatic states, 207, 208. Alexander's winter campaign in Asia, and measures of the Persian armament under Memnon against Greece, 217—252. Examples of Asiatic character, 229, 230; x. 47. Alexander's second campaign in, 253—322. His third campaign in, 323—358.  
—, his fourth campaign in, x. 1—36. His conduct to the conquered states in, 4. Account of the Asiatic mountaineers, 40, 41. Description of the climate of Asia, 41, 42. Alexander's fifth campaign in Asia, which completed the conquest of the Persian empire, 37—89. Description of the climate of Asia, 42, 43. and note. Remarks on the orthography of Asiatic names, 192, 193. note.
- Asia Minor**, early civilisation of, i. 30. The early inhabitants of, the same with those who inhabited Thrace and Greece, 63, 64. Geographical situation of, 65. Troy, the first powerful settlement on its coast, 66. Early migration from Greece to, 309. Account of the Æolic migration, 310. Of the Ionic migration, 311. Carian colonies planted there, 312.  
—, notice of the Grecian commonwealths in, ii. 3. Revolt of the Asian Greeks against Persia, and consequent war, 44—58. Subjugation of the Asian Greeks, 58, 59.  
—, character of the country and people of, ix. 225—229.
- Asine**, in Laconia, ravaged by the Arcadians, vi. 209.
- Asisines**, a Persian noble, intercepted by a Macedonian party, ix. 221. Discovery made in consequence thereof, ib. ?
- Asopius**, son of Phormion, naval operations of, iii. 179. Death of, ib.
- Asopus**, river, account of, ii. 123, 124.
- Aspasia**, daughter of Axiochus, Pericles and Socrates indebted to her for the cultivation of their minds, iii. 2, 3. Her uncommon beauty and talents, 4. Attended by the ladies of Athens for the instruction of her conversation, 5. Her attachment to Pericles, ib. Dramatic abuse of, 7.
- Aspendians**, their proposition to Alexander, ix. 230. Their duplicity, 231. The city of Aspendus described, 232. It capitulates to Alexander, ib.

- Ἄσπις*, the shield, always implies a heavy-armed soldier, iv. 243.
- Assakene Indians, oppose Alexander, x. 121. They retreat to their capital, ib. Are repulsed in a sally, 122. Repel an assault, ib. Death of their chief, ib. Surrender of their town, 123. and note. Revolt against Alexander, 129. and note. Their rebellion quelled, 130. They again revolt, 150.
- Assassinations, common, among the oligarchal party at Athens, iv. 188, 189. Not to be excused, vi. 241. Approved and rewarded by the Athenians, vii. 346; viii. 382. Of his eighty illegitimate brothers by Artaxerxes Ochus, ix. 143.
- Assassins, estimation in which they were held under the Athenian democracy, v. 86.
- Assyria, one of the earliest civilised countries, i. 4. Boundaries of the Assyrian empire, ii. 11. Account of, x. 294, 295.
- Astes, an Indian prince, opposes Alexander, x. 115. Is slain, ib.
- Astronomy known to the Babylonians at a very early period, i. 5. The first knowledge of, brought to Egypt from Asia, 6. Improvements in, by the Egyptians, ib. State of, in the early ages of Greece, 142—144.
- Astydamia, daughter of Pelops, i. 31.
- Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian commander, operations of, iv. 164—168.
- Astypalæa synonymous with the English Alton, and Aldborough, vi. 326. note.
- Athenagoras, a Syracusan leader, his speech at the general assembly of the people, respecting the Athenian invasion, iv. 42.
- Athenodorus, the Athenian, sent on an expedition to Thrace, vii. 352. Fails in his object, 353. Presides over the abdication of Kersobleptes, viii. 69.
- Athens, origin and rise of, i. 43. Uncertain succession of the early Athenian kings, 45. note. Account of the improvements introduced by Theseus into the Athenian government, 57—62. The Athenians the first civilised among the Greeks, 61. History of Athens from the Trojan war, to the appointment of hereditary archons, 305—308. Administration and powers of the hereditary archons, 324—327. Legislation of Draco, 327. History of Athens to the legislation of Solon, 328—333. Reformation of the Athenian government and jurisprudence by him, 333—351. Composition of the Athenian army, 351—355. History of Athens, from the legislation of Solon to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, and the first public transaction with Persia, 356—379.
- , the Athenians solicit the aid of the Persian king against Lacedæmon, ii. 47. Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Eubœans, ib. The invaders defeated, 48. The Attic coast ravaged by the Eginetans, 49. Alliance between Athens and Lacedæmon, 68. War between Athens and Ægina, 72, 73. Defeat of the Persians at the battle of Marathon, 81, 82. Growing ambition of Athens, 86. Effects of party-spirit there, 86—89. Herodotus's opinion of the credit due to the Athenians in the preservation of Greece against Persia, 102. Causes for their opposition to the Persian power, 103, 104. First public measure suggested by Themistocles for the defence of Athens, 104. Response of the Delphian oracle, and its interpretation, which led the Athenians to rely principally on their navy, 105—107. Policy of their counsels, 132. Deserted by the Peloponnesians, they remove their families from Attica, 144. Nature of "Ostracism" at Athens, 145. Superstition of the serpent at, 146. The city taken by the Persians, 147. Return of the Athenians to their country, after the battle of Salamis, 166. Offer dedications to the gods, for the victory, 167, 168. And decree honours to Themistocles, 168, 169. Congress at Athens, 171—177. The Athenians again abandon their country, and remove to Salamis, 177, 178. Their zeal for the prosecution of the Persian war, 178. Dispute of the Tegeans with, for precedence, 184. Of their dispute with the Lacedæmonians respecting the honours of the "Aristeia," 202. The Athenians send a colony to Thurium, 239, 240. Honours paid by the Athenians to those who fell at Marathon, 254. Erect a monument to their memory, ib. Measures adopted by Themistocles for rebuilding and fortifying Athens, 255. Jealousy of the Peloponnesians, 256—258. Administration of Themistocles, 257—266. Parties at Athens, 265—270. Banishment of Themistocles, 270. Prosecution of the war against Persia, 272, 273. Advantages derived to them, from the treason of Pausanias, 279. Athens at the head of a new confederacy, ib. Changes which took place in the government, 283. The seat of science and arts, under Cimon, 301—304. Extension of the power of Athens, 305. The Athenians reduce the Thasians to obedience, 306. Assist the Lacedæmonians against the revolt of the Helots, 310. Renounce the confederacy with Lacedæmon, 311. Form an alliance with Argos and the Thessalians, ib. Change of administration at Athens, 313, 314. Circumstances which promoted the power of the commonwealth, 314, 315. Difficulties of the new administration, 315—317. Great men at Athens during this period, 316, 317. 323, 324. De-

pression of the court of Areopagus, 318. Gratifications provided for the Athenians by Pericles, 319. Expedition to Egypt, 320. Involved in a war with the Corinthians, 322. Hostilities between Athens and Lacedæmon, 325, 326. Successes of the Athenians under Myronides, 327—329. Important work for the protection of Athens, 331. Successes of the Athenians under Tolmides, *ib.* Conclusion of the expedition to Egypt, 334. War with Thessaly, 335. Expedition, under Pericles, to the western coast of Greece, 335, 336. Coalition of parties at, and recall of Cimon, 336. Truce of five years with Lacedæmon, 338. Long walls of Athens, *ib.* Restoration of the order of knights, or cavalry, *ib.* Colony of Athenian families sent to the Chersonese, 341. Expedition to Cyprus, 342. Extent of the Athenian power at this period, 345. State of parties at the death of Cimon, 346—348. Tolmides sent to reduce the Bœotians, 348, 349. Concludes a treaty with them, 349. A truce of thirty years concluded with the Peloponnesians, 352.

Athens, state of science, arts, and fine taste at Athens, under the administration of Pericles, *iii.* 1. 3. 5. 6. Popular licentiousness, 7. The Athenian empire asserted and extended, 8, 9. The Athenians interfere in the war between Samos and Miletus, 13. Success of the armament under Pericles, *ib.* General solemnity at Athens in honour of the slain in their country's service, 16. War with Macedonia, 35, 36. With Corinth, 38—41. Rejection of the proposals from Lacedæmon, 62. State of the Athenian confederacy, 73. Practice since the first Persian invasion with respect to the military command, 75. Resources of the commonwealth in money, and military and naval force, 75, 76. Operations connected with the invasion of Attica, 78, 79. Of the Athenian fleet in the western seas under Carcinus, 81, 82. Ravage of the Peloponnesian coast, and acquisition of Cephallenia to the Athenian confederacy, 83, 84. Operations of the Athenian fleet in the eastern seas under Cleopompus, 83. Measures for the security of Athens, 84. Extermination of the Æginetans, 85. Invasion and ravage of Megaris by the Athenians, 86. Alliance negotiated with Sitalces, king of Thrace, and Perdiccas king of Macedonia, 88, 89. Public funeral at Athens, in honour of the slain in their country's service, *ib.* Account of the pestilence at Athens, 91—96. Operations of the Athenian fleet on the Peloponnesian coast, under Pericles, 97. And on the Macedonian coast, under Agnon, 98.

Effects of popular discontent at Athens, 98, 99. An Athenian squadron stationed in the western sea, 104. Surrender of Potidæa to the Athenians, 104, 105. Death of Pericles, 105. Operations of the Athenians on the northern coast of the Ægean, 115, 116. Sea-fight between the Athenian fleet, under Phormion, and the Peloponnesian fleet, under Machaon, 120—122. And with the fleet under Cnemus, 124—127. Attempt to surprise Piræus, 127, 128. Success of Phormion in Acarnania, 129, 130. Formidable state of the Athenian navy, 138. Distress and exertions of Athens, 139, 140. Transactions of Paches on the Ionian coast, 145—149. State of the Athenian government after the death of Pericles, 150, 151. Inhuman decree against the Mitylenæans, 153—156. Operations of the Athenian fleets, under Nicostratus and Eurymedon, at Corcyra, 168—173. A squadron sent to Sicily, under Laches, 175, 176. End of the pestilence at Athens, 176. Power and resources of the government, 177. Operations of Nicias on the eastern side of Greece, 178. And of Demosthenes on the western, 179. His defeat near Ægittium, 181, 182. And important successes in Acarnania, 190. Conquest in Sicily projected by the Athenian administration, 193. Pylus occupied by Demosthenes, 195—198. Blockade of Sphacteria, 207. Cleon appointed general of the Athenian forces, 210. Attack upon Sphacteria, 213—215. Surrenders to the Athenian forces, 215. Decree respecting the prisoners, 217. Application for peace from Lacedæmon, 217. Expedition, under Nicias, to the Corinthian coast, 221. The Lacedæmonian island of Cythera, and Æginetan settlement at Thyrea, taken by the Athenians, 227, 228. Inhumanity of the Athenians, 228. Effects of the superiority gained by Athens in the war, 228, 229. How satirised by Aristophanes, 230. The port of Nisæa taken by the Athenians, 232. Their attempt against Bœotia, 241. Battle of Delium, 244. Siege of Delium, 246, 247. Negotiation for peace with Lacedæmon, 260. Remarkable instance of Athenian superstition, 271, 272. State of Athens after the death of Pericles, 272. The Athenians defeated at Amphipolis, 277, 280. Negotiation for peace between Lacedæmon and Athens, 283—287. A partial peace concluded, 287. Alliance of Lacedæmon with, 290. Tyranny and superstition of the Athenian people, 298. Athens at the head of a confederacy in Peloponnesus, 316. Impatience of the office of general of the Athenian commonwealth, 319. Inimical conduct to Lacedæmon, 323. Defeat of

- the Athenians near Mantinea, 333, 334. Overthrow of the Athenian interest in Peloponnesus, 341. The Athenians besiege and take Melos, 345—346. Their atrocious inhumanity, 347.
- Athens, their first interference in the affairs of Sicily, iv. 13, 14. Contention of parties at Athens, 22, 23. Assistance voted to the Egestans, 24. And Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus appointed to the command, 26. Debates on the Sicilian expedition, 26—32. Mutilation of the terms of Mercury, and its consequences, 34. Completion of the preparations for the Sicilian expedition, and departure of the fleet, 37, 38. Force of the Athenian armament, and its measures, 42, 43. Debate of the generals, 44—49. Intrigues, tumult, popular panic, and their consequences, at Athens, 50—53. First measures against Syracuse, 55—57. Operations of the army in Sicily, 68—70. Siege of Syracuse, 70—86. Hostilities against Athens by Lacedæmon, 86, 87. Re-enforcements sent to Sicily, 87. Naval action in the harbour of Syracuse, 89, 90. The Athenians suffer from the occupation of Decelea by the Lacedæmonians, 92, 93. Distress of Athens, 93, 94. Tax upon the states subject to, 94. Naval action in the Corinthian gulf, 98, 99. Naval actions of the Athenians in the harbour of Syracuse, 100, 101. Re-enforcements sent thither under Demosthenes and Eurymedon, 104. Assault of Epipolæ by the Athenians, 105—107. Who were defeated there, 107, 108. Debates concerning their retreat, 109—111. Effect of an eclipse of the moon on, 112. Fourth naval action, 115. The Athenians prepare for retreat, 117—119. Account of their retreat from Syracuse, 119—131. Execution of Nicias and Demosthenes, 131. Catastrophe of the Athenians, 132—134. Effects, at Athens, of the news of the overthrow in Sicily, 135, 136. Council of elders created, 137, 138. The Athenians direct their attention to repair their misfortunes, 143. Their naval success in the Saronic gulf, 151. Vigorous measures of the Athenians, 153, 154. Progress of revolt against Athens, 157—159. Exertions of the Athenians, 159. Recover their naval superiority, and besiege Chios, 159, 160. Defeat the Chians, 160. Their success against the Milesians, 161. Plot for changing the constitution of Athens, 175, 176. Proposition to the people, 179. Public decree: political clubs, 181, 182. Progress of the plot for a revolution, 187, 188. Violence of the oligarchal party, 188. Proposed new form of government, 190. Establishment of the new council of administration, 192—194. Measures of the new government, 194, 195. Overtures for peace with Lacedæmon, 195. Opposition of the fleet and army at Samos to the new government, 196—200. Restoration of Alcibiades decreed by the Athenian armament, 203—206. Elected general, 204. Critical situation of Athens, 208. Result of the proceedings of the commissioners sent to the armament at Samos, 209, 210. Beneficial conduct of Alcibiades, 210. Schism in the new government of Athens, 212—221. A second revolution, 221, 222. Transactions of the fleet under Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus, 223, 227. Sea-fight near Abydus, 231. Naval action near Cyzicus, and capture of the Peloponnesian fleet, 234, 235. Effects of the naval successes of the Athenians, 240. Transactions of Thrasyllus, on the Asiatic coast, 243—248. Important successes of Alcibiades, 248—252. Captures Byzantium, 252, 253. Strong party in Athens against him, 254. His reception by the Athenians, 255, 256. Who elect him governor-general, or commander-in-chief, with supreme authority, 256, 257. Sea-fight of Notium, 265. The Athenians dismiss Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, 268. Faction at Athens, 269, 270. Great exertions of the Athenians, 276. Sea-fight of Arginussæ, 278—281. Proceedings connected with the impeachment and condemnation of the generals who commanded there, 282—291. Defective polity of the Athenians, and great superiority of the British government, 291—296. Instances of Grecian atrocity excupated by instances in France, 291. Unsteadiness of the Athenian government, 305, 306. Measures of the fleets, 306, 307. Battle of Ægospotami, 309—311. Grief and alarm at Athens in consequence, 313. Siege of Athens by the Lacedæmonians, 318, 319. Capitulates to them, 321. The long walls destroyed, 322. The popular assembly abolished, and the supreme authority committed to a council of thirty, *ib.*
- Athens, character of the Athenian democracy, v. 8—10. Judicature, 10, 11. Public revenue, 12—22. Sycophancy, 22—24. Tyranny of democracy, 24—26. Theatrical satire, 26—28. Law of treason, 29, 30. First measures of the supreme council of thirty, 31. Government of the thirty, 33—37, 39—46. Their further violence, 49, 50. Civil war against them, 52—55. The thirty deposed, and a council of ten elected, 56. The Athenian democracy restored, 63, 64. Illustrations, from the orators and philosophers, of the civil history of Athens, and the condition of the Athenian people, between the ages of Pericles and Demosthenes, 68—108.

Athens, restoration of the long walls of Athens, vi. 33. Advantages bestowed on the Athenians by Conon, 33. Phliasia ravaged by Iphicrates, the Athenian general, 37. And Arcadia overrun, 38. His operations in Corinth, 46—48. His further successes, 49. A fleet sent to Asia under Thrasybulus, 60, 61. His successes, 60—63. Iphicrates commander of the Athenian forces in Asia, 65. Connection of Athens with Cyprus, 69. Change in the Athenian politics, adverse to Thebes, 127. The Athenians ally themselves with Thebes, and declare war against Lacedæmon, 131. Their fleet defeats the Lacedæmonians near Naxus, 139. They gain possession of Corcyra, *ib.* Accommodation, and subsequent breach between them and the Lacedæmonians, 142. They re-enforce Corcyra, now besieged by Mnasippus, 145. Despatch an expedition to the island under Iphicrates, 146. Negotiate a general peace at Lacedæmon, 156. Recall the fleet under Iphicrates, 160. Congress of the states of Greece at Athens, 179, 180. Deliberations on the danger of Lacedæmon at Athens, 198. The Athenians determine to assist the Lacedæmonians against Thebes, 200. Take the command alternately with the Lacedæmonians, 204. Causes of the superiority of Athens, 207. An Athenian army sent to Thessaly, 215. Ministers sent to the congress at Susa, 216. Athens quiet and flourishing to this time from that of the restoration of democracy, 243. Sketch of the state of Athens afforded by Isocrates, 245, 246. The Athenian exiles become masters of Oropus, 246. Athens enters into an alliance with Arcadia, 248. Loses the alliance of Corinth, 249. The Attic territory enjoys peace during the Theban war, 281. Athens successfully opposes Epaminondas by sea, 282. Relieves Mantinea with a body of horse, 290. Athens, the seat of science, arts, and commerce, 331, 332.

—, the Athenians excite the Pydnæans to revolt, vii. 239. Intercourse between them and Macedonia, 250. Hostility of, to Olynthus, 252. War with Macedonia, 261. The Athenians join Argæus, 264. Defeated by Philip of Macedon, 268. Make peace with Philip, 270. Affairs of Athens from the general peace following the battle of Mantinea, to the renewal of war between Macedonia and Athens, 276—321. Account of eminent men at Athens, 277. The commonwealth restored by Thrasybulus, 277, 278. Unsteadiness of its government, 280, 281. Its subserviency to popular passion, 283, 284. Theatrical entertainments

at, 284. Decay of military valour, and employment of mercenaries, 285—287. Confederacy between Athens and some small states, 288, 289. Exaction of tribute from them, 291. Revenue at Athens, 292, 293. Athenian colony at Amphipolis, 294, 295. Opposition of Athens to Olynthus, 297, 298. Athens forms a connection with Ariobarzanes, 299. The Athenians send an expedition to Asia, *ib.* Take and garrison Potidæa, and Torone, 300, 301. Their perfidious behaviour to Philip, 301. Appoint Iphicrates to the command against Amphipolis, 303. Send Timotheus in his stead, *ib.* Their alliance with Cotys, 307. Acquire Amphipolis, 309. Decree honours to Charidemus, 310. Increased extent of their empire, 311. Their mal-administration, 312. And oppression of their allies, 314. Revolt of their allies, 315, 316. Send Timotheus against Eubœa, 319. Affairs of, from the renewal of hostility between them and Macedonia, to the end of the war between the Athenians and their allies, called the confederate, or social war, 323.—371. Weight of testimony of the Athenian orators, 323, 324. Surprise created by the alliance of Olynthus and Macedonia, 326. Negotiation with Macedonia and Olynthus, 326—327. War with their allies, 340. The Athenians assist Miltocythes, 341. Their conduct to Charidemus, 342. Decree honours to Python, 346. Assassination approved and rewarded by the Athenians, *ib.* Send Cephisodotus to Thrace, *ib.* Condemn him to pay a fine, 347. Political principles of their administration, 348. Encourage rebellion in Thrace, 349—351. Send Athenodorus thither, 352. Change of administration, 353. Chabrias ordered to Thrace, *ib.* Slow progress of the social war, 354. Chares and Chabrias proceed against Chios, 355. Failure of the enterprise, 356. An expedition sent against Samos, 358. Character of the Athenians, 359, 360. They negotiate with the allies, 364. And conclude a peace with them, 370, 371.

Athens, interference of the Athenians with the temple of Delphi, viii. 9, 10. Favourable to the cause of Phocis, 37. Politics and circumstances of, 51, 52. Violent measure of, against Macedonia, 54. Parties at Athens, 59, 60. Banishment of Leosthenes, 60. Orators of Athens, *ib.* First oration of Demosthenes, 66. Proceedings against Kersobleptes, 68, 69. The Athenians conquer the Chersonese, 69, 70. Proceedings of the war party, 73. They use the treasury at Delphi, 74, 75. Alarmed at the victories of Philip, send Diophantus to Thermopylæ, 81. Decree honours to him, 82. Justin's

account of the arrogance of the Athenians, 83. Troops furnished by, to the Phocians, 87. State of parties, and leaders in Athens, 89—92. Its settlements in Scythia, 94, 95. Solicited by the Megalopolitans, 109. Change of policy toward Phocis, 112. Appoint Phocion against Eubœa, 125. State of Athens, 131. Triumph of the war party at, 137. The Athenians send ministers throughout Greece, 138. Their ill success, 139. Chares sent to Olynthus, 142, 143. His conduct there defended by his friends at Athens, 152—154. Effects of the fall of Olynthus, 156, 157. Phrynon and Ctesiphon sent to Macedonia, 158. The Athenians annul a decree against Macedonia, 159. Their connection with Phocis, 159, 160. Uneasiness of the public mind, 163. Aristodemus sent to Macedonia, 164. And an embassy to Macedonia, 166. It proceeds to Pella, 168. Its audience with Philip, 168, 169. Its report at home, 169. Policy of the war party at Athens, 170, 171. Meeting of the Synedrians at, 172. Arrival of the Macedonian ambassadors at, 173. Peace concluded with Macedonia, 174. Departure of the Macedonian ambassadors, 176. Robbery of the Delphian treasury by, 179. Send an embassy to Philip, 183. Audience given to it, 188. Its return home, 192. Its report, 193, 194. The Athenians addressed by Philip, 194. Receive a second address from Philip, and refuse to accede to his request, 196. Propositions respecting Phocis, 197. Panic occasioned at Athens by the arrival of Dercylus, 219. The Athenians receive a letter from Philip, 220. Its effect, 221. Policy of the party of Chares, 225, 226. Popular interest favouring the party, 227. Prosecution of hostile purposes against Macedonia, 228. Oration of Demosthenes on the peace, 228, 229. Invective against Macedonia, 234. Accusation of Philocrates, *ib.* Decree concerning Amphipolis, 236. Accusation of Æschines by Timarchus, 237. Second philippic of Demosthenes, *ib.* Accusation of Æschines by him, 238, 239. The island of Halonnesus claimed from Macedon by the Athenians, and why, 245. Embassy sent to assert the claim, *ib.* Reply of Philip to it, 245, 246. And oration of Hegesippus on the subject, 247—254. Decline of the Athenian interest in Greece, 257—259. Exertions of the war party, 259. A colony sent to the Thracian Chersonese, 259, 260. Diopithes commander in Thrace, 260. Athenian democratical policy, 261. Oration of Demosthenes on the Chersonese, 263—265. Occasion of his third philippic, and its effect, 265—268. Hostile conduct against Ma-

cedonia, 268, 269. Surrender of Halonnesus to the Athenians, 269. Character of the office of first minister, 270, 273. Negotiations with Persia, 275, 276. New coalition with Phocion's party, 277. Embassy of Demosthenes to the Hellespontine cities, 277, 278. Subjection of Eubœa, 278. Preponderance procured by Demosthenes for the Athenian party in Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium, 280. Decree proposed by Eubulus respecting an embassy to Macedonia, 282, 283. Philip's answer to the embassy, 283, 284. Circumstances which gave rise to Demosthenes's fourth philippic, 284. The Athenians appoint Chares to the command in the Hellespont, 300. And send Phocion to supersede him, 301. The extent of their dominion beyond Greece, 304. Privileges conferred upon them by the Byzantines, 305, 306. By the Chersonesites, 306, 307. Demosthenes goes as an Amphictyon to Delphi, 307. The number of Amphictyons sent by the Athenians, 309. Send Æschines as an Amphictyon, *ib.* Claim upon the Athenians by the Amphissians, 311. and note. States composing the Athenian confederacy, 324—326. How connected with Thebes, 327. Send their mercenaries to assist the Amphissians, 328. Critical situation of the Athenian war party, 329. Advantages to Athens of the Theban alliance, *ib.* Contest of parties at Athens, 333, 334. Decrees against Philip, 334, 335. The Athenians receive answers from Philip, 335, 336. and note. Alarm created at Athens respecting the garrison of Elatea, 338, 339. Unusual decree of the Athenians, 340, 341. They send an embassy to Thebes, 343. Alliance between Athens and Thebes, 345. Their operations, 345, 346. Debates at Athens, 348. They refuse to treat with Philip, 349. March of the Athenian and Theban army against Philip, 355. and note. They are defeated at Chæronea, 356. Alarm at Athens in consequence, 356, 357. The Athenians send Æschines to Philip, 360. And an embassy to him, 362. The war party decree an oration for the slain at Chæronea, 364. And choose Demosthenes to deliver it, 365. Elect him proveditor, 367.

Athens, remarks on the constitution of, *ix.* 30. The Athenians send an embassy to Alexander the Great, 88. Proceedings at Athens, 117. Resolutions of the Athenians on the capture of Thebes, 128. They send an embassy to Alexander, *ib.* And receive a letter from him, 130. Present a petition to him, 131. Receive a present from Alexander, 193. They send another embassy to Alexander,

245. and note. They send a deputation to Alexander at Tyre, 325. Reject the bribes offered by Darius, 326. Present received by them from Alexander, 318, 349.
- Athens, the Athenians secretly negotiate with Lacedæmon, x. 6. Amount of voters in the general assembly at Athens, 7. State of Athens during the campaigns of Alexander, 315—318. The Athenians send an embassy to the queen of Molossis, 319. Contest between Æschines and Demosthenes at Athens, 319—323. Accusation of Demosthenes, 327.
- Athos, canal of, motive of Xerxes for constructing, ii. 92, 93. Historical testimony for, 92. note.
- Atimy, meaning of the term, v. 95. 100.
- Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, notice of, ii. 92. note.
- Atreus, king of Argos, reign of, i. 33. Fabulous accounts of him, 33, 34. notes.
- Atrometus, meaning of the word, viii. 92. note.
- Atropates, the Persian, made satrap of Media, x. 83. Subdues a rebellion, 280. His daughter married to Perdiccas, 286. He sends a present of one hundred armed Amazonian women to Alexander, 329.
- Attagnus, the Theban, one of the heads of the faction which led the Bœotians to the Persian alliance, ii. 202. Flees from Thebes on the appearance of Pausanias, 203.
- Attalus, the Macedonian, sent on an expedition into Asia, viii. 379.
- accused of treason and acquitted, x. 32. His appointment, 76. Sent against Ora, 124. His station at the passage of the Hydaspes, 140. Notice of, 195. Passes a night in the temple of Serapis, 368.
- Attic dialect, over what state it extended, i. 167.
- Attica, soil of, i. 11. Natural circumstances of, 42. Early population and civilisation of its inhabitants, 41. Their condition before the time of Ægeus, 46. The Attic people divided into three factions, 333. Manner in which the country was divided, analogous to shires, hundreds, and tithings, 340, 341.
- , invasion of, by the Peloponnesians, ii. 350, 351.
- invaded and ravaged by the Peloponnesians, iii. 79, 80. Second invasion, 91. Third invasion, 132. Fifth invasion of, 193. (See Athens.)
- Auction, farming of the Athenian taxes by, v. 104.
- Auger, M., remarks respecting various points of Grecian history, vii. 324. note; 366. note; viii. 114. note; 120, 121. note; 141—143. note; 287. 319. 342. 370. note; ix. 64. note. Translation of a passage in letter to Isocrates, vi. 265. note. Character of his translation, viii. 143. note.
- Augury, in great repute among the ancient Greeks, i. 99.
- Aulis, assembly of the Grecian chieftains at, i. 70.
- Austanes, the Parætac, excites a revolt, x. 84. Taken prisoner, 84. 89.
- Autariats, the, how kept in awe, ix. 103.
- Autocles, the Athenian, sent against Thrace, vii. 341.
- Ἀυτοκράτωρ, signification of, iv. 256, 257.
- Autophradates, the Persian, takes Mitylene, ix. 240. Arrives at Halicarnassus, 288.
- , Alexander's treatment of, x. 21. Appointed governor of Mardia, 22.
- Ἀυτοπάλης, explanation of, ii. 2. note.
- Azelmic, king of Tyre, notice of, ix. 296, 297. 302.
- Babylon, every known alphabet to be traced to the neighbourhood of, i. 5.
- , notice of, ii. 11.
- , account of the Babylonish religion, ix. 345. Babylon surrendered by Mazæus to Alexander, 346. Its foundation and site, 347.
- , how embellished by Alexander, x. 334. Entered by him, 336. Account of the embassies there to Alexander, 337—340. Chosen as the capital of Asia by him, 340. His improvements there, 342. 346—348. Death of Alexander at, 369.
- Babylonians, the, acquainted with astronomy and dialling, at a very early period, i. 5.
- Bacchus, or Dionysus, traditions in Greece respecting his expedition to India, x. 130—132. The supposed founder of Nysa, 133. Sacrifices to, by Alexander, 134, 135.
- Bactria, or Bactriana, description of, x. 39. The Bactrians desert from Bessus, 53. They revolt against Alexander, 61. Macedonian army re-enforced in the capital, 69. Macedonian garrison in, 77, 78. Alexander's return to, 89. Discussions at an entertainment given there by him, 94, 95.
- Bagóas, the eunuch, account of, ix. 156, 157. Directs the affairs in the eastern part of the Persian empire, 157. Said to have poisoned Artaxerxes, 160. Also his successor Arses, 161. His death, ib.
- Baiæ, bay of, its situation, ii. 245.
- Bal, or Baal, meaning of the title, vii. 23. note.
- , temple of, at Babylon, rebuilt by Alexander, x. 334.
- Bacchiadæ, the, put to death the reigning prince of Corinth, i. 239.
- Ballot, judgment on life and death decided by, at Athens, iv. 291. Reproof of this plan, ib.
- Bank, the temple at Delphi became the great bank of Greece, i. 178. That of



- Apollo, at Branchidæ, became the national bank of the Dorians, *ib.* The establishment of one at Athens, projected by Xenophon, v. 20.
- Βασιθεον*, original meaning of, ii. 89. note.
- Barbarity of the Grecian system of war, iii. 104.
- Barber, Athenian, anecdote of his garrulity, iv. 135. How punished, 136.
- Bards, qualifications and authority of, in the early ages of Greece, i. 156.
- Bardylis, prince of Illyria, compels Amyntas to quit Macedonia, vii. 247. Is slain, 272.
- Barrows, sepulchral, origin of, ii. 99. Alluded to by Homer, *ib.* note. Still in use, in Spain, *ib.* note. Those erected to the memory of the slain at Plataea, distinguished to following ages, 201. Erected by the Athenians, 254.
- Barsine, married to Alexander the Great, x. 285.
- Barthelemi, M., his deficiencies and errors exposed, v. 2. note. Has not with sufficient care distinguished the practices of distant ages, 303. note. Implicitly follows the narrative of Pausanias respecting Epaminondas, vi. 188. note. Has done little towards the illustration of the political history of Greece, 283. note. His panegyric on, and attempted justification of, Dion, vii. 182. note.
- Baryaxes, a Mede, his revolt and execution, x. 280.
- Barzaentes, assassinates Darius, x. 18. Condemned to death by Alexander, 26.
- Bashaw, remarks on the orthography of the word, x. 192, 193. note. Dignity of the office, 347.
- Βασιλεύς* and *Ἀναξ*, distinction between, i. 104. note.
- Battering-rams, when first used by the Greeks, iii. 113.
- Battle, order of, as described by Homer, i. 132.
- of Marathon, ii. 81—84. Of Thermopylae, 124—130. Of Plataea, 194—199. Of the Strymon, 204. Of Himera, 223. 228—230. note. Of Eurymedon, 286. Of Tanagra, 326. Of Ctenophyta, 328. Of Coronea, 349.
- of Potidæa, iii. 40. Of Stratus, 118, 119. Near Æginitium, 183. Of Olpæ, 189. Of Idomene, 191, 192. Of Delium, 242—244. Of Amphipolis, 277—279. Near Mantinea, 331—333.
- of Miletus, iv. 161. Of Ægospotami, 308—311.
- of Cunaxa, v. 158—162. Of the Pactolus, 317.
- of Corinth, vi. 6, 7. Of Coronea, 15—17. Of Leuctra, 162—166. The "Tearless" battle, 212. Battle of Olympia, 268. Of Mantinea, 294—297.
- Battle of Crimesus, vii. 211, 212. Of Edessa, 268.
- near the Pagasæan bay, viii. 81. Of Tamynæ, 126. Of Hyampolis, 181. Of Hedylium, 182. Near Byzantium, 301. Of Chæronea, 356.
- of Pellion, ix. 102. Of the Granicus, 185—193. Of Issus, 277—287. Of Arbela, or Gaugamela, 336—346.
- of the Hydaspes, x. 139—141. (See Sea-fight.)
- Bayle, M., confirmation of his remark respecting Miltiades, ii. 89. note.
- Bazira, invested by Cœnus, x. 124. The Bazirenes retreat to Aornos, *ib.* They defend it against Alexander, 127. But afterwards capitulate, 128.
- Bedoween, or Bedouin, remarks on the orthography of, x. 193.
- Bellerophon, or Bellerophontes, a prince of Corinth, i. 22. 64.
- Bessus, the Bactrian, his treachery to Darius, x. 16. The command devolves to him, 17. Privy to the murder of Darius, 18. Aspires to the throne of Persia, 19. Allowed to take the imperial dignity, 25. His measures to obstruct Alexander, 40. His retreat to the river Oxus, 53. Surrenders to Alexander, 56. His treatment, 56, 57. His barbarous death, 70, 71.
- Beton, one of the principal engineers in Alexander's army, notice of, ix. 79.
- Bireme, the most perfect representation of, in the Vatican museum at Rome, ii. 162.
- Bisthanes the Persian, his interview with Alexander, x. 13. and note.
- Bithynians, the, attacked and pillaged by the Arcadians, v. 231. The latter besieged and surrounded by the Bithynians, 232, 233. Success of the stratagem of Xenophon against them, 233. War of the Greeks with, 239—241. Attack the Cyrean army, 233. 238—241. Hostile character of, 283. Dercyllidas winters among them, 283.
- Blackstone, Judge, his Commentaries quoted, ix. 38.
- Body-warden, office of, ix. 84. note.
- Bœotarchs, power of, i. 304. Office of, explained, vi. 128, 129. Contest of Demosthenes with them, viii. 350, 351. Their assembly noticed, ix. 57.
- Bœotia, boundaries of, i. 11. Natural circumstances of, 38. Sketch of the history of Bœotia, after the Trojan war, 302—304. Its government, 304, 305.
- , campaign in, ii. 179. et seq. The towns in, admitted to the Peloponnesian confederacy, 327. Revolt of the Bœotians, 348. They lose Chæronea, *ib.* Defeat the Athenians at Coronea, 349. Concludes a treaty with them, *ib.*
- , plan for effecting a revolution in favour of the Athenians, iii. 229.

- Attempts of the Athenians against Bœotia, 241. The forces of the Bœotians assembled at Tanagra, 242. Conduct of Pagondas, *ib.* Battle of Delium, 243. Reciprocal imputation of impiety between the Bœotians and Athenians, 245, 246. Siege of Delium, 246, 247. Deceive the Lacedæmonians, 303. Treaty of Lacedæmon with, 304. Their conduct to the Athenians respecting the fort of Panactum, 305. Bœotia, massacre in, by the Thracian auxiliaries, *iv.* 95.
- , insult offered by the Bœotians to Agesilaus, *v.* 308.
- , plundered and wasted by Agesilaus, *vi.* 133. Reduced to subjection under Thebes, 140. Enjoys peace during the war with Athens, 280.
- , the Bœotians supplicate Philip, *viii.* 209. Arrangement of its affairs, 361. (See *Thebes.*)
- Boges, the Persian commander, his ferocious heroism at the siege of Eion, *ii.* 281.
- Bolingbroke, Lord, his remarks on the qualifications of Demosthenes, *viii.* 273.
- Booanga, or canoe, description of, *ii.* 164. Its strong resemblance to an ancient war-galley, 164, 165.
- Books, scarcely known in the age of Pisisstratus, *iii.* 2.
- Border lands, of neighbouring Grecian republics, usually consecrated to some deity, *viii.* 22.
- Bore, or tide of the Indus, explanation of, *x.* 198, 199. note.
- Boreas, ancient tradition respecting, *ii.* 117. Prayers of the Athenians to, *ib.*
- Bosporns, toll imposed on vessels passing the, *vi.* 70.; *viii.* 229.
- Boundaries of Greece, *i.* 10.
- Boundary of the Athenian territory engraved on a pillar, *i.* 305.
- Bowmen, a valuable species of troops in Greece, *i.* 353.
- Boxing, when introduced into the Olympian games, *i.* 194.
- Bramin, Indian, account of one, *x.* 356, 357.
- Bramins, account of the siege of the town of the, *x.* 182—185.
- Branchidæ, temple of Apollo at, *i.* 178.
- Brasidas, the Spartan commander, gallant action of, *iii.* 82. His bravery at Pylus, 200. Temper and enterprising character of, 233. His operations in Megara, 236, 237. Marches into Thrace, 248, 249. Negotiates with Acanthus, 250, 251. Concerts a plan for gaining Amphipolis to the Lacedæmonian confederacy, 253—256. His wise conduct, 257. His successes in Thrace, 258, 259. Means by which he gained over the town of Scione, 262. Honours paid to him by the inhabitants, 262, 263. Extends his views to Potidæa and Mende, 262—264. Success
- of his negotiations, 264. Repulses the Illyrians, 266. Attempts to surprise Potidæa, 270. Defeats the Athenians at Amphipolis, 276—280. Receives his death-wound there, 280. Honours paid to his memory, 281. Reply of his mother respecting him, 281. Compared by Plato to Achilles, 282. Resemblance of his character to that of General Wolfe, *ib.* note.
- Bribery, universality of, at Athens, under the democracy, *v.* 22. The principal road to honours, 49, 50. Of the democratical leaders in the Grecian republic, 323.
- among the Macedonians, *viii.* 153—156.
- among the Persians, *x.* 6—9.
- Bridges, of boats, built over the Hellespont, by Xerxes, *ii.* 94.
- Britain, the silver fir, and evergreen oak, not found in, in Cæsar's time, *i.* 8. note. Grecian letters used in, 31. Ancient state of, as described by Spenser, 50. note.
- British constitution, structure of, *i.* 232. 333. Remarks on, *iv.* 292—296. 296. note; *ix.* 42, 43. 45—47.
- Islands, earliest mention of the, *ii.* 251, 252. note.
- Brundisium, foundation of, *i.* 317.
- Bryant, Mr. his conjecture respecting the appellation of ravens, borne as a distinguishing title by some of the Egyptian priests, *ix.* 316.
- Bubares, son of Megabazus, commander of the Persian fleet, *ii.* 92.
- Bucephala, on the Hydaspes, founded by Alexander, *x.* 147.
- Bucephalus, Alexander's favourite horse, death of, *x.* 147.
- Byres, Mr. his conjecture concerning the statue of the "Fighting Gladiator," *vi.* 288. note.
- Byzantium, situation and advantages of, *ii.* 273. Capitulation of, to Pausanias, *ib.*
- , captured by Alcibiades, *iv.* 252, 253.
- , transactions of the Cyrean army at, *v.* 250—252.
- , enters into alliance with Thebes, *vi.* 282.
- , revolts against Athens, *vii.* 315.
- , is assisted by the Chians, Rhodians, and Coans, *viii.* 303. Battle near, 301. The Byzantines confer privileges on the Athenians, 305, 306.
- Cabala, a town of Sicily, the Carthaginians under Magon defeated at, *vii.* 135.
- Cabiri, *i.* 17.
- Cadmæans, derivation of the name, *i.* 113. note.
- Cadmea, operations in the, *ix.* 109—112. 121.
- Cadmus, king of Thebes, adventures of, *i.* 39, 40. His name given to Bœotia, 113.

- Cadmus, of Miletus, one of the earliest Grecian prose-writers known to the ancients, i. 118, 198.
- Cadusians, the, negotiate with Darius, x. 13, 14.
- Cæsar, credit of, vindicated, i. 8, 9. note. Defence of his assertion that the "fagus" and "abies" were not found in Britain, 8. note.
- , comparison of, with Alexander the Great, x. 170, 171. and notes. Notice of, 218. The chief object of his invasion of Britain, 171. note; 344.
- Cairo, origin of, ix. 307.
- Calanus the Bramin, his friendship with Alexander, x. 356. Account of his death, 356, 357.
- Calarean confederacy, account of, i. 236, 237.
- Calchas, the seer of the Grecian army, i. 99.
- Callas, the Macedonian general, defeated, ix. 173. His situation in the army at the river Granicus, 186. Appointed satrap of Phrygia, 194.
- Callias, Athenian, notice of, ii. 352. His death, iii. 39, 40.
- Callias, founder of the Eubœan general assembly, how received at the Macedonian court, viii. 276. Favoured with the title of king's companion, ib.
- Callias and Taurosthenes of Eubœa, their projects, viii. 123, 124. The agents of Demosthenes, 304. Report of Callias to the Athenians, 308. and note.
- Callibius, the Tegean, projects the union of all Arcadia, vi. 185.
- Callicratidas, the Spartan, appointed commander of the Peloponnesian fleet, iv. 271. Manner in which he allays the discontent of the armament, 272, 273. His difficulties, and application to Sardis for relief, 273. Takes Methymne by assault, 274. His liberal patriotism, 275. Defeats Conon at Mitylene, ib. Forms the siege of that place, 276. Defeats Diomedon, 277. His death at Arginussæ, 280.
- Callines, a Macedonian, his conduct in the reconciliation between Alexander and his army, x. 308.
- Callippus, an Athenian, taken by Dion as his confidant, vii. 184. Betrays and plots against him, ib. Chosen autocrator-general, 185. Driven from Syracuse, and assassinated at Rhegium, 189.
- Callisthenes, the philosopher, his arrogant character, x. 93. His reply to Anaxorchus, 95, 96. His address to Alexander, 96, 97. His insolence to him, 98. His freedom of speech to Alexander, 102, 103. His apprehensions and death, 106, 107.
- Callistratus, the Athenian orator, joined in command with Iphicrates, vi. 155. Returns to Athens to forward peace, ib.
- Callixenus, the part he took in the accusation of the Athenian generals for their conduct at Arginussæ, iv. 286—288.
- Calonne, M., extract from his letter to Louis XVI., iv. 296. note.
- Calpe. See Port Calpe.
- Calydon, one of the principal towns in Greece, at the time of the siege of Troy, i. 40.
- , sketch of its history, iv. 319.; vi. 52, 53.
- Camarina, foundation of, i. 319.
- , notice of, ii. 216. Destroyed by Gelon, 220, 221.
- , its political connections, iv. 60. Answer to the embassy of Hermocrates to, 61.
- , how affected towards Syracuse, vii. 70. How governed under Timoleon, 223.
- Cambyses, accession of, to the throne of Persia, ii. 21. Invades and conquers Egypt, 23, 24. Subsequent conquests, ib.
- Campanian plain, description of the, ii. 244, 255.
- Campanians, origin of the, ii. 246. Obtain a footing in Naples, ib. And afterwards reduce Cuma, ib.
- Campanians, Italian mercenaries so called, commonly employed on both sides, in the Sicilian wars, vii. 30. Engaged for Agrigentum against Carthage, they now return to the Carthagian service, 34. A body of Campanian horse relieve Dionysius, under the command of Agyris, 64. Are quartered in Entella, 66. Where they settle, after slaying all the male inhabitants, ib.
- Campanians of Ætna, destroyed by Timoleon, vii. 216.
- Canal of Athos. See Athos.
- Canasida, notice of the town of, x. 249, 250.
- Canoe of the western islands of the Pacific Ocean, its strong resemblance to an ancient war-galley, ii. 164—166. How canoes were designated by the Greeks, i. 7. note.
- Canus, disquisition respecting that word, x. 192—194. note.
- Cappadocians, the, notice of, ix. 227. Submit to Alexander, 250.
- Capua, foundation of, ii. 246.
- Caranus, the Macedonian, his appointment, x. 47. Notice of, 63. Defeated by Spitamenes, 68.
- Carcinus, operations of the fleet under his command, iii. 81, 82.
- Cardians, account of, vii. 350. They murder Miltocythes, 351.
- , their dispute with the Athenians, ix. 353, 354.
- Cardoos, account of the, v. 199. Harass the Cyrean army on their retreat, 201, 202.
- Caria, towns in, reduced to obedience by Cimon, ii. 284.

- Caria, historical circumstances respecting, ix. 209—212.
- Carians, from whom they were descended, i. 312.
- , conduct of the, at Rhodes, viii. 116.
- Carmania, traversed by Alexander, x. 212—306. Ancient and modern name of its capital, 257.
- Carnian festival, notice of, iii. 322—336.
- Carmina, notice of the town of, x. 242.
- Carthage, foundation of, ii. 213. Its eligible situation, 214. Connection between it and the neighbouring colonies, *ib.* Sketch of its history, 214, 215. Its constitution best known to antiquity, 215. Its power of late growth, 216. Causes which gave rise to the invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians, 222. They assemble a powerful armament, and lay siege to Himera, 222, 223. And are defeated there, 223. State of, for near a century afterward, 227. Particulars in the history of, 228, 229. note. Earliest known treaty between Carthage and Rome, 232.
- , a Carthaginian army, under Hannibal, arrives in Sicily to protect Egesta, vii. 11. Besieges and takes Selinus, 11—14. Storms Himera, 15, 16. Returns to Carthage, *ib.* Second invasion of Sicily, 22. Liberal propositions to Agrigentum refused, 30. The Carthaginians are defeated by the Syracusans under Daphnæus, 31. Take Agrigentum, and make it their winter quarters, 36. Destroy that city, 50. Besiege Gela, *ib.* Defeat Dionysius, 53. Are attacked by a pestilential sickness, 55, 56. Make peace with Dionysius, 56. The Carthaginian residents in Syracuse and Sicily robbed and cruelly treated, 89. Carthage rejects the condition of peace offered by Dionysius, 90. Makes great preparation to renew the war, 93. The civil government of Carthage oligarchical, the military, kingly, *ib.* note. Difficulties of the Carthaginians in their passage to Sicily, 94. They reach Panormus, 95, 96. Retake Motya, 98. Besiege Syracuse, *ib.* Level Messina with the ground, 100. Are attacked by an epidemical sickness on the bank of the Anapus, 105. Defeated by Dionysius, and their fleet nearly destroyed, 107. Make peace, and return to Africa, 108, 109. Renew the war with Syracuse, 118. Preserve the attachment of the Sicels, *ib.* Stipulate to interfere no more with that people, 119, 120. Invade Sicily and Italy, 134. Treaty with Syracuse, 136. War renewed with Dionysius, 146. A truce concluded, 147. The Carthaginians make war on the Campanians, 191. Amount of their army and navy in the war with Timoleon, 208. Defeated at the Crimesus, 211, 212.
- Carthage, state of, at the accession of Alexander the Great to the throne of Macedonia, ix. 4.
- , the Carthaginians send an embassy to Ecbatana, x. 2.
- Casmenæ, foundation of, i. 319.
- Caspian Sea, Alexander's curiosity respecting the, x. 333.
- Casthanæa, road of, ii. 119. Town of, 120.
- Castor and Pollux, i. 34.
- Catana, foundation of, i. 319. Celebrated lawgiver of, 320.
- , the party in, adverse to Dionysius, sold to slavery, vii. 72. A Campanian colony established there, *ib.* Occupied by the Carthaginians under Imilcon, 99, 100. The dispersed Catanians assembled at Malæ by the Rhegians, 116.
- Catanes, the Parætac, excites a revolt, x. 85. Is slain, 89.
- Catapeltic artillery, when invented, vii. 82.
- Cattle, the most usual measure of the value of commodities before the existence of coin, i. 123.
- Cattle sent from India to Macedonia, by Alexander, x. 119, 120.
- Cavalry, the principal force of, in Greece, derived from Thessaly, ii. 111. Nature of the Persian cavalry, 182. Their mode of attack, 183. Celebrity of the cavalry of Sicily, 218. The Athenian restored and improved under the administration of Cimon and Pericles, 344, 345.
- Cecrops, king of Attica, conducts an Egyptian colony into Attica, i. 42. The fortress of Cecropia, afterwards called Athens, founded by him, 43. Instituted marriage in Greece, 110.
- Celæna, the capital of the Greater Phrygia, taken by Alexander, ix. 238.
- Celts, notice of the, ix. 101.
- Centaur, fabulous history of, explained, i. 36. note.
- Cephalenia, accession of, to the Athenian confederacy, iii. 83. Brought under obedience to Athens, vi. 149.
- Cephisus, the Theban, enters Peloponnesus, viii. 112. Takes Anaxander prisoner, 113. Defeated by the Lacedæmonians, *ib.*
- Cephisodotus, the Athenian orator and general, effects of his harangue at the general assembly, vi. 204.
- , assists Charidemus, vii. 342. Sails to Perinthus, 347. Besieges Alopeconnesus, *ib.* Negotiates with Charidemus, *ib.* Is tried and fined, 348.
- Cerasus, transactions of the Cyrean army at, v. 215—219. The cherry-tree fruit carried thence into Italy, 215.
- Ceraunian mountains, i. 10.
- Chabrias, placed at the head of the Athenian fleet, vi. 139. Defeats the Lacedæmonian commander, Pollis, *ib.* Governs at Corinth, 205. Intercepts the retreat of the Argives, 209. Com-

- mands the fleet of Tachos, king of Egypt, 309. In concert with Agesilaus seats Nectanabis on the Egyptian throne, 312.
- Chabrias, sent to Thrace, vii. 353. Treats with Kersobleptes, 354. Sent against Chios, 355. Is slain, 356. His character, 357.
- Chareas, son of Arcestratus, sent to Samos with the news of the change in the government of Athens, iv. 198. His conduct on the occasion, ib. 199.
- Charonea, battle of, viii. 356. Funeral oration for those slain at, 355—357. 373—377. Different accounts of the date of the battle of, 383—387. and notes.
- Chalcedonians, attacked by Alcibiades, iv. 249. Surrender their property to him, ib. Arrangement with the Athenian generals respecting their city, 250.
- Chalceideus, appointed to the command of the Peloponnesian fleet, iv. 149. Sails for Ionia, 152. Succeeds, with Alcibiades, in detaching the Chians and Erythraeans from their alliance with the Athenians, 153. Slain in a skirmish with them, 159.
- Chalcidian or Ionian cities of Sicily, how affected towards Syracuse, vii. 70.
- Chalcidic territory, on the Thracian coast, very early settled by Grecian colonies, vi. 87, 88. Its fertility of soil, and maritime advantages, 88.
- Chalcidice, revolt of, from the Persians, ii. 170.; iii. 37, 38.
- Chalcidion, account of, viii. 119, 120.
- Chalcis, an Athenian colony before the Trojan war, i. 309.
- , the principal city of Eubœa, vii. 316. Welcomes the Thebans, 318, 319.
- Chaldea, the cradle of the arts and sciences, ii. 11.
- Chaldean priests, their deputation to Alexander, x. 334. How received by him, 335.
- Chalybs, account of the, v. 207, 208.
- Chares, the Athenian general, assists the Phliasiens, vi. 231. Withdrawn from Peloponnesus, 246. Refused admission into the Corinthian port of Cenchrææ, 250.
- , sent against Chios, vii. 355. His character, 356, 357. Ordered to relieve Samos, 358, 359. Sails to the Hellespont, 359. Impeaches Iphicrates and Timotheus, 359. Assists Artabazus, 362. Operations of his party at Athens, 364. Result of them, 370.
- , his ambition, viii. 55. His party foiled, 65—67. Appointed autocrator-general, 69. Takes Sestus, ib. Subdues the Chersonese, ib. and 70. His influence, 91. Sails to Olynthus, 143. Enters Macedonia, 144. His victory at Pallene, 145. Returns to Athens, ib. Again sent to Olynthus, 147. Reports the circumstances of his command, 152. Measures of his friends for his sup-
- port, ib. Further charge against him, 161, 162. Arguments of his party, 195. His party described by Isocrates, 203, 204. Policy of his party at Athens, 225, 226. Popular interest favourable to it, 227. Measures of his party, 259. Appointed to the command in the Hellespont, 300. Is defeated, 301. And superseded by Phocion, ib. Is joined with Lysicles in the command, 354. Policy of himself and party, 357, 358.
- Chares, retires to Sigeum, ix. 176. Compliments Alexander, 177. Joins Memnon, 239. Yields up Mitylene, 312.
- Charidemus of Eubœa, notice of, vii. 303. Refuses to serve under Timotheus, 305. Enters the Olynthian service, 309. Is taken prisoner, ib. Honours decreed to him at Athens, 310. Passes into the service of Artabazus, 342. Quits it for that of the king of Thrace, ib. His parentage, 343. Marries the daughter of Cotys, 344. Takes Crithote and Eleus, ib. Thwarts Cephisodotus, 346, 347. Negotiates with him, 348. Is blamed by Demosthenes, ib. Takes Miltocythes, 349. His treatment of him, 349, 350.
- , joins Chares, viii. 144.
- , is banished from Greece, ix. 131. In favour at the Persian court, 262, 263. and note. His death, 268. and note.
- Charilaus, king of Lacedæmon, account of, i. 249.
- Chariot-race, when introduced into the Olympic games, i. 194.
- Chariots, military, much used by the ancient Greeks, i. 132.
- , scythed, used in battle by the Persians, v. 158.
- Charitimus leads the Athenian force against Egypt, ii. 321.
- Charon, a party to the democratic plot at Thebes, vi. 116. Is raised to the office of Bœotarch, 128.
- Charondas of Catana, a celebrated law-giver, notice of, i. 320. and note; 321. Singular proposal of, 346.
- Cherry-tree, the, first carried into Italy, from Cerasus, v. 215. And afterwards naturalised in Britain, ib.
- Chersonese, peninsula of, when colonised, ii. 60.
- , the Chersonesites confer privileges on the Athenians, viii. 306, 307.
- , Thracian, colonies of Athenians sent to, ii. 341.
- , advantages of the, v. 285. Services rendered to the inhabitants of, by Dercyllidas, 286.
- , account of, vii. 305, 306. Tributary to Thrace, 307.
- , conquered by Athens, viii. 69, 70. Complaint of the inhabitants to the Athenians, 161, 162. Colony of Athenians sent to, 259, 260. Oration of Demosthenes respecting, 262—265.
- X, Greek, what oriental enunciation it represents, v. 191. note.

- Chestnuts, reckoned among acorns by Gerard and others, i. 8. note.
- Children, institutions of Lycurgus respecting, i. 254. 257.
- Chilon, the Spartan, slain, vi. 263.
- Chios, city of, its foundation, i. 311.
- , siege of, by the Athenians, iv. 159, 160. Sedition at, and the manner in which it was suppressed, 298—300.
- , marauding expedition of the Chians, v. 287. They submit to Dercylidas, ib.
- , enters into alliance with Thebes, vi. 282.
- , revolts against Athens, vii. 315. Repels Chares and Chabrias, 356.
- , assists Byzantium, viii. 300, 301.
- , is taken by Memnon, ix. 239. Submits to the Macedonians, 312, 313.
- Chrisophus, the Lacedæmonian general, act of violence of, v. 206. Chosen general of the Cyrean army, 228. His measures, 229. End of his command, 230. His death, ib.
- Χοιράς*, sense of, x. 272. note.
- Choriens excites a revolt in Parætacene, x. 85. Sends a message to Alexander, 88. His submission to, and treatment by, Alexander, ib.
- Christian morality, near approach to, made by Socrates, v. 123.
- Chronology of the early times of Greece involved in uncertainty, i. 23. Cause of this uncertainty, 197. The course of events, how described by Herodotus and Thucydides, 199. Notice of the chronological history of Greece by Ephorus, 200. Of the Arundel marbles, ib. Chronological system of Eratosthenes, 22. Abstract of the Usserian chronology of Grecian history, 202. Notice of corrections of it by Sir Isaac Newton and others, 205, 206. Chronology of Hesiod, 206. Of Homer, 208. Of the Olympiads, 215—219. Result of the author's chronological researches, 220—223.
- , imperfection of ancient, viii. 129.
- Cicero, hyperbole of, respecting the Areopagus, i. 350. note.
- , his eulogy upon Athens, v. 31. note.
- , his notice of Philistus, the historian, vii. 148, 149.
- , his treatise de Divinatione, x. 359. 361.
- Cilicia, entered by Alexander, ix. 254. Description of, 255, 256. Notice of Grecian settlements there, 256. Amount of Persian forces in, 272—275.
- Cimon, son of Miltiades, one of the principal landed men of the Athenian commonwealth, ii. 146. Descended from a long line of ancestors, ib. Manner in which he distinguished himself, ib. Character of, 267. Joins the party against Themistocles, 268. Wisdom of his measures, 277, 278. Succeeds to the command of the confederate forces, 279, 280. Leads the confederate armament against Eion, 280. Represses piracy in the Ægean, 281, 282. Proceeds to the Carian coast, and his successes there, 284. Lays siege to Phaselis, ib. Sails for the Eurymedon, 286. Destroys the Persian fleet there, ib. And defeats the Persians by land, ib. Singular honour acquired by him, ib. Returns to Athens in triumph, 302. His splendid, yet polite liberality, 303. Becomes the patron of the arts, 303, 304. Founder of the groves of Academia, and the first who raised "porticos," 304. His measure for establishing the superiority of Athens, 305. Reduces the Thasians to obedience, 306, 307. Faction against him at Athens, 307. His prosecution and acquittal, 308, 309. Circumstances which led to his banishment, 313. Political reasons for his recall, 316. His bravery at the battle of Tanagra, 337. Returns to Athens, 338. Colonies sent to his lordship in the Thracian Chersonese, 341. Commands an expedition to Cyprus, and dies at the siege of Cittium, 342. Honours paid to his memory, ib. His character, 343.
- Cinadon, his plot for a change in the Lacedæmonian government, v. 304, 305.
- Cinnamon, whence Assyria was supplied with, x. 252, 253.
- Cirra, destruction of, viii. 7. Restored by Eurylochus, 8. The Cirrhæans attack Delphi, 9.
- Cithæron, mount, i. 11.
- Citizens, condition of, at Athens, i. 336.
- Citron, the, when imported into Greece, i. 127. note.
- Cittium, siege of, ii. 342.
- City, what is included in the Greek term commonly translated "city," i. 21.
- City-guard of Athens, of whom composed, i. 352.
- Civilisation, early preserved among a small portion of mankind, i. 3, 4. Progress of, in Assyria, Syria, and Egypt, 5—7. In Greece, 8—10. Early in Asia Minor, 30. The Athenians the first civilised among the Greeks, 61.
- Clazomenæ, city of, its foundation, i. 311.
- Cleagoras, a painter of celebrity at Athens, vi. 340. and note.
- Cleander, tyrant of Gela, death of, ii. 217.
- Cleander, the Spartan general, arrives at Port Calpe, v. 244. His conduct respecting a tumult in the army, 244—248.
- Cleander, the Macedonian, notice of, x. 33, 34. Recalled from Media, 214. And is executed, ib.
- Cleandridas, the Spartan general, bribed by Pericles, ii. 351.
- Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, circumstances which led him to the court of Cyrus, v. 135. Munificent present to

- him by Cyrus, 136. Offers his military services, which are accepted, *ib.* Ability displayed by him on the discontent that arose among the Greeks, respecting the object of Cyrus's expedition, 145, 146. His quarrel with Menon, 151. Declares his opinion respecting the treachery of Orontas, 153. Order of march persisted in by him, 156. His laconic answers to Artaxerxes, 165, 169, 170. His wise measures, 166—169. Seized and massacred by Tissaphernes, 175—177.
- Clarchus, further notices of, vii. 306, 307.; ix. 163, 328.
- Clearidas, the part he took in the battle of Amphipolis, iii. 279, 280. Succeeds Brasidas, as commander in Thrace, 289. Is remanded, *ib.*
- Cleippides, expedition of, against the Mitylenæans, iii. 135.
- Cleocritus, notice of, v. 55.
- Cleombrotus, brother of Leonidas, succeeds him in the command of the army, ii. 143.
- takes the command against Thebes, vi. 126. His army assailed by an uncommon storm, *ib.* Resumes the command on the illness of Agesilaus, 137, 138. Is unable to pass into Bœotia, *ib.* Again commands against Thebes, 161. Enters Bœotia by surprise, 162. Is defeated and killed at the battle of Leuctra, 164.
- Cleomenes, king of Sparta, defeats the Athenians and besieges Athens, i. 375. Is himself besieged and obliged to retire, 378.
- , invades Attica, and is defeated by the Athenians, ii. 47. Abandons further proceedings, 50. Procures the deposition of his colleague, 69. His conduct to the Æginetans, *ib.* Massacres the Argives, *ib.* His flight from, and return to, Sparta, 71. His insanity and death, *ib.*
- Cleon, character of, iii. 152. Supports the inhuman decree against the Mitylenæans, 153. His speech in favour of it, *ib.* Acquires favour with the populace of Athens, 205. Opposes the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, 205, 206. Public indignation against him, 208, 209. Greatly favoured by his impudence and his fortune, 209. Appointed general of the Athenian forces, 210. His pompous boast, *ib.* Requests Demosthenes to be joined with him in the command, 211. Their attack upon Sphacteria, 212—216. His boisterous eloquence, 218. Is attacked on the public stage, 272, 273. Accused of embezzling the public money, and fined, 274. Effects of his imprudence, 274. His return to power, 275. Appointed commander in Thrace, *ib.* His proceedings there, *ib.* His defeat and death at Amphipolis, 276.
- Cleonymus, son of Archidamus, killed at Leuctra, vi. 164.
- Cleopatra, grand-daughter of Attalus, married to Philip of Macedon, viii. 380.
- , embassy of the Athenians to, x. 319.
- Cleophon, the Athenian demagogue, his arrogance, iv. 314. Accusation against him, 318. Condemned and executed, *ib.*
- Cleopompus, operations of the fleet under his command, iii. 83.
- Climate of Greece, i. 13. Of England, ii. 6. note. Of Asia, x. 42, 43. Of Wallachia, 43, 44.
- Clinius of Cos, killed in the Egyptian army, ix. 154.
- Clinton, Mr.; his remarks on the era of the Trojan war, i. 209. note.
- , his defence of Thucydides, ii. 270. note. Observations on the chronology of the battle of Tanagra, 328. note.
- , remarks respecting the age of Agesilaus, vi. 124, 125. note. The general assembly of Arcadia, 189. note.
- , remarks on the time of Timoleon's campaigns in Syracuse, vii. 205, 206. note.
- , remarks on the wars respecting Cirrha and Crissa, viii. 7, 8. note. Observations on the occupation of Elatea and battle of Chæronea, 383—387. note.
- , examination of Mr. Mitford's dates of the campaigns of Alexander, x. 379—382.
- Clisthenes, son of Megacles, head of the Athenian commonwealth, i. 376. Expelled from Athens, 377, 378.
- Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, anecdote of, ix. 20—23. and notes.
- Cliteles, the Corinthian minister, decides the Athenian votes for war with Thebes, vi. 199.
- Clitorians and Orchomenians, war between the, vi. 132.
- Clitus, son of Bardylis, prince of Illyria, purposes to invade Macedonia, ix. 103. Protects Pellion, *ib.* His offering to the gods, *ib.* Defeated by Alexander the Great, 104. Flees with Glaucias into Taulantia, 106.
- Clitus, foster-brother of Alexander the Great, saves Alexander's life, ix. 189.
- , appointed a commander of the king's companions, x. 36. His conduct at a festival, 100. His address to Alexander, *ib.* Is killed by him, 101.
- Clouds, comedy of the. See Aristophanes.
- Club-men, the Theban, what, vi. 292.
- Clytemnestra, allusions to, i. 34. 157. and note; 162.
- Clytemnestra and Ægisthus, plot of, i. 74.
- Cnemus, the Spartan, his attempt upon Stratus, iii. 118. Action of the fleet under his command with that of Phormion, 124—127.

- Cnidus, sea-fight near, vi. 13, 14. Shares in the prosperity of the neighbouring island of Cos, 329. The Cnidean Venus, by Praxiteles, one of the most famous monuments of ancient sculpture, *ib.*
- Codrus, king of Athens, patriotic death of, i. 307.
- Cœnus, a Macedonian general, notice of, x. 76. He defeats the Massagetes, 79. Appointed to the military command of Sogdiana and Bactria, 80. He defeats Spitamenes, *ib.* Is sent against Bazira, 124. His share in the battle of the Hydaspes, 143. His reply to Alexander, 162, 163. His death, 176.
- Coins, of gold and silver, by whom first struck, ii. 2. Elegant taste and workmanship of the Lydian coins, 2, 3. Beauty of the design and workmanship of the golden coins of Gelon and his successor, 226. Of the Sybarite coins, 235.
- , Philip's success in a horse-race said to have been celebrated by a golden coin, viii. 57. note.
- Colchis, expedition to, i. 37.
- Colonies, early Grecian, in Asia Minor, i. 309. Notice of those founded by Æolian emigrants, 310. By Ionian emigrants, 311, 312. In the island of Cyprus, 313. In Africa, 314. In Italy, 315, 316. And Sicily, 317—320. General remarks on the Grecian colonies, 321.
- , sketch of the history of the colonies of the Phenicians, ii. 213—216. Of the colonies of the Greeks in Sicily, 216—223. Account of the Grecian colonies in Italy, 229—249. Colonies of Athenians sent to the Chersonese, 341.
- Colony, its relation to the mother-country, iii. 17.
- Colophon, city of, its foundation, i. 310. Political circumstances of, iii. 147, 148.
- Columns, or terms, erection of, by the Athenians, ii. 254.
- Combat, a battle decided by one, of three hundred men on each side, i. 298. Single, frequency of, in ancient times, 134.
- Comedy, the old, practice of, iii. 273. Political consequences resulting from it, 274.
- Commerce, origin of, i. 7. Carried on, by way of exchange in ancient Greece, 128. By whom principally carried on, 130.
- “Companions” of the orders of knighthood, origin of, viii. 277.
- Composition for personal service in arms, vi. 92.
- Confederacy, Grecian, dissolution of the ancient system of, vi. 315.
- Confederate government in Greece, the first example of, attributed by Polybius to the Achæans, vii. 122. Is imitated by the Lucanians of Italy, 123.
- Conon commands the Athenian fleet at Naupactus, iv. 97. Appointed one of the ten generals, on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasylbulus, 268. Commander-in-chief of the Athenian fleet, 270. His measures, 270, 275. Defeated by Callicratidas, 276. His distressing situation, *ib.* Defeated by Lysander, 309. Takes refuge in Salamis, 312.
- , flees to Salamis after the battle of Ægospotami, vi. 12. Friendship between him and Evagoras, *ib.* Becomes his confidential minister, *ib.* With Evagoras and Pharnabazus defeats the Lacedæmonian fleet, 13, 14. Successes of Conon and Pharnabazus, 20. Invasion of Laconia by them, 32. Conon obtains some important advantages for his country, 33. Gratitude of the Athenians to him, 34. His mission to the satrap of Lydia, 40, 41. His death, 64.
- Constitution, structure and foundation of the British, i. 232, 333; iv. 292—298. note; ix. 42, 43, 45—47.
- , outline of the constitution of Sparta, proposed by Lycurgus, i. 245—272. Of Bœotia, 304, 305. Of Athens, proposed by Solon, 333—351.
- , of the Persian empire, ii. 26, 27. Of Carthage, the best balanced and wisest known to antiquity, 215.
- , account of the constitution of Macedonia, vii. 325, 326; ix. 27—49.
- , of various states in Greece, ix. 14—17. Comparative view of the constitutions of Thessaly, Lacedæmon, and Rome, 49—57. Indications of the Thracian constitution, 57—59. Of Asiatic states, 207—210.
- Corcyra, at first subject to Corinth, i. 239. Afterwards independent and wealthy, *ib.* Finds its own colonies in Illyria, *ib.* The first sea-fight recorded in history, between Corcyra and Corinth, 240.
- , its connection with Corinth, iii. 17. Origin of the war between the two powers, 18. Progress of the war, and defeat of the Corinthians, 19. Accession of the Corcyræans to the Athenian confederacy, 24, 25. Defeated by the Corinthians at Sybota, 28. Termination of the Corcyræan war, 30. Contentions between the aristocratical and democratical parties in, 164—166, 175, 223, 224. Treachery and cruelty of the democratic party, 224.
- , joins the Athenians against Lacedæmon, vi. 140. Ravaged by the Lacedæmonian fleet under Mnasippus, 143. The Corcyræans send deputies to Athens, 144. Defeat and kill Mnasippus, 148. Raise the siege of their city, *ib.*
- Corinth, geographical situation of, and



- peculiar commercial advantages, i. 22.  
Names of some of its early princes, ib. History and changes in the government of, 238—240. Pindar's panegyric upon this city, 240. note.
- Corinth, assembly of deputies from the confederated commonwealths at, ii. 110; 111. Exertions of the assembly at, to stimulate the Greeks against the Persian invasion, 115, 116. A colony from, under Demaratus, settle in Tarquinii, in Italy, 231. Disputes between Corinth and Megara, 314, 315. War between the Corinthians and Athenians, 322, 324.
- , origin of the war with Corcyra, iii. 18. Progress of the war, 19. Sea-fight off Actium, 22. Victory at Sybota, 28. End of the war, 30. War with Athens, 38—41. Enmity of, against the Athenians, 42. Speeches of their ambassador at the congress at Lacedæmon, 44—47. 53—55. Their interference between the Plataeans and Thebans, 65. Expedition against Acarnania and Cephallenia, 90. Defeat of the Corinthian fleet by Phormion, 120—122. The Corinthians defeated by Nicias, 222. Their country plundered by the Athenians, ib. Their intrigues, 291—294.
- , congress of the Peloponnesian confederacy at, iv. 149.
- , causes of its alienation from Lacedæmon, v. 294. Battle of Corinth, vi. 6. Sedition of, 23, 24. Singular union of, with Argos, 26, 27. Affairs of, 27, 28. Actions at, 29. Long walls of, restored, 38. Expedition of Agesilaus to Corinthia, 42, 43.
- , wasted by the army of the Theban confederacy, vi. 193, 194. Sends ministers to Athens, 200. Is again ravaged by the Thebans, 205. Firmness of the Corinthians in resisting the pretensions of Thebes, 219, 220. Corinth alienated by an indiscreet speech in the Athenian assembly, 249. The Corinthians refuse admission to the Athenian fleet, 249, 250. And dismiss the Athenian troops, 250. Make peace with Thebes, 251. Sedition in Corinth after the battle of Leuctra, 321. Xenophon settles at Corinth, 359.
- , a Corinthian party, in opposition to the Lacedæmonian, at Syracuse, vii. 67. Which is disarmed by Dionysius during the season of harvest, 68. The Corinthians applied to, to interfere in the affairs of Sicily, 194. State of affairs there, 194, 195. Timophanes assassinated there, ib.
- , political state of, viii. 324, 325. Joins the Athenian confederacy, 326. Congress of Grecian states at, 378.
- , second congress of Grecian states at, ix. 88.
- , congress summoned there by Antipater, x. 10. and note.
- Corinthian isthmus, names of provinces without the, i. 11.
- Coræbus, victor in the first Olympiad, date assigned to, i. 216—219.
- Coronea, battle of, vi. 15—17.
- Corsica, Phocæan colony in, ii. 18.
- Corybantæ, i. 17.
- Corylas. See Cotys.
- Cos, island and town of, flourish amidst the general troubles of Greece, vi. 326—328. Description of, in 1776, by the count de Choiseul-Gouffier, 327. note. Revolts against Athens, vii. 315. Assists Byzantium, viii. 300. Yields to Alexander, ix. 258.
- Cossees, the, account of, x. 333. Subdued by Alexander, ib.
- Cottyphus, notice of, viii. 313. Appointed general by the Amphictyonic council, 315.
- Cotyora, transactions of the Cyrean army at, v. 220—226.
- Cotys, or Corylas, king of Paphlagonia, his alliance with Lacedæmon, v. 331, 332.
- Cotys, king of Thrace, bribed by Philip of Macedon, vii. 267. His alliance with Athens, 507. Assisted by Iphicrates, 308. His war with Philip, 335. His derangement, ib. His conduct to the Perinthians, 336. Flees from Philip, 336. Gives his daughter to Charidemus, 344. Is assassinated, 345.
- Council of Amphictyons. See Amphictyonic Council.
- of Elders, created at Athens, iv. 137.
- of Five Hundred, at Athens, constitution and powers of, i. 344. Defects in the election of its members, viii. 192, 193.
- of Four Hundred, establishment of, proposed by Pisander, iv. 190. Decreed and appointed, 351. Their measures on displacing the old council, 352. The Council of Four Hundred dissolved, 382. Some remains of the party, vi. 245.
- of State, at Athens, how formed, i. 325.
- of Ten, at Athens, appointment of, v. 56. Their proceedings, 56, 57. Overthrown by Thrasybulus, vii. 280.
- of Thirty, at Athens, formation of, iii. 252. Government of the, 252, 263, 264; v. 34—37. 41—50. Similarity of their proceedings to those of the Committee of Public Welfare at Paris, 50. note. Civil war against them, 52—55. Deposed, and the Council of Ten elected, 56.
- Count, origin of the title, viii. 276, 277.
- Court of inquiry into the conduct of the Greek generals of the Cyrean army, account of its proceedings, v. 224, 225.
- of justice, Homer's account of one, i. 106.
- Courtezans, Grecian, celebrity of, iii. 4.

- Their education, manners, and influence, *ib.* Account of Aspasia, 4, 5.
- Courts of judicature in Athens, i. 351.
- of justice, wages for serving in, the institution of, attributed to Pericles, v. 9.
- Cranaans, the original inhabitants of Attica, distinguished by the name of, i. 59. and note.
- Cranaus, king of Attica, i. 59. note.
- Crassus, the Roman general, his plans compared with those of Alexander, in crossing Mesopotamia, ix. 331.
- Craterus, the Macedonian general, his passage over the Uxian mountains, ix. 352. His conduct at the Susiad rocks, 355.
- , commands the main body, x. 16. Is sent against the Tapoors, 20. He becomes Alexander's favourite general, 30. Invests Cyropolis, 61. Is wounded, *ib.* Opposes Alexander's marriage, 86. He quells the rebellion in Parætacene, 89. Measures intrusted to him, 116. Superintends the rebuilding of Arigæum, 118. Rejoins Alexander, 120. Is stationed at Embolima, 125. Intrusted with the command of the camp, 139. His share in the battle of the Hydaspes, 144. Superintends the building of the newly founded towns, 149. His appointment, 177. How employed by Alexander on his return home, 190, 191, 192. Married to a daughter of Oxyartes, 286. Appointed to supersede Autipater in Macedonia, 310.
- Cresphontes. See Temenus.
- Crete, island of, early history of, i. 17. Laws of Minos, 18. Observations thereon, 19, 20. Summary of the history of Crete, after the Trojan war, 233, 234. Proverb respecting the ancient Cretans, 255. note. The Cretans refuse to join the confederacy against Persia, ii. 110.
- Crinesus, battle of the, vii. 211—213.
- Crissa, account of, viii. 6, 7.
- Crissæan, or Cirrhæan plain, notice of, viii. 5, 6. (See Cirrhæan.)
- Crithote taken by Charidemus, vii. 344.
- Critias, his connections, character, political bias, and views, with respect to the government of Athens, v. 37—49. The conduct of Critias and his party towards the disaffected at Eleusis, 53. Proposes the massacre of them, 54. Killed in battle, 55.
- Critobulus, a Grecian, notice of, viii. 174.
- Criton, an Athenian, anecdote of, v. 23, 24.
- Cræsus, king of Lydia, extent of the territories of, ii. 8. Pindar's eulogy upon him, 8. 10. note. Rich presents made by him to the temple of Delphi, 10. Consults the oracle, 12. And is defeated and taken captive by Cyrus, 13.
- deposits treasure at Delphi, viii. 12.
- Account of his magnificent sacrifice at Delphi, 13—15. His policy in so doing, 15. Sends presents to divers oracles, 13, 14.
- Cromnus, town of, taken by Archidamus, vi. 262. Besieged by the Arcadians, 263. Partially relieved, 265. The garrison compelled to surrender, 266.
- Cronium, a town of Sicily, the Greeks defeated at, by the son of Magon, vii. 134, 135.
- Crotona, foundation of, i. 317. Celebrated as the residence of Pythagoras, 320.
- , the richer Sybarites take refuge in, ii. 235. War of the Crotoniats with the Sybarites, and defeat of the latter, *ib.* Celebrity of Crotona, and of the medical school there, 236. Remarks on the population of, 236. 238. note.
- , unites with Rhegium against Syracuse, vii. 125. The Crotoniats and Rhegians appoint Heloris to the command, *ib.* Surrender unconditionally to Dionysius, *ib.*
- Crown, golden, honorary reward of a, x. 315.
- Cryptia, abominable institution of, at Sparta, i. 265.
- Ctesias, the Grecian, his History of Persia noticed, ix. 137, 138.
- Ctesiphon, an Athenian, sent to Macedonia, viii. 158.
- , proposes that a golden crown be given to Demosthenes, x. 316. Is sent ambassador to Molossis, 319. Prosecuted by Æschines, 319. And defended by Demosthenes, 321, 322.
- Cuma, in Asia Minor, foundation of, i. 311.
- Cuma, Campanian, origin of, i. 316. Course of the navigation from Eubœa to, ii. 243, 244. Description of the Cumæan territory, 244—246. The Cumæans conquered by the Tuscans, 247. Prosper as a maritime colony, and found the city of Naples, *ib.*
- Cunaxa, battle of, v. 157—162.
- Curdies, modern, origin of the, v. 199. (See Cardoos.)
- Curetes, i. 17.
- Curtius, Quintus, character of his work, ix. 344. note.
- Cydnus, river, notice of, ix. 254.
- Cydonia, town of, founded by the Samians, but captured by the Æginetans, ii. 36, 37.
- Cyllene, mount, i. 12.
- Cylon, his attempt to usurp the government of Athens, i. 326.
- Cyuoos-sema, sea-fight of, iv. 227.
- Cyprothemis, revolution effected by him in Samos, vii. 299, 300. Overcome by Timotheus, 300.
- Cyprus, island of, colonised by Greeks, i. 314. Whence it derived the worship of Venus, *ib.*
- , Expedition of the Athenians to, ii. 341.

- Cyprus, summary of its history, vi. 8, 9. The sovereignty of, surrendered by Evagoras, 10, 11. This circumstance a principal source of great revolutions in Greece, 11. Relations of, with Athens, 69, 70. Transactions in, during the war of Evagoras with Persia, 304—307. Is preserved to the Persian empire, 307, 308.
- , recovered by the Persians, ix. 151, 152. and note. (See Salamis.)
- Cypselus, tyrant of Corinth, notice of, i. 239, 240.
- Cyratades, a Theban general, proposes to lead the Cyrean army, and to provide them subsistence, v. 251, 252.
- Cyrean army, retreat of, and their return to Europe, v. 163—273. (See Greece.)
- Cyrene, a Greek colony in Africa, notice of, i. 315.
- Cyropædia of Xenophon, the purpose of, ix. 7, 8.
- Cyropolis, in Scythia, foundation of, x. 60. Invested by Craterus, 61. Taken by Alexander, 62, 63.
- Cyrus the Great, king of Persia, defeats Cræsus, ii. 13. Reception given by him to the Spartan envoys, 14. Takes Babylon, 19. Æschylus's character of him, 20. note. Testimony of Isocrates, ib.
- , founds a town in Scythia with the name of Cyropolis, x. 60. Notice of, 202. Description of his sepulchre at Susa, 278, 279. Its spoliation and restoration, 279, 280.
- Cyrus, the younger, son of Darius II., appointed viceroy of the provinces west of the river Halys, iv. 259. Refuses permission for the Athenian embassy to return to their country, 260. His interview with Lysander, 261, 262. His liberality and condescension to him, 302. His haughtiness among his own people, ib.
- , origin of the enmity between him and his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon, v. 131. State of affairs which offended him, a pretext for collecting a military force against his brother, 132—134. Countries of which the province committed to his government was composed, 134. Circumstances which led Clearchus, Aristippus, Proxenus, and Xenophon to his court, 135—138. Course of Cyrus's march from Sardis to Cunaxa, 139—156. Ostensible pretext of the expedition, 139. Amount of his Grecian and Asiatic forces, ib. His negotiation with Syennesis, 141. And review of his troops before the wife of the latter, 141, 142. His generous conduct on the desertion of Xenias and Pasion, 148. His speech to the Greeks on the expected approach of the enemy, 154. His preparations for the battle of Cunaxa, 155—157. His bravery, 160. Wounds Artaxerxes, ib. Is overpowered and slain, 161.
- Cythera, island of, taken by the Athenians, iii. 226. Fate of the inhabitants, 228.
- Cyzicene, a gold coin, value of, v. 229.
- Cyzicus, sea-fight near, iv. 234, 235. Town of, relieved by Timotheus, v. 320.
- Damagetus, prince of Ialysus, notice of, i. 295.
- Damis, of Syris, notice of, ix. 20.
- Damascus, the depository of the king of Persia's treasure, taken possession of by Parmenio, ix. 289, 290.
- Damocles, allusion to the story of the feast of, vii. 150.
- Damon, the friend of Pericles, notice of, ii. 317.
- , a celebrated speculative politician in the time of Pericles, iii. 2.
- Danaoi, an appellation for the southern Greeks, i. 182. note.
- Danaus, king of Argos, sketch of the history of, i. 27—29.
- Danube, river, crossed by Alexander the Great, ix. 100.
- D'Anville, M., his map of Thessaly very incorrect, ii. 111. note.
- Daphnæus, the Syracusan commander, defeats Imilcon, vii. 31. Is tried, condemned, and executed, with Demarchus, 47. His party and that of Demarchus concentrate at Rhegium, 61. Gain Messina to their cause, ib. Attack Dionysius in Syracuse with a fleet, 62. Besiege him in the island, ib. Are overcome, and liberally treated by him, 64, 65.
- Dardania, geographical situation of, i. 66. Celebrated for its breed of horses, 67.
- Dardanus, founder of the Trojan state, account of, i. 66.
- Darius I., ascends the Persian throne, ii. 25. Æschylus's character of him, 27. note. His probable motives for invading European Scythia, 30. Result of the expedition, 31. His treatment of the conquered inhabitants of Miletus, 59. Generosity of, to the son of Miltiades, 63. His mild and liberal government of conquered provinces, 63, 64. His style and title, 66. Settles his Eretrian prisoners on one of his estates at Ardericca, 85.
- Darius II., succeeds to the throne of Persia, iv. 145, 146. His death, v. 131.
- Darius, son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, taken by his father as an associate in the royal power, x. 283. His behaviour to his parent, 284. Discovered in a plot against him, and executed, 285.
- Darius Codomannus, satrap of Armenia, ascends the throne of Persia, ix. 161. His measures respecting the threatened invasion of Persia, 163—165. Appoints Memnon to the chief command, 202. Makes him admiral of the fleet, 233. Recalls the land-force out of

- the Persian fleet, 241. Appoints Pharnabazus to succeed Memnon, 242. His preparations to oppose Alexander, 248. 259—263. Stations himself near Sochi, 265. Circumstances in which he was placed, 266. His share in the massacre of the Macedonian soldiers, 269. and note. His precarious situation, 271, 272. Amount of his forces, 272—275. Situation of his army, 275, 276. Is defeated at Issus, 278—283. His flight, 283. Anecdote of, 291. His letter to Alexander, 292. Sends a second deputation to Alexander, 302. Sends a third embassy to Alexander, 324. Offers a bribe to the Athenians, 326. His policy in Mesopotamia, 331. Pitches his camp at Arbela, 336. The disposition of his forces, 336, 337. Is defeated at Arbela, 338, 339. His conduct after the battle, 344, 345. and note.
- Darius, proceeds to Ecbatana, x. 1. State of his affairs, 1, 2. Flees from Ecbatana, 13. Conspired against by Bessus, 16. Assassinated by Satibarzanes and Barzaentes, 18. Honours paid to his body, 19, 20.
- Dascylium, the territory of Pharnabazus, its wealth, and sumptuous palace there, v. 332. Surrenders to Parmenio, ix. 194.
- Datames, satrap of Cappadocia, notice of, ix. 144. 242.
- Dates, expedition of, with Artaphernes, against Greece, ii. 72. Conquests of, in the islands of the Ægean Sea, 72, 73. Invades Attica, 81. Defeat of, at the battle of Marathon, 81—84.
- Daurises, defeat and death of, ii. 54.
- Day-book of Alexander the Great, extracts from, x. 373—379.
- Dean, old north country term, x. 127. note.
- Death, remark on, by Socrates, v. 125, 126.
- Debtors, laws respecting, at Athens, i. 330—334.
- Decælea, in Attica, occupied by the Lacedæmonians, iv. 87. A cause of alarm and inconvenience to the Athenians, 92, 93.
- Deity, tradition respecting the unity of the, recorded by Plato, i. 85. And by Aristotle, 86. Various appellations given to, in different nations, 90. and note.
- De la Rochette, M., accuracy of his map of the countries around the Ægean, ii. 111. note.
- Delium, battle of, iii. 242—244. Siege of, 246, 247.
- Delolme, M., notice of, ix. 43.
- Delos, annual ceremony at, instituted by Theseus, i. 57.
- , meeting of Greek confederates at, ii. 278, 279.
- , cruel act of injustice towards the inhabitants of, iii. 271, 272.
- Delphi, oracle of, noticed, i. 99. Its origin and progress, 173—180. The temple at, became the great bank of Greece, 178. Answer of the oracle to Iphitus, 191. To Lycurgus, 248. Answers given by the oracle to the Messenians, 279—282. And to the Lacedæmonians, 282. Temple of, rebuilt by the Alcæonidæ, 374.
- , the first foreigner who sent a present thither, ii. 7. Rich presents made to it by Cræsus, 10, 11. Answer of the oracle to the Athenians, 104, 105. The oracles delivered in verse, 105. note. Response to the Delphian citizens, 117, 118. Attempt of the Persians against Delphi, and defence of the place by the citizens, 140—142. Part of the spoil at Plataea sent to, 199. Statue of gold dedicated at, by Alexander, king of Macedonia, 204. Contest for the command of the temple, 344.
- , a congress at, proposed by Philiscus, vi. 211. Its result, *ib.* The oracle consulted by Xenophon, 336.
- , the oracle superintended by the Amphictyonic council, viii. 8. Delphi attacked by the Cirrhæans, 9. Treasures deposited, and sacrifices made there by Cræsus, 12—15. Subjected to Lacedæmon, 16. Taken by Philomelus, 30. Fortified by him, 32. Use made of its oracle by Philomelus, 35. Reported robbery of its treasure, 49. How trespassed on, 74, 75. Judicial inquiry into the dilapidation of the treasury of, 179—181.
- Delphian games, notice of, i. 195.
- Delphion, the Phliasian demagogue, his extraordinary conduct, vi. 108—110. His escape at the capture of Phlius, 110.
- Demades, the Athenian orator, taken prisoner by Philip, viii. 360. Is sent back to Athens, *ib.* Proposes an embassy to Alexander, ix. 128. Becomes one of that embassy, *ib.* and note. His measures, 130.
- Demaratus, king of Sparta, deposition and exile of, ii. 68, 69.
- Demaratus, the Corinthian, leads a colony from Corinth into Italy, ii. 231. And settles in Tarquinii, *ib.*
- Demarchus. See Daphnæus.
- , office of the, i. 341.
- Democracy, or government by the people at large, observations on, i. 230. Analysis of the Athenian democracy, as regulated by Solon, 339—343.
- and tyranny nearly related, ii. 340.
- , tyranny of, v. 9. 24—26. Aristotle's definition of, 30.
- , unfavourable to peace in Greece, vi. 279, 280. The most ambitious men zealous for, 280. The source of public and private insecurity, *ib.*
- Demophon passes a night in the temple of Serapis, x. 368.
- Δῆμος, import of, at Athens, i. 231. note. Meaning of the term, 340.

Demosthenes, the Athenian general, operations of, on the western side of Greece, iii. 179. In Ætolia, 181, 182. His defeat near Ægium, 183. Elected general of Acarnania, 188. His plans previously to the battle of Olpæ, 189. Account of the battle, *ib.* Retrieves the affairs of the Athenians, 189, 190. His important successes, 190, 191. Power delegated to him by the Athenians, 194. Embarks in the fleet with Eurymedon and Sophocles, 195. His dispute with them, *ib.* Fortifies the harbour of Pylus, 196, 197. Blockaded there by the Lacedæmonians, 198. His plans for the defence of the place, 198, 199. His address to the soldiers, 199. Compels the enemy to retreat, 200, 201. Accompanied by Cleon, attacks and takes Sphacteria, 212—217. His expedition to Naupactus, 240.

—, measures taken by him for revenging on Lacedæmon the evils resulting to Athens from the garrison at Decelea, iv. 96, 97. Collects reinforcements among the allies of Athens, in western Greece, 97, 98. Accompanied by Eurymedon, arrives with his fleet in Sicily, 104. Lands his troops and joins Nicias, 105. His measures for the attack of Syracuse, 105, 106. With Eurymedon and Menander, commands at the assault of of Epipolæ, 107. Is defeated there, 108. Advises the return of the expedition, 109. Opposed by Nicias, *ib.* Shows the energy of his mind in a second proposition to him, 119. Retreats from Syracuse, 124—127. Surrenders to Gylippus, 128. Decreed to suffer death by the Syracusans, and executed, 131.

Demosthenes, the orator, his party at Athens, vii. 344. His enmity to Charidemus, 345. note. Harangues the populace respecting him, 348, 349. His apology for Chares, 370.

—, his first oration on political subjects (*περὶ συμμορ.*), viii. 66. Makes another oration (*περὶ συντάξ.*), 74. His origin, 94—96. and note. Account of, 97. and note. His early defects as an orator, 98. and note. His cowardice, 100. His politics and early orations, 101—104. Joins the party of Chares, 110. His oration for the Megalopolitans, 110, 111. Advocates the cause of the Rhodians, 117—121. His Philippics, 133. and note. His account of Olynthus, 134, 135. His proposition to the people, 139, 140. His Olynthiacs, 139. Persuades the people to concede the theoretic portion of the revenue, *ib.* Attributes the fall of Olynthus to bribery, 153. and note. His conduct, 164. His timidity before Philip, 168, 169. His decrees, 170. Treatment of the Macedonian embassy, 173. How thwarted,

175. His continued civility to the embassy, 176. Joins the embassy to Philip, 185, 186. His disagreements with the other ambassadors, 187, 188. Addresses Philip, 189, and note. His report of the embassy to Macedon, 193. Arguments of his party, 195. Refuses the office of ambassador, 213. His invectives against Æschines, 214. His account of the meeting of the Amphictyons, 216. and note. Notice of his speech on the subject of acknowledging Philip of Macedon an Amphictyon, viii. 227—230. Futile objections to its authenticity, 228. note. Notice of his second Philippic, 237. Of his subsequent contests with Æschines, 238—241. Answer to the objections of Plutarch respecting the speeches of Æschines and Demosthenes on the embassy, 241. note. Arrangement of words peculiar to, 244. Reasons why the "oration on Halonnesus" was not written by him, 247, 248. Measures of the party of Demosthenes, 257, 258. Opposition to them, 259, 260. Circumstances which gave rise to his "Oration on the Chersonese," 260, 261. Account of, and extracts from it, 264, 265. Success of this speech, 265. View with which he spoke the third Philippic, 265. Account of, and observations upon it, 266—268. Becomes effective first minister of Athens, 268. His ability and intelligence in the discharge of this office, 273. Lord Bolingbroke's remarks on his qualifications, 274. His own character of himself, 274, 275. Conducts an embassy to Persia, 275. Uses and abuses the liberality of Phocion's party, *ib.* Opens a communication with Thebes, 277. Restores the liberty of the Eubæan cities, 279. Receives the honour of the golden crown, *ib.* Undertakes an embassy to Thrace, 279, 280. And gains Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium to the Athenian party, 280. Circumstances which gave rise to his fourth Philippic, 284, 285. Abstract of it, *ib.* His oration on Philip's second letter to the Athenians, 295—300. His share in the frustration of the plans of Philip, 300, 301. Disadvantageous circumstances in which he was placed, 303. States of Greece in which his party preponderated, 304. Appointed an Amphictyon, 307. Resigns the lead in the administration, 309. Is accused by Æschines of receiving bribes from the Amphisians, 311. His artifices, 315. and note. Secretly supports the Amphisians, 316. His extraordinary policy, 320, 321. His use of the court of Areopagus, 321—323. His account of the requisitions sent by Philip, 327, 328. Critical situation of his party,

329. The allurements he held out to Thebes, 333. His oration respecting the garrison at Elatea, 338, 339. Decree proposed by him respecting the same, 340, 341. Its success, 343. His harangue at Thebes, 343, 344. His concessions to the Thebans, 344, 345. The growth of his power, 345, 346. His immense influence at Athens and Thebes, 348—350. His arrogance towards the Bœotarchs, 351. States from which he collected his army, and its amount, 352, 353. and note. The generals he appointed, 354. His flight, 357. His return to Athens, 364. Delivers the funeral oration for the slain at Chæronea, 365—367. Remarks and criticisms on it, 370—376. His proceedings at Athens, 367. Supposed to be privy to the assassination of Philip, 382. His conduct thereupon, 333. and note.
- Demosthenes, his machinations in the northern states of Greece, ix. 94, 95. His intrigues among the Grecian republics, 107, 108. His share in the revolution at Thebes, 113. His influence at Athens, and in other republics, 117. Undertakes an embassy to Macedonia, but returns without executing his commission, *ib.* His connection with Persia, 118. and note. His meanness, 130. His connection with the Persian court, 165.
- , his oration against Alexander, x. 4, 5. His political designs, 6, 7. He excites revolts in Thessaly, 9. Remarks on his conduct during the campaigns of Alexander, 313—316. His boast, 318. His reply to Æschines on the crown, 320, 321. Is accused of corruption, and fined, 327. Retires to Ægina, *ib.* and note.
- Dercyllidas, appointed commander-in-chief of the Lacedæmonian forces in Asia, v. 278. Reasons of his acting contrary to his instructions, *ib.* Negotiates with Tissaphernes, who bargains for a particular peace for his own provinces, 278. His successes in the satrapy of Æolia, 281. His operations in Bithynia, 283, 284. Testimony of the Lacedæmonian government to his merits, 284. Services rendered by him to the Thracian Chersonese, 285, 286. His interview and treaty with Tissaphernes, 290. His merits not duly estimated by Plutarch, 291. note.
- Dercyllus, an Athenian, notice of, viii. 219.
- Derdas, prince of Elymia, joins the Lacedæmonians against Olynthus, vi. 102. His activity and bravery, *ib.* Assists Amyntas, king of Macedon, vii. 248, 249.
- Dermot, king of Leinster, adventure of, i. 76.
- Dervorghal, rape of, paralleled by that of Helen, i. 77.
- Despotic government unknown in Europe before the rise of republican government in Greece, ix. 58, 59.
- Despotism, what constitutes the essence of, ii. 318.
- Deucalion, flood of, i. 38.
- Deucalion, king of Thessaly, division of his territories, i. 181.
- Deuteronomy, ch. 4. v. 2. cited, ix. 39. note.
- Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian commissioner in Sicily, employed by the Agrigentines, vii. 29. Withdraws from their service, 34. Resumes his station at Gela, 42. Obtains the arrears due to his mercenaries, *ib.* Is discovered to have taken part in the plot of Daphneus and Demarchus, 47. And is required to quit Sicily, *ib.*
- Diabatorial, or border-passing sacrifice, iii. 321, 322.
- Diatorides, notice of, ix. 21.
- Dialects in Greece, i. 10. In Italy and England, *ib.* note. Observations on the use of vowels in the Eastern dialects, 115. Distinction of, in the Greek language, 166—168.
- Dialling, known to the Babylonians at a very early period, i. 5.
- Diaulos, a sort of foot-race, when it formed a part of the Olympian games, i. 194.
- Dicæarchia, or Puteoli, site and foundation of, ii. 246.
- Dicast, or juryman, Athenian, daily pay of, v. 9. Immense number of, 10.
- Dictator, how the term was rendered by the Greeks, iv. 256. note.
- Dido, queen, discrepancies in the chronology of the era of, ii. 213, 214.
- Diitriphes, massacre by the Thracian auxiliaries under his command, iv. 96, 97.
- Diletanti Society, allusions to the publications of the, x. 170. note; 171. note.
- Dinarchus, the orator, his account of mercenaries in the Lacedæmonian league, x. 8.
- Dinocrates, the architect, notice of, ix. 311. His celebrity, 311, 312. He builds Alexandria, 312.
- Dinon, the Lacedæmonian polemarch, killed, vi. 164, 165.
- Dinon, the Grecian, his history of Persia noticed, ix. 137, 138.
- Diocles, of Syracuse, overturns the government of Hermocrates, vii. 8. Takes upon himself the office of legislator, *ib.* Marches to relieve Himera, 14. Is defeated by Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, *ib.* Flees by sea to Syracuse, 15. Is obliged to abscond, 19. Remarkable account of his death, 20. His character, 21.
- Diocliides, his depositions against the mutilators of the terms of Mercury, v. 93. Becomes a popular favourite, and receives public honours, *ib.* Ac-

- knowledges the falsehood of his accusations against Andocides, 95. And is decreed to death without trial, *ib.*
- Diodorus, the historian, his account of the Greek gods, i. 83. note.
- , inconsistencies in his account of the affairs of Arcadia and Elis, vi. 278. note.
- , his merits as an historian, vii. 2, 3. Discrepancy between him and Plutarch, with regard to Hipparinus, autocrator-general of Syracuse, 45, 46. note. His inconsistencies with regard to Dionysius, 88. note. His observations on the siege of Rhegium, 130. note.
- Diodotus, son of Eucrates, opposes the inhuman decree against the Mitylenæans, iii. 154. His speech on this occasion, 154, 155.
- Diodotus, of Erythræ, one of the compilers of the Royal Day-book of Alexander the Great, ix. 79.
- Diogenes, the cynic philosopher, notice of, viii. 325. Alexander's visit to him, warranted by Arrian, x. 349.
- Diogenes Laertius, the epigram on Xenophon preserved by him, vi. 360. Remarks on his date for Xenophon's death, 361. note.
- Diognetus, one of the principal engineers in Alexander's army, notice of, ix. 79.
- Diomedon, the Athenian general, recovers Teos to the Athenian alliance, iv. 158. His success on the Asiatic coast, 159. Appointed one of the ten generals on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, 268. Defeated by Callicratidas, 277. Condemned to death and executed, 291.
- Dion son of Hipparinus, patronised by Dionysius, vii. 142. Educated by Plato, 158. Respective characters and capabilities of Dion and Dionysius the younger of succeeding Dionysius the elder in the government of Syracuse, *ib.* Character of Dion, 161. Invites Plato to revisit Syracuse, 162. Engages in secret correspondence with the Carthaginians, *ib.* His conspiracy discovered, *ib.* Circumstances and place of his banishment, 164. His ingratitude to Dionysius, *ib.* Proposes to make war against him, *ib.* And levies forces in Peloponnesus, 165. Embarks his troops for Sicily, 166. Arrives at Syracuse, and becomes master of it, 167, 168. Raised to the office of autocrator-general, 168. Is offered terms by Dionysius, to which he refuses to accede, 168, 169. In the encounter which ensues he is wounded and repulsed, but continues the blockade of the fortress, 169. Accused of tyranny by Sostris, 173. Marches to Leontini, 174. Recalled, and re-elected general-autocrator, 176. Is defeated by Pharas, 180. Deprives Heraclides of the command of the fleet, *ib.* Perseveres in reforming the constitution, 181. Irritated by the opposition of Heraclides, he causes him to be murdered, 182. Attempted justification of his conduct by Barthelemi, *ib.* note. Account of the hatred his after conduct excited, by Cornelius Nepos, 183, 184. Takes Callippus an Athenian for his confidant, 184. Who conspires against him, *ib.* Is assassinated by some Zacynthian soldiers, 185. Time of his death, and age, *ib.* Flight of his family to Leontini, 187. Their ultimate fate, 192, 193.
- Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, the Lacedæmonians request maritime assistance from him against Athens, vi. 142. Nine of his ten ships taken by the Athenians, 150. The auxiliaries he sends to Greece described, 206. Sends assistance to the Lacedæmonians, 210.
- , account of his birth and education, vii. 38. and note. Imputes corruption to the Syracusan generals, 38. Is fined for his invective, 39. Repeats it, *ib.* Is chosen one of the generals, *ib.* Procures the recall of the party of Hermocrates, 40, 41. Is appointed commissioner for the affairs of Gela, 43. Elected autocrator-general in conjunction with Hipparinus, 45. Increases the pay for military service, 47. Is attacked by night on his way to Leontini, 48. And is voted a guard of six hundred men in consequence, *ib.* Marries Arete, daughter of Hermocrates, *ib.* And gives his sister to Polyxenus, 49. Marches to relieve Gela, 51. Is defeated by the Carthaginians, 53. Returns to Syracuse, 54. His assassination proposed on the march, *ib.* Defeats the attempt of the Syracusan conspirators, 56. Concludes a peace with Imilcon, *ib.* Improves the port and the maritime power of Syracuse, 58, 59. Makes a division of lands among the people, 60. Is besieged in the island of Syracuse by the party of Daphnæus and Demarchus, 63. Regains the city, 64. His liberality to the defeated insurgents, *ib.* Disarms the Corinthian party at Syracuse, 68, 69. Increases the mercenary troops, 69. Besieges and takes Ætna, 70. Leads an army to the Leontine border, 71. Deposés the tyrant of Enna, *ib.* Adds the Erbitæans to the allies of Syracuse, 72. Destroys Naxos, *ib.* Settles a colony of Campanians in Catania, *ib.* Admits the Leontines to the citizenship of Syracuse, 73. Erects works of a magnitude before unknown, 75. Founds Adranum, 77. Is called by Diodorus "tyrant of the Sicilian Greeks," 77. and note. Pardons the Rhegiens and Messenians, 79. His extensive preparations for war with Carthage, 82. Devises the

last great improvement of the ancient marine, *ib.* Grants a tract of land to the Messenians, 84. Is refused permission to marry the daughter of a Rhegian citizen, 84, 85. Marries Doris, daughter of Xenetus, of Locri, 85. Also Aristomache, daughter of Hipparinus, *ib.* A love of splendour his weakness, 86. No "tyrant," either in the ancient or modern sense, 87. Proposes war with Carthage to the Syracusans, *ib.* Announces the war to Carthage by an herald, 90. Besieges Motya, 91, 92. Carries it by assault, 92. His efforts to save the Motyenes, *ib.* Reduces the Halicyæans to submission, 94. Besieges Egesta, *ib.* But raises the siege, 96. Fortifies the Syracusan territory, 98. Retires to Syracuse, 99, 100. Departs with Leptines to bring in a convoy, 100. Summons an assembly of the people on his return, 104. His familiar deportment, 105. Succeeds in a combined attack on the Carthaginian army and fleet, 106, 107. Concludes a peace with Imilcon, 108. His difficulties in satisfying the demands of the mercenaries, 110. Settles the Greeks at Leontini, 111. Restores Messena, and establishes six hundred Peloponnesian Messenians there, 112. Removes them to the north of Sicily, 113. Is discomfited, and nearly taken prisoner, in his attack on Tauromenium, 117. Plunders the Rhegian territory, 118. Conciliates the greater part of the Sicels, *ib.* Supports Agyrus, chief of Agyrium, 119. Concludes a treaty with Magon, the Carthaginian general, relative to the Sicels, 120. Reduces Tauromenium, and confers it on the Syracusan mercenaries, 121. Leads an army against Rhegium, 124. Enters into an alliance with the Lucinians, *ib.* His generous treatment of the Rhegians and Crotoniats, 126. Grants terms to the Rhegians, 128. Besieges Rhegium, 129. Is wounded in a sally, *ib.* Takes Rhegium, and behaves with clemency to the inhabitants, *ib.* Is proposed as an example by Isocrates, 132. His measures for strengthening the Sicilian navy, *ib.* Represses the piracy of the Tuscans, 133. Defeats the Carthaginians under Magon, 135. Concludes a treaty with Magon, *ib.* Embellishes and enlarges Syracuse, 136. His public revenue, 137—141. His propensity to literature, 143. His poetical talents, *ib.* Is unsuccessful at the Olympic games, *ib.* Improbable story of his treatment of Plato, *ib.* Sends ten ships to the assistance of Lacedæmon at Corcyra, 145. Becomes the ally of Athens, *ib.* Assembles a vast army and fleet for war with Carthage, 146. Takes Selinus, Eryx, and

Entella, 147. Fails in an attempt on Lilybæum, *ib.* Negotiates a truce with the Carthaginians, *ib.* His death, *ib.* His character, 147—155. Absolute in executive power, and so far not untruly called "tyrant of Syracuse, and of Sicily and Italy," 155. The family he left behind him, 158.

Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse, son of Dionysius the elder, by Doris, vii. 158. Respective characters and capabilities of Dion and Dionysius the younger of succeeding Dionysius the elder in the government of Syracuse, *ib.* Dion supported by Philistus, 159. And elected without opposition, *ib.* The flourishing state of Syracuse not owing to his character and talents, 160. His love of pleasure and dissipation, *ib.* Discovers the treachery of Dion, 163. Banishes him to Corinth, 164. Allows him the means of living there splendidly, *ib.* Receives his wife and children into his own house, *ib.* Goes with Philistus to Italy, to provide against the preparations of Dion and Heraclides, 166. Inventions of historians respecting his treatment of his sister, Dion's wife, and credit due to them, 167. He and Philistus, on their return from Italy, finding themselves still in possession of the citadel, propose an accommodation with Dion, which is refused, 169. They resort to arms, *ib.* On the death of Philistus, Dionysius again attempts to negotiate, 172, 173. Offers to surrender the citadel, and pass to Italy on certain conditions, *ib.* Retires thither for supplies, and intrusts the command to his son Apollocrates, 174. Quits Locri, 188. Is re-elected autocrat-general, 189. Is defeated by Ictes, 201. Negotiates with Timoleon, and retires to Corinth, 204. His distress there, 229. Retires to Epirus, *ib.* Fate of his family, *ib.*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, his remarks on the funeral oration of Demosthenes, viii. 129. 370—376.

Dionysus. See Bacchus.

Diophrantus sent to Thermopylæ, viii. 81. Honours decreed to him, 82.

Diopithes, appointed Athenian commander in Thrace, viii. 259. Defence of, by Demosthenes, 262. Its effect, 265. His successes against Macedon, 267.

Diphilus, the Athenian commander, defeats the Corinthian squadron, *iv.* 99.

Diphridas, appointed commander-in-chief of the Lacedæmonian forces in Asia, vi. 59. Restores the affairs of Lacedæmon there, *ib.* Takes Tigranes prisoner, *ib.*

Diridotis, on the Euphrates, account of, x. 273.



- Dispatches of generals, usually committed to trusty messengers, iv. 82. The first sent in writing by Nicias, ib.  
 Divernois, M., notice of, ix. 43.  
 Dodona, account of the oracle of, i. 171. Considered by M. Hardion not to have been the oldest in Greece, 172. note. This opinion controverted, 172, 173. note. Situation of, ix. 18.  
 Dodwell, Mr., his *Ann. Thuc.* commended, ii. 271. note. His authority disputed, and Xenophon supported, as to the season of the ceremony called Thermophoria, vi. 96.  
 Dokimasia, or scrutiny, v. 75.  
 Dolonians colonise the Thracian Chersonesus, ii. 60.  
 Dolphins, use of machines so called, in naval action, iv. 102.  
 Dorcis, appointed commander of the Grecian fleet, ii. 216.  
 Dorian cities of Sicily, how affected towards Syracuse, vii. 70.  
 — Sicilians, war between them and the Ionian Sicilians, iv. 13, 14.  
 Doric dialect, over what states it extended, i. 167.  
 — order, not peculiar to the Dorian Greeks, ii. 249. note. Distinctions between this order and the Ionic, ib.  
 Dorieus, elder brother of Leonidas, notice of, ii. 221.  
 Doris, boundaries of, i. 11. War of, with Phocis, ii. 324. Plundered by the Phocians, vii. 50.  
 Doris, daughter of Xenetus of Locri, marries Dionysius the elder, of Syracuse, vii. 84.  
 Doriscus, siege of, ii. 281.  
 Doryphori, or spear-bearers, the attendants of the tyrants, i. 362.  
 Δούλος and Ἀνδράποδον, distinction between, v. 177. note.  
 Downs, ix. 227.  
 Draco, notice of the legislative code of, i. 327.  
 Dramatic style, a propensity to the, common in ancient history, ii. 32.  
 Drangia, notice of the country and people of, x. 39, 191.  
 Druidical religion, allusion to, i. 100.  
 Dryden, historical fidelity of, in his ode of "Alexander's Feast," ix. 356.  
 Ducetius, king of the Sicels, notice of, iv. 9—11.  
 Dying Gladiator, remarks on the statue of, vi. 288. note.  
 Dyme, i. 12.  
 Earth and water given as an acknowledgment of subjection, i. 379.  
 Earthquake at Lacedæmon, account of, ii. 308, 309. Notice of earthquakes in Greece, iii. 176. Effect of the terrors of one, iv. 148, 149.  
 Eastern dialects, observations on the use of vowels in, 115, 116.  
 — nations, politically connected with Greece, view of, ii. 1—37.  
 Ἡῶν, signification of ἀφ' Ἡῶν, vi. 124.  
 Ecbatana, the capital of Media, arrival of Darius at, x. 1. Of embassies at, 2. Darius's flight from, 13. Its treasury intrusted to Harpalus, 15. He-phestion's death at, 331.  
 Eclipse of the moon, its effect upon the Athenians at Syracuse, iv. 112.  
 Ecspondi, and Enspondi, distinction between, iii. 162. Condition of the Ecspondi, vi. 83.  
 Edessa, the Macedonian seat of government removed from, vii. 249. Battle of, 268. Festival celebrated there by Philip, viii. 381. The place of his assassination, ib.  
 Edinburgh, strong resemblance of its site to that of Argos, Corinth, and Athens, i. 42.  
 Edonians, defeated by the Greek army, ii. 307.  
 Education, system of, pursued at Sparta, i. 257—260.  
 —, what kind of, in request at Athens, in the time of Plato, Xenophon, &c., v. 115.  
 Eetionea, destruction of the fort of, iv. 216, 217.  
 Ἡγεμονίαν, signification of the title, iv. 256, 257.  
 Egesta, foundation of, i. 318.  
 —, held by the Elymians, ii. 216, 224.  
 —, war between it and Selinus, iv. 22. Solicits assistance from the Athenians, 22, 23. Which is granted, 24. Poverty of, 44, 45.  
 —, the Egestans apply to Carthage for protection against Selinus, vii. 10. Join the Carthaginian army under Hannibal, 12. Egesta is besieged by Dionysius, 94.  
 Egypt, advantages presented by, to its first occupants, i. 6. The first regular government constituted in, ib. The mother of the arts, ib. Geometry invented in, 6, 7. Improvements attributed to, 7. Early civilisation, ib. Colonies from, established in Greece, 25, 42. Causes that rendered Egypt the great school of superstition, 81, 170. The chief source of the gods of Greece, 87.  
 —, flourishing state of, previously to the Persian invasion, ii. 20—22. Conquered by Cambyses, king of Persia, 24. The greater part of, in rebellion, 320. Expedition of the Athenians to, 320—322. The Greeks defeated there by Megabyzus, 332.  
 — revolts from the Persian empire, and becomes an independent monarchy, vi. 303. Tachos, its king, engages Agesilaus to command his army, and Chabrias his fleet, 304. Deserted by his people, Tachos takes refuge in Sidon, 311. Nectanabis seated on the Egyptian throne, 312.  
 —, recovered by the Persians, ix. 155. Egyptian hieroglyphics of Artaxerxes

- Ochus, 155. Submits to Alexander, 308. His arrangements there, 320—322.
- Eion, siege of, ii. 281. By whom colonised, iii. 252, 253. Held by the Athenians, 255, 256.
- Elatea, situation of, viii. 337. Garrisoned by Philip, *ib.* Observations on the occupation of, 383—387. note.
- Elea, province of, i. 12. Notice of the Elean games, 189. Advantages procured to the Eleans, by the establishment of the Olympic games in Elea, 192, 193. Sketch of the history of Elea, 242. Discordances among writers relative to its history, 243—244. note.
- Elections, English, allusion to, vii. 312.
- Elephant-hunters, Indian, account of, x. 130, 131.
- Eleus, taken by Charidemus, vii. 344.
- Eleusinian mysteries, probable origin of, i. 93.
- Eleusinians, conduct of Critias and his party towards them, v. 53. Massacre of, 54. Fate of the oligarchal leaders, 64.
- Eleutheria, or feast of freedom, account of, iv. 7.
- Elis, dispute between Lacedæmon and, iii. 294, 295. 317, 318.
- , war with Lacedæmon, v. 296, 297. Submission of the Eleans, 298.
- , the Eleans oppose the universal independency of the Grecian cities, at the congress of Athens, vi. 181. Causes of alienation between Elis and Arcadia, 209, 210. The Eleans make themselves masters of Lasion, 255. Engage in war with Arcadia, 256. Elis entered by the Arcadian army, *ib.* The democratical leaders seize its citadel, *ib.* But are compelled to flee to Pylus, 257. The war terminated by the interference of the Achæans, 258. Elis returns to its connection with Lacedæmon, *ib.* Elea re-invaded by the Arcadians, 262. The Eleans defeated, *ib.* Put to death their apostate fellow-citizens in Pylus, 266. Are excluded by the Arcadians from the presidency of the Olympian festival, 266, 267. Defeat the Arcadians, 268. Return to Elis, 269. Meet deputies from all the Arcadian cities at Tegea, 274.
- , conduct of the Eleans after the combination among the Grecian republics under Demosthenes, ix. 132, 133.
- Eloquence, power of, in the courts of justice at Athens, v. 72, 73. Teachers of, 116. Study of, very important in Greece, vi. 300.
- Elymians, of what nations they were composed, ii. 216.
- Emigration of Esau, illustrated, i. 14. In ancient Greece, 15. (See Migration.)
- Empedion, the Selinuntine, obtains terms from Hannibal, vii. 13.
- Encampments of the ancient Greeks, i. 138.
- England, plan to be adopted in case of the invasion of, ix. 183. note. (See Britain, British constitution, and British islands.)
- Enna, a town of Sicily, the tyrant of, deposed by Dionysius, vii. 71. Passes to the dominion of the Messenians of Tyndaris, 114.
- Enotomarch and Enotomy, explanation of the terms, i. 267—270.
- Enspondi and Ecspondi, distinction between, iii. 162, 163.
- Entella, a town of Sicily, a body of Campanian horse quartered at, vii. 66. Who settle there, after slaying all the male inhabitants, *ib.* Taken by Dionysius, 147. Besieged by the Carthaginians, 199.
- Epaminondas, character of, vi. 128. At the head of the Theban ambassadors at the congress of Lacedæmon, 158. Directs, with Pelopidas, the Theban councils, 160. Gains, with his colleague, the victory of Leuctra, 162, 163. Is appointed to command the army of the Theban confederacy, 192. Wastes Corinthia, 193. Invades Laconia, 194. Invests Gythium, 197. Is compelled to withdraw from Laconia, 200. Patronises the building of the new city of Messena, 201. Commands the confederate army sent into Achaia, 225. His liberal policy to the Achæans, 226. His reception of the Arcadian ministers, 277. Fails in his maritime attempts against Athens, 281. Motives for his fourth invasion of Peloponnesus, 282, 283. Bartholemi's view of his character, 283. note. Is joined by numerous allies, 284. His inactivity at Tegea commended by Xenophon, 285, 286. Marches for Sparta, 287. Is disappointed of his hope to surprise the city, *ib.* Hastens to the Mantinean territory, 289. Is worsted by the Athenian horse, 289, 290. Gains the battle of Mantinea, 294—296. Is wounded, and dies, 296. note. His mode of fighting noticed, ix. 338.
- Eparites, or select militia of Arcadia, described, vi. 263, 269, 273.
- Ephebi, registry of the, i. 341.
- Ephesus, city of, its foundation, i. 311.
- , attempt upon, by Thrasyllus, iv. 244, 245.
- , circumstances of, ix. 197, 198. Tumult at, 198, 199. Alexander's arrival there, 199.
- Epialtes, head of a party against Cimon, ii. 316. Brings forward the measure for depressing the power of the Areopagus, 318.
- Ephors, magistrates so called, when installed at Sparta, i. 299. Their functions, 300.
- Ephorus, the Greek historian, notice of, i. 200.

- Epicrates, condemned to death, for procuring the escape of the wife and children of Themistocles, ii. 295.
- Epidamnus, colony of, when founded, i. 239; iii. 18. The Epidamnians apply to the oracle at Delphi, and send a deputation to Corinth, in consequence, iii. 18. Assistance derived from that state, 19, 20. Surrenders to the Corcyræans, 21, 22.
- Epidauria, ravaged by the Theban army, vi. 205. Invaded by the Argives, 209.
- Epidaurus, war of Argos with, iii. 321, 322. Siege of, 336.
- Epimenides, a philosopher of Crete, invited by Solon to undertake the superintendence of the religion of Athens, i. 331. His disinterested conduct, 332.
- Epipolæ, what part of the suburb of Athens so called, iv. 69.
- Epipolæ, assault of, at Syracuse, iv. 106—109. Hill of, near Syracuse, fortified by Dionysius, vii. 75.
- Epirus, inhabitants of, i. 10. Description of, viii. 53. Notice of, ix. 18.
- Ἐπιστάτης, meaning of, v. 196.
- Epistates, office of, at Athens, i. 346, 347.
- Epistoleus, or vice-admiral, when the term was first used, iv. 301. Synonymous with the Roman "Legatus," ib. note.
- Epitadas, commander of the Lacedæmonian forces at Sphacteria, iii. 212.
- Epitaph, remarkable, on the daughter of Hippias, i. 373.
- Epiteles, the Argive general, projects the building of Messena, vi. 201.
- Epyaxa, wife of Syennesis, attends the camp of Cyrus with her troops, v. 141. Effect upon her of the review of the Grecian troops, 142.
- Equal law, right of, peculiar to the English constitution, how derived, i. 233. note.
- Erasinides, appointed one of the ten generals, on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, iv. 268. Condemned to death and executed, 291.
- Eratosthenes, notice of the chronological system of, i. 200.
- Erbita, a town of Sicily, its chief migrates to Alesa, vii. 72. The Erbitæans become allies of Syracuse, ib.
- Erechtheus, king of Attica, notice of, i. 44. Erechtheus and Erichthonia, the same person, ib. note.
- Eretria, an Athenian colony, before the Trojan war, i. 309. Siege and capture of, by the Persians, ii. 74. Humane treatment of the Eretrian prisoners, by Darius, 85.
- , welcomes the Thebans, vii. 318.
- Ergophilus of Athens, sent against Thrace, vii. 341.
- Erichthonius, king of Dardania, account of, i. 67.
- Erygius, the Macedonian, joins Alexander, x. 21. Kills Satizarbanes, 47.
- Erythræ, city of, its foundation, i. 311.
- Eryx, foundation of the town of, i. 318.
- , held by the Elymians, ii. 216.
- , taken by Dionysius, vii. 147.
- Erzerum, climate of, v. 210. note.
- Esau, migration of, illustrated, i. 14.
- Eteonicus, the Lacedæmonian general, stratagem adopted by, on receiving the news of the defeat of the Peloponnesians, iv. 281, 282. Suppresses the sedition at Chios, 292.
- Etruria, sketch of the history of, ii. 232.
- Etruscans, origin of the, ii. 229—231. Their proficiency in the arts, 230. note. How they were connected with the Corinthians, 232.
- Eubœa, island, power of, i. 309.
- , course of the navigation from, to Cuma, on the Campanian coast, ii. 243, 244. A colony of Eubœans settle at Cuma, on the Campanian plain, 244, 245. Which is conquered by them, 246. Revolt of, 350.
- , the Eubœans propose to revolt from the Athenian to the Lacedæmonian confederacy, iv. 143. Importance of Eubœa to Athens, 219. Revolts to the Lacedæmonians, ib.
- , account of, vii. 316, 317. Its importance to Athens, 317. Interference of Thebes in, 318. Revolt of the Eubœans against Athens, ib. They return to their allegiance, 320.
- , chosen by Timotheus as his place of exile, viii. 122. How governed, 123, 124. Troubles of, 123—125. Affairs of, 157. The situation of, engages the attention of Demosthenes, 277. Its liberties restored by him, 277, 278. Its subjection to the party of Callias, 278.
- Eubulus, decree proposed by him, viii. 282.
- Eucles, commander, with Thucydides, of the Athenian forces in Thrace, iii. 252.
- Euclides, a soothsayer, anecdote of him and Xenophon, vi. 340.
- Eudamidas, the Lacedæmonian general, marches for Thrace, vi. 93. Occupies Potidæa, 94.
- Eulæus river, notice of, x. 275. Alexander's passage down, 298.
- Eumenes, of Cardia, one of the compilers of the royal daybook, ix. 78. Alexander's principal secretary, x. 84. Notices of, 156. 286. 351. 364. note. Married to a daughter of Artabazus, 286. His dispute with Hephæstion, 330.
- Eumolpus, settlement of, in Eleusis, i. 45.
- Eunuchs, 'at the Persian court, generally foreigners, ii. 158. Preferred by Cyrus for his confidants, ib. Great wealth acquired by traffic in, 159.
- Eupatridæ, or nobly born, privileges of, i. 228.
- Euphaes, king of Messenia, prudent

- conduct of, in training his people for war, i. 278. His death in battle, 281.
- Euphorion, notice of, ix. 21.
- Euphrates, the provinces bordering upon the, first settled after the flood, i. 4. Crossed by Alexander, ix. 330. Its source, x. 342. Its course described, 343.
- Euphron becomes tyrant of Sicily, vi. 235. Withdraws from Æneas of Stym-palus, 237. Recovers his ascendancy, and goes to Thebes, 238. Is assassinated there, 239. Is buried with public pomp in the agora of Sicily, 242.
- Eupolemus, son of Icetes, his execution, vii. 217.
- Eupolidas, commander of Plataea, his plan of escape from the garrison, iii. 140.
- Euripides, benefits received by the Athenian prisoners in Sicily from reciting his verses, iv. 134. His residence at the Macedonian court, vii. 216.
- Europeans, their innate love of freedom, ix. 59.
- Eurotas, river, i. 12.
- Eurybiades, admiral of the Grecian fleet at Artemisium, ii. 132, 133. Anecdote of, 143. note. Character of, 151. Receives the reward of the olive crown, 169.
- Eurydice, queen of Macedonia, married to Amyntas, vii. 253. Her interview with Iphicrates, 257. Accused of intrigues by Justin, 259. note.
- Eurylochus, the Spartan, passes through Acarnania, iii. 187. And joins the Ambraciots in Olpæ, ib. Killed in battle with Demosthenes, 188.
- Eurylochus, the Thessalian, destroys Crissa, viii. 7. Restores Cirrha, 8. Contradictory accounts respecting, 7—9.
- Eurymachus, plot concerted between him and Nauclicides, iii. 66, 67.
- Eurymedon, sea-fight of the, ii. 230. Battle of, ib.
- Eurymedon, the Athenian admiral, impolicy of his conduct at Corcyra, iii. 173. Operations of the fleet under the command of Eurymedon and Sophocles, 194—196. They assist the democratic against the aristocratic Corcyraeans, 223. Surrender the latter to the fury of the former, 234. (See Demosthenes.)
- Euryptolemus, son of Pisanax, the part he took in the defence of the Athenian generals impeached for their conduct at the battle of Arginusæ, iv. 287—290.
- Eurystheus, king of Argos, enmity of, to Heracles (or Hercules) and the Heraclidæ, i. 31, 32. Slain in Attica, 33.
- Eurytus, Spartan, notice of, ii. 130.
- Euthymus, of Leontini, his execution, vii. 216.
- Euthyne, or Scrutiny, i. 348.; v. 23.; viii. 152.
- Evagoras, prince of Salamis, his descent, vi. 10. Revolution effected by him in Salamis, 10, 11. His character among the most perfect known to history, ib. His friendly relations with Athens, ib. Friendship between him and Conon, 12. Relations of, with Athens, 69, 70. Endeavours to unite Cyprus under his authority, 304. Ravages Phenicia, and takes Tyre by storm, 306. His fleet defeated by the Persian, ib. He is besieged in Salamis, ib. Is compelled to surrender all his acquisitions, but allowed to retain Salamis, with the title of king, 307. Is assassinated by the eunuch Nicocles. ib. note.
- Examiners, at Athens, nature of their office, iv. 50.
- Exænetus, an Agrigentine, victor at the Olympic games, vii. 27. His return celebrated with extraordinary magnificence, ib.
- Fate, how personified, i. 91. Office of, 92. Power of, over the gods, ib. note.
- Female character, Homer's estimation of, i. 157.
- Festivals, Grecian, how regulated, i. 223. (See Games.)
- Feudal vassalage, a near resemblance to, in the tenures of principalities in Persia, vi. 307. note.
- Fir, the silver, not found in Britain in Cæsar's time, i. 9. note.
- "Fish-eaters," the people so called, as described by Nearchus, x. 240. Attacked by him, 241.
- Five Hundred, the. See Council.
- Fleece, golden, expedition of the, i. 38.
- Flood, traditions of all nations bear testimony to a general, i. 3.
- Floods of Deucalion, i. 38. And of Ogyges, 41. Of Mesopotamian rivers, x. 341. 351.
- Foot-race, the only game exhibited at the Olympian festival as established by Iphitus, i. 194. Another sort of, termed "Diaulos," afterwards added, 194.
- Forty, the itinerant judges appointed by Solon so designated, i. 351.
- Four hundred, the. See Council.
- France, atrocities of the revolution in, illustrate Grecian history, and exculpate the Grecian character, iv. 291, 292. Extract from M. Calonne's letter to Louis XVI., 296. note.
- , similarity between the proceedings of the committee of public welfare at Paris, and those of the Athenian council of thirty, v. 50. note.
- , comparison between the French and Greek republics, vi. 236. note.
- , measures of the promoters of the revolution in, noticed, ix. 46.
- French mutilation of classical names, i. 31. note.

- French orthography of Asiatic names, x. 193. note.
- Frenet, M., his remarks upon the Arundel marbles, i. 202. note.
- Fruits of Alcinous's garden, i. 127. and note.
- Funeral anniversary instituted by the Athenians, ii. 254.
- , ceremonies among the Persians, 98. Of the Athenians, iv. 321, 322. Of the Odrysians, v. 284.
- honours of the slain at Plataea, ii. 200, 201.
- Furies, office of, i. 91, 92.
- Future state of rewards and punishments, how far known to the ancients, i. 100.
- Gadrosia opposes Alexander, x. 204. Is subdued, 205. Its desert passed by Alexander, 206—210.
- Gæsyllus, reconciles Dion and Heracles, vii. 179.
- Galley, ancient nature of, ii. 43. Their form and management in action, 153. Remarks on, by General Melvill and M. Pages, 162. 165. The most perfect representation of a bireme in the Vatican Museum at Rome, 162.
- , improvement in the construction of the Corinthian galleys, iv. 99. Dartmen employed in the ancient galleys, 103, 104. (See Ships)
- Games, origin of, i. 187. Notice of the Pythian games, 188. Elean games, 189. Olympian games, 191. 194. Delphian, Isthmian, and Nemean games, 195.
- Gaos, son of Tiribazus, revolts, and joins Acoris, king of Egypt, vi. 307.
- Garden, public, the first laid out by Pisistratus, i. 370.
- Gaugamela, or Arbela, account of the battle of, ix. 336—346.
- Gauls, the, send embassies to Alexander the Great, ix. 101, 102. and note.
- Gaza, description of, ix. 305. Taken by Alexander, ib.
- Gela, foundation of, i. 319.
- , notice of, ii. 217.
- , the majority of the Agrigentine citizens flee to, vii. 35. Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian commissioner, resumes his station at, 42. Faction at, how quelled by Dionysius, 43, 44. Is besieged by the Carthaginians under Imilcon, 50. The Geloans evacuate the place, and reach Syracuse, 53. How governed under Timoleon, 224.
- Gelanor, king of Argos, i. 27.
- Gellias, the Agrigentine, his extraordinary magnificence and hospitality, vii. 26. Perishes by fire at the taking of Agrigentum, 35.
- Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, notice of, ii. 217. How he acquired the sovereignty there, 218, 219. Makes Syracuse the seat of government, 220, 221. His measures for harmonising and amalgamating the various petty states belonging to him, 220. Wisdom and vigour of his government, 221. Puts himself at the head of his army, and engages and defeats Hamilcar, 224, 225. Popularity of his character, 226. Golden coins of his, yet in existence, ib. Remarks on his government, ib. His appeal to an assembly of the people, 227. A statue decreed to him, ib. Honourable exception in favour of this statue in after-times, ib. Particulars in the history of Gelon, 228—234. note. Sketch of the history of, iv. 2, 3.
- General assemblies at Athens, how often held, and their functions and power, i. 345, 346.
- General-in-chief, importance of the office at Athens, iii. 320, 321.
- Geneva, allusion to, ix. 9.
- Genoa, local advantages of, vi. 325, 326. note.
- Geographical information, deficiency of, in the time of Alexander, x. 175. note.
- Geometry, invention of, in Egypt, i. 6, 7.
- Geranor, the Lacedæmonian polemarch, defeated and killed by the Arcadians, vi. 209.
- Gerostratus, king of Aradus, submits to Alexander, ix. 290.
- Getes, the, notice of, iii. 87. Put to flight by Alexander the Great, ix. 100.
- Gibbon, Mr., his elaborate account of the Scythians noticed, ii. 6. note.
- , his comparison of the golden rule of the Gospel with a precept of Thales impugned, v. 113. note.
- , his remarks on the orthography of the word "pashaw," x. 193. note.
- Gill, old north-country term, x. 127.
- Gladiator, Fighting, statue of the, whom it was supposed to represent, vi. 289. note.
- Glaucias, king of Taulantia, repulsed by Alexander the Great, ix. 106.
- Glaucus, a prince of Corinth, i. 22.
- Glausees, or Glaucaenees, account of, x. 149. They enter into a treaty with Alexander, ib.
- God, derivation of the Greek name for, i. 87. note. And good, one word in Anglo-Saxon, 90. note.
- Gods of Greece, Diodorus's account of, i. 83. note. Whence principally derived, 87. Their characters, 88, 89. Sum of the duties of men to, 95. What crime they were supposed most to avenge, ib. Instances of the general belief that they interfered in human concerns, 97, 98. Oracles of, 99. Offerings to the gods after victory, ii. 167, 168.
- Goitre, existence of the, in the valleys of the Alps, and in Wallachia, x. 45, 46.
- Gold, ancient method of collecting, from the beds of rivers, i. 37.

- Golden fleece, expedition of the, i. 38.
- Gongylus, an Eretrian, his treachery rewarded by Persia, ii. 274. Made governor of Byzantium, 275. Carries proposals from Pausanias to the Persian court, *ib.*
- Gongylus, the Corinthian commander, his operations on the Sicilian coast, iv. 77, 78.
- Gordian knot, story of the, ix. 246—249.
- Gordium, the ancient capital of Lower Phrygia, notice of, ix. 235, 236. 244—248.
- Gordius, a Phrygian yeoman, history of, ix. 246—248.
- Gorgias, of Leontini, the first rhetorician who reduced his profession to an art, iv. 13. His embassy to Athens, *ib.* Nature of his eloquence, and its effect on the Athenians, *ib.* His celebrity as a sophist, v. 115, 116.
- Gothic name, supposed founders of the, iii. 87.
- Goths, country of the, ix. 99—101.
- Government, the first regular one constituted in Egypt, i. 6. Analysis of the governments of the early Greeks, 101—106. What circumstances distinguished the governments of the Grecian states from those of modern Europe, 225, 226. Defects of this system, 226—228. Account of the different forms of government known to the Greeks, 229—231.
- , examination of Aristotle's treatise on government, ix. 5—13. Despotism government unknown in Europe, before the rise of republican government in Greece, 59. Circumstances of modern governments contrasted with the policy of Philip, 72. (See Athens, Constitution, Lacedæmon, Macedonia.)
- Græcia Propria, geographical description of, i. 9—13.
- Γράμματα [σήματα λυγὰ,] explanation of, i. 112. note; 124. note.
- Granicus, river, description of, ix. 184. Battle of, 185—193.
- Greece, general history of, from the earliest accounts to the end of the Trojan war, i. 1. et seq. How the oldest traditional memorials of Greece differ from those of barbarous ages, 1, 2. Greece the first country of Europe that was civilised, 9, 10. Early known to the Egyptian and Phœnician navigators, 9. Geographical description of Græcia Propria, 10—13. Its climate, 13, 14. Condition of its early inhabitants, 13. Spirit of war and robbery prevalent among them, 15, 16. Account of the southern part of Greece, 17—24. Piracy repressed and settlements formed, 20, 21. Pelasgic dominion in Greece, 24—26. Egyptian colonies there, 25. 27—30. Colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly under Pelops, 30—33. Account of the northern provinces, 35—61. The Athenians the first civilised people in Greece, 61. Coincidences, tending to show that the early inhabitants of Greece, Asia Minor, and Thrace, were the same, 63—65. Early hostilities between Greece and Asia, 68, 69. The war of the Greeks against Troy, 71. Their return thence, 75, 76. State of religion among the early Greeks, 80—101. Their government and jurisprudence, 101—109. Science, arts, and commerce, 109—144. Their manners, 145—161. History of, from the Trojan war to the return of the Heraclidæ, 162. et seq. Return of the Heraclidæ, 163, 164. Its effects on the language of Greece, 166—168. Account of Grecian oracles, 173—180. Investigation of the chronology of Grecian history, 195—223. History of the southern provinces of Greece, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians, 224—296. Summary view of the state of the northern provinces of Greece, and of the establishment of the early Grecian colonies, 301—321.
- Greece, view of the Eastern nations politically connected with Greece, ii. 1—37. First Persian armament against Greece, 64—66. Second Persian armament, 73—78. Defeat of the Persians, 82—85. History of, from the accession of Xerxes to the throne of Persia, till the conclusion of the first campaign of that monarch's expedition against Greece, 90. et seq. Arrival of the Persian army and fleet at Therme in Macedonia, 99. State of Greece at the time of the invasion under Xerxes, 100—104. Responses of the Delphian oracle concerning the invasion, 105—107. Measures for forming a confederacy of Grecian commonwealths, 107. Disunion among the Greeks, 108—110. Assembly of deputies from the confederated commonwealths at Corinth, 110. Measures for defending the pass of Thermopylæ, 114. Exertions of the assembly at Corinth, 115. State of the Grecian army at Thermopylæ, and of the fleet at Artemisium, 116. Battle of Thermopylæ, 122—130. Numbers of the Grecian fleet, 130—132. Sea-fights off Artemisium, 135, 136. Retreat of the Grecian fleet, 137, 138. Unsteady councils of the Grecian confederacy, 143, 144. Battle of Salamis, 155—160. History of, from the battle of Salamis to the conclusion of the Persian invasion, 166. et seq. Measures of the Grecian fleet, 166. Congress at Athens, 172—177. Campaign in Bœotia, 179. Battle of Platæa, 186—203. Measures of the Grecian fleet at Delos, 205. Battle of Mycale, 206—209. View of the people of the western countries politically connected with the Greeks,

- and of the Grecian settlements in Sicily and Italy, 212—249. Affairs of, from the conclusion of the Persian war to the establishment of security for the Greeks against the barbarians, by the successes of Cimon, 250. et seq. Dedications, festivals, and monuments in Greece, occasioned by the victories over the Persians, 252, 253. War prosecuted against Persia under Pausanias and Aristides, 272. New confederacy of the Greeks, 279. Successes of the confederate arms under Cimon, 281. Battle of the Eurymedon, 285. Affairs of, from the establishment of its security against Persia, to the truce for thirty years between Athens and Lacedæmon, 301. et seq. War of Argos and Mycenæ, an instance of the miseries to which Greece was liable, from the defects of its political system, 312, 313. Expedition to Egypt, 320, 321. 332, 333. War between the different states of Greece, 322—331. Expedition to Cyprus, 342. Policy of the Grecian republics for holding the weaker republics in subjection, 346, 347. 'Thirty Years' Truce, 352.
- Greece, affairs of, from the Thirty Years' Truce to the Peloponnesian war, iii. 1. et seq. Project for the union of Greece, 9, 10. War between Samos and Miletus, 11. Between Corcyra and Corinth, 19. Sea-fight off Actium, 22. Sea-fights off Sybota, 26. Infraction of the Thirty Years' Truce, 30. Wars in Greece, 31. Battle and siege of Potidæa, 59. Assembly of deputies of the Peloponnesian confederacy at Lacedæmon, 41. Second assembly, 53. War with Athens resolved, 53. Attempt of the Thebans against Platæa, 64—70. History of the Peloponnesian war, from its commencement to the death of Pericles, 71. et seq. Expedition of the Corinthians against Acarnania and Cephallenia, 90. Barbarity of the Grecian system of war, 103. Of the Peloponnesian war, from the death of Pericles, in the third year, to the application for peace from Lacedæmon, in the seventh, 119. et seq. Siege of Platæa by the Peloponnesians, 109—115. Affairs of the western parts of Greece, 116—119. Battle near Stratus, 119. Sea-fight between the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets, 120—127. Siege of Mitylene by Paches, 139 143—147. Siege of Platæa, 140—143. Platæa taken, 158. Operations of the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets, 169—175. Operations of the Athenians, under Nicias, on the eastern side of Greece, and under Demosthenes on the western, 178—180. Battle of Olpæ, 188. Of Idomene, 191. Siege of Pylus, 200—203. Blockade of Sphacteria, 207. Attack upon the place by Demosthenes, 213—215. Of the Peloponnesian war, from the application for peace from Lacedæmon, in the seventh year, to the conclusion of peace between Lacedæmon and Athens, in the tenth, 219. et seq. Battle of Delium, 242—244. Of Amphipolis, 278, 279. Of the Peloponnesian war, during the peace between Lacedæmon and Athens, 288. et seq. A third Peloponnesian confederacy, 305. Implication of interests of the principal Grecian republics, 316. Battle near Mantinea, 332—324. Siege of Melos, 345, 346.
- Greece, account of the expedition into Sicily, iv. 19—134. Affairs of Greece from the conclusion of the Sicilian expedition till the return of Alcibiades to Athens, in the twenty-fourth year of the Peloponnesian war, 135. et seq. Effects through Greece of the overthrow of the Athenians in Sicily, 138. New implication of Grecian and Persian interests, 144. Affairs of Greece, from the return of Alcibiades to Athens till the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, 258.
- , summary view of the rise of philosophy and literature in, v. 109—129. Transactions of the Greeks in Asia and Thrace, from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war to the renewal of war between Lacedæmon and Persia, 130—273. Battle of Cunaxa, 157—162. Return of the Greeks, and their difficulties, 163—170. Treaty with the Persian king, 171. Dissensions of Greeks and Persians, 172, 173. Increase of mutual ill-will, 175. Seizure of the Grecian generals, 177. Their fate, 178. State of the army, 181. Xenophon chosen general, 184. Establishment of military law, 186, 187. Retreat of the Greeks; passage of Mount Taurus; march through Armenia; arrival at Trapezus, 187—210. Transactions at Trapezus, Cerasus, Cotyora, Sinope, Heraclea, Port Calpe, 211—241. Political state of Greece, 241—243. March of the army to Chrysopolis, 248. Arrival in Europe, 249. Transactions at Byzantium, 250—252. Service of the army with a Thracian prince, 261—264. Engaged in the Lacedæmonian service, 265. Passage of the army to Asia, and its march to join the Lacedæmonian forces, 266, 267. Affairs of the Greeks in Asia, from the renewal of the war between Lacedæmon and Persia to the renewal of war within Greece, 274—338. Revolt of the Persian Greeks, 276. Condition of the Asian Greeks, 287. Bribery of the democratical leaders in the Grecian republics, 322.
- , affairs of, and transactions of the Greeks in Asia, from the establishment of the general confederacy against Lacedæmon, to the treaty between Lacedæmon and Persia, and the re-establishment of the Lacedæ-

- monian power in Greece, through the general peace dictated in the king of Persia's name, commonly called the peace of Antalcidas, vi. 1. et seq. Confederacy in Greece against Lacedæmon, 1, 2. Preparations for the invasion of Laconia, 5. Battle of Corinth, and losses of the confederate army, 6, 7. Battle of Coronea, 15—17. Evils of the Grecian political system, 21—23. Improvement of the Grecian art of war, 35. The peace of Antalcidas, 79. Affairs of, from the peace of Antalcidas to the elevation of Thebes to supremacy by the battle of Leuctra, 82. et seq. Uncommon tranquillity in Greece, after the dispersion of the Mantineans, 87. Inconveniences of the Grecian political system, 88, 89. Intermarriages forbidden, 89. State of the smaller republics of Greece, 132. General congress at Lacedæmon, 156. The Lacedæmonians resign their supremacy over the Grecian cities, 157. State of Greece immediately before the battle of Leuctra, 161. Affairs of, from the battle of Leuctra to the failure of the attempt to extend the Theban supremacy over Greece, through support from Persia, 167. et seq. Congress of the states of Greece at Athens, 179—181. Greece no longer fearful of the power of the "Great King," or king of Persia, 180. Incapable of supporting general freedom, 182—185. Or of a generally beneficial union, 189. Deficiency of political principle in Greece, 198, 199. Congress at Delphi, 211. At Susa, 216. At Thebes, 218. Affairs of, from the failure of the attempt to extend the Theban supremacy over Greece, to the dissolution of the ancient system of Grecian confederacy, through the event of the battle of Mantinea, 221. et seq. Greece ill prepared for internal quiet, 222. Similarity between the Greek and French republics, 236. note. Imperfect administration of justice, exemplified in the trial of the assassins of Enphron of Sicyon, 232—243. Exile familiar to the citizens of the Grecian republics, 244. Insecurity of person in Greece, 248. The Greeks considered warfare the natural state of man, 265. Democracy unfavourable to lasting peace in Greece, 279, 280. The Lacedæmonian supremacy accounted for, 280. Dissolution of the ancient system of Grecian confederacy, 314, 315.
- Greece, affairs of the Grecian settlements in Sicily and Italy, from the Athenian invasion to the settlement of the Syracusan government under Dionysius and Hipparinus, vii. 1—49. Affairs of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy, from the settlement of the Syracusan government under Dionysius and Hipparinus, to the restoration of the Syracusan supremacy over the Sicilian, and its extension over the Italian and Greek cities, 50—79. Affairs of the Sicilian and Italian Greek cities, from the establishment of the Syracusan empire to the death of Dionysius, 80—155. Affairs of the Grecian settlements of Sicily and Italy, from the death of the first Dionysius, to the death of the second Dionysius, 157—189. From the restoration of the younger Dionysius to the death of Timoleon, 190—230.
- Greece, affairs of, during the first period of the contest for possession of the temple and treasury of Delphi, called the Phocian or the Sacred war, viii. 1—71. Second period of the Sacred war, when Macedonia was implicated 72—128. Affairs of, during the third period of the Sacred war, when Athens and Macedonia became principal parties, 129. et seq. Congress of Grecian embassies at the Macedonian court, 186—188. Removed to Pheræ, 190. and note. Meet at Thermopylæ, 214, 215. and note. Affairs of, from the end of the Sacred war to the acquisition of the lead of the war-party of Athens, and the authority of first minister of the republic, by Demosthenes, 223—269. From this period till the election of the king of Macedonia to the office of general of the Amphictyonic confederacy, 270—319. From this period till the death of Philip, 320—404. Congress of Grecian states at Corinth, 378.
- , account of its constitutions, ix. 50—58. And causes of deficient information concerning politics in Philip's age, 60, 61. Affairs of, from the accession of Alexander, son of Philip, to the Macedonian throne, till the conclusion of the war with the northern nations, and the restoration of disturbed union among the Grecian republics, 77. et seq. The second congress, at Corinth, 89. Notice of Grecian representative assemblies, 39, 54—56. Account of Grecian pirates, 93, 94. and note. State of Grecian cities in Asia, 178, 196, 197. Affairs in Greece during Alexander's expedition, 263—266. Notice of Grecian settlements in Cilicia, 256. Amount of Grecian troops in the Persian service, 261.
- , affairs in, during Alexander's fourth campaign in Asia, x. 1—36. State of, during the Macedonian supremacy, 4. Affairs in, during Alexander's march from Carmania through Persia and Susiana, 276—333. Grecian embassies sent to Alexander at Babylon, 337, 338. and notes. Respect for divination in, 359—361. (See Ar-



- cadia, Argos, Athens, Bœotia, Lacedæmon, Macedonia, Mantinea, Peloponnesus, Persia, Phocis, Thebes, Thessaly.)
- Greeks, various appellations of, i. 182. and note.
- Griffins, fable of, x. 44, 45.
- Gryllus, son of Xenophon, his death gives occasion to many epigrams, vi. 362. The Mantineans cherish his memory, *ib.* Is represented, in a picture of the battle of Mantinea, as giving the mortal wound to Epaminondas, *ib.* and note.
- Grynium, taken by Parmenio, ix. 173.
- Guischart, M., remark upon the tactics of Xenophon and Thucydides, i. 355. note.
- Gyges, the Lydian, notice of, ii. 4. 10.
- Gylippus, son of Cleandridas, appointed to command the Lacedæmonian forces sent to the relief of Syracuse, iv. 66. His operations in Sicily, 78—82. 88—91. 100—118. Harasses the retreat of the Athenians from Syracuse, and captures Nicias and Demosthenes, 126—130.
- Gylon, an Athenian, his treachery, viii. 95. Grandfather of Demosthenes, 96. and note.
- Gymnasium, or school for exercise, no Grecian town without one, i. 352.
- Gythium, the naval arsenal of Lacedæmon, besieged by the Theban army without success, vi. 197.
- Hair, the cutting it off, a mark of mourning among the Argives, i. 298.
- Hales, Dr., his treatise on chronology noticed, i. 196. 217. note.
- Halicarnassus, foundation of, i. 312.
- , description of the city of, ix. 209. 213, 214. Siege of, 214—216.
- Halicæans, the, submit to Dionysius, vii. 94. Renew their connection with Carthage, 95.
- Halonnesus, island of, claimed by Athens from Macedonia, and why, viii. 245. Embassies relative to, *ib.* Oration on, 246—254. Surrenders to the Pephæthians, 269.
- Halus, town of, noticed, viii. 167. Blocked by Parmenio, 190, 191. Excluded from alliance, *ib.* Its surrender, 207.
- Halyattes, king of Lydia, war of, against the Milesians, ii. 7, 8.
- Hamilcar, general of the Carthaginian forces, ii. 223. Defeated and slain at Himera, 224.
- , derivation of the name, vii. 23. note.
- Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, the existing towns on the coast of, comparatively of recent origin, vii. 241.
- Hand-arms, v. 191.
- Hannibal, grandson of Hamilcar, leads a Carthaginian army into Sicily, vii. 11. Besieges and takes Selinus, 11—14. Storms Himera, 16. Sacrifices three thousand prisoners to the manes of his grandfather Hamilcar, *ib.* Returns to Carthage, *ib.* Commands a second invasion of Sicily, 22. Derivation of his name, 23. note. His death, 31.
- Hanno, derivation of the name, vii. 23. note. Entella besieged by, 199. Enters the harbour of Syracuse, 202. Retreats from it, 203.
- Hardion, M., his opinion respecting the antiquity of the oracle at Dodona controverted, i. 172, 173.
- Harmodius. See Aristogiton.
- Harmosts, Lacedæmonian, office of the, iv. 163.
- , signification of the word, vi. 46. note. Withdrawn from the Grecian cities, 160.
- Harmoza, arrival of the Macedonian fleet at, x. 254. Its history, *ib.* note. Conduct of Nearchus at, 255, 256. Departure of Nearchus from it, 258. His return thither, 260.
- Harpagus, the Persian general, captures Phocæa, ii. 17, 18. Subdues the other Asian Greeks, 18, 19.
- Harpalus, a Macedonian, the conduct of Alexander to, ix. 327.
- , appointed treasurer of Ecbatana, x. 15. His treachery, 323, 324. Proceeds to Athens, 325. Returns to Tænarus, 326. Assassinated, *ib.*
- Harpocraton, his account of the Amphictyonic council, viii. 3.
- Harvest, management of the, in Greece and Sicily, vii. 68.
- Hawkins, Mr., notice of his travels in Olympia, vi. 356.
- Haugh, north country word, ix. 184.
- Hebrew language, uncertainty of the value of letters in, i. 91. note. Observations on the vowels in, 116. The points in, imitated from the vowel points of the Arabs and Persians, 117. note.
- Hecatæus of Miletus, one of the earliest Grecian prose-writers, whose works had any considerable reputation with posterity, i. 118. 192.
- Hecatæus, prince of Caria, assists Evagoras with money, vi. 305.
- Hedylum, battle of, viii. 182.
- Hegelochus, commands the Athenian horse which relieve Mantinea, vi. 290. note.
- Hegelochus, the Macedonian, account of his successes, ix. 312—314.
- Hegesippus, the oration on Halonnesus attributed to him, viii. 247.
- Hegesistratus, his conference with Leotychides and Xanthippus, ii. 205.
- Helen, rape of, and its consequences, i. 68, 69.
- Helicon, mount, i. 11.
- Hellas, an ancient name of Greece, i. 9.
- Hellenes, origin of the name, i. 181. (See Panhellenes.)
- Hellenotamiae, or treasurers of Greece, their office, ii. 279.
- Hellespont, bridges of boats built over,

- by Xerxes, ii. 94. The ridiculous punishment of, by him, disputed, 97.
- Hellespontine cities, embassy of Demosthenes to the, v. iii. 280. War of Macedonia with, 280—282.
- Helon, i. 34.
- Heloris, a poet, observation attributed to by Diodorus, vii. 63. note.
- Heloris, a Syracusan, placed at the head of the Rhegian force against Dionysius, vii. 116. Appointed to command the Rhegians and Crotoniats, 126. His death, ib.
- Helos, town of, noticed, i. 264.
- Helots, origin of, i. 264. Their unhappy condition, 264, 265.
- , proportion of, attending the Grecian army, ii. 185. Revolt of the Lacedæmonian Helots, 309. How suppressed by Archidamus, ib. Spread themselves over the country, and become formidable in the field, 310. Seize upon Ithome, and are blockaded there by Archidamus, ib. Who is afterwards joined by the Athenians, 311.
- , massacre of, by the Lacedæmonians, iii. 235. How rewarded by them, 296. Rebellion among the, iv. 247.
- , enrolled by the Spartans, vi. 195, 196. Their revolt, 201.
- Hephæstia, v. 97.
- Hephæstion, the Macedonian, notice of, ix. 284. Is wounded at Arbela, 341.
- , appointed a commander of the king's companions, x. 35. His employment in Sogdia, 86. His opinion on Alexander's marriage, 87. Sent against Astes, 115. Completes a bridge over the Indus, 125. His appointment, 177. Joined by Alexander, 187. Proceeds to Pattala, 196. Commands the main body, 203. Joins Alexander, 204. His appointment in Carmania, 276. Is married to a daughter of Darius, 286. His character, 290. Receives a golden crown, 291. His dispute with Eumenes, 330, 331. His illness and death, 331, 332.
- Heraclea, affairs of the Lacedæmonian colony of, iii. 319.
- , transactions of the Cyrean army there, v. 228—231. Conduct of the Lacedæmonian government to, 291, 292.
- , how treated by Jason of Pheræ, vi. 175.
- Heracleæ. See Hercules.
- Heraclidæ, expelled from Peloponnesus, i. 32. They reconquer that country, 163, 164. Dissensions among the Heracleidean princes, 186. Their effects, 187. Form of government established by them, 225.
- Heracledes of Syracuse, his character, vii. 161. Opposes the administration of Philistus, ib. Banished from Syracuse, 163. Levies forces in Peloponnesus, 165. Arrives at Syracuse, 169. Appointed to the command of the fleet, ib. Gains a victory, 170. Thwarts
- Dion in his views, and is chosen one of the newly elected twenty-five generals, 173, 174. Becomes unpopular, and is obliged to concur in an invitation for Dion's return, 176. Is again appointed to the command of the fleet, ib. Jealousy between him and Dion, 178. When sent to oppose Phrax, separates from him, 179. Is once more reconciled to him, ib. Deprived of his command, 180. Assassinated by order of Dion, 182.
- Heracledes and Python of Ænus assassinate Cotys, vii. 345.
- Heracon, Alexander's general, tried and acquitted, x. 214. Tried again and executed, ib.
- Heræa, commonwealth of, plundered and wasted by the Arcadians, vi. 192.
- Heralds sent into Greece by Darius, ii. 66.
- Hercules, or Heracles, history of, 31—51. Capture of Troy by, 67. How his name became connected with mount Aornos, x. 124. Alexander sacrifices to, 128.
- Herippidas, his conduct to the inhabitants of the Trachinian Heraclea, v. 291.
- Hermocrates, the Syracusan leader, his character, iv. 18. Effect of his eloquence, ib. Procures a peace throughout Sicily, ib. Measures proposed by him relating to the Athenian invasion, 39, 40. His speech at the general assembly of the people, 40. How opposed by Athenagoras, 41, 42. His speech at the second assembly, 58, 59. Appointed commander-in-chief, 59. His embassy to Camarina, 61. His measures for the defence of Syracuse, 72, 73. His operations in conjunction with Gylippus, 100—118. His stratagem to prevent the departure of the Athenians from Syracuse, 119, 120. How he possessed the confidence of his soldiers, 238. Superseded by the government, 239. Remarkable instance of attachment of the armament to him and his colleagues, 238, 239. Goes to Lacedæmon, where he is honourably received, 239, 240. And afterwards to Pharnabazus, who furnishes him with money, 240.
- , at the head of affairs in Syracuse, vii. 7. His government overthrown by Diocles, 9. Is banished, ib. Arrives at Messena, 16. Retakes Selinus, 17. Returns to Syracuse, and is killed in the agora, 20.
- Hermolaus, a Macedonian page, his conspiracy against Alexander, x. 103—105. His trial and condemnation, 106.
- Hero-worship, not known in the time of Homer, i. 94, 95.
- Herodotus, veracity of, vindicated, i. 366.; ii. 33. note.
- Herodotus, one of the adventurers in the colonisation of Thurium, ii. 239.

- Hesiod, citations from, confirming Scripture history, i. 85, 86. Religious system of, 91. Import of the title "king," in his poem of "The Works and Days," 108, 109. Observations on his chronology, 207, 208.
- Hieroglyphic writing, the supposition that it preceded alphabetical writing mere conjecture, i. 112. Picture writing probably learned from Egypt, ib.
- , Egyptian hieroglyphics of Artaxerxes Ochus, ix. 155.
- Hieromnemon, a representative sent from every state to the Amphictyonic council, i. 184; viii. 11.
- Hieron of Syracuse, succeeds to the throne, iv. 2. His character and talents, 4. His encouragement of learned men, ib. Duration of his reign, 5.
- Hieron, the Cilician, sent to explore the Persian gulf, x. 342.
- Himera, foundation of, i. 319.
- , causes which gave rise to the battle of, ii. 222, 223. Account of the battle, 224, 225. 228—229. note.
- , besieged and stormed by Hannibal, vii. 14—17. Submits to Imilcon, 97.
- Hipparinus appointed autocrator-general, in conjunction with Dionysius, vii. 46. and note. His daughter Aristomache married to Dionysius, 85.
- Hipparinus the younger, son of Dionysius the Elder by Aristomache, notice of, vii. 158. Obtains the chief power at Syracuse, 187.
- Hippeis, horsemen, or knights, rank of, i. 342.
- Hippias, author of a catalogue of the victors in the Olympian games, i. 200.
- Hippias, the Arcadian commander, treachery and cruelty of Paches to him, iii. 149.
- Hippias, of Elis, his celebrity as a sophist, v. 116.
- Hippias and Hipparchus, sons of Pisistratus, account of the administration of, i. 370, 371. Conspiracy against them, 372. Death of Hipparchus, 373. Subsequent government of Hippias, ib. Defeated by the Lacedæmonians, he surrenders Athens and retires to Sigeum, 375; ii. 50. Solicits the assistance of Persia, 51.
- Hippoclideis, the richest and the handsomest Athenian of his time, ix. 21.
- Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, notice of, ii. 218. His death, ib.
- Hippocrates, the Athenian, marches to Delium, and fortifies the post, iii. 242. His preparations for the battle of Delium, ib. Is slain there, 244.
- Hippocrates, the Lacedæmonian, commands in Chalcedon, iv. 249. Killed in a skirmish with the Athenians, 250.
- Hippodamia, daughter of Cœnomaus, i. 30.
- Hippon of Messena, vanquished and put to death by Timoleon, vii. 218, 219.
- Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus, a favourite of Darius, ii. 40. Who grants him territory in Thrace, 41. He is summoned to the Persian court, ib. Privately recommends the revolt of the Milesians, 44. Carries on a piratical warfare, 55, 56. His death, 59.
- Historian, duty of the, ii. 226.
- Homer, authority of, in relating the siege of Troy, vindicated, i. 75—77. His summary of the duty of men to the gods, 95. The deficiency of his religious and moral system, remained to a late age in Greece, 96. note. His account of the power of the early Grecian princes, 103. Particularly in the island of Phœacia, 103, 104. His representation of the power of kings, 104, 105. A republic not mentioned by him, although he has shown a strong tinge of republican principles, 106, 107. Whether the use of letters was familiar to him, 118. 124. note. Notice of the music used in his age, 125, 126. State of the art of masonry in his time, 128. Of the ornamental arts, 128, 129. Of the art of war, 130—132. 134—139. Navigation, 141. Astronomy, 143. Surgery, 144. Observations on his chronology, 208—212. His perfect impartiality among the greatest wonders of his works, 322. The works of Homer first collected by Hipparchus, by whom they were made generally known, 370, 371. Remarks on passages in, and citations from, passim. (See Pope, Mr.)
- Hooke, Mr., character of his Roman History, x. 170. note.
- Hoplite, or heavy-armed infantry of the Greeks, i. 352.
- Horace, his reproach upon Homer, i. 156. and note.
- Horsemanship, state of, in ancient Greece, i. 132—134.
- Horse-race, when introduced into the Olympic games, i. 194.
- , Philip's success at one, celebrated by a representation of the animal and his rider, on the reverse of one of his golden coins, from the mines of Philippi, viii. 57. note.
- Horses, celebrity of, in Thessaly, i. 36. In Dardania, 67, 68. Abundance of small, swift horses found in the country north of the Danube, 123. 133. Cyrene, in Africa, celebrated for horses, 315.
- Hospitality, rights of, respected among the early Greeks, i. 148, 149. Good effects thence resulting, 150.
- Husbandman's life in Greece, as pictured by Xenophon, vi. 357.
- Husbandry, state of, in ancient Greece, i. 126, 127.
- Hyampolis, town of, how treated by Jason of Pheræ, vi. 176.

- Hyampolis, battle of, vii. 195.
- Hydarnes, the Persian commander, passes the Phocian guard at Anopæa, and arrives in the plain of Locris, ii. 127. His attack upon the Greeks at Thermopylæ, 128, 129.
- Hydaspes, river, crossed by Alexander, x. 141. Battle of, 141—145. Towns founded on its banks by Alexander, 147. Fleet built on it by him, 175. Sacrifice performed on its banks, 177, 178. Dangerous state of its stream, 178.
- Hydraotes, river, crossed by Alexander the Great, x. 153. Its modern name, 153. note. Cities on it entrusted to Porus, 153, 154.
- Hyela, foundation of, ii. 18.
- Hyllus, son of Hercules, by Dejanira, succeeds Æpalius in his Dorian dominions, i. 163.
- Hypaspists, how they were armed, ix. 186. note.
- , remark concerning the, x. 117. note; 184. note.
- Hyperbolus, the Athenian, at the head of a faction against Nicias and Alcibiades, iv. 23, 24. Method by which his banishment was procured by the latter, 24.
- Hyperides, an Athenian, appointed syndic, viii. 321.
- Hyphasis, river, its modern name, x. 157. note. Account of the provinces beyond it, 157, 158.
- Icetes, of Leontini, withdraws from Syracuse to Leontini, vii. 192. Becomes master of Syracuse, 201. Is defeated by Timoleon, ib. Retires to Leontini, 203. Is repulsed at Syracuse, 207. Co-operates with Timoleon, 208. Is taken prisoner and put to death, 217.
- Idæi Dactyli, i. 17.
- Idolatry, unknown in the early history of Greece, i. 93.
- Idomeneus, battle of, iii. 191, 192.
- Idomeneus, king of Crete, one of the leaders in the expedition against Troy, i. 70. Notice of, 97.
- Ierne, the ancient name of Ireland, ii. 251, 252. note.
- Ile, the name for a troop of horse, i. 355.
- Ilion, or Troy, foundation of, i. 67.
- Illyrians, the, defeated by Brasidas, iii. 266.
- , invade Macedonia, vii. 247. Retire from it, 248. Again invade it, 263. Are subdued by Philip, 272.
- , defeated by Parmenio, viii. 56.
- , notice of the Illyrian government, ix. 59. The Illyrians purpose to invade Macedonia, 102. Defeated by Alexander the Great, 104.
- Ilus, son of Tros, founds Ilion or Troy, i. 67.
- Imilcon, son of Hanno, appointed second in command under Hannibal, vii. 23. Derivation of the name of Imilcon, ib. note. Becomes sole commander on the death of Hannibal, 31. Is defeated by Daphnæus the Syracusan general, ib. Takes the Syracusan convoy destined to relieve Agrigentum, 34. Enters that city, and preserves it for his winter quarters, 36. Besieges Gela, 50. Defeats Dionysius, 53. Concludes a peace, 56. Attacks the harbour of Syracuse in the absence of Dionysius, 91, 92. Assails the fleet in the harbour of Motya, 92. Withdraws, and returns to Africa, ib. Is raised to a dignity corresponding with the kingly, on resuming the command, 93. Reaches the harbour of Panormus, 95. Retakes Motya, 97. Obtains possession of Messena, ib. Which he levels with the ground, 100. Occupies Catania, ib. Besieges Syracuse, 101. Fixes his camp on the unwholesome bank of Anapus, 106. His army and fleet defeated by Dionysius, 106, 107. Makes peace, and returns to Africa, 108.
- Immortality of the soul, how far known to the ancients, i. 100.
- Inachus, the first king of Argos, i. 26.
- Inarus, chief of some African tribes, engages the greater part of Egypt in rebellion, ii. 320. Offers proposals of alliance to Athens, ib.
- Independency, separate, of cities, evils of, vi. 184.
- India, natural circumstances of, x. 112. Defeat of the Indians by Alexander, 115. Death of an Indian prince, 118. and note. The Indians again defeated, 119. Indian cattle sent to Macedonia by Alexander, 119, 120. Treatment of Indian mercenaries by Alexander, 123. and note. Account of Indian elephant hunters, 130, 131. Condition of the Indians beyond the Indus, 136. They ally themselves with Alexander, 137, 138. The Indians under Porus defeated by Alexander, 144. Notice of the ancient and modern descriptions of India, 148. Account of Alexander's return from, 167—215. Notice of Indian cruising, 178. Account of the Indian monsoon, 221, 222. Progress of the Macedonian fleet along the Indian coast, with the modern names of the places mentioned by Arrian, 231—254.
- Indus, river, bridge built over it by Hephæstion, x. 125. 137. Crossed by Alexander, 137. Sacrifice celebrated there, ib. Description of the country on its banks, 173. Trade and navigation along it, 174, 175. and note. The course of the Macedonians along it, 189—202. and notes. Progress of the fleet of Nearchus to its mouth, 226—232.
- Infantry, light and heavy, of the Greeks, account of, i. 352, 353.

- Inscriptions in honour of those who fell at Thermopylæ, ii. 253, 254. At Marathon, 255. note.
- Interest of money at Athens enormous, v. 21.
- Intermarriages common throughout Greece, in Homer's age, vi. 89. Forbidden in later times, 89, 90. Allowed by the more liberal policy of the Olynthians, 90.
- Invasion of England, plan to be adopted in case of, ix. 183. note.
- Io, fable of, explained, i. 27.
- Ion, son of Xuthus, notice of, i. 60.
- Ionia, leaders of the Ionic migration, and towns founded by them, i. 311.
- , flourishing state of, ii. 3. Revolt of the Ionians from Persia, 45, 46. They obtain assistance from Athens, 51, 52. Operations of the Ionians, 53, 54. Events of the war, 55, 56. They are again reduced under the Persian dominion, 59. Measures taken for the protection of the Ionians, after the battle of Mycale, 208, 209.
- Ionian sea, passage across, from Peloponnesus to Sicily, how made, vii. 166. Difficulty of this passage for ships of war, ib.
- Ionian Sicilians, war between them and the Dorian Sicilians, iv. 13, 14.
- Ionian cities of Sicily, how affected towards Syracuse, vii. 70.
- Ionians, an appellation given to the Athenians, i. 62. and note. What part of the Grecian people comprehended under this name, 166, 167. Ionians, the general name for the Greeks among the Orientals, 166. The name rejected in Greece, and retained only by those Ionians who migrated into Asia and the islands, 168.
- Ionic and Doric orders, distinctions between, ii. 249. note.
- Iphicrates, the Athenian general, his improvement in the art of war, vi. 35. Ravages Phliasia, 37. And overruns Arcadia, 38, 39. His operations in Corinth, 45—48. His further successes, 49. Appointed commander-in-chief in Asia, 65. Defeats the Lacedæmonians, under Anaxibius, 66. Supersedes Timotheus in the command of the Athenian fleet, 145. Brings Cephallenia under obedience to Athens, 149. Xenophon's commendation of him, 150. His severity to Anippus palliated, ib. Restores the Athenian interest in Acarnania, 152. Recalled, with the fleet, to Athens, 160. Is appointed to the command against the Theban confederacy, 200. Blamed by Xenophon for his conduct in Corinthia and Arcadia, ib.
- , his interview with Eurydice, queen of Macedon, vii. 257. His qualifications for, and appointment to, the command against Amphipolis, 302. Obtains the services of Charidemus, 303. Superseded by Timotheus, ib. His conduct respecting the hostages, 304. Assists Cotys against Athens, 308. Returns to Athens, 309. His party there, 344—346. Sent to relieve Samos, 358. Impeached by Chares, 359. Means whereby he was acquitted, 360.
- Iphigenia, story of the sacrifice of, how far authenticated, i. 70, 71. Mentioned by Pindar and Æschylus, 97.
- Iphitus succeeds to the throne of Elis, i. 190. His character, ib. Restorer of the Olympian games, 191, 192.
- , notice of, viii. 4.
- Ira, siege of, i. 289.
- Ireland, cause of the invasion of, by Henry II., i. 77.
- , how noticed by Diodorus and Strabo, ii. 251. note.
- Isadas, son of Phæbidas, fights naked at the attempted surprise of Sparta by Epaminondas, vi. 288. Is rewarded and fined, ib. The statue called "The Fighting Gladiator" supposed to be intended for him, 288, 289. note.
- Isagoras, chief of a faction at Athens, i. 376. Gains the ascendancy, 377. Is obliged to depart from Athens, 378.
- Isaurians, the, description of, ix. 226.
- Islands of Greece, sketch of the history of, i. 308. et seq.
- Ismenias, polemarch of Thebes, imprisoned by Leontiades, vi. 96. Tried and executed by judges appointed by the Lacedæmonian confederacy, 98. Xenophon's disapproval of his condemnation, 99.
- Isocrates, on the import of the term "aristocracy," i. 231. note.
- , his character of Cyrus, ii. 21. note.
- , instance of the ostentation and tyranny of the Athenian people, given by, iii. 298.
- , notice of his oration in favour of Alcibiades the younger, v. 77, 78.
- , sketch of the state of Athens afforded by his oration on the peace, vi. 245. The oration an admirable political pamphlet, 253. But wanting in enlarged views, 254. His sketch of the political state of Peloponnesus, 323.
- , his observation on the civil and military government of Carthage and Lacedæmon, vii. 94. note. Proposes Dionysius of Syracuse as an example to Philip of Macedon, 132. His various views of Dionysius, 152, 153. Anecdote of, 313. The party for which he wrote, at Athens, 344. Extracts from, and remarks on, his oration on peace, 361—369.
- , from his Areopagitic oration, viii. 60—64. From his Archidamus, 106. and note. Measures of his party, 106, 107. Extracts from, and remarks on, his oration to Philip, 200—206. Its effect, 207. Sends a third letter to Philip, 368. Different accounts of his death examined, 369—373.

- Isocrates, passages from his letter to Archidamus, ix. 62—64. note. Account of his letter to the sons of Jason, 60—66. Sends a letter to Alexander the Great, 66.
- Issus, massacre of the Macedonians there, ix. 268. Battle of, 277—288.
- Isthmian games, notice of, i. 195.
- Italy, dialects in, i. 10. note. Resemblance of Greece to, in climate and produce, 13.
- , notice of Greek colonies planted in, ii. 229—249. ; iii. 54, 55.
- , affairs of the Grecian settlements of Sicily and Italy from the death of the first Dionysius to the restoration of the second Dionysius, vii. 157—189. From the restoration of the younger Dionysius to the death of Timoleon, 190—230.
- Ithome, account of, i. 279. Destroyed by the Lacedæmonians, 282.
- , seized by the Lacedæmonian Helots, ii. 309, 310. Besieged by Archidamus, 310, 311.
- Itinerant judges, appointed by Solon, i. 350—352.
- Jason, adventures of, i. 37, 38.
- Jason of Pheræ, his extraordinary character, vi. 169, 170. His political views exhibited in conference with Polydamas of Pharsalus, 171—173. Elected tagus of Thessaly, 174. Mediates between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, 175. His treatment of Hyampolis and Heraclea, 176. Is assassinated, 177. And succeeded by his brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, ib.
- Javelins, thrown with great force, instance of, i. 134. and note.
- Jews, when a priesthood was first established among them, i. 83.
- , their institutions noticed, ix. 39. Submit to Alexander, 304. and note. ;
- John, or Johannes, derivation of the name, viii. 93. note.
- Johnson, Dr., his opinion respecting Homer, i. 124. note.
- Josephus's account of Alexander's demeanour to the Jews, ix. 304. note.
- Judicature of the Athenians, account of, v. 9—12.
- Julius Cæsar. See Cæsar.
- Jupiter, character and power of, i. 88, 89. Origin of the oracle of, at Dodona, 171.
- Jupiter and Io, fable of, i. 26, 27.
- Jupiter Ammon, Alexander's visit to the temple of, ix. 314—319.
- Jupiter Apobaterius, sacrifice of Alexander to, ix. 94.
- Jurisprudence of the early Greeks, i. 107—109. Source of modern jurisprudence, 335. Principles of Theban civil jurisprudence illustrated, vi. 239—243.
- Jurors at Athens, how appointed, i. 351. Daily pay of, v. 9. Immense number of, 10.
- Justin, extravagance of his narrative, ii. 84. note. His general abridgment little useful to the historian, vii. 6.
- Κάπηλος, definition of, ii. 2. note. How distinguished from ἀντοπάλης, ib.
- Καταρραθυμῶν, meaning of, explained, vi. 151.
- Kersobleptes, ascends the throne of Thrace, vii. 346. Is assisted by Charidemus, ib. Treats about the surrender of his dominions, 353. Negotiates on equitable terms, 354.
- , submits to Chares, viii. 69. Sends a minister to Athens, 174. Yields to Philip, 175. Notice of, 255.
- Khan, or Khaun, etymology of the word, x. 192. note.
- Killuta, island of, its situation, x. 199.
- Kings, ancient privileges of, i. 82, 83. What was implied in this title among the Greeks and Romans, after the abolition of royalty, 83. Import of this term in Hesiod's poem of "The Works and Days," 108. Their power, 228.
- , distinction between them and tyrants, ii. 340. Origin of the kingly office being held by two persons, 335, 336.
- , the title given to one of the archons, iii. 47.
- , controversy on the kingly office, x. 90.
- Knighthood, origin of, i. 229.
- Knights, or horse-soldiers, order of, at Athens restored, ii. 339.
- Κῶμις, x. 273. note.
- Κῶμιος and κοιμάζω, different acceptations of these words, x. 372, 373. note.
- Lacedæmon, or Sparta, ancient history of, i. 34. Revolutions in its government, 244, 245. Administration of Lycurgus, and his legislative institutions, 245—272. Causes of the quarrel between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, 275, 277. Account of the war to the final conquest of Messena, 277—295. War with the Argives, 297. And Arcadians, 298. The magistrates called Ephors, when instituted at Sparta, 299. Their powers, 300. Athens besieged by the Lacedæmonians, to whom it is evacuated by Hippas, 375. Why they favoured oligarchy, 376, 377.
- , alliance between Lacedæmon and Athens, ii. 68. Assistance promised to the Athenians against Persia, 76. Which arrives after the battle of Marathon, 85. Account of the battle of Thermopylæ, 123—130. Three hundred Spartans slain at, 130. Their names upon record in the time of Herodotus, ib. Two only survived the battle, ib. Ambassadors sent from Lacedæmon to the congress at Athens, 173, 174. Speech of the chief of them, 175. Answer of Aristides to, 176. Force

sent by the Lacedæmonians against the Persians, 179. By what means they secured the attendance of Tisamenus, the Elean prophet, 180, 181. Numbers of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans at Platæa, 193. Remarkable instance of the severity of discipline among the Lacedæmonians, 200, 201. Dispute with the Athenians respecting the Aristeia, 202. Esteemed themselves the superior state of Greece, 256, 257. Their jealousy of the Athenians, *ib.* Their remonstrance respecting the fortifications at Athens, 257. Result of their embassy to Athens, 258, 259. Their reception of Themistocles, 259. And of Aristides and Abronychus, 260. Wisdom of their reply to Themistocles, 260, 261. Recall Pausanias from the command of the fleet, 275, 276. Appoint Dorus in his stead, 276. And recall the fleet, *ib.* Motives which influence their conduct on this occasion, 277, 278. Their jealousy of the Athenians, 304, 305. Earthquake at Lacedæmon, 308. Revolt of the Helots there, 309. How suppressed in the city by Archidamus, 309, 310. The Helots spread themselves over the country, and become formidable in the field, 310. The Lacedæmonians seek the assistance of the Athenians, 310, 311. Become jealous of them, and dismiss their forces, 311. Prepare to relieve Doris, 324. Hostilities with Athens, 325. The Athenians conclude a truce of five years with, 338. Assist the Delphians in recovering possession of their temple, 344. The honours of the "Promanteia" granted to them, *ib.*

Lacedæmon, assembly of deputies of the Peloponnesian confederacy at, *iii.* 41—51. The Thirty Years' Truce declared broken, 52. Second assembly, 53. War with Athens resolved, 56. Embassies sent to Athens, *ib.* The proposals rejected by the Athenians, 63. State of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, 72, 73. Join the Peloponnesians in the invasion of Attica, 74. Gallant action of Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian commander, 82. Decline the offer of Mitylene, 134. But afterward send Alcidas to the relief of that place, 143. Account of his operations on the Ionian coast, 144—149. Platæa surrenders to the Lacedæmonians, 158. And commissioners sent to determine the fate of the inhabitants, 159—163. The Lacedæmonians besiege Pylus, 200. Engagement with Eurymedon, 201, 202. Negotiate for peace, 204. And send an embassy to Athens, *ib.* Its failure, 206. Attempt to relieve Sphacteria, 207. Their absurd attachment to the exclusive use of weapons for close fight, 213. Suffer much for want of light troops, *ib.* Commanded by Epitadas, they attack the Athenian

forces, 213, 214. And are defeated by them, 215. Apply to Athens for peace, 217. Their intrigues with Persia, 225. Series of misfortunes and defeats, 232. Origin and nature of negotiations with Lacedæmon, from Macedonia and Thrace, 233, 234. Atrocious conduct of the government towards the Helots, 235. Acanthus and Amphipolis gained to the Lacedæmonian confederacy, 252—255. Successes of Brasidas in Thrace, 258—260. Negotiation for peace with Athens, 260, 261. The Lacedæmonians defeat the Athenians at Amphipolis, 277—281. Negotiate for peace with Athens, 285—287. A partial peace concluded, 287. Form a defensive alliance with Athens, 290. Dispute with Elis and Mantinea, 295—297. Reward the valour and zeal of the Helots, 297. Their arbitrary severity to their Athenian prisoners, 297, 298. Change of administration at Lacedæmon, 300. And intrigues of the new one, 301—303. Treaties with Bœotia and Argos, 304, 305. Continuation of the dispute with Elis, 317, 318. Affairs of the colony of Heraclea, 319, 320. War with Argos, 324—330. Battle near Mantinea, 332. Peace and alliance with Argos, 339. Inertness of the Lacedæmonian government, 342. Feeble conduct of the Lacedæmonians, 347.

Lacedæmon, manner in which Alcibiades received at, *iv.* 64, 65. Determines to assist Syracuse, 65. Renews the war with Athens, *ib.* And Gylippus appointed to command the forces, 66. Their operations, 66, 67, 78—82. Occupy the post of Decelea in Attica, 88. Change in the political system of Lacedæmon, 139—141. Prepare a fleet to rival that Athens, 142. Plans of Alcibiades, 152, 153. His views and influence in the Spartan councils, 155, 156. Treaty with Persia, 156. Spartan officers, with the title of "Harmost," placed in the cities of the confederacy, 162. New treaty with Persia, 165. Proceedings of the eleven commissioners from Sparta respecting Asiatic affairs in general, and particularly the treaties with the Persian king, 167—169. Treaty of Persia with Lacedæmon, 183, 184. Weakness of the government, 247, 248. Embassy to Persia, 259. Lysander appointed commander of the fleet, 261. The Lacedæmonians defeat the Athenians at Notium, 265. Policy of the government, *ib.* Athens besieged, 316. Treaty with the Athenians, 321, 322.

—, the Lacedæmonians support the oligarchal party at Athens, *v.* 58—62. Importance of the relations of the Lacedæmonian with the Persian government, 242. Arrival of the Lacedæmonian governor of Byzantium at Port Calpe, 244. Respect for Lacedæ-

monian officers, 245—249. Politics and despotism, 253—255. The Grecian army under Xenophon engaged in the Lacedæmonian service, 265. War resolved against Persia, 274—276. Thimbron appointed commander-in-chief in Asia, 276. Who is superseded by Dercyllidas, 278. His successes in Æolia, 281. Winter operations in Bithynia, 283, 284. Treaty concluded between Dercyllidas and Tissaphernes, for the complete emancipation of the Asian Greeks from Persian dominion, 290. Despotism of, 291, 292. War with Elis, 296—299. Death of Agis, and succession of Agesilaus, 300. Domestic affairs, 301—304. Sedition in Lacedæmon, 304. Government of subject-allies, 305, 306. Expedition to Asia voted, 307. First campaign of Agesilaus in Asia, 308—314. Preparations for the second campaign, 314, 315. Battle of the Pactolus, 316, 317. Views of Agesilaus in Asia, 320, 321. Enmity excited against Lacedæmon, 324, 325. Prosecution and flight of Pausanias, 328, 329. Plan of Agesilaus for dismembering the Persian empire, 329, 330. Alliance with the prince of Paphlagonia, 331, 332. Winter campaign in Bithynia, 332—335. Conference between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus, 335—337.

Lacedæmon, confederacy in Greece against, vi. 1—3. Recall of Agesilaus from Asia, 3, 4. Defeat of the confederate army at Corinth, 6, 7. March of Agesilaus to Greece, 8. Defeat of the Lacedæmonian fleet near Cnidus, 14. Victory of Agesilaus near Coronea, 15—19. Ruin of the Lacedæmonian interest in Asia, 20, 21. Successes of Praxitas near Corinth, 28—31. Laconia invaded by Pharnabazus and Conon, 31—34. Expedition of Agesilaus into Argolis and Corinthia, 42—44. Slaughter of a Lacedæmonian mora, 48. War renewed against Persia, 52. Expedition into Acarnania, under Agesilaus, 53, 54. And into Argolis, under Agesipolis, 56, 57. State of affairs in Asia, 59. Defeat and death of Anaxibius, 66. Public revenue, 71. Successes of Teleutias, *ib.* Antalcidas appointed ambassador to Persia, 74. His able conduct in military command and in negotiation, 74—76. Treaty concluded between Lacedæmon and Persia, and peace dictated to Greece, by the Lacedæmonian government, in the king of Persia's name, commonly called the peace of Antalcidas, 79—81. Despotism of the Lacedæmonians after the peace of Antalcidas, 82—86. Maxim of Agesilaus relative to Lacedæmon, *ib.* The Lacedæmonians make war on Mantinea, 83—86. Require the Mantineans to destroy their fortifications, 83. Reduce Mantinea under

the command of Agesipolis, 84, 85. Oblige the Mantineans to abandon their city, *ib.* Demolish the fortifications and houses, 86. Reduce Mantinea to a province of Lacedæmon, *ib.* Procure the return of the exiles to Phlius, 86, 87. Ambassadors arrive at, from Acauthus and Apollonia, 88. A congress of the Lacedæmonian confederacy summoned thereupon, *ib.* The congress declares war against Olynthus, 92. Allows a composition for personal service, *ib.* The Lacedæmonians become masters of Thebes, 100. First transactions in the war against Olynthus, 100—104. The few remaining Spartans serve only as officers, 104. The Lacedæmonians reduce Phlius, 110. And render Olynthus dependent, 112. Lacedæmon now at its height of apparent greatness, 114. Remarks on the age of military service among the Spartans, 124, 125. *note.* Renewed operations against Thebes, 131—136. The Lacedæmonian fleet against Athens under Pollis defeated by Chabrius, 139. Their fleet under Nicoloclus worsted by Timotheus, 140. Accommodation and subsequent breach between them and the Athenians, 142. Despatch a fleet against Corcyra under Mnasippus, 143. Are compelled to raise the siege by the Corcyreans, 148. General congress of the belligerent republics held at Lacedæmon, 156. The Lacedæmonians resign their supremacy over the Grecian cities, 157. Continue hostilities against Thebes, 160. Are defeated at the battle of Leuctra, 164—166. Reception of the news at Lacedæmon, 167. Conference with Polydamas of Pharsalus, 181. They send Agesilaus ambassador to Mantinea, 183, 184. Appoint Agesilaus to command against Arcadia, 182. Laconia is invaded by Epaminondas, 193. Lacedæmon saved by its reputation, rather than its strength, 197. The Lacedæmonians send ministers to Athens, 198. The late invasion fatal to the power of Lacedæmon, 201. The Lacedæmonians finally lose Messenia, 203. Again send ministers to Athens, *ib.* Take the command alternately with the Athenians, 204. The long deference of Greece to Lacedæmon explained, 206. A Lacedæmonian more an object of curiosity at the Olympian games than the conquerors, 207. The Lacedæmonians procure the mediation of Persia, 211. Gain the "Tearless battle," 212. Advise the Corinthians to make peace, 249. Allow their other allies to form separate treaties, 252. Persevere in their claim to Messenia, *ib.* Recover Sellasia from the revoltors, 255. Invade Arcadia under Archidamus, 262. Are defeated at Cromnus, 264. Re-unite with Arcadia, Achaia, and Elis, upon



- humiliating terms, 278. The Lacedæmonian supremacy accounted for, 279, 280. Their army takes station near Mantinea, 285. The heavy-armed reach Pellene under Agesilaus, 287. In consequence of the latter movement, Epaminondas marches upon Sparta, *ib.* The army hastens to his return, 288. Defeats Epaminondas, 288. Loses the battle of Mantinea, 294—297. The Lacedæmonians approve the acceptance of command under Tachos, king of Egypt, by Agesilaus, 310. Political state of Lacedæmon at this period, 314.
- Lacedæmon, nature of the connection between it and Syracuse, vii. 66. The Lacedæmonians prevail with Dionysius to remove the Peloponnesian Messenians to the north of Sicily, 113. Change of the policy of Lacedæmon towards the conflicting parties Sicily, 179, 180. The Lacedæmonians send colonies from Cyrene to Amphipolis, 296.
- , take Delphi under their protection, viii. 16. Prosecuted and fined in the Amphictyonic council, 19. and note. Assist the Phocians, 29. Rumours against them, 47, 48. and note. Go to war with Argos, 164. Project for an arrangement of interests in Greece, 105—107. Intentions of the Lacedæmonians toward Megalopolis, 109. Defeat the Argives, 112. Defeated by Anaxander, 113. They defeat the Thebans, *ib.* Negotiate with them, *ib.* Their robbery of the Delphian treasury, 179. Alarm of, 184. Send an embassy to Philip, *ib.* Proposal made to them by the Athenians, 197. Isocrates's account of, 200, 201. Decline the offer of Philip, 207.
- , remarks on the constitution of, ix. 30. Its analogy to those of Thessaly and Rome, 50—55. Its opposition to the choice of Alexander the Great as commander-in-chief, 88—91. and note. Negotiations of the Lacedæmonians with Memnon, 233, 234. Their designs, 263—266.
- , the Lacedæmonians send an embassy to Ecbatana, x. 2. Account of the Lacedæmonian constitution, 3, 4. The Lacedæmonians negotiate with Athens, 6. Amount of mercenaries engaged for the Lacedæmonian league, 8. The Lacedæmonians defeated by the Macedonians, 9. Punishment imposed on them, 11. and note. Alexander's treatment of the Lacedæmonian mercenaries in the Persian service, 23, 24.
- Lacedæmonius, son of Cimon, notice of, *ib.* 314.
- Laches, the Athenian, sent with a squire to assist the Leontines, iii. 175.
- , sent to assist the Leontines, iv. 14. His successes in Italy and Sicily, 14,
15. Superseded in his command, 15. His judicious conduct, *ib.*
- Laconia, i. 12.
- Laconic style, origin of the term, i. 261.
- Laconic writing, curious specimen of, iv. 236.
- Lade, account of the sea-fight off it, ii. 57—59. Has ceased to be an island, 56. note.
- Lais, the courtesan, notice of, iv. 55.
- Lamachus, appointed third in command of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, iv. 25. His character, *ib.* His speech at the debate of the Athenian generals, 26. Killed at the siege of Syracuse, 74.
- Langarus, prince of the Agrarians, notice of, ix. 103.
- Languages, not any account of the miraculous division of languages in the Bible, i. 4. note. Affinity of the early languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe, 114. note. Distinctions of dialects in the Greek languages, 166—168.
- Laomedon, king of Troy, fortifies the city, i. 67.
- Laphanes, his splendid hospitality, ix. 21. 49.
- Larissa, a common name through Greece and Asia Minor, i. 41.
- Larissa, in Media, notice of, v. 190. and note.
- Lasion, in Triphylia, the Eleans allow the establishment of some Arcadian exiles there, vi. 209. Who oppose the Eleian government, 210. The Eleans make themselves masters of the place, 255.
- Laurium, revenue of the silver mine of, divided among the Athenian people for their private use, ii. 104. Decree procured by Themistocles respecting, *ib.* Revenue derived to Athens from the silver mines of, v. 13, 14. Before the Persian invasion, the produce of, distributed among the people, 14.
- Law of nations, opinions of the Greeks respecting the laws of nature and nations, iii. 162.
- , principles of the Grecian law of nations illustrated, vi. 239—243.
- , ancient law of nations, x. 168—174. and notes.
- Laws, anciently promulgated in verse, i. 123. Those of Moses the earliest committed to writing, 112. Of Lycurgus, 250—271. Of Zaleucus, 320. Of Draco, 327. Of Solon, 334—352. How enacted at Athens, 346. Singular proposal of Charondas respecting, *ib.* Coincidence between the old English and the Athenian law, 352. note.
- Lawsuit among the ancient Greeks, Homer's description of one, 107—109.
- Lawsuits the delight of the Athenians, v. 10.
- League among Grecian princes, first instance of, i. 40.

- Lebedos, city of, its foundation, i. 311.  
Leda, i. 34.  
Legislation of Lycurgus, account of, i. 248—273.  
Legislation of Minos, in Crete, i. 18, 19.  
Remarks thereon, 19, 20.  
Legislative power of Macedonia, ix. 36—40.  
Leland, Mr., remarks on his Life of Philip of Macedon, vii. 327—331.; viii. 149. note. Mistake of, vii. 352. note.  
Leleges, notice of the, i. 312.  
Leocedes, notice of, ix. 20.  
Leon I., appointed one of the ten generals, on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, iv. 268. Condemned to death by the Council of Thirty, v. 43.  
Leon II., ambassador from Athens to the congress of Susa, vi. 216. Procures the condemnation of Timocrates on his return from the Persian embassy, 245.  
Leonidas, king of Sparta, commander of the forces at Thermopylæ, ii. 116. His laconic answer to the heralds of Xerxes, 124. His wisdom and magnanimity, 127. Attacks the Persians, and falls at the head of his band, 129. Fiction of Diodorus respecting, 129. note. Indignities offered to his body by Xerxes, 130.  
Leonnatus, a Macedonian, his conduct at a festival, x. 98. Is wounded, 115. The command he held, 119. His personal bravery, 184, 185. His appointment at Rambacia, 205. Defeats the Orites, 237. Receives a golden crown, 290.  
Leontiades, polemarch of Thebes, introduces a Lacedæmonian garrison into the Cadmea, or citadel, vi. 96. Harangues for the subjection of his city at Lacedæmon, 98. Is assassinated by Phyllidas and Mellon, 117.  
Leontini, foundation of, i. 319.  
—, blockaded by the Syracusans, iv. 13. Assisted by the Athenians, 14. The blockade abandoned, ib. Disputes respecting the division of lands there, 19, 20. Migration of the inhabitants to Syracuse, 20. Partial revival of the democracy of, 20, 21.  
— held by a mixed Grecian population, vii. 47. Its affairs regulated by Dionysius, ib. How affected towards Syracuse, 71. Dionysius leads an army to the Leontine border, ib. The Leontines admitted to the citizenship of Syracuse, 73. Dionysius settles the Greek mercenaries at, 111. Declares for Dion, 169. Repels an attack made by Philistus, ib. Flight of Dion's family to, 187. Icetes withdraws his forces to, 192, 203.  
Leosthenes, the Athenian, banishment of, viii. 60.  
Leotychides, measures taken by him, respecting the Grecian fleet, ii. 205, 206. Stratagem practised by, 207.  
His preparations for the battle of Mycale, 208. Returns to Greece after the battle, 211.  
Leotychides, reputed son of Agis, his claim to the throne of Sparta, v. 300.  
Lepreum, account of the affair of, iii. 317, 318.  
Leptines, brother of Dionysius, commands the Syracusan fleet, vii. 91. Sinks some of the Carthaginian ships, 95. Is defeated by the Carthaginian fleet, 99. His generous conduct to the defeated Thurians, 124. Is killed at the battle of Cronium, 135.  
Leptines, tyrant of Apollonia, surrenders to Timoleon, vii. 207.  
Lesbos, conquered by Achilles, i. 73.  
—, its political circumstances, iii. 133. Particularly of its principal towns, Mitylene and Methymne, 133, 134. How divided among the Athenians, 156.  
—, the Lesbians propose to revolt from the Athenian to the Lacedæmonian confederacy, iv. 143.  
— partly subdued by Memnon, ix. 239. Reduced by Autophradates, 240. Submits to the Macedonians, 312.  
Ληστῶν, doubtful meaning of the word, viii. 327. note.  
Letters, origin of, i. 111, 112. Observations on the Arabic and Hebrew letters, 115, 116. Causes of the slow progress of, in Greece, 118—120. Testimony of Herodotus concerning their first introduction, 120. Changes in their arrangement, 120, 121. Grecian letters used in Britain, 122.  
—, singular method of transmitting them, ii. 171.  
Leucothea, the temple of, plundered by the troops of Dionysius, vii. 133.  
Leuctra, battle of, vi. 162—166. The various feelings it excited throughout Greece, 179.  
Library, the first public one founded by Pisistratus, i. 370.  
Lichas, a Lacedæmonian, affront offered to him at the Elean games, iii. 318.  
Limnæ, temple of Diana at, i. 275.  
Lions known in Greece at an early period, i. 13.  
Lissus, a town of Italy, colony established at, by Dionysius, vii. 133.  
Lochage, rank of the, i. 355.  
Λόχος and Λοχαγός, remarks on the terms, i. 355, 356. note.  
Lochus of the Macedonian army, notice of, i. 355. note. Rank of the Lochagoi, 356. note.  
Locri Epizephyrii, foundation of, i. 317. Celebrated lawgiver at, 320.  
Locrians, boundaries of their country, i. 11.  
Locris, war of, with Phocis, v. 324, 325. Completely subject to Thebes, vi. 284.  
Locris, Ozolian, its alliance with Peloponnesus, viii. 48, 49. The Locrians defeated by Philomelus, 31. Locris ravaged by him, 34. The Locrians

- again defeated by Philomelus, 38. Apply for relief to Thebes, *ib.* The Locrians and Thessalians vanquished by Philomelus, 41, 42.
- Locris, Epicnemidian, conquered by Phaÿllus, viii. 4. Joins the Phocian alliance, 87, 88.
- Louis XIV., witty remark of, x. 300.
- Lucan, allusion of, to the religion of the Druids, i. 100. note.
- Lucanians, the, of Italy, confederate against the Italian Greeks, vii. 123. Make war on Thurium, 124. Destroy more than ten thousand Thurians, *ib.* War between them and Syracuse, 160.
- Lucca, allusion to, ix. 10.
- Lucullus, wardrobe of, as described by Horace, vii. 26. note.
- Luxury prohibited at Sparta, i. 252.
- Lycaonia, description of, ix. 227, 228.
- Lycia, Alexander's successes in, ix. 220, 221.
- Lycidas, one of the Council of Five Hundred, stoned to death by the Athenians, ii. 178. Outrages upon his family by the Athenian women, *ib.*
- Lyciscus, his daughter directed to be sacrificed by the Delphian oracle, i. 279. Flees with her to Sparta, 280.
- Lycomedes of Mantinea, the policy suggested by him with respect to Thebes, vi. 208. Obtains the effective command of the Arcadian people, *ib.* His spirited conduct at the congress at Thebes, 219. Effects an alliance between Athens and Arcadia, 248. His death, *ib.*
- Lycón, one of the accusers of Socrates, notice of, v. 124, 125.
- Lycón, a Syracusan, the part he took in the assassination of Dion, vii. 185.
- Lycophron, tyrant of Phæræ, his alliance with the Athenians, viii. 73. Succoured by Onomarchus, 75. and note. He and Phaÿllus are defeated by Philip, 77. Defeats Philip, 78. Defeated by, and capitulates to Philip, 79. Joins the Phocians, 87.
- Lycophrón, son of Aristolaides, heads the party of the lowlanders at Athens, i. 358.
- Lycurgus, of Sparta, his prudent administration, i. 246, 247. Voluntarily resigns his power, and travels into Crete, 247. Is invited to return, 248. His plans sanctioned by the oracle at Delphi, 249. His gradual measures for remodelling the constitution of Sparta, 250. His division of the land, 251, 252. Prohibits the use of all gold and silver, 252. And even that any should lie at home, *ib.* How he rendered slaves necessary in Sparta, 254. His care of children and of the pursuits and condition of the women, 254—256. His system of education, 257—260. At what age Lycurgus allowed men to engage in public affairs, 258. Recreations allowed by him, 259. Observations on his civil constitution, 261—264. His regulations concerning the Helots or slaves, 264, 265. Outline of his military code, 266—271. Defects of his system, 272. Plan adopted by him to secure the duration of his government, 272, 273. His death, 274.
- Lycurgus, the Athenian orator, notice of, viii. 358. and note. Conducts the prosecution against Lysicles, 359.
- Lydia, early superiority of, in arts and civilisation, ii. 1, 2. Attempt of the Lydian king Gyges to reduce the Grecian states, 4. Incursion of the Scythians and Cimmerians, 7. Its effects on the Lydian monarchy, 8. Reign of Halyattes, *ib.* Extent of Croesus's territory, *ib.* Defeat of him by Cyrus, 13.
- Lyncestis, princes of, noticed, vii. 253. —, account of the people of, ix. 28.
- Lynceus, king of Argos, i. 29.
- Lyncus, or Lyncestis, nature of its government, iii. 234.
- Lysander, commander-in-chief of the Peloponnesian fleet, iv. 261. His interview with Cyrus, 261, 262. His victory over the Athenians at Notium, 261, 265. Superseded in his command by Callicratidas, 271. Greatly beloved by the armament, 272. Enumeration of his services, 301. Appointed vice-admiral, *ib.* In favour of Cyrus, 302. His measures, 304, 305. Prepares for the battle of Ægospotami, 307. Defeats the Athenians there, 308—311. His measures after the battle, 314, 315. Blockades Athens, 315. —, supports the oligarchal party there, v. 59, 60. His speech at a congress of the Asian Greek cities, 307, 308. His reputation and power in the army, 310, 311. His operations against the Thebans, 326. Surprised by them and slain, 326, 327. Discrepancies between later writers and Xenophon, in their accounts of the conduct and views of Lysander, 328, 329.
- Lysanias, notice of, ix. 21.
- Lysias, the orator, one of the adventurers in the colonisation of Thurium, ii. 239. —, his account of the proceedings of the Council of Thirty, v. 42, 43. Biographical notice of, 43—45. His narrative confirmed by Xenophon, 45, 46. Points out what part of Solon's laws had been interpolated or destroyed, 70. Notice of his oration against Alcibiades the younger, 75—77. Of one for the brother of the widow of Aristophanes, 80—84. Of his oration against Andocides, 100—103.
- Lysicles, the Athenian, joined in the command with Chares, viii. 354. Tried and executed, 359.

- Lysimachus, son of Aristides, character of, *ii.* 279.
- Lysimachus, the Macedonian, accompanies Alexander across the Hydraspes, *x.* 140, 141.
- Lyttelton, Lord, his remark upon Voltaire, *x.* 198, 199. note.
- Maccabees, objections to the credibility of the book of, *ix.* 304, 305. note.
- Macedonia, inhabitants of, *i.* 10. Their language not generally understood by the Greeks, *ib.* note.
- , conquered by the Persians, *ii.* 33.
- , founder of the government of, *iii.* 32. Origin of the name of, 33. Divisions of, *ib.* Origin of the war between Athens and Macedonia, 35. Battle and siege of Potidæa, 40. Invasion of, by Sitalces, king of Thrace, 130—133.
- , several cities of, join the Olynthian association, *vi.* 88, 89. Pella, its largest town, joins the Olynthians, 89.
- , affairs of, from the reign of Perdiccas, son of Alexander, to the establishment of Philip, son of Amyntas, *vii.* 231—275. Prominent features of its constitution, 231—234. Its resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon constitution, 233. Advantages of its territory, 234. Circumstances relative to its civilisation, 235. State of, under Perdiccas, 236, 237. Difference in character of the Macedonians, 239, 240. Macedonia improved by Archelaus, 241. Games instituted there by him, 242. Disputed succession and civil war in, 244, 246. Invaded by the Illyrians, 247. The seat of government removed, 249. Intercourse between Macedonia and Athens, 250. Its disturbed state after the death of Amyntas, 255. Government of, committed to Ptolemy Alorites, 258. Assisted by the Thebans, and breach of alliance with Athens, 260, 261. Invaded a second time by the Illyrians, 262, 263. Accession of Philip, son of Amyntas, 263. Pretenders to the throne of, 264. Pæonia annexed to Macedonia, 271. Affairs of, from the establishment of Philip, son of Amyntas, to the renewal of war between Macedonia and Athens, 276—322. Joins Olynthus against Amphipolis, 323—326. Affairs of, from the renewal of hostilities between them, to the end of the war between the Athenians and their allies, called the "Confederate or Social war," 323—371. The Macedonians negotiate with Athens, 326, 327. Besiege Amphipolis, 328.
- , circumstances of, *viii.* 52. Violent measure of Athens against Macedonia, 54. Confederacy against, 55. Formidable power of the Macedonian kingdom, 57. Interest of, in Eubœa, 124.
- Successes of its fleet, 131. War with Olynthus, 142—146. The successes of the Macedonians against Olynthus, 147—150. Ambassadors arrive at Athens, 173. Peace with Athens, 174. Departure of the embassy therefrom, 176. Congress of Grecian embassies at its court, 186—188. Account of, by Isocrates, 200. State of, after the peace with Athens and the conclusion of the Sacred war, 241, 242. War with Illyria, 242. Operations in Thessaly, 243. Extension of Macedonian interest in Greece, 244. Hostilities against, without declared war, 327.
- Macedonia, state of, when Alexander succeeded to the throne, *ix.* 2. Circumstances of the countries around it, 3, 4. Account of its constitution by Arrian, 29. and note. The kings of, never used mercenaries, 31, 32. Legislation of, 33—40. Resemblances between its constitution and those of modern kingdoms, 41—47. Sources of its royal revenue, 47, 48. Similarity of the Macedonians to the Thessalians, 49. Speech relative to Macedonia by Alexander, 67, 68. Times at which the Macedonian Olympic festival was celebrated, 69, 70. Threatening aspect of affairs around Macedonia, 93. Its defence intrusted to Parmenio, 95. The Macedonian phalanx described, 96. The Macedonian Olympic festival celebrated, 133. Conflicting opinions of the Macedonians respecting Alexander's expedition, 165—168. Account of the Macedonian treasury, 168, 169. Amount of their forces for the Persian expedition, 169, 170. Date of their march for the Hellespont, 171. The Macedonians gain the battle of the Granicus, 192. They enter Sardis, 196. And take Ephesus, 197. Account of the fleet of Macedonia, 202, 203. The Macedonians take Miletus, 204. The fleet sent home, 206. Massacre of Macedonian soldiers at Issus, 268. Critical situation of the Macedonian army, 270. They defeat the Persians at Issus, 277—284. Their loss there, 287. Account of the Macedonian fleet, 299. Its successes, 312—314. and note. Effect of an eclipse on the Macedonian army, 331. Its amount at Arbela, 335. Its disposition, 338. It defeats the Persian forces, 338—344. Amount of its loss, 343, 344. It receives a re-enforcement from Greece, 350, 351. Proceeds over the Susiad rocks, 355. Winters at Persepolis, 357.
- , character of the Macedonian constitution marked by the trials for high treason during Alexander's fourth campaign in Asia, *x.* 1—36. State of Greece during the Macedonian supremacy, 4. Grounds for the confederacy against Macedonia, 6, 7. The Mace-

- donians defeat the Lacedæmonians, 9. Trial of the conspirators in the Macedonian army, 30. 36. and notes. The Macedonians build a town in Paropamisus, 48. and note. The army strengthened by Asiatic recruits, 50. Discontent in the army, 50—52. Friendly contest in the army, 58, 59. Massacre of the Macedonian army in Scythia, 61. The army taunted by the Scythians, 64. Part of, defeated by Spitamenes, 68. The Macedonians receive recruits at Zariaspæ or Bactra, 69. And defeat Spitamenes, 80. They winter at Bactra, 89. The conspiracy of the Macedonian pages, 103—107. Conduct of the army at Nysa, 134, 135. The Macedonians defeat Porus, 144. Their loss in taking Sangala, 156. and note. The army advances to the river Hyphasis, 158. Its discontent, 159. Addressed by Alexander and Cœnus, 159—163. Commences its return, 165. Leaves a colony on the banks of the Akesines, *ib.* Proceeds to Nysia and Bucephala, 168. A Macedonian fleet built on the river Hydaspes, 175, 176. Its course down that river, 177, 178. Its critical situation, 178, 179. Successes against the Mallians, 181—186. Anxiety of the army respecting Alexander's wound, 186, 187. It subdues the Oxydracs, 188. The Macedonian fleet sails down the Hydraotes to the Indus, 189. Reaches Pattala, 196. And the ocean, 198, 199. and note. The army winters at Pattala, 203. Subdues the Gâdroses, 204. Its distresses, 206—209. Passes through Carmania, 212—215. Preparations made by the fleet for its voyage of discovery, 222—225. Different accounts of its voyage, 226. and note. Time of its departure, 228. Its arrival at Stoora, *ib.* At Caumana, 229. At Coreatis, *ib.* At the bar of Sindi, 230. Its progress along the coast, 231. Detained at Bibacta, *ib.* Continuance of its voyage, 233—236. Slowness of its progress, 236. It receives a supply of provisions, 233, 239. Its stay at Ram-bacia, *ib.* Reaches the river Tomerus, 239. Passes the country of the "Fish-eaters," 240, 241. Guided by a Gâdrosian pilot, 244. Its attack on a fortified town, 246—249. Its further progress till its arrival at Harmoza, 249—253. It performs a sacrifice there, 266. The time it left that place, 267. Is joined by Mazenes, 268. Its further progress to Ila, 269, 270. Refits and stays at Sitacus, 270, 271. Enters the river Granides, 271. Its dangerous situation, 272. Proceeds to Diridotis, 273. Enters the Pasitigris, 275. The Macedonian army marches from Carmania, 276. Arrives at Persepolis, 278. Proceeds to Susa, 281. Marriages among the soldiers with the Persian women, 286, 287. Bounties bestowed on the soldiers by Alexander, 288—290. The army accompanies Alexander to Opis, 300. It mutinies, 302. Its repentance, 306. Its reconciliation to Alexander, 308. Part of it returns home, 309, 310. Craterus appointed viceroy of Macedonia, 311, 312. Disturbances therein through Olympias, *ib.* The Macedonian army reaches Celonæ, 328. Arrives at the Nysæan plain, and afterwards at Ecbatana, 330. Subdues the Cosses, 333. Enters Babylon, 336. The Macedonian fleet increased by Alexander, 341, 342. Its voyages down the Euphrates, 351. Amusements among, 354. Uneasiness of the Macedonians during Alexander's last illness, 368. Extraordinary measure of seven of their chiefs, 369.
- Μάχαιρα* and *ξίφος*, distinction between, *i.* 47. note.
- Machaon, the Corinthian, action of the fleet under his command with that of Phormion, *ii.* 120—122.
- Machiavel, comparison between him and Polycrates, *ii.* 33, 34.
- Macrons, account of the, *v.* 209, 210.
- Magarsus, magnificent sacrifice of Alexander at, *ix.* 259.
- Magistracy, singular, established by Timoleon, *vii.* 222.
- Magistrates in Bœotia, their title, *i.* 304. Of Athens, from what ranks of the people they were taken, 343.
- Magon, the Carthaginian general, notice of, *vii.* 120.
- Mainotes, of Peloponnesus, existence of their feudal manners in the present day, *vi.* 301. note.
- Malabar, pirates on the coast of, formidable in the time of Strabo, *x.* 232.
- Malea, promontory of, *i.* 12.
- Males, notice of, *ix.* 20.
- Mallians, the, hostile to Alexander, *x.* 179. Their principal town taken, 181. Their army scattered, 181. Their severe treatment, 182. They submit to Alexander, 188, 189.
- Mallus, account of the colony of, *ix.* 259.
- Mamercus of Catana, joins Timoleon, *vii.* 202. Driven from Catana, 218. Takes refuge at Messina, *ib.* Surrenders to Timoleon, and is executed, 218.
- Mania, satrapess of Ætolia, history of, *v.* 279, 280.
- Mankind, attempts to trace the history of, *i.* 2—4. Generally inspired with a spirit of migration, 4.
- Manners of the ancient Greeks, *i.* 145—161.
- of the Macedonians, *ix.* 75, 76.
- Mantineans, the, march in pursuit of Artabazus, *ii.* 200.
- , war between Mantinea and Tegea, *iii.* 271. Dispute of Lacedæmon with

- Mantineia, 295. Battle near, 331—333.
- Mantineans, war declared against Mantineia by the Lacedæmonians, vi. 82, 83. Reduced by Agesipolis, 85. The chiefs of the democratical party protected from the animosity of their fellow-citizens by the Lacedæmonians, 85, 86. The Mantinean commonwealth becomes a province to Lacedæmon, 86. The Mantineans rebuild and fortify their city, 182—185. Refuse the proposals of Agesilaus, 184. Take a violent part in the affairs of the Tegeans, 187. Send a deputation to Olympia on the robbery of the sacred treasury, 270. Are cited before the Numberless assembly of Arcadia, 271. Remonstrate against the Theban seizure of the Arcadian citizens, 276. The Mantinean territory attempted to be surprised by Epaminondas, 289. Relieved by the Athenian horse, 290. Battle of Mantineia, 294—296. Its unimportant results, according to Xenophon, 297.
- Marathon, battle of, ii. 81, 82. Observations on it, 84, 85. Honours paid to those who fell there, 254. Inscription on, *ib.* note.
- Mardians, the, subdued by Alexander, x. 22. Placed under the government of Autophradates, *ib.*
- Mardonius, first expedition of, against Greece, ii. 65. He is obliged to return to Asia, *ib.* Placed at the head of 300,000 men after the battle of Salamis, to complete the reduction of Greece, 160. Endeavours to detach the Athenians from the Grecian confederates, 172—178. Advances towards Attica, 177. Fixes his camp in the Theban territory, 180. Sends Masistius to attack the Megarian camp, 181—183. Number of his army encamped over against Plateæ, 186, 187. Has an Eleian prophet in his pay, 187. His policy in this measure, 188. Determines to attack the Greeks, 189. Is defeated and killed at Plateæ, 194, 195.
- Marganæa, town of, taken by the Eleians, vi. 266.
- Marine, ancient, the last great improvement in, by whom devised, vii. 82.
- Maritime sites on the English coast, vii. 241.
- Marmareans, their attack on Alexander, ix. 229. Their barbarities, 230. and note.
- Marriage, institution of, in Greece, ascribed to Cecrops, i. 110.
- between brothers and sisters esteemed creditable at Athens and in Caria, ix. 210.
- , account of marriages of Greeks with Persians, x. 286—288. (See Intermarriages.)
- Marseilles. See Massilia.
- Mascames, the Persian commander, his defence of Doriscus, ii. 281.
- Masclaf's account of the Hebrew alphabet, notice of, i. 115, 116. note.
- Masistius, commander of the Persian cavalry, attacks the Megarian camp, ii. 182. Is defeated and slain, *ib.* Honours paid to his memory by the Persians, 183.
- Masonry, state of, in Homer's time, i. 128.
- Massaga, capital of the Assakenes, besieged and taken by Alexander, x. 121—124.
- Massagetes, a Scythian horde, account of, x. 77. They join Spitamenes, *ib.* Are defeated by Cœnus, 79. Again defeated, 80. They murder Spitamenes, 81.
- Massilia, or Marseilles, foundation of, ii. 18.
- Mast, the, of various trees, the food of mankind, in a civilised, as well as a barbarous state, i. 8, 9. and note.
- Mausolus, prince of Caria, affords pecuniary support to Agesilaus, vi. 314. Assists Rhodes, Cos, Chios, and Byzantium against Athens, vii. 315, 316. His death, viii. 116. Account of his tomb, ix. 210.
- Mazæus, the Persian, his conduct at the battle of Arbela, ix. 340. Surrenders Babylon to Alexander, 346. Is appointed satrap of Babylon, 347. His death, x. 84.
- Mazenes, the Persian, joins the fleet of Nearchus, x. 268. His conduct considered, 273, 274.
- Medals, Crotoniat, notice of, ii. 236. (See Coins.)
- Medama, foundation of, i. 317.
- Medea, notice of, i. 53.
- Media, formation of the kingdom of, ii. 11. Notice of, x. 1. Account of Alexander's march through it to Babylon, 328—336.
- Median wall, account of the, v. 173.
- Medical school of Crotona, celebrity of, ii. 236.
- Medius, the Thessalian, becomes the confidential friend of Alexander the Great, x. 363. His attention to him during his last illness, 364—367.
- Medocus, king of the Odrysians, notice of, vi. 60. Sometimes written Amadocus, *ib.* note.
- Medon, son of Codrus, first hereditary archon at Athens, i. 307.
- Megabates, a Persian commander, tyranny of, ii. 43, 44.
- Megabyzus, the Persian commander, attempts to bribe Sparta, ii. 332. Defeats the Greeks in Egypt, 333.
- Megacles, chief of the Alcæonidæ, the political antagonist of Pisistratus, i. 358.
- Megacles, brother of Dion, made autocrat-general of Syracuse, vii. 168.
- Megacles, Athenian, the successful suitor for the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, ix. 21.

- Megacreon of Abdera, saying of, ii. 98.
- Megalopolis founded, as the capital of all Arcadia, vi. 188. Assembly of the Arcadian nation in, 219. The inhabitants, formerly from the country, wish to return, 300. Prevented by the Thebans, under Pammenes, and, their country residences destroyed, *ib.* Situation and constitution of, viii. 108, 109. Solicit the Athenians, 109. Besieged by the Lacedæmonians, x. 8.
- Megara, disputes between the Megarians and Corinthians, ii. 314, 315. 322. Relief of Megara by Myronides, 323. Revolt of, 350.
- , invasion and ravage of, by the Athenians, iii. 86. Sedition of, 230. The Megarian exiles betrayed, 237. Atrocious measure of the aristocratic party, 238.
- , sedition in, after the battle of Leuctra, vi. 321. Flourishes amidst the general troubles of Greece, 326. A manufacture of cloth the chief source of its wealth, *ib.* note.
- , contest of factions at, viii. 230, 231.
- Megara, Hyblæan, foundation of, i. 319.
- Megasthenes, leads a colony of Eubæans to the Italian coast, ii. 245. Finds Cuma and Dicæarchia, now Puteoli, *ib.*
- Megon, the Carthaginian general, is left in command in Sicily, vii. 118. Ravages the Messenian territory, 119. Is powerfully re-enforced from Carthage, *ib.* Assaults Agyris, chief of Agyrium, *ib.* Concludes a treaty with Dionysius relative to the Sicels, 120. Succeeds to the high dignity of Imilcon, 134. Invades Sicily and Italy, 135. Is defeated and killed at Cabala by Dionysius, *ib.* His son defeats the Greeks at Cronium, *ib.* And concludes peace, *ib.*
- Melanthus, prince of Pylus, emigration of, to Attica, i. 305. Raised to the throne, 306. His death, 307.
- Meleager, i. 40.
- Melitus, his charge against Socrates, v. 123. Account of, and of the party to which he belonged, 124, 125.
- Mellon, a Theban, plots with Phyllidas a revolution at Thebes, vi. 115. Is raised to the office of Bæotarch, 128, 129.
- Μηλοβόροι, explanation of the term, ix. 337. note.
- Melos, expedition against, under Nicias iii. 178. An Athenian armament sent against, 345. Besieged and taken by the Athenians, 345, 346. Fate of the surrendered Melians, 349.
- Melville, general, his remarks on the ancient war-galleys, ii. 162—165.
- Memnon, the Grecian, account of, ix. 147. 156. Intrusted with the military command in the western provinces of Persia, 171. His critical situation, 172, 173. Fails in his attempt on Cyzicus, 173. Held in check by Parmenio, 174. His preparations against Alexander, 179. Joins Arsites, 181. His place in the Persian army, 185. note. Hastens to Ionia, 194. Appointed commander-in-chief, 201. Withdraws to Caria, 207. Favours the cause of Orontobates, 212. Withdraws into Halicarnassus, 213. His preparations there, *ib.* Retires from it, 215. Commands the Persian fleet, 233. His negotiation with Lacedæmon, 233, 234. Takes Chios, 239. Proceeds to Lesbos, *ib.* Dies before Mitylene, 240.
- Memorials of Xenophon, account of, and remarks on, vi. 333—361.
- Memphis, part of, taken by the Athenians, ii. 321. Notice of, ix. 307. Festival celebrated there by Alexander, 308—311.
- Menander, the comic poet, notice of, ix. 224.
- Mende, measures adopted by Brasidas for the safety of the inhabitants, iii. 264. Defended by Polydamidas, 269. Entered and pillaged by the Athenians, *ib.* Who restore the democratical form of government there, *ib.*
- Menestheus, notice of, i. 62.
- Menidas, the Macedonian, brings recruits to Alexander, x. 353. Passes a night in the temple of Serapis, 368.
- Menon, Thessalian, his conduct in Cilicia, v. 143, 144. His character, 144. His address in passing the Euphrates, 149. Quarrel between him and Clearchus, 151.
- Mentor, a Grecian, engages in the Egyptian service, ix. 147. Gained over by the Persians at Sidon, 150. Assists Artaxerxes against Cyprus, 151. Also in the expedition against Egypt, 154. His connection with Bagôas, 156. Intrusted with the direction of the western provinces of Persia, 157. His death, 171.
- Mercenary troops, when first formerly allowed in Greece, vi. 93. Greek mercenaries in request, in the East, before the time of the younger Cyrus, 309.
- , general increase of, in the Grecian republics, vii. 69.
- , account of, in India, x. 121.
- Mercury, terms of, their ancient use, iv. 34. Destruction of, at Athens, and its consequences, *ib.*
- , prosecutions for mutilating them, v. 90—95. 101—106.
- Meron, mount, for what celebrated, x. 134.
- Mesopotamian rivers, floods of, x. 343.
- Mespila, town of, noticed, v. 190, 191. note.
- Messena, in Sicily, gained to the party of Daphnæus and Demarchus, vii. 61. Joins Rhegium in a naval attack

- upon Dionysius in Syracuse, 62. Excited to war against Syracuse, 78. Pardoned by Dionysius, 79. Receives a tract of land from Dionysius, 84. Falls under the power of Carthage, 97. And is levelled with the ground, 100. and note. Restored by Dionysius, 112. Six hundred Peloponnesian Messenians established there, 113. Who are afterwards removed to the north of Sicily, *ib.* Messena fruitlessly besieged by the Rhegians, 116.
- Messene, foundation of, *i.* 295.
- Messenia, province of, *i.* 12. Causes of quarrel between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians, 275, 276. Various events of the wars between them, 277—294. Colony of Messenians capture Zancle in Sicily, and settle there, 294, 295. Foundation of, 296, 297.
- , the Messenians settled at Naupactus, *ii.* 331.
- , the province of, restored to its former inhabitants by the Thebans, *vi.* 201. The new city of Messena built under the patronage of Epaminondas, *ib.* By whom peopled, according to Pausanias, 202. Finally lost to Lacedæmonia, *ib.* Unites with Epaminondas on his fourth invasion of Peloponnesus, 284. Becomes an independent member of the Greek nation, 314.
- Methone, in Messenia, notice of, *i.* 289. Its modern name, *ib.* note. The town and territory of, given to the Nauplians, 296.
- Methone, in Macedonia, account of, *viii.* 67, 68. Aggressions on Macedonia, 68. Besieged by the Macedonians, *ib.* Capitulates to Philip, 77.
- Methymne taken by Callicratidas, *iv.* 274. (See Mitylene.)
- Metics, or Freeman, not being citizens of Athens, condition of, *i.* 337.
- , taxes imposed upon them, *v.* 15.
- Migration, spirit of, in the early ages of the world, *i.* 4, 5, 14, 15. Migrations of the Ionic Pelasgians, 309. Of the Æolians, 311. Of the Ionians, 312.
- Miletus, city of, its foundation, *i.* 312.
- , its flourishing state, *ii.* 7. War of Halyattes against, 7, 8. Revolt of the Milesians against Persia, 45. Republican government established, *ib.* Siege and capture of Miletus, 56—60. Its present state, 56. note.
- , war of, with Samos, *iii.* 11—16.
- , battle of, *iv.* 160. Persian garrison expelled from, 207.
- , account of, *ix.* 201, 202. Besieged and taken by Alexander, 203, 204.
- Military affairs of the Greeks, *i.* 354, 355. Code of Lycurgus, 265—271.
- duty of the Agrigentines, decree respecting, *vii.* 28.
- establishment of Athens, *i.* 354.
- manœuvres connected with the re-
- treat of the ten thousand, account of, *v.* 193—195. note.
- Military service, obligations to, *i.* 229.
- Of the Grecian republics, 351—354.
- , composition for, *vi.* 92. Remarks on the age of, among the Spartans, 124, 125. note.
- system of the age of Xenophon, general spirit of, *v.* 225, 226.
- and naval command, among the ancients, united in the same person, *iv.* 236.
- and naval life, comparison between, *v.* 215—217. note.
- Milo, the athlete, general of the Crotoniats, *ii.* 235. His wonderful prowess, 236. note.
- Miltiades, the elder, by what circumstances the Thracian Chersonese came into the possession of, *ii.* 60, 61.
- Miltiades, the younger, tyrant of the Chersonese, *ii.* 61. Recommends the Grecian chiefs to destroy Darius's bridge over the Danube, 62. Flees to Athens, *ib.* Generosity of Darius to his son, 63. Acquitted of the charge of tyranny, 77. His sage advice to the polemarch Callimachus, 78. Judicious disposition of the Greek army to meet the Persians, 80. Defeats them at the battle of Marathon, 81, 82. Wounded at the siege of Paros, 86. His impeachment and death, 89. His imprisonment, as related by later writers, discredited, *ib.* note. Monument erected to the memory of, 255.
- Milton, his imitation of a passage in Thucydides noticed, *iii.* 332. note.
- Mindarus, transactions of the Peloponnesian fleet under his command, *iv.* 223—229, 232, 233. Defeated and slain, 234, 235.
- Minerva, temple of, at Athens, guarded by a serpent, *ii.* 146.
- Mines, commander of the Camarinean forces, accuses the Agrigentine generals of treachery, *vii.* 33.
- Minister of Olympian Jupiter, office of the, *vii.* 222.
- , character of the office of first minister of Athens, *viii.* 270—273.
- Minos, king of Crete, laws of, *i.* 13, 19, 21. Remarks thereon, 19, 20. And on his reception of Theseus, 56, 57.
- Minotaur, fiction of, explained, *i.* 56.
- Mirth, prescribed to his people, by Lycurgus, *i.* 262.
- Mitford, gratifying occupation of, on his history of Greece, *ix.* 81. note.
- Mithranes gives up Sardis to Alexander, *ix.* 195. Appointed satrap of Armenia, 347.
- Mithridates, harasses the Greeks on their retreat, *v.* 188.
- Mitylene and Methymne, political circumstances of, *iii.* 133, 134. Siege of Mitylene by Paches, 139. Inhuman decree of the Athenians against the Mitylenæans, 152—156.
- invested by Memnon, *ix.* 239. Ca-



- pitulates to the Persians, 240. Subsequent circumstances of, 240. Submits to the Macedonians, 312.
- Mnaseas, the Phocian, and Phalæus appointed generals, viii. 88. And slain, *ib.*
- Mnasippus commands the Lacedæmonian fleet, and ravages Corcyra, vi. 143, 144. Killed by the Corcyræans, 148.
- Mnesiphilus, an Athenian officer, his interview with Themistocles, ii. 148.
- Modon. See Methone, in Messenia.
- Molossis, history of, ix. 18—26. Situation of, 18. Its government, 20. Themistocles takes refuge at, 22. Tharyps, king of, joins the Lacedæmonians, 24. and note. The sister of its king Alexander married to Philip of Macedon, 25. Ravaged by the Romans, 26. and note.
- , Athenian embassy to the queen of, x. 319.
- Monarchy, absolute, unknown among the ancient Greeks, as a legal constitution, i. 103, 104.
- , legal and illegal, differences between, ix. 15. Limited examples of, in Greece, 16, 17.
- Montesquieu, his opinion of what constitutes the essence of despotism, ii. 318.
- , his eulogy of Alexander's adoption of Persian customs, x. 71.
- Money of iron, not peculiar to Sparta, i. 252. note.
- Μονόβυλλα, explanation of the term, i. 7. note.
- Monsoon, Indian, account of the, x. 220, 221.
- Mora, a division of infantry among the Lacedæmonians, i. 267—269.
- Morality, not better practised in the age of Plato and Xenophon than in Homer's time, v. 110. Near approach made to Christian morality by Socrates, 128.
- Moses, coincidences between the writings of, and those of Greek authors, in tracing the history of mankind to its source, i. 3, 4.
- Mosks in Africa, form of, i. 94. note.
- Mosyneeks, notice of the independent horde of, v. 218.
- Motya, a Phœnician settlement in Sicily, ii. 215, 216. Becomes an Agrigentine garrison, 228.
- , besieged by Dionysius, vii. 90. Is carried by assault, 91, 92. A remnant of the Motyenes saved, but sold to slavery, *ib.* Falls again under the power of Carthage, 97.
- Mountainous districts, remarks on the inhabitants of, x. 45, 46.
- Mountains of Greece, i. 10—13.
- Mourning, public, mark of, among the Argives, i. 298.
- Murders, frequency of, in the early ages of the Greeks, i. 146.
- Murichides, his mission to the Athenians, ii. 178.
- Μύριαι, *οί.* See Numberless.
- Musæus, one of the fathers of Grecian poetry, i. 64.
- Music, prevalence of, among ancient nations, i. 124. Notice of the music of the ancient Greeks, 124, 125.
- Musicanus, the Indian, submits to Alexander, x. 190. Revolts, 194. And is executed, *ib.*
- Mycale, battle of, ii. 208, 209.
- Mycalessus, massacre of the inhabitants of, by the Thracians, iv. 95, 69.
- Mycenæ, founded by Perseus, i. 29.
- , taken and destroyed by the Argives, ii. 313.
- Mylæ, a town of Sicily, the dispersed Catanians and Naxians assembled at by the Rhegians, vii. 116. Recovered by the Syracusans, *ib.*
- Myndus, notice of the town of, ix. 213.
- Myronides, commander of the Athenian forces against Corinth, ii. 323. Defeats the Corinthians, 324. Defeats the Bœotian army at Cœnophyta, 328. Character of this campaign, 329.
- Myrrh-bearing trees, notice of, x. 206.
- Mysteries, Eleusinian and others, probable origin and object of, i. 93.
- Mystical religion among the Greeks, nature of, i. 84.
- Myus, city of, its foundation, i. 311.
- Names, remarks on the modern alterations in Greek names, i. 12. note. Rise of national names accounted for, 113. Care required, in the consideration of ancient or foreign politics, not to be misled by names, 230. note.
- Naples, a colony from Campanian Cuma, i. 316. Foundation of, ii. 246. Allusion to the conquest of, by Spain and Austria, ix. 211.
- Νάρως, meaning of, v. 239. note.
- Nard, account of, x. 206.
- Narsæus, son of Dionysius the elder, by Aristomache, notice of, vii. 158.
- Naclides, plot concerted between him and Eurymachus, iii. 66, 67.
- Naupactus, settlement of Messenians at, ii. 331.
- , sea-fight near, iii. 124—127.
- Nauplia, taken by the Argives, i. 237.
- Ναῦς, with what limitation the word is used by Thucydides, iv. 232. note.
- Nautical term used by Thucydides, explanation of, ii. 163.
- Naval action, the system of, among the ancients explained, ii. 152, 153. Difference in the principle on which Themistocles and the Persian commanders respectively manned their vessels, 153, 154.
- Naval and military command, among the ancients, united in the same person, iii. 236. note.
- and military life, comparison between, v. 215—217. note.
- Navarch, rank of, i. 355.
- Navarino, ancient name of, i. 289. note.
- Navigation, origin of, i. 6. State of

- this art among the early Greeks, 139—141.
- Navigation, imperfect state of, among the Greeks and Syracusans, vi. 148, 149.
- of the Indian rivers by Alexander, x. 189—202. Account of ancient navigation, 219. Difficulties of navigating the Persian Gulf, 268. 271—273
- Navy, Persian, composition and numbers of the, ii. 95, 96.
- Naxos, island of, factions in, ii. 41, 42. Persian expedition against, 42. The siege of Naxos abandoned, 43, 44. Capitulation of, to the Greek confederacy, 283.
- Naxus, a city of Sicily, foundation of, i. 318.
- , the party in, adverse to Dionysius, sold to slavery, vii. 72. The city destroyed, and its territory given to the Sicels, ib. Who quit Naxus, and originate the town of Tauromenium, 99. The dispersed Naxians assembled at Mylæ by the Rhegians, 108, 109. A new settlement formed there by Andromachus, 165.
- Ναξιάρχος*, and *Νέος*, sense of, v. 268. note.
- Nearchus joins Alexander with recruits, x. 69. His expedition against the Assakenes, 129, 130. and notes. Account of his voyage, 216—275. Reports the circumstances of his voyage to Alexander, 216. The vessels best adapted to this expedition, 219, 220. The amount of his fleet, 220. His birth and character, 222. The commencement of his voyage, 226, 227. His progress during the first six days, 228, 229. Reaches the bar of Sindi, 230. His mode of passing it, ib. Rests on the island Crocala, 231. Detained at Bibacta, ib. His further progress, 233. Arrives at the river Arabis, 234. The continuance of his voyage, and losses, 235, 236. The slowness of his progress, 236. Refits at Rambaia, 237—239. Arrives at the river Tomerus, 239. His description of the country of the "Fish-eaters," 240. His attack on them, 242. Arrives at Carnina, ib. His description of that place, 242, 243. Arrives at Mosarna, 243. His further progress, 244, 245. His violence to a fortified town, 246—249. His further progress, 249, 250. Recruits at a deserted town, 251. Reaches Badis, 252. His dispute with Onesicritus, 253. Reaches Harmoza, ib. The credit to be attached to his narrative, 254, 255. His conduct at Harmoza, 256. His journey to Alexander, 258, 259. His reception by him, 259. His re-appointment to the command, ib. His return to Harmoza, 260. Remarks on his narrative and conduct, 262—266. He performs a sacrifice, 266. The time he left Harmoza, 267. His arrival at an island, ib. Its different ancient and modern names, ib. Accompanied from thence by Mazenes, 268. His further progress to Ila, 269, 270. He reaches Apostani, 270. His stay and preparation at Sitacus, 271. His progress to the river Granides, ib. His description of it, 272. and note. Arrives at the river Arosis, ib. Difficulties of the navigation, 272, 273. Arrives at Diridotis, 273. and note. Mysteriousness of his narrative, 273, 274. He enters the Pasitigris, 275. Proceeds to Susa, ib. and note. Is married to a daughter of Mentor, 287. Receives a golden crown, 291.
- Nectanabis, or Nectanebos, a near kinsman of Tachos, succeeds him on the throne of Egypt, vi. 311, 312.
- , notice of, ix. 147—149. Supports the Phenicians, 150. Baffles Artaxerxes, 152. Is defeated, 154. And flees into Ethiopia, 155.
- Nemean games, notice of, i. 195.
- glen, action of, vi. 231.
- Neodamodes, explanation of, iv. 143.
- Neoptolemus Pyrrhus, descendants of, ix. 19.
- Nepos, Cornelius, character of as a writer, v. 318. note. His eulogy of Thrasybulus, vi. 64. note. His character of Dionysius of Syracuse, vii. 151. 160. note; 175. note. His account of the hatred in which Dion was held after the murder of Heraclides, 182. 184.
- Neptune, sacrifice of Alexander to, x. 199.
- Nesæus yields the chief power at Syracuse to Dionysius the younger, vii. 189.
- Nestor's order of battle, i. 132.
- New Forest, observations on the forming of, by William L, x. 198, 199. note.
- News-writing, modern, something analogous to, in Greece, vii. 3, 4.
- Newton, Sir Isaac, his conjecture respecting the foundation of Argos and Sicyon, i. 23. On the identity of Erectheus and Erichonius, 45. note. His chronology of the Amphictyonic council, 182, 183. note. Observations on his chronology of Grecian history, 216—223.
- Nicæa, on the Hydaspes, founded by Alexander, x. 147.
- Nicanor, a Macedonian, notice of, x. 18. Appointed satrap of northern India, 125.
- Niceratus, son of Nicias, condemned to death by the Council of Thirty, v. 43.
- Nicolochus commands the Lacedæmonian fleet, vi. 140. Is defeated, ib.
- Nicias, son of Niceratus, his character and talents, iii. 151, 152. Succeeds Pericles as commander-in-chief, 177.

- His operations at Lesbos and Megara, 178. Goes with the fleet to Melos, *ib.* Defeats the Tanagraeans and Locrians, 178, 179. Miserably betrays the dignity of his office, 209. Commands an expedition against the Corinthians, 221. Takes and burns Thyrea, 228. His influence in the Athenian commonwealth, 284, 285.
- Nicias, faction against him, headed by Hyperbolus, *iv.* 23. His opposition to the measures of Alcibiades, 25. Named first in command of the Sicilian expedition, 26. His speech on the subject of the expedition, 26—28. His reply to Alcibiades, 31, 32. His feeble conduct, and oppression of the Sicels, 54, 55. His official letter to the Athenian people after the siege of Syracuse, 82—85. Intercepts the auxiliaries to Syracuse, 100, 101. His preparations for action with the Syracusan fleet, 101, 102. Opposes the advice of Demosthenes to return to Athens, 109, 110. Change in his character, 117. His excellent speech to the troops on their retreat, 122, 123. Difference between him and Demosthenes respecting the conduct of the retreat, 127, 128. Surrenders to Gylippus, 130, 131. Decreed to suffer death by the Syracusans, and executed, 131.
- , proceedings against his nephews, *v.* 79, 80.
- Nicocles, a eunuch, assassinates Evagoras, *vi.* 307. *note.*
- Nicodemus of Centoripa flees from Timoleon, *vii.* 216.
- Nicomachus, the transcription of Solon's laws committed to him, *v.* 69. How interpolated and altered by, 69, 70.
- Nicomedes, son of Cleombrotus, relieves Doris, *ii.* 325. Winters in Bœotia, 326. Defeats the Athenians at Tanagra, *ib.*
- Nicophemus and Aristophanes, proceedings originating in the murder of, *v.* 80—84.
- Nicostratus, operations of the Athenian fleet, under his command, at Corcyra, *iii.* 168—173.
- Nicoteles, a Corinthian, resides at Syracuse, *vii.* 67. Is executed for exciting the Corinthian sedition, 68.
- Nile, operation of the waters of the, *i.* 5.
- Nisæa, port of, taken by the Athenians, *iii.* 231, 232.
- Nobility, hereditary, decline of, in Greece, *i.* 229.
- Nomophylaces, office of, at Athens, *i.* 346.
- Nomothetes, office of the, *i.* 346.
- Notium, when separated from Colophon, *iii.* 148. Taken by Paches, and made an appendage of Attica, 149. Sea-fight of, *iv.* 265.
- Numberless assembly of Arcadia, how composed, *vi.* 189. and *note.*
- Nysius conveys a convoy through the Syracusan fleet, and in a sally gains two quarters of the city, *vii.* 175.
- Nysa, description of, *x.* 131. The Nysæans send an address to Alexander, *ib.* Account of the Nysæan constitution, 133. Notice of antiquities there, 134.
- Oak, the evergreen, producing sweet acorns, not found in Britain, in Cæsar's time, *i.* 9. *note.*
- Oath, Amphictyonic, form of the, *i.* 184, 185.
- , ceremonies attending the oath of fidelity, between the Greeks and Persians, *v.* 167. The salutary superstition which taught to respect the observance of oaths, fast wearing away in the time of Aristophanes, 110.
- Observer, of Cumberland, observations on the aspersions on the character of Socrates contained in this work, *v.* 129. *note.*
- Ochlocracy, or mob-rule, *i.* 230.
- Ochus. See Artaxerxes Ochus.
- Odrysiens, their depredations, *v.* 284. Funeral ceremonies of, *ib.*
- Œneus, catastrophe of, *i.* 40.
- Œnoe, siege of, *iii.* 79. The surrender of, how affected by Aristarchus, *iv.* 221.
- Œnophyta, battle of, *ii.* 328.
- Œta, mount, *i.* 11. Ridge of, the southern boundary of Thessaly, its situation and advantages, *ii.* 113.
- Ogyges, flood of, *i.* 38, 40, 203. Ogyges, king of Attica, and his reign, 40, 41. What places were called Ogygian, 41.
- Olen, the Lycian, his hymns the oldest in Greece, *i.* 63. The inventor of the Grecian hexameter verse, *ib.* One of the fathers of Grecian poetry, *ib.*
- Oligarchy, import of the term, *i.* 229. Account of this form of government, 229, 250.
- Olive branch, custom respecting, in the temple of Ceres, *v.* 98. And prosecution against Andocides for a breach of this custom, 98—100.
- crown, reward of the, conferred on Eurybiades and Themistocles, *ii.* 167.
- tree, sacred, at Athens, *i.* 332.
- , prosecution of an Athenian for removing the decayed stump of one, *v.* 85—88.
- Olpæ, battle of, *iii.* 189.
- Olympia, account of the oracle at, *i.* 172. Treaties often proclaimed at, 194.
- , battle of, *vi.* 268. Its sacred treasury robbed by the Arcadians, 270.
- Olympiad, remarks on the chronology of the, *i.* 217—220.
- , the 104th, distinguished by the battle of Olympia, *vi.* 268.

- Olympiad, account of the Macedonian, ix. 70, 71. 132, 133.
- Olympian games, account of, i. 191—195. Benefits resulting from them, 195. Date of the first catalogue of victors at, 200. 216.
- , a Lacedæmonian more an object of curiosity at, than the conquerors, vi. 207. The Eleans excluded from the presidency of, by the Arcadians, 266, 267.
- , Dionysius of Syracuse unsuccessful at, vii. 143.
- festival at Memphis, ix. 308.
- Olympias, married to Philip of Macedon, vii. 52, 53. Gives birth to a son, who is afterwards Alexander the Great, 57. Is repudiated, 380.
- , creates disturbances in Macedonia, x. 311.
- Olympiodorus attacks and defeats the Persians under Masistius, ii. 182—183.
- Olympus, mount, i. 10. 35.
- Olympus, the father of Grecian music, i. 64.
- Olynthiac orations of Demosthenes, account of, viii. 139—141.
- Olynthus, besieged and taken by Artabazus, ii. 170.
- , rise and growing power of the republic of, vi. 88. The Olynthians associate the neighbouring towns in their civil and political rights, ib. Several of the Macedonian towns join the association, 88, 89. System of government in Olynthus, 88. Inter-marriages, and intermixed possessions, allowed their townships by the Olynthians, 90. The Olynthians successful in two engagements with the Peloponnesians, 101—104. Reduced to subjection to Lacedæmon by Polybiades, 112. Remarks on the Olynthian union, as sketched by Xenophon, ib. Olynthus re-enforces the Lacedæmonian army, 135.
- , the Olynthians gain possession of Pella, vii. 248. Subdued by the Lacedæmonians and Macedonians, 249. Restoration of the confederacy, 250. Hostility of, to Athens, 252. Account of the Olynthian confederacy, 296, 298. Its alliance with Amphipolis, 298. Its opposition to Athens, ib. The Olynthians compel Timotheus to retreat, 305. Take Charidemus into their service, 310. Join Macedonia against Amphipolis, 322, 326. Negotiate with Athens, 326, 327. Besiege Amphipolis, 328.
- , political state of, viii. 135. Make peace with Athens, ib. Their war with Macedon, 142—145. Remonstrate with Athens, 146. Defeated by Philip, 148. Surrender to him, 150. Effects of the conquest of, 156, 157.
- Omares, general of the Persians at the battle of the Granicus, ix. 184. Is slain, 192.
- Omens, abundance of, in the time of Alexander and following ages, x. 354, 355. (See Prognostics.)
- Onesicritus, a Macedonian naval commander, account of, x. 222. Second in command to Nearchus, 223. His narrative of the voyage, 225. His dispute with Nearchus, 253. Notice of, 264. He proceeds to Susa, 276. Receives a golden crown, 291.
- Onesilus, king of Salamis, revolts against the Persians, ii. 53.
- Onomarchus, appointed general of the Phocians, viii. 48. Takes Thronium and Amphissa, 49. Plunders Doris, 50. Gains Orchomenus, ib. Repulsed at Chæronea, ib. Sends succours to Lycophron, 75, 76. and note. Enters Thessaly, and defeats Philip, 78. Defeats the Thebans, and gains Coronea, ib. Is defeated and slain, 80. and note.
- Onomastus, notice of, ix. 21.
- Opis, on the Tigris, mutiny of the Macedonian army at, x. 300—310.
- Ὀπλια, meaning of the phrase εἰς τὰ, v. 168. n. εἰς τὰ, v. 181.
- Ora, besieged and taken by Alexander the Great, x. 124. Garrisoned by him, 125.
- Oracles, origin and progress of, i. 168—170. Particulars of the oracle of Dodona, 171. Of Olympia, 172. Of Delphi, 173—180. Of Ammon, ix. 315. (See Delphi, Dodona.)
- Oranges, not known in Greece, for ages after Homer, i. 127, 128. note.
- Orators of Athens, weight of their historic testimony, vii. 323, 324. Their importance, viii. 226, 227.
- Orchomenus, war between the Orchomenians and Clitorians, vi. 132. The Orchomenians oppose the union of all Arcadia, 188. Engage a body of mercenaries, ib. Join in a conspiracy with the aristocratical party in Thebes, 251. Destruction of the Orchomenian cavalry, 259. Orchomenus levelled, and its inhabitants slain or sold to slavery, ib. Date of this event, according to Pausanias, and other authors, 259, 260. notes.
- , is re-peopled, viii. 50. Joins the Phocian alliance, ib.
- , restoration of, ix. 161.
- Orestes, son of Agamemnon, compelled to flee from Argos, i. 75. Returns thither, and ascends the throne, 162.
- Orestes, king of Thessaly, compelled to flee from his country, ii. 335.
- Orestes, son of Archelaus, his death, vii. 245.
- Orites, the, oppose Alexander, x. 204. Are subdued by him, 205. They revolt, 238. Defeated by Leonnatus, ib.
- Orates, satrap of Sardis, notice of, ii. 37.
- Orontas, governor of Sardis, rebellion of, v. 132. His treachery, 151, 152. His sentence, 153.
- Orontas, the Persian general, accuses

- his superior in command, Tiribazus, vi. 306. And succeeds him, *ib.* Makes peace with Evagoras, tyrant of Salamis, 307. Engages in the rebellion of the western maritime provinces, 308. Is elected general of the confederacy, and betrays it, *ib.*
- Orontobates, the Persian, gains possession of Caria, ix. 211. Favoured by Memnon, 212. Withdraws from Halicarnassus, 215. Is defeated, 258.
- Oropus, port of, seized by the Athenian exiles, vi. 246. Held by the Thebans in trust, 247.
- Orpheus, hymns of, noticed, i. 64. One of the fathers of Grecian poetry, *ib.*
- Orthography of Greek names, observations on, i. 12. note.
- , English, of Greek names, i. 12. note.
- , French, of Asiatic names, x. 193. note.
- O'Ruark, king of Leitrim, a anecdote of i. 76.
- Ossa, mount, i. 11. 35.
- Ostracism, nature of, ii. 145.
- Oxathres, appointed satrap of Parætacene, x. 12. His execution, 282.
- Oxines, a Persian, charges against him, x. 280. Tried and executed, *ib.*
- Oxus, river, notice of, x. 53—55.
- Oxyartes the Bactrian, account of, x. 84. His fort besieged by Alexander, 85. How taken, 86. His daughter married to Alexander, 87. He submits to him, *ib.* His interview with Alexander, 190. Made satrap of Paropamisus, *ib.*
- Oxycanus, the Indian, opposes Alexander, x. 192. Is taken prisoner, *ib.*
- Oxydracs, the, submit to Alexander, x. 188.
- Oxylus, an Ætolian chieftain, notice of, i. 163.
- Ozolian Locris. See Locris.
- Paches, son of Epicurus, takes the command of the Athenian army in Lesbos, iii. 139. Besieges Mitylene, 143. Proceeds to Ionia, 147. His treachery and cruelty, 147—149. Charge of peculation against him, 157. His death, *ib.*
- Pactolus, river, notice of, ii. 2. Battle of the, v. 317.
- Pactyas, revolt of, from Cyrus, ii. 14. His subsequent adventures, to his betrayal by the Chians, 15—17.
- Pæonians, the, make an irruption into Macedonia, vii. 264. Are bribed by Philip, 267. Become annexed to Macedonia, 271. Are overthrown by Philip, viii. 56.
- Pæstum, or Posidonia, site and foundation of, ii. 241. Magnificent ruins of, i. 77.; ii. 241. Modern opinions respecting them controverted, 242. 247—249. note. Its prosperity, 248. Destroyed by the Saracens, *ib.*
- Pagasæan Bay, battle near the, viii. 81.
- Pagés, M., his remarks on the ancient war galleys, ii. 164, 165.
- Pages, probable first institution of by Philip, ix. 75, 76. Of Alexander, their conspiracy against him, x. 103—107.
- Pagodas, the Theban Bœotarch, his conduct before, and at the battle of Delium, iii. 242, 243.
- Painters, celebrated, at Athens, in the time of Pericles, iii. 6.
- Palermo. See Panormus.
- Pallene, a Laconian town, stormed by Lycomedes of Mantinea, vi. 203. Distinguished from the Achaean city so called, *ib.* note.
- Pallene, peninsula of, viii. 145.
- Palm-trees, the summits of, used as food by Alexander's soldiers, x. 207.
- Pammenes, the Theban general, compels the residence of the country gentlemen in Megalopolis, vi. 300. Destroys their former seats, *ib.* Is sent to Artabazus, viii. 45. His successes, 46.
- Pan, worship of, when introduced into Athens, ii. 76, 77.
- Panathenæa, festival of, when established, i. 59.
- Panæus, a celebrated painter, notice of, iii. 6.
- Pancration, when introduced into the Olympic games, i. 194.
- Panhellenes and Achaioi, all Greeks included under these names by Homer, i. 182. note.
- Panic in the camp of Clearchus, iv. 183.
- Panionian synod, nature of the, i. 312.
- Panoply, what comprehended under the term, i. 352.
- Panormus, or Palermo, a Phœnician settlement in Sicily, ii. 215. Imilcon enters the port of, with the Carthaginian armament, vii. 95.
- Pantites, being disgraced for having been absent from the battle of Thermopylæ, strangles himself, ii. 130.
- Paper-credit, lines on, from Pope's Moral Essays, v. 322. note.
- Paphlagonia, alliance of, with Lacedæmon, v. 331, 332. The Paphlagonians enter into a treaty with Alexander, ix. 249.
- Parætacene, subdued by Alexander, x. 12. Revolt at, 85. Description of, 87, 88. The rebellion there quelled, 89.
- Parasang, computation of, v. 166, 167.
- Paredri, or assessors to the archons, how chosen, i. 351.
- Parian Chronicle, account of, i. 202.
- Paris, rape of Helen by, i. 69.
- Parmenio, the Macedonian general, defeats the Illyrians, viii. 56. Is sent to Eubœa, 124. Arrives at Athens, 173. Is sent into Asia, 379.
- , entrusted with the defence of Macedonia, ix. 95. His conduct in Æolia alluded to, 163, 164. His advice to Alexander, 166. Takes Grynium,

173. Keeps Memnon in check, 174. Superintends the passage of the Hellespont, *ib.* His advice to Alexander at the river Granicus, 185. His station in the battle there, 187. Gains Dascylium, 194. Is sent to Magnesia, 200. His advice at Miletus, 203. The trust reposed in him by Alexander, 220. Discovers a plot against Alexander, 221. Authorised to arrest Alexander, son of Aeropus, 223. Is sent by Alexander to secure the pass into Syria, 256. His situation at the battle of Issus, 276. Takes Damascus, 290. His advice previously to the battle of Arbela, 337. His conduct there, 340—342. His passage over the Susiad rocks, 354.
- Parmenio, is sent into Hyrcania, x. 15. The treachery of his son Philotas discovered, 26. Few accounts remaining respecting himself, 28. His reproof to Philotas, 29. Is left with the chief command in Media, *ib.* His family calamities, 30. Is tried and executed, 34. and note.
- Parnassus, mount, i. 11.
- Parnes, mount, i. 11.
- Paropamisana Alexandria. See Alexandria.
- Paros, siege of, by the Athenians, ii. 86.
- Parrhasius, notice of, iii. 6.
- Parthians, the, allusion to, ix. 332.
- Party spirit, effects of, at Athens, i. 376. and note; 86—89. Observations on, vii. 334, 335.
- Pasimelus, a Corinthian chief, his attempts to overthrow the democratical party, vi. 25, 26. His plan for the introduction of Praxitas into the city, 28. Slain in combat with the Argives, 30.
- Pasion and Xenias, Grecian generals, desert from the army of Cyrus, v. 147. Generous conduct of Cyrus on the occasion, 148.
- Pasinees, notice of the, x. 242.
- Pasitigris, river, notice of, x. 275.
- Passaron, the capital of Molossis, notice of, ix. 18.
- Paterculus, his eulogy upon Athens, v. 31. note.
- Patriotism, Greek terms for, vi. 122, 123.
- Pattala, its situation, x. 196. Made a naval station by Alexander, 196, 197. Alexander's return hither, 202.
- Pausanias, the historian, veracity of, i. 54. note. Notice of, 217.
- Pausanias, a Spartan general, commander of the Macedonian army, ii. 179. Attended by an Eleian prophet, 180. His altercation with Amompharetus, 192. His preparations for the battle of Plataea, 190, 193, 194. Anecdote of, 199. Marches against Thebes, 202. Orders the execution of Timegenides and some other Thebans, 203. Appointed commander of the Grecian fleet, 272. Takes Byzantium, 273. Instance of his arrogance, *ib.* Particulars of his intrigues with Persia, 274, 275. Charges against him, 276. His recall, *ib.* Treasonable practices and death of, 289—292.
- Pausanias, king of Sparta, marches into Athens, under pretence of supporting the Council of Thirty, but really with another view, v. 61, 62. Arrives in the Theban territory with his army, 327. His pusillanimous conduct, 328. Is capitally prosecuted, and flees to Tegea, 328, 329. Passes his remaining days in banishment, 329.
- , his influence exerted with his son Agesipolis, to protect the democratical chiefs of the Mantineans, vi. 85.
- Pausanias, king of Macedonia, assumes the throne, vii. 245. His death, *ib.*
- Pausanias, a favourite at the court of Philip, king of Macedon, stabs Philip, viii. 381. Account of his death, *ib.* His motives for the assassination of Philip, 381, 382.
- Pausanias, son of the former, attempts to ascend the throne of Macedon, vii. 257. Abandons his enterprise, 258.
- Pay of an Athenian soldier, iii. 139. Of a seaman, 140.
- Peculation of the Athenians proverbial, v. 17.
- Peers, title of, among the Spartans, v. 302.
- Pelasgians, colonies from the east, i. 24—26. Called Danaans, after the reign of Danaus, 28. Their religion not polytheistic, 87. The name of, grows obsolete at an early period, 166.
- Pelion and Ossa, mountains of, i. 11.
- Pella, the principal city of Macedonia, joins the Olynthian association, vi. 88. Becomes the capital of Macedonia, vii. 249.
- Pellion, the capital of Illyria, ix. 103. Battle of, 104, 105.
- Pelopidas, character of, vi. 127. Is raised to the office of Bæotarch, 128. Intrigues to set Athens at variance with Lacedæmon, *ib.* Directs, with Epaminondas, the Theban councils, after the congress of Lacedæmon, 160. Shares with his colleague the glory of the victory of Leuctra, 161—166. Leads an army into Thessaly, 212, 213. Concludes a treaty with Alexander, king of Macedon, 213. Returns to Thebes with Philip, the future king of Macedon, 213. Re-arriving in Thessaly, is imprisoned by Alexander, tagus of Pheræ, *ib.* Is at length released, *ib.* Conflicting accounts of historians as to his merits, 214. note. Sent on the part of Thebes to the congress at Susa, 216. Slight Antiochus, the Arcadian minister there, 217. His complete success and political abilities, 217, 218. Marches to support the Thessalian cities, 260. Is killed in a drawn battle with Alexander of Pheræ, *ib.* His character, *ib.*

- Pelopidas, his embassy to Macedon, vii. 260. Takes Philip, the youngest son of Amyntas, to Thebes, 261.
- Peloponnesian war, history of, from its commencement to the death of Pericles, iii. 71—108. From this period, in the third year, to the application for peace from Lacedæmon, in the seventh, 109—218. From this period to the conclusion of peace between Lacedæmon and Athens in the tenth year, 219—287. During the peace between Lacedæmon and Athens, 288—349.
- , recapitulatory synopsis of the, v. 1—9.
- Peloponnesus, boundaries of, i. 11. Whence it derives its ancient name, 25. Political state of, in the times described by Homer, 103—105. Conquered by the Dorians under the Heraclidæ, 163, 164. Its unsettled state in consequence of the early dissensions among the Heraclidean princes, 186, 187. Government established there by them, 225.
- , force contributed by the Peloponnesian cities to the defence of Thermopylæ, ii. 115, 116. The Peloponnesians confine themselves to the defence of their own peninsula, 143, 144. Their conduct in the defence of Greece, 178. Their jealousy of the Athenians, 255—258. Operations against them, under Tolmides, 330—332. Influence of the Athenians in Peloponnesus, 336. Expedition of Pericles to, *ib.* The Peloponnesians invade Attica, under Plistoanax, 351. Cause of their retreat, *ib.*
- , the Peloponnesians deficient in naval skill, iii. 27. Assembly of deputies from, at Lacedæmon, 41. Second assembly, 58. The Peloponnesians join the Lacedæmonian confederacy, 72. Invade and ravage Attica, 78—82. Second invasion, 91, 92. First effort of their fleet, 103. Attempt to send an embassy into Persia, 103, 104. Their inducements to undertake the siege of Plataea, 109. Account of their operations in the siege, 110—114. Send assistance to the Ambraciots, 116. Their fleet defeated by Phormion, 124—127. Attempt to surprise Piræus, 127, 128. Third invasion of Attica, 132. An army sent into the western provinces, 184. Ozolian Locris acquired to the confederacy, *ib.* Their fifth invasion of Attica, 193. Besiege Pylus, 200—202.
- , Peloponnesian confederacy at Corinth, iv. 149. Its measures, 150. Dissatisfaction of the Peloponnesian armament with its general, 201. 205. Send assistance to Pharnabazus, 202. Transactions of the fleet under Merdanas, 223. 228. 232, 233. Their fleet captured at Cyzicus, 235. Distresses of, 236. Liberality of Pharnabazus to, *ib.* Battle at Arginusæ with the Athenian fleet, 279—281. And of Ægospotami, 309—311. End of the Peloponnesian war, 322, 323.
- Peloponnesus, fatal consequences of sovereignty of the people in, after battle of Leuctra, vi. 319—323. Similarity between its political state and that of France at the revolution, 319. note. Sketch of the troubles of, by Isocrates, 323.
- , forces levied in, by Dion and Heraclides, vii. 165. Passage from, to Sicily, how made, 166.
- , its share in the Amphictyonic rites, viii. 4. War in, 111, 112. Animosities in, 232, 233.
- , the states in, which opposed and joined the Lacedæmonian league, x. 8.
- Pelops, emigration of from Asia Minor, i. 30, 31. Settles in Greece, and gives his name to the peninsula, *ib.* 64.
- Peltast, or middle-armed infantry of the Greeks, account of, i. 353.
- Peneus river, notice of, i. 35.
- Penestians, their state of vassalage under the Thessalians, vi. 172.
- Pentathlon, the, when introduced into the Olympic games, i. 194.
- Penteconter, a small Grecian vessel, description of, ii. 130.
- Pentecosters, rank of, in the Lacedæmonian army, i. 267.
- Peparethians, surprise the island of Halonnesus, and carry off the Macedonian garrison, viii. 269.
- Perdiccas, son of Alexander, king of Macedonia, takes the command of the army, ii. 204. And defeats the Persians at the battle of Strymon, *ib.*
- , the foundation of the Macedonian monarchy attributed to him, iii. 32. His intrigues against the Athenians, 35, 36. Instance of his tergiversation, 40. Terms of his treaty with Sitalces, king of Thrace, 132. His views with respect to the principality of Lynceus, 249. Disappointed in the conduct of Brasidas, *ib.* His operations in Thrace, 264—266.
- , state of Macedonia in his reign, vii. 235, 236. His death, 237.
- Perdiccas, son of Amyntas, ascends the throne of Macedon, vii. 258. Successfully defends the Amphipolians against the Athenians, 261. Makes war with Illyria, is defeated and slain, 262, 263.
- Perdiccas, Alexander's general, assaults Thebes, ix. 119. Is overpowered, 120. Assisted by Amyntas, and again repulsed and wounded, *ib.*
- , is sent against Astes, x. 114. Completes a bridge over the Indus, 125. Accompanies Alexander across the Hydaspes, 140. Notice of, 181. His appointment, 183. His success against

- the Indians, 189. Marries a daughter of Atropates, 286.
- Perga, Alexander's route to, described, ix. 224.
- Periœcians, a people of Laconia, revolt from Lacedæmon, vi. 201. Their defection compels the employment of mercenary forces, 313.
- Periander, tyrant of Corinth, notice of, i. 239.
- Pericles, the patron of the colonisation of Thurium, ii. 240. Account of his descent, 316, 317. His character and talents, 317. Concurs in the banishment of Cimon, *ib.* And in the proposal for depressing the power of the Areopagus, 318. Commands an expedition to the western coast of Greece, 336. Moves the decree for the recall of Cimon, 338. Persuades the people to pass a decree for constructing the long walls at Athens, 339. Restores the supremacy of the temple at Delphi to the Phocians, 344, 345. His conduct in the lifetime of Cimon, 345. Extraordinary powers of his eloquence, 346. Defeats the Megarians, 350. His policy on the Peloponnesian invasion, 351. Singular confidence of the Athenians in, *ib.* Reduces the island of Eubœa, 352. His power and glory, 353.
- , his influence in maturing Attic genius, iii. 2. Indebted to Aspasia for the cultivation of his mind, *ib.* Great men with whom he associated, *ib.* Divorces his wife, and becomes attached to Aspasia, 5. His private life, *ib.* Policy of his patronage of the arts, *ib.* Stupendous works undertaken by his direction, 5, 6. How he confirmed his authority over the Athenians, 6, 7. Strict economy of, in his private affairs, 6, 7. Why compelled to overlook the licentiousness of the people, *ib.* Testimonies to his integrity, 8. His policy to keep the people either amused or employed, 8, 9. His energy in settling disputes between different states, *ib.* Noble project attributed to him by Plutarch, 10, 11. Takes the command of a fleet against Samos, and defeats the Samians, 13—15. Honours received by him for his funeral oration at the solemnities in honour of his countrymen, who were slain in the war with Samos, 16. The Athenians induced by his eloquence to form an alliance with Corcyra, 25. His speech concerning the embassies from Lacedæmon, 58—63. Prepares the minds of the Athenians for the invasion by the Peloponnesians, 73, 74. And displays the resources of the commonwealth, 74—76. His measures for the protection of the city, 81, 83, 84, 85. Ravages Megaris, 86. His funeral panegyric over the remains of those slain in the Peloponnesian war, a masterpiece of oratory, 90. Takes the command of the fleet, and ravages the Peloponnesian coast, 97. Summons an assembly of the people, 99, 100. His speech to them, 100. Causes which led to his disgrace, 100, 101. His domestic misfortunes, 101. Principles of philosophy by which he was influenced, 101, 102. Retires from public business, 102. Recalled and appointed commander-in-chief, 102, 103. Falls a victim to an endemial disorder, 105. Outline of his character, 105, 106. Objections against his political conduct, and the vindication of which it is susceptible, 107, 108. Speculations on the probable effect of the execution of his project for a federal union of the Greek nation, 219, 220.
- Pericles, notice of his plan for freeing Attica from a superabundant population, vii. 305.
- Pericles, the Athenian general, appointed one of the ten generals, on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasylbulus, iv. 268. Condemned to death and executed, 291.
- Perinthians, conduct of Cotys, king of Thrace to the, vii. 336.
- Perinthus, siege of, viii. 282—284.
- Periphetes, an Epidaurian chief, slain by Theseus, i. 52.
- Perrhæbians, the, revolt of, ix. 112.
- Persagadæ. See *infra*.
- Persepolis, Pasargadæ, or Persagadæ, Alexander's conduct at, ix. 356, 357. and notes. His stay there, 358.
- , he marches from it towards Media, x. 12. He returns to it, 278. Description of the sepulchre of Cyrus there, 278, 279.
- Perseus, the founder of Mycenæ, notice of, i. 29.
- Persia, origin of the first public transaction between Greece and Persia, i. 378, 379.
- , Lydia conquered by the Persians under Cyrus, ii. 13. Accession and reign of Cambyses, 20—25. Of Darius, 25. Constitution of the Persian empire, 26, 27. Religion, 28—30. Immediate causes of the war between Greece and Persia, 39—41. Persian expedition against Naxos, and its results, 42—44. Revolt of the Asian Greeks against the Persian government, 44—47. War between them and Persia, 54—57. Subjugation of the Asian Greeks to Persia, 59, 60. Liberal administration of the conquered provinces under the Persian dominion, 63, 64. First Persian armament against Greece, 64—66. Second Persian armament, 73—78. The Persians invade Attica, 78—81. And are defeated at the battle of Marathon, 81—85. Accession of Xerxes to the throne, 90. Immense preparations of the court of Persia for con-



quest in Europe, 92—94. Assembly of the army at Sardis, 94. March and muster of the army, 94—96. Account of the fleet, 96, 97. Rapacity of the Persians, on their march to Greece, 97. Compel the Grecian and Thracian youth to join the army, 98. Arrival of the army and fleet at Therme, in Macedonia, 99. Opinion of the Greeks respecting the power of, 101, 102. The army crosses the Hellespont, and directs its march westward, 110. The fleet falls in with, and engages the Greeks at Artemisium, 116. Its progress to Sepias, 118. In great part destroyed by a storm there, 119, 120. Progress of the army to Thermopylæ, 118. Numbers of the Persian forces, 119. The most numerous ever assembled, *ib.* Account of the losses by the shipwreck of the fleet, 121, 122. Head quarters of the army at Trachis, 122, 123. Attack of the Persian army upon Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, 129—130. The Persians a people of liberal sentiments and polished manners, 130. Sea fight off Artemisium with the Grecian fleet, 133—137. March of the Persian army towards Athens, 139. Their attempt against Delphi, 140. Take the city of Athens, 147. Progress of the Persian fleet from Artemisium, 149. Notice of the heroine Artemisia, who commanded five galleys, 150. Sea-fight of the Persians with the Greeks off Salamis, 155—157. Importance of Persian histories, 158. Eunuchs at the court of, 159. The fleet withdraws to the Hellespont, and the army to Thessaly, *ib.* Three hundred thousand men left under Mardonius to complete the reduction of Greece, 160. Sufferings of the army on their retreat, 161. The Persians take Olynthus, 169, 170. Raise the siege of Potidæa, and proceed to Thessaly, 171. The fleet winters at Samos, *ib.* Encampment of the army in the Theban territory, 180. They attack the Megarian camp, 182. A Greek prophet attends the army in Bœotia, 187. Campaign there, 188—194. Battle of Plataea, 195—200. Retreat of the army towards Asia, 203, 204. A large part cut off and made prisoners at the battle of Strymon, 204. Which consummates the destruction of the Persians, *ib.* Measures taken by the Persian fleet at Samos, 206. Defeat of the Persians at Mycalæ, 209, 210. Death of Xerxes, and succession of his third son Artaxerxes to the throne, 280, 281. The Persian cities in Europe retaken by the Greeks, 281. Their fleet and army defeated at Eurymedon, 285, 286. Their power in Greece destroyed, 286, 287. Measures taken for the recovery of Egypt, 332—334.

Persia sends an embassy to Lacedæmon, *iii.* 225.  
 —, death of Artaxerxes, and succession of Darius II., to the throne, *iv.* 145, 146. Implication of Grecian and Persian interests, 145—147. Alliance with Lacedæmon, 156. Consideration of the treaty with, 168, 169. New treaty with, 183, 184. State of the empire, 258, 259.  
 —, death of Darius II., *v.* 131. Succeeded by Artaxerxes Mnemon, *ib.* Origin of the enmity between him and his brother Cyrus, *ib.* State of affairs which afforded Cyrus a pretext for collecting a military force against his brother, 132—134. Province committed to the immediate government of Cyrus, 134. Course of the march of Cyrus from Sardis to Cunaxa, 139—156. Instance of Persian respect for Grecian superstition, 155. Battle of Cunaxa, 157—162. Cyrus slain, 160. Treaty with the Greeks on their retreat, 171. Dissension of Greeks and Persians, 173. Increase of mutual ill-will, 175. Seizure and massacre of the Grecian generals by Tissaphernes, 177—180. The Persians harass the Greeks on their retreat, 189, 190, 197, 198. War with Lacedæmon, 274—289. Treaty concluded with Dercyllidas for the emancipation of the Asian Greeks from Persian dominion, 290. Renewal of the war with Lacedæmon, 307. Battle of the Pactolus, 315—318. Death of Tissaphernes, 319. Weakness of the Persian government, 319—321. Timocrates sent into Greece from the satrap of Lydia, 322. Plan of Agesilaus for dismembering the Persian empire, 330. His conference with Pharnabazus, 335.  
 —, Pharnabazus assisted by Conon, *vi.* 13, 14. Pharnabazus and Conon invade Laconia, 31—33. Their operations, 33, 34. Unsteadiness of the Persian government, 50. War with Lacedæmon, 51—77. Peace of Antalcidas, 78—81. Influence of the king of, at the peace of Antalcidas, 179—181. Greece no longer fearful of his power, 180. His rescript to Greece after the congress at Susa, 217. Compared with the peace of Antalcidas, *ib.* The Persians, as described by Antiochus, the Arcadian minister, 219. Persia loses the dominion of Egypt, 303. Despatches an army and a fleet for the Cyprian war, 306. Feudal vassalage closely resembled by tenures in Persia, 307. note. Cyprus preserved to the Persian empire, 308. Revolt of the western maritime provinces, *ib.* Syria recovered, *ib.*  
 —, state of, *viii.* 127, 128. Employs Grecian mercenaries, 127. War against, advocated by Isocrates, 200, 204, 205. Jealous of Macedonia, 301.

- Persia, summary view of the history of, from the reign of Darius Nothus, to the accession of Darius Codomannus, ix. 134—162. Estimation in which the Persians held the Greeks, 134. Their policy in engaging Greek mercenaries, 135, 136. Instances of their liberality to Greeks, 136. Rebellion of Cyrus the younger, 137. Grecian histories of Persia, 138. Troubles of the Persian court, 139—142. Naval preparations in the Persian harbours, 144. The Persians retake Cyprus, 151. and note. And recover Egypt, 154. Darius Codomannus ascends the throne of Persia, 161. Alexander's expedition against, first campaign, 163—216. Amount of Persian forces under Memnon, 181. Council of war in the Persian camp, 182. Battle with Alexander determined on, 184. Disposition of their forces, 185. and note. Defeated at the river Granicus, 187—193. Their loss, 192. Account of the Persian fleet, 201. They arrive at Miletus, 202. Offer battle to the Macedonian fleet, ib. Retire to Samos, 205. Alexander's winter campaign in Asia, and measures of the Persian armament under Memnon against Greece, 217—252. The Persians take Chios and Lesbos, 239, 240. Gain Tenedos, 242. Alexander's second campaign in Asia, 253. et seq. Amount of Grecian troops in the Persian service, 260. Greek agents at the Persian court, 265. The Persian army reaches Issus, 267. Its amount, 272—275. Defeated at Issus, 277—284. Amount of its loss, 285. and notes. Its retreat, 286. and note. The Persian fleet proceeds to Chios, 287. Alexander's third campaign in Asia, 323—358. Amount of the Persian forces at Arbela, 334, 335. Their disposition, 336—338. Account of Persian scythed chariots, 336. Defeat of their army at Arbela, 339—345. and notes. Amount of their loss, 342, 343. Treatment of the Persian religion by Alexander, 350. The Persians defend the Susiad rocks, 353. Defeated by Alexander, 355. His conduct at the Persian ancient capital, 356, 357. and notes.
- , Alexander's fourth campaign in Asia, x. 1—36. Account of bribery among the Persians, 7—10. Alexander's fifth campaign in Asia, which completed the conquest of the Persian empire, 57—89. The northern provinces of the Persian empire described, 38—42. Different character of the people of these provinces, 75, 76. Ancient and modern geography of the Persian gulf, 266, 267. Ancient and modern names of the places in it, mentioned in the voyage of Nearchus, 266—275. Ancient description of, 277. and note. Persian officers taken into favour by Alexander, 305, 306. The Persian gulf explored by Alexander's orders, 340—343.
- Pestilence. See Plague.
- Peucestas, the Macedonian, his personal bravery, x. 184, 185. His preferment, 215. Appointed satrap of Persia, 279. Receives a golden crown, 290. Notice of, 300. His arrival at Babylon, 353. Passes a night in the temple of Serapis, 369.
- Phæa, a female robber, notice of, i. 52.
- Phæacia, form of government in the island of, i. 103, 104.
- Phæax, architect of the famous sewers at Agrigentum, vii. 25. Whence his name became the Grecian term for a sewer, ib.
- Phalæcus, the Phocian, and Mnæseas appointed generals, viii. 88. Checked at Chæronea, ib. Phalæcus invades Bœotia, but is driven out, 113. Is deposed, 160. Again predominates, 167. Robs the Delphian treasury, 178. Defeats the Thebans, 181. His situation, 184. and note. Emigrates, 209. Serves in Crete, 211.
- Phalantus, circumstances that led to the foundation of Tarentum by, i. 284.
- Phalanx, description of, i. 130.
- Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, notice of, ii. 217.
- Pharacidas, a Lacedæmonian, commands a fleet, destined to relieve Dionysius, vii. 102.
- Pharasmænes, king of the Chorasmies, his visit to Alexander, x. 73, 74.
- Pharax defeats Dion, vii. 179.
- Pharismænes, the Persian, visits Alexander, x. 213. His appointment, 292.
- Pharnabazus, his liberal conduct to the Lacedæmonians, iv. 236. Defeated by Alcibiades, 247. His agreement with the Athenian generals at Chalcedon, 250.
- , his sumptuous palace at Dascylium, v. 332. Events of the war in his satrapy, 332—335. His conference with Agesilaus, 333—338.
- subdues Tenedos, ix. 242. Notice of, 287. Taken prisoner, and escapes, 313. and note. (See Conon.)
- Pharnuches, the Lycian, sent against Spitamenes, x. 63. Is defeated, 68.
- Pharsalus, a city in Thessaly, its subjection to Polydamas, vi. 170.
- Phaselis, siege of, ii. 285.
- Phasiæns, account of the, v. 207.
- Phayllus, general of Phocis, defeated by Philip, viii. 77. Appointed auto-crator-general, 86. Conquers Locris, 87. His death, 88.
- Φυγός, or fagus, not the beech-tree, i. 8, 9. note.
- Phenicia, rise of commerce in, i. 6, 7. Early commerce of, with Greece, 14, 15. 118. 129. With Sicily, 317.
- , sketch of the history of the Phenicians, ii. 212—216.
- , ravaged by Evagoras, tyrant of Salamis, vi. 307, 308.

Phenicia, state of the Phœnician cities, ix. 148. Revolt of, 149. Suppression of the revolt, 150. Parties in, 295.

Phœræ, nature of its government, vii. 255. Grecian congress removed thither, viii. 191. and note.

Pherecydes, of Athens, one of the early Grecian prose writers, whose works had any considerable reputation with posterity, i. 118. 198.

Pherecydes, of Scyros, one of the earliest Grecian prose writers known to the ancients, i. 118. 198.

Phidias, the Athenian, his capacity and genius, iii. 2. Celebrity of his sculpture, 6.

Phidon, tyrant of Argos, notice of, i. 221, 222, 235. ; ix. 21.

Phigalia, sedition in, after the battle of Leuctra, vi. 320.

Philip, king of Macedon, son of Amyntas, first mention of, in Grecian history, vi. 211.

— visits Thebes for his education, vii. 261. Ascends the throne of Macedon, 263. How circumstanced, 264. His qualifications, 265, 266. Defeats Argæus and the Athenians, 268. Dismisses the prisoners unransomed, 269. Makes peace with Athens, 270. Annexes Pæonia to Macedon, 271. Subdues the Illyrians, 272, 273. Conflicting accounts of historians respecting, 273—275. note. Co-operates with Athens to reduce Olynthus, 299, 300. His success, 300. Indignant at the conduct of the Athenians, 301. His letter to the Athenians, 326. His treatment of the town of Anthemus, 327. Besieges Amphipolis, 329. His treatment of its inhabitants, *ib.* Takes Pydna and Potidæa, 330. His clemency, 331. Remarks on his life by Leland, *ib.* note. His war with Cotys, and its causes, 334. His acquisition and management of the Thracian mines, 336. Finds the town of Philippi, 337. Sources of his revenue, *ib.* His expedition into Thessaly, 339. His conduct there, 340.

—, marries Olympias, viii. 52. Overthrows the Pæonians, 56. Wins the palm in the Olympian race, 56. Exclamation on his various successes, 57. His forbearance towards Methone, 67. Is wounded, 77. Takes Methone, *ib.* Defeats Lycophron, *ib.* Is defeated by Onomarchus, 78. His retreat, *ib.* Defeats Onomarchus and Lycophron, 80. His moderation, 81. Is praised by Justin, 84. and note. His popularity, *ib.* Remarks on his supposed expedition into Peloponnesus, 115, 116. note. Sends Parmenio to Eubœa, 124. Successes of his fleet, 131. His popularity, 132. His further successes, 135. Enters the Olynthian territory, 144. His successes in Sithonia, 148. Twice defeats the Olynthians, *ib.* Besieges and takes Olynthus, 149, 150.

Revives the Olympian festival, 151. and note. Accused of bribery, 154. and note. His justification, 154—156. Dismisses Stratocles unransomed, 164. His reception and treatment of the Athenian embassy, 168—170. He vanquishes Kersobleptes, 175. Audience given by him to the Athenian ambassadors, 180. Removes the congress to Phœræ, 190, 191. and note. His settlement of the conflicting interests of the congress, 192. His letter to the Athenians, 194. His second letter, 196. Meets with a denial, *ib.* Remarks on, and extracts from, the oration of Isocrates to them, 200—206. His offer to Lacedæmon, 207. Marches to Thermopylæ, 208. Is joined by the Thebans, 209. His spirit of conciliation, 209—211. Puts an end to the Sacred war, 211. and note. Invites a congress, 214, 215. Obtains the Phœcian votes, 219. Writes to the Athenians, 220. Result of the letter, 221. The credit he acquired by it, 222. Marches to the support of his friends in Thessaly, 242. His popularity there, 243. The effect of bribery, 244. His letter to the Athenians respecting the island of Halonnesus, 245, 246. Oration attributed to Hegesippus, concerning, 247—254. His operations in Thrace and Scythia, 255—258. Lays siege to Perinthus, 280—282. His letter in answer to the embassy from Athens, 283, 284. On important occasions his own secretary, 286. His second letter of remonstrance, 286—294. Speech of Demosthenes on the same, 295—300. He abandons his projects in Thrace, 301. Supposed causes of his so doing, 301, 302. Makes war against the Scythians, 317. The office to which he was appointed, 318. Second epistle of Isocrates to him, 318, 319. and note. Appointed general of the Amphictyons, *ib.* Joins the Amphictyonic meeting at Thermopylæ, 323. His requisition to the Peloponnesians, 328. Reduces the Amphiſſians, 329. His moderation to the Bœotians, 332. Sends letters to Athens and Thebes, 335, 336. Story of his demanding ten orators, 336. note. Garrisons Elatea, 337. Sends Python to Thebes, 343. Makes fresh propositions for peace, 348. But they are rejected at Athens, 349. Appointed autocrat-general of the Grecian confederacy, 352. and note. Marches towards Chæronea, 355. Defeats the Athenians, 355, 356. His generous conduct to them, 359. He proceeds to Thebes, 360. Sends Antipater ambassador to Athens, 362. Restores Oropus to the Athenians, *ib.* Is addressed a third time by Isocrates, 363. His purposes respecting a war with Persia, 377, 378. Assembles a congress at Corinth, 378. His measures

- opposed by the Arcadians, 378, 379. and note. Sends Attalus and Parmenio into Asia, 379. Repudiates his queen Olympias, 380. And marries Cleopatra, *ib.* Is assassinated by Pausanias, 381. His care of the civil rights of his subjects, 388, 389. Admissions of Demosthenes respecting his character, 390. Anecdote of, from Diodorus, 391, 392. Anecdotes of, from Plutarch, 392—395. Account of his encouragement of literature, from Aulus Gellius, 393. Cicero's eulogium on his letters, 394. and note. Further anecdotes of, 395—397. Anecdote of, related by Seneca, 398. Refutation of the charge of bribery against him, 398—401. His character illustrated by Polybius, 400, 401. His eulogy on him, 402, 403. Adduced as an example by Cicero, 401, 402. Summary of his character by Diodorus, 403.
- , his policy in reviving the Macedonian Olympic festival, ix. 71. Description of his court, 73—75. Plans which he adopted for the education of the young Macedonian nobility, 75, 76. Arrian's account of the events succeeding his death, 84, 85. and note. Alexander's charge against the Persian court of being implicated in his assassination, 293—295.
- Philip, an Acarnanian, physician to Alexander the Great, cures Alexander at Tarsus, ix. 255.
- Philip, son of Machatas, commands the garrison of Peuceolaotis, x. 125. Is appointed a satrap, *ib.* And sent against the Assakenes, 151. His appointment, 177. Notice of, 179, 180. Is made satrap of Mallia, 189. His death, 212.
- Philippi, foundation of, vii. 337.
- Philippo, an Armenian, his extraordinary skill in throwing a stick, i. 134. note.
- Philippus, polemarch of Thebes, assassinated by Phyllidas and Mellon, vi. 115, 116.
- Philiscus, of Abydus, arrives as mediator for the king of Persia in Greece, vi. 211. Procures a congress at Delphi, 212. Requires that Messenia should be again subjected to Lacedæmon, *ib.* Levies mercenaries for the Lacedæmonian service, *ib.*
- Philistus, of Syracuse, notice of, vii. 38. The want of his history regretted, 41. Supports the election of Dionysius the younger, 159. Directs affairs under his reign, 160. Is opposed by Dion and Heraclides, 161. Goes with Dionysius to Sicily, to provide against the preparations of Dion and Heraclides, 166. Returns with Dionysius to Syracuse, and passes back again to Italy for assistance, 161. Makes an assault on Leontini, is repelled, and joins Dionysius in the citadel, *ib.*
- Contradictory accounts respecting his death, 171. Unanimity of those accounts respecting the indignities offered to his body, *ib.* Cicero's opinion of his Sicilian history, *ib.* and note.
- Philocrates, the Athenian, proposes the admission of heralds from Macedonia, viii. 158. Is accused in consequence, but acquitted, 161. Moves a decree for negotiating for a ransom of prisoners with Macedonia, 164. Moves a decree for sending an embassy to Macedonia, and accompanies the same, 166, 167. Notice of, 234, 235. Accusation of, by Demosthenes, 235. Seeks safety in flight, *ib.*
- Philomelus, general of the Phocians, his address to them, viii. 26. Is appointed autocrator-general, 27. Proceeds to Lacedæmon, *ib.* And gains the assistance of the government, 29. He recovers Delphi, 30. Defeats the Locrians, 31. Fortifies Delphi, 32. Measures taken by him to defend Phocis, 33. Attacks the Locrians, 34. Use which he makes of the Delphic oracle, 35. His manifesto to the Grecian states, 36. Again defeats the Locrians, 38. Gains two victories, 41. And is slain, 42.
- Philon, the Phocian, is put to death, viii. 178.
- Philosophers, republican Greek, who followed the court of Alexander the Great, x. 90—95.
- Philosophy, Grecian, origin and progress of, v. 111—116.
- Philotas, son of Parmenio, his treachery discovered, x. 27. Former generosity of Alexander to him, 27, 28. His private and public character, 29, 30. Remains in Parthia, 30. Arrested, *ib.* His trial, and death, 30, 31. and note. Anecdote of, 93.
- Philoxenus, satrap of Susa, notice of, ix. 348, 349. Brings recruits to Babylon, x. 353.
- Phlius, affairs of the republic of, vi. 36. Phliasia ravaged by the Athenian general Iphicrates, 38. Its exiles restored through the influence of the Lacedæmonians, 87. The Phliasiens deny justice to them, 106. Rebellion in Phlius against Lacedæmon, 107. The city besieged by Agesilaus, *ib.* Surrenders, and is garrisoned by the Lacedæmonians, 111. Fidelity of the Phliasiens to Lacedæmon, 228. Attempt of the exiles in the second invasion of Peloponnesus, 228, 229. The Phliasiens, reduced to great exigencies, are assisted by the Athenian general, Chares, 231. Surprise Thyamia, *ib.* Incitements to their spirited conduct, 232, 233. They evacuate Thyamia, 251. Their exiles retain Tricranum, *ib.* Sedition in Phlius after the battle of Leuctra, 321.
- Phocæa, siege and capture of, by the Persians, ii. 17. Towns settled by

- the Phocæans after their expulsion, 17, 18.
- Phocian, or first Sacred war, notice of, i. 356, 357.
- Phocion, the Athenian, account of, viii. 89. Commands against Eubœa, 125. Gains the battle of Tamynæ, 126. Measures of his party at Athens, 194—199. 234. 257. 260, 261. 274. His expedition to Eubœa, and operations there, 278, 279. Supersedes Chares in the Hellespont, 301. Opposes a decree proposed by Demosthenes, 343. Conduct of himself and party, 364. His resolution, ix. 130.
- Phocis, i. 11, 12. Not an object of history, 40. Government of the Phocians, 180, 181.
- , war of, with Doris, ii. 324.
- Contest of the Phocians with the Delphians, for the command of the temple at Delphi, 344. The supremacy restored to them, 344, 345.
- , plan for effecting a revolution in, iii. 239.
- , war of, with Locris, v. 324.
- , invaded by the Thebans, vi. 140, 141. Evacuated, ib. Asserts its independency of Thebes, 284.
- , summary history of, viii. 5. Joins the Lacedæmonians, 6. Subsequent conduct of the Phocians, 16. Prosecuted by the Amphictyonic council, 23—25. Alarmed thereat, 26. Appoint Philomelus autocrator-general, 27. Assisted by the Lacedæmonians, 29. Recover Delphi, 30. Defeat the Locrians, 31. Defended by Philomelus, 33. Enter the Theban territory, 34. Disposition of other Grecian states towards them, 38—42. The treatment of Phocian prisoners by the Thebans, 42. Their retaliation, ib. Failure of their negotiations with Thebes, 44. and note. Use the treasury at Delphi, 44, 45. Appoint Phayllus autocrator-general, 86. Joined by Lycophron, 87. And by the Locrians, ib. Appoint Mnaseas and Phalæcus generals, 88. Join the Lacedæmonians, 112. Revolution in Phocis, 160, 161. Proposal of the Phocians to Athens, 161. Counter-revolution in Phocis, 165. Inquire respecting the Delphian treasury, 177, 178. Are defeated by the Thebans, 181. Defeat them, 182. Affairs of Phocis, 196, 197. and note. Submission of the Phocians, 209, 210. Judgment on, by the Amphictyonic council, 217, 218. Their votes transferred, 219.
- Phœbidas, the Lacedæmonian commander, encamps under the walls of Thebes, vi. 94. Obtains possession of the Cadmea, or citadel, 96. His conduct favoured by Agesilaus, 97. Protects the allies of Lacedæmon in Thespiæ, 134. His death, 135.
- Phormion, the Athenian commander, blockades Potidæa, iii. 98. Sent to blockade the Corinthian gulf, 104. His brilliant naval victory over the Corinthians, 120—122. And the Peloponnesians, 124—127. His success in Acarnania, 129.
- Phoroneus, the foundation of Argos attributed to him, i. 23. Nothing known of Greece before his time, ib.
- Phradaphernes, satrap of Parthia, surrenders to Alexander, x. 21. Joins him at Zariaspa, 69. Employed by him, 83. Fidelity of, 150. His able conduct, 211, 212.
- Phrynichus, Athenian commander-in-chief, his opposition to the overtures of Alcibiades, iv. 176, 177. His conduct examined, 177, 178. Joins the oligarchal party at Athens, 192. Is assassinated, 214. Proceedings against those who prosecuted the assassins of, v. 84, 85.
- Phrynon, an Athenian, account of, viii. 157. Accompanies Ctesiphon to Macedonia, 158.
- Phylarchus, office of the, i. 340.
- Phyle, proper meaning of the term, i. 340.
- Phyllidas, secretary to the Theban polemarchs, restores democracy in Thebes, vi. 115—120.
- Phylbasileus, office of the, i. 341.
- Physic, state of, among the ancient Greeks, i. 144.
- Phyton, commander in Rhegium during the siege, is put to death by the Syracusans, vii. 129, 130.
- Picture-writing, notice of, i. 112. (See Hieroglyphics.)
- Pinarus, river, notice of, ix. 275.
- Pinaster, remarks on the tree so called, vi. 355.
- Pindar, panegyric of, upon Corinth, i. 240. note. His eulogy upon Cræsus, ii. 8, 9. note.
- Pindus, mountains of, i. 11.
- Piracy, why held in high estimation in ancient times, i. 16. Remarks on, x. 262, 263.
- Piræans, their right to the presidency of the Olympian festival maintained by the Arcadians, vi. 267.
- Piræus, port of, improved and fortified by Themistocles, ii. 262—264. Attempt of the Peloponnesians to surprise it, iii. 128, 129.
- Pirates of the Ægean, expedition against, ii. 284. Or buccaneers, licensed by the Athenian naval commanders for their own profit, ix. 94.
- Pisander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, his proposition to the Athenians for a change of government, iv. 179, 180. Inducements used by him to bring over the general assembly to the proposals of Alcibiades, 180. Negotiates with him and Tissiphernes, 182, 183. Success of Pisander and his colleagues in establishing oligarchy, 186, 187. Proposes the new form of government, 190.

- Pisander, appointed commander of the Lacedæmonian fleet, v. 321.
- , killed in battle, at Cnidus, with Conon and Evagoras, vi. 14.
- Pisidians, the description of, ix. 226.
- Pisistratidæ, the nearest approach made to the virtuous age of Greece under their government, v. 110.
- Pisistratus, descent and character of, i. 358. His political antagonists, ib. By what circumstance he was raised to the tyranny of Athens, 360, 361. By what artifice he recovered his power, after his first expulsion by his opponents, 365, 366. Is expelled a second time, and retires to Eubœa, 367. His influence during his exile, ib. Returns again to Athens, 368. Observations on his foreign and domestic policy, 369, 370. His death, 370.
- Pissuthenes, the Persian satrap, his conduct towards Colophon, iii. 148.
- Πιστός, sense of, v. 154. note.
- Pithagoras, the soothsayer, account of, x. 359, 360.
- Pithon, son of Socicles, his bravery, x. 78. Is taken prisoner by the Scythians, ib.
- Pitheus, son of Pelops, notice of, i. 46—48.
- Places, many of the same name, i. 41.
- Plague, at Athens, in the time of Pericles, whence it was supposed to have been communicated, iii. 91. General symptoms and nature of the disorder, 92—94. The mortality tremendous, 94, 95. Moral effects attributed to it, 95, 96. Continuation of, and number of those who fell victims to it, 176.
- Plane-tree, a prodigious one in the island of Cos described, vi. 327. note.
- Platæa, battle of, ii. 194. 198. Dedications and festivals in honour of, 252.
- , circumstances which led to its dependency upon Athens, iii. 64, 65. Attempt of the Thebans against, 65—70. Motives which induced the Peloponnesians to undertake the siege of, 109. Negotiations that took place prior to the commencement of hostilities, 111, 112. Force of the garrison, and process of the siege, 111—114. Flight of part of the garrison, 141—143. Surrenders to the Lacedæmonians, 157. Distress of the Platæans, 159. Exasperation of the Thebans against them, 160—162. Fate of the town and people, 163.
- , the Platæans expelled by the Thebans, vi. 153. Find an asylum at Athens, ib.
- , restoration of, ix. 124.
- Plato, theory of, on the origin of polytheism, i. 84—86. The story highly improbable of his being sold for a slave by Dionysius of Syracuse, vii. 144. and note. Letters attributed to him spurious, ib. At the invitation of Dion, revisits Syracuse, 162. His anecdote of Archelaus of Macedonia, 237. note. His attachment to Philip of Macedon, 264.
- Pléuron, one of the principal towns of Greece at the siege of Troy, i. 40.
- Plistoanax, king of Sparta, his conduct in the invasion of Attica, ii. 351. Is condemned to pay a heavy fine, ib.
- Plutarch, the credit of certain passages in his life of Themistocles disputed, ii. 264, 265. note. His presumptuous criticism of Clearchus, v. 157. note. His inattention to Xenophon, ib. and 271; vi. 159. note. Inconsistencies in his account of the delivery of Thebes, vi. 120, 121. note. His partial views of Pelopidas, 214. note; 220. note. His merits as a writer, vii. 4, 5. and note. His general account of Dionysius of Syracuse, 149. Incongruity of his accounts of Dion and Heraclides, 176, 177. notes. Careless of order in his narrative, 180. note. Remark on a passage of, 181. note. His attempt to soften the tyrannical character of Dion, 183. Account of his treatise on Alexander's fortune, ix. 250—252.
- Plutarch, the writer of *Vitæ Oratorum*, character of, v. 89. note.
- Plutarchus of Eretria, notice of, viii. 124.
- Poetry, probable design of the invention of, i. 123. Uses to which it was applied before the invention of letters, ib. The general means of popular instruction in the early ages of Greece, 249.
- Point of honour, the rights of hospitality so called in the East, i. 148.
- Polemarch, office of the, i. 325.
- Polemon, son of Andromenes, trial of, x. 32. and note.
- Political clubs at Athens, account of, iv. 181.
- Politics, ancient or foreign, care required in the consideration of, not to be misled by names, i. 231. note.
- Polity of Aristotle, remarks on, ix. 5—13.
- Pollis, commands the Lacedæmonian fleet against Athens, vi. 139. Is defeated by Chabrias, ib.
- Polls of Athenian citizens, i. 336.
- Polyaces, notice of, x. 208.
- Polyanthes, a Corinthian commander, defeated by Diphilus in the Corinthian gulf, iv. 98, 99.
- Polybiades, succeeds Agesipolis in the Thracian command, vi. 111, 112. Subdues the Olynthians, 112.
- Polybius, his observation on the constitution of Sparta, i. 261.
- Polycrates, a private citizen of Samos, acquires the supreme authority there, ii. 33. The Machiavel of his time, 34. His favourite maxim, ib. His connection with Amasis, king of Egypt, and remarkable cause of the rupture

- between them, 34, 35. Deep stroke of policy on the part of Polyocrates toward the Samians, 35, 36. His character and cruel death, 36.
- Polydamas, elevated to supreme power in Pharsalus, vi. 170. His conference with Jason of Pheræ, 171—173. Its result, 174. Is assassinated, vii. 254.
- Polydamidas, the Spartan commander, his conduct to the Mendians, iii. 268.
- Polydorus and Polyphron, brothers to Jason of Pheræ, succeed him in the office of tagus, vi. 177.
- Polytheism, origin of, according to Plato and Aristotle, i. 85—87. Its progress among the Greeks, 88—90. Not justly charged upon the Persians, ii. 29, 30.
- Polyxenus, married to the sister of Dionysius of Syracuse, vii. 49. Obtains maritime assistance from the Italian Greek cities and Greece, 102.
- Poor, the, how supported at Athens, i. 339.
- Pope's translation of Homer, will seldom answer the end of those who desire to know, with any precision, what Homer has said, i. 96. note. His mis-translations of, Homer corrected, i. 107. note; 154. note; 182. note. Additions in his translation not warranted by the original, ii. 99. note. Comment on his distich relating to "forms of government," v. 50. note. His probable imitation of Demosthenes, viii. 154. note. Imbued much of the French political philosophy, x. 169. note.
- Population, where it first rose, after the flood, i. 4. Of Attica, 44.
- Port-Calpe, transactions of the Cyrean army there, v. 231, 232. Re-union of the Cyrean army at, 233, 234. Situation and advantages of, 234. Account of the stay of the army there, 235—241.
- Porticos, the first founder of, ii. 304.
- Porus, his ambition, x. 136. Leads his army to the Hydaspes, 139. Amount of his forces, 140. Defeated by Alexander, 144. Surrenders to him, 145. His interview with Alexander, 145, 146. and note. Is reconciled to Taxiles, 150. Re-enforces Alexander, 155. Is declared king of India by Alexander, 176.
- Porus, called by Arrian the "Bad," sends a deputation to Alexander, x. 151. Situation of his states, ib. He becomes hostile to Alexander, ib. Meaning of his name, 153. note. His kingdom is subdued by Hæphestion, ib.
- Posidonia. See Pæstum.
- Potidæa, siege of, by Artabazus, ii. 170, 171. Treachery of the commander of the forces of, discovered, ib. And the siege raised, ib. Another battle, and siege of, iii. 40. Blockaded by Phormion, 98. Besieged by Xenophon, 105. And surrenders to him, ib. Taken by Timotheus, vi. 282. Garrisoned by the Athenians, vii. 300. Its importance to them, 325. Is taken by Philip, 330.
- Praxitas, the Lacedæmonian general, his successes near Corinth, vi. 28.
- Priam, king of Troy, extent of his territory, i. 67.
- Priene, city of, its foundation, i. 311.
- Priestcraft in Egypt, the inheritance of particular families, i. 81.
- Prisoners of war, in ancient times, generally condemned to slavery, ii. 224. Stupendous works executed by those taken by the Agrigentines, 224, 225.
- Private rights, how far respected under different governments, ix. 208, 209.
- Prizes, in poetry and music, contention for, a favourite entertainment of the early Greeks, i. 188.
- Proboulema, or parliamentary bill, i. 347.
- Prodicus, of Ceos, his celebrity as a sophist, v. 116.
- Proedri, office of, i. 346.
- Professions in Egypt, hereditary, i. 82.
- Progeny, numerous, why esteemed a great blessing among the early Greeks, i. 147.
- Prognostics, respect for, among the ancients, x. 359—361. (See Omens.)
- Promanteia, honours of the, to whom granted, ii. 344.
- Property, insecurity of, at Athens, v. 11.
- Prophets, one in attendance upon the Lacedæmonian army, ii. 180. And upon the Persian army, 187. Policy by which their predictions were regulated, ib.
- Prose-writers, the earliest in Greece, i. 118, 198, 199. Known as historians in the times of Æschylus and Pindar, 215. note.
- Prosecutions, Athenian, of the son of Alcibiades, v. 74—78. Of the nephews of Nicias, 79. Of a citizen supposed to have appropriated property forfeited to the commonwealth, 80—84. Of those who prosecuted the assassins of Phrynichus, 84—86. Of a citizen, for grubbing the stump of a sacred olive-tree, 85—88. Of Andocides, for impiety, 89—108.
- Prostration, remarks on the ceremony of, x. 96—98.
- Protagoras, the philosopher, one of the adventurers in the colonisation of Thurium, ii. 239. Constitution framed for, by him, 240.
- Proteas, the Macedonian, defeats Datames, ix. 242, 243.
- Protector, the title of, assumed by Lycurgus, during the pregnancy of his brother's widow, i. 246.
- Protesilaus, the Grecian, account of, ix. 175.
- Protomachus, appointed one of the ten generals on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, iv. 268.

- Proxenus, the Theban, circumstances which led him to the court of Cyrus, v. 137, 138. Seized by Tissaphernes and beheaded, 177—179.
- Proxenus, the Tegean, projects the union of all Arcadia, vi. 185. His death, 186.
- Proxenus, the Athenian, appointed general, viii. 161. Substance of his despatches, 165. Retains his command, 196.
- Prytanes, who they were, i. 344. Their power, *ib.*
- Prytaneum, or council-hall, etymology of the word, i. 345.
- Psammenitus, king of Egypt, subdued by Cambyses, ii. 24.
- Psammitichus, king of Egypt, reign of, ii. 21, 22.
- Ψιλοι, and *ταξόται*, distinction between, x. 183. note.
- Psilus, or light-armed infantry of the Greeks, account of, i. 352.
- Psytalea, massacre of the Persians at, ii. 156.
- Ptolemy, regent of Macedon, deserts the Athenian alliance, and engages in the Theban, vii. 260. Put to death by Perdiccas, according to Diodorus, 261. note. Refutation of this opinion, 261, 262. note.
- Ptolemy, son of Lagus, who had fled from Philip's anger, recalled by Alexander, ix. 83. Refutation of the scandal against his mother, 83, 84. note.
- , appointed one of the lords of the body-guard to Alexander the Great, x. 36. Sent to Spitamenes, 55. Ordered by Alexander to pursue Bessus, 56, 57. His appointment against the Sogdians, 76. Is wounded, 115. Kills an Indian prince, 117. His command in the army, 119. His share in the taking of Aornos, 127, 128. His operations against the Indians, *ib.* He accompanies Alexander across the Hydaspes, 140. His account of the Macedonian fleet, 176. His appointment, 179. Anecdote of, 186. Is married to a daughter of Artabazus, 286. Is chiefly employed by Alexander, 333. Is present at the death of Calanus, 358.
- Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, slain at the battle of Issus, ix. 286, 287.
- Public buildings, nature of those required in every town in Greece, vi. 330.
- funerals, institution of, by the Athenians, ii. 254.
- garden and library, the first, founded by Pisistratus, i. 360.
- Punishments, summary, ordered by Alexander, x. 306, 307.
- Puteoli. See *Dicæarchia*.
- Pydna, treatment of, by Archelaus, vii. 239. It revolts at the instigation of Athens, 301. Is taken by Philip, 330.
- Pylæ. See *Thermopylæ*.
- Pylagore, a representative sent from every state to the Amphictyonic council, i. 184.
- Pylagoras, the title of one of the Amphictyonic representatives, viii. 11.
- Pylus, or Navarino, harbour of, fortified by Demosthenes, iii. 195, 196. Situation of, 198. Besieged by the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* Nature of the attack upon it, 199, 200. Sea-fight between the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets in the harbour of, 201, 202. (See *Sphacteria*.)
- Pylus, a town of Elea, seized and held by the democratical party, vi. 257, 258. Distinguished from the Triphylian and Messenian towns so called, 257. note. Is besieged and taken, 266.
- Pythagoras, the philosopher, settles at Crotona, in Italy, i. 320. His residence in Sicily, ii. 233. Beneficial effects of his doctrines there, *ib.* Directs his pupils to the study of nature, 236. Mention of, by different writers, 237. note.
- Pythian games, notice of, i. 187.
- Python of Ænus, together with Heraclides, assassinate Cotys, vii. 345. Takes refuge at Athens, 346. Has honours decreed to him, *ib.*
- Python, the Byzantine, eloquence of, viii. 343. A worthy rival of Demosthenes, *ib.* Sent to Thebes by Philip, *ib.*
- Python, son of Agenor, takes a town of the Mallians, x. 181. Is sent to the river Hydraotes, 183. Is made a satrap, 190. Takes Musicanus a prisoner, 194. Passes a night in the temple of Serapis, 368.
- Pythones, etymology of the word, i. 175. How chosen, her office, and qualifications, 178—180.
- Quarter not given in ancient times, i. 151, 152.
- Ragusa, allusion to, ix. 9.
- Raicewick, Mr., his work on the seat of Philip of Macedon's winter campaign in Thrace, noticed, viii. 285. note.
- Rajah, Greek word synonymous with, x. 112. note.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, commendation of, ii. 40. note.
- Rambacia, a Macedonian colony settled there, x. 204. The Macedonian fleet refit at, 237—239.
- Ranks, distinction of, when first established in Greece, i. 79, 229. Solon's division of the people into four ranks, 342.
- of citizens in England, harmony between, iv. 292, 293, 298. note.
- Rapes, prevalence of, among the ancient Greeks, i. 68. Rape of Helen, by Paris, 69. Paralleled by that of Der-vorghal, 76.
- Ravens, symbols of the Egyptian priests, ix. 316, 317. and note. Curious anecdote.



- dote of the Cheshire raven, 317, 318. note.  
 \**Ῥηχίον* or *Ῥηχίον*, meaning of, x. 235. note; 272. note.  
 Recreations, allowed by Lycurgus, at Sparta, i. 259.  
 Reformation of the Athenian government and jurisprudence by Solon, i. 333.  
 Registry of children at Athens, i. 341. Of youths at eighteen and twenty, ib.  
 Religion, origin of, i. 79, 80. Of the early Greeks, 82—101. Measure adopted by Solon, with respect to the religion of Athens, 332. Of the Persians, ii. 28—30.  
 Religious persecution of the Athenians, instance of, v. 114.  
 Rennell, Major, his observations respecting the tide in the Indus, x. 198, 199. note.  
 Reomithres, his treachery enables the king of Persia to recover Syria, vi. 308.  
 Republic, no mention of one in Homer, i. 106.  
 Republican government, question of its fitness for small states, v. 88, 89.  
 Republican Greek philosophers attending the court of Alexander, x. 90—95.  
 Retaliation, law of, generally pleaded to justify almost any atrocity, iii. 103, 104.  
 Retreat of the Cyrean army after the battle of Cunaxa, and their return to Europe, v. 163—273. See Greece.  
 Revenge, prevalence of, in early times, i. 146.  
 Revenue, public, of Athens, account of, v. 12—17. Notice of Xenophon's Treatise on, 18—22.  
 —, Syracusan, vii. 137.  
 — of Athens, origin of Xenophon's treatise on the, vii. 292.  
 — of Macedon, whence it arose, ix. 47.  
 Rhadamanthus, i. 18.  
 Rhegium, foundation of, by a Greek colony, i. 295, 317.  
 —, the party of (Daphnæus and Demarchus concentrate at, vii. 60. Joins Messena in a naval attack upon Dionysius in Syracuse, 62. The refugees from Ætna supposed to settle at, 70. The Rhegians excited to a war with Dionysius, 77. Are pardoned by him, 79. Refuse him permission to marry the daughter of a Rhegian citizen, 84, 85. Rhegium becomes the head of the party adverse to Syracuse, 112. The Rhegians alarmed by the restoration of Messena, 115. Assemble the dispersed Catanians and Naxians at Myla, 116. Besiege Messena, 117. Are completely routed by the Syracusans, ib. Their territory plundered by Dionysius, 118. Rhegium heads the confederacy of Italian Greeks, 123. Unites with Crotona, 125. The Rhegians and Crotoniats defeated near Caulonia by Dionysius, 126. Surrender unconditionally, 128. The Rhegians break the compact entered into, and are besieged by Dionysius, 129. Their miseries during the siege, ib. Surrender, and are sent prisoners to Syracuse, ib. Allowed to redeem themselves at the price of a mina each, ib. Rhegium subsequently flourishes, 131.  
 Rhetorician, the first who reduced his profession to an art, iv. 13.  
 —, cause of the use of, under the Athenian democracy, v. 73, 74.  
 Rhodes, island of, opulence and happy government of, i. 313.  
 —, revolt of, to the Peloponnesian confederacy, iv. 169.  
 —, affairs of, vi. 58. Ascendancy of the democratical party there, 60. Enters into alliance with Thebes, 281. Extraordinary prosperity of, through the establishment of a liberal aristocracy, 327, 328.  
 — revolts against Athens, vii. 315.  
 —, sedition at, viii. 116. Calls in the assistance of the Carians, 116. and note. The cause of the Rhodians advocated by Demosthenes, 117—121. Assists Byzantium, 301.  
 Rollin, M., how perplexed by the discordance between Diodorus and Plutarch, vii. 77. note. Influenced by the eloquence of Demosthenes, 212. note. His entire confidence in Demosthenes, 324. and note; 326. note.  
 Rome, remarks on the history of, i. 323. Earliest known treaty between Carthage and Rome, ii. 232. State of, on the accession of Alexander the Great to the throne of Macedon, ix. 4, 5. Constitution of, compared with those of Thessaly and Lacedæmon, 49—59. State of, under Augustus, considered, x. 169, 170. and notes. Allusion to Roman navigators, 281. Power of, at the time of Alexander, 294. Respect for divination there, 360, 361.  
 Rooke, Mr., his notes to his translation of Arrian rarely of any value, x. 44. note.  
 Rousseau, J. J., his remark on Lycurgus's scheme of government, i. 273. note.  
 Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, married to Alexander the Great, x. 87.  
 Royal Daybook of Alexander the Great, compilers of, ix. 79. Extracts from, x. 373—379.  
 Russell, Lord, his fate contrasted with that of Socrates, v. 127, 128.  
 Sacerdotal character, the, unknown in the early ages of the world, i. 80.  
 Sacred War, i. 337.; ii. 344.; viii. 1—211. 223, 224. 316—329.  
 Sacrifices, how anciently performed in Greece, i. 93. The omission of, sup-

- posed to excite divine resentment, 95. Instances of human sacrifices, 97.
- Sacrifices, magnificent one at Delphi, by Cræsus, viii. 13—15.
- , singular one of the Illyrians, ix. 103, 104.
- Saddles, not used by the Greeks and Romans, v. 196. note.
- Sadocus, son of Sitalces, notice of, iii. 103.
- Sainte Croix, Baron, his remark on Plutarch's deficiencies as an historian, vii. 6. Notice of his "Critical Examination of the Historians of Alexander," ix. 80, 81. note. His opinion that "only an Englishman could write a history of Greece," ib.
- Salagassians, the, defeated by Alexander, ix. 237. Their town taken, ib.
- Salamis, island, revolt of, from the Athenians, i. 327. Is subsequently recovered, 329. Second revolt, 330. Sea-fight off, between the Greeks and Persians, ii. 155—158.
- Salamis, in Cyprus, foundation of the city of, i. 314. Supplies Athens with corn, and its consequent alliance with that government, vi. 11. Flight of Conon to, after the battle of Ægopotami, ib. And his importance to Evagoras, tyrant of Salamis, 12. Defeat of the Lacedæmonian fleet by the Salaminians, 13, 14. Its connection with Athens, 69, 70.
- Salentum, foundation of, i. 317.
- Samarcand, ancient name of, x. 57.
- Sambus, an Indian satrap, his revolt noticed, x. 193, 194.
- Samos, city of, its foundation, i. 311.
- , reign of Polycrates, tyrant of, ii. 33—35. His deep stroke of policy towards the Samians, 35. Its result, ib. The town of Cydonia, in Crete, founded by the Samians, 36. Samos subdued by the Persians, ib. The Samians join the confederacy of the Ionian cities against Persia, 56. With whom they privately make peace, and retire, 58.
- , war of, with Miletus, iii. 11—14. its subjection to the Athenian power, 15.
- , revolt in, iv. 160. Prevalence of the democratical party in, 197, 198. Measures adopted by them, 191, 192.
- , subdued by Timotheus, vii. 300. Attacked by the allies in the Social war, 357, 358.
- Sangala, the people of, defeated by Alexander the Great, x. 154, 155. Slaughter of, when their town was taken, 155, 156.
- Sardanapalus, account of his monument, and traditions respecting him, ix. 257.
- Sardis, advantages of its situation, ii. 1, 2. Taken by the Scythians, 7.
- Assembly of the Persian army at, 95, 94. Xerxes winters there, ib. Surrenders to Alexander, ix. 195.
- Saronic gulf, success of the Athenians in, iv. 151.
- Satibarzanes assassinates Darius, x. 18. Surrenders to Alexander, 25. Restored to his satrapy, ib. His treachery and defeat, 26. Returns into Asia, 47. Is slain, ib.
- Satire, metrical, extent of, at Athens, v. 26.
- Satrap, Persian, jurisdiction of, ii. 26. Their crimes and merits, x. 279—232.
- Scanderbeg, allusion to, ix. 104.
- Scarlet, or crimson, a common uniform of the Greeks, vi. 15.
- Scepsis, the seat of government removed from Troy to, i. 73. Successes of Dercyllidas at, v. 281, 282.
- Science, took its origin in Asia, i. 6. Circumstances of individuals in the Grecian commonwealth, favourable to the cultivation of, v. 111, 112. (See Arts.)
- Scillus, in Triphylia, Xenophon settles at, vi. 348. His description of the advantages of its situation, 349.
- Scione, why the people of, were disposed to a Peloponnesian connection, iii. 261. Means used by Brasidas for gaining the town of, 261, 262. Honours paid to him by the inhabitants, 262. Measures adopted by him for the safety of the Scionæans, 265. Surrender of Scione, and fate of the inhabitants, 298.
- Scripture history, confirmed by the traditions of early Greece, i. 3, 4—111. By Plato and Hesiod, 85.
- Scylleticum, or Scyllacium, foundation of, i. 317.
- Scyrus, expedition against, ii. 282.
- Scytalism, the sanguinary sedition at Argos so called, vi. 316, 317.
- Scythians, ancient, manner of life of, ii. 5, 6. Asia Minor overrun by them and by the Cimmerians, 7. Nature of their warfare, 31. Invasion of Europe and Scythia by Darius, ib. Scythian bowmen, the attendants of the Athenian magistrates, 340. Three hundred bought for the use of the republic, ib.
- , Athenian settlements in Scythia, viii. 94, 95. War of Macedonia with Scythia, 256, 257.
- , the Scythians negotiate with Darius, x. 13, 14. Description of the two people of that name, 59. They negotiate with Alexander, 60. They revolt against him, 61. Assemble on the banks of the Tanais, 63. Their taunts to Alexander, 64. Are dispersed by the Macedonians, 65, 66. Send deputies to Alexander, 66, 67. Their character, as given by Homer and Arrian, 74. and note. Circumstances relative to Scythia, 81, 82.

- Sea-fight, date of the earliest, i. 241, 242.
- , account of one off Lade, ii. 57, 58. In the neighbourhood of Artemisium, 116. Off Artemisium, 133—137. Off Salamis, 155—157. Of the Eurymedon, 286.
- Off Actium, iii. 21. Off Sybota, 26. Between the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets, 120—122. 134—136. 200—202.
- , in the Corinthian gulf, between the Athenians and Corinthians, iv. 98, 99. In the harbour of Syracuse, 101—104. 113—118. Of Cynos-sema, 230. Near the Trojan shore, 231. Near Cyzicus, 234, 235. Of Notium, 264, 265. Of Arginussæ, 279—281.
- near Cnidus, vi. 13, 14.
- near Naxus, vii. 214. At Corcyra, 215.
- Seaman, Athenian, pay of one, iii. 139.
- Seamen, superstition of, ii. 118.
- Sea-ports, English, remark on, vii. 241. note.
- Secret service money, how employed by Pericles, ii. 351.
- Seleucus, one of Alexander's captains, accompanies him across the Hydaspes, x. 141. His share in the battle there, 143. Marries the daughter of Spitamenes, 287. Anecdote of, 352. Passes a night in the temple of Serapis, 368.
- Selgians, the, conclude a treaty with Alexander, ix. 236.
- Selinus, foundation of, i. 319.
- , war between, and Eggesta, iii. 22.
- , its ancient magnificence, vii. 11. Is besieged by the Carthaginians, under Hannibal, ib. Stormed, and sixteen thousand of its inhabitants massacred, 12. The prisoners and refugees restored to possession, 14. Retaken by Hermocrates, 17, 18. Yielded to Carthage, 135. Is retaken by Dionysius, 147.
- Sellasia, town of, recovered by the Lacedæmonians from the revolters, vi. 255.
- Σήματα λυγρὰ, explanation of, i. 112.
- Semiramis, queen of Assyria, notice of, x. 202.
- Senate. See Council.
- Sepias, storm and shipwreck of the Persian fleet at, ii. 119, 120.
- Serpent, the divine one, which guarded the temple of Minerva at Athens, ii. 146.
- Servants, occupations of, in the early ages of Greece, i. 155.
- Sestus, Alexander's visit to, ix. 174, 175.
- Seuthes, son of Mæsadæ, a Thracian prince, his descent, v. 256, 257. Effects of his reign, 257. His measures on arriving at manhood, 258. Distinction between him and Seuthes, son of Sparadocus, 257, 258. note. Seeks the aid of the Cyrean army, 259. Interview between him and Xenophon, 260. Promises held out by him to the army in general, and to Xenophon in particular, ib. Recovers his patrimony, and becomes a powerful prince, 263, 264. Did not possess any great understanding, or just views of honour, ib. Evades the payment of the Cyrean army, ib. Manner in which he at length fulfilled his contract with them, 265.
- Seuthes, son of Sparadocus, distinction between him and Seuthes, son of Mæsadæ, v. 257, 258. note.
- Sewers, unknown in Grecian towns, iii. 94. Origin of the Cloaca Maxima, ib. note. Sewers seen among the ruins of Carthage, ib. See Phæax.
- Shakspeare, vindication of, i. 134. note.
- Shields, of the Grecians, how arranged in battle, ix. 96.
- Ships of the early Greeks, i. 140, 141. What ships of war built by the Corinthians, 240. Remarks on the ancient ships of war, ii. 162—165. Defects of the, iii. 26. Description of the sails of, vi. 148. note. How distinguished from one another, vii. 94. Account of the various sorts of Grecian ships, and their improvements, x. 342. and note. (See Galleys.)
- Sicans, the, join Hannibal on his arrival in Sicily, vii. 14.
- Sicels, the, join Hannibal on his arrival in Sicily, vii. 14. Preserve their attachment to the Carthaginians, 118. But are conciliated by Dionysius, 119. A peace relative to them concluded by Dionysius and Magon, 120.
- Sicilian Greeks, condition of, at the succession of Alexander the Great to the throne of Macedon, ix. 4.
- Sicily, notice of Greek colonies planted in, i. 317—320.
- , Phœnician factories on the coast of, ii. 215. Sketch of the history of the Grecian colonies in, 216—228. State of, when Xerxes invaded Greece, 221.
- , account of the affairs of, and of the Athenian expedition into, iv. 1—134. Affairs of, during the reigns of Gelon, Hieron, and Thrasylbulus, 2—6. Expulsion of the family of Gelon, and independent democracies established, 6—8. Agrarian law, 8. Ducetius becomes the principal potentate of the island, 9. And Syracuse the sovereign city, 11. War between the Dorian and Ionian Sicilians, 12, 13. First interference of Athens in the affairs of Sicily, 15—17. Peace procured by Hermocrates of Syracuse, 18. New troubles and new interference of Athens, 19—21. Intrigues among the Sicilian cities, 59, 60.
- , affairs of the Grecian settlements in, from the Athenian invasion to the settlement of the Syracusan government under Dionysius and Hipparinus, vii. 1. et seq. Deficiency of historical materials with regard to Sicilian cities, 6. Greek settlements in, as in the mother country, divided

- into small republics, 7. The Grecian cause broken by the revolution effected by Diocles, 9. Invaded by Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, 11. A second time invaded by Hannibal, 22. Affairs of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy, from the settlement of the Syracusan government under Dionysius and Hipparinus, to the restoration of the Syracusan supremacy over the Sicilian, and its extension over the Italian Greek cities, 50. et seq. Harvest management in Sicily and Greece, 68. Affairs of the Sicilian and Italian Greek cities, from the establishment of the Syracusan empire to the death of Dionysius, 80. et seq. Peace throughout Sicily, 122. Peace throughout the Grecian settlements of Sicily and Italy, 132. Invasion of Sicily and Italy by the Carthaginians, 134, 135. Affairs of the Grecian settlements of Sicily and Italy, from the death of the first Dionysius to the restoration of the second Dionysius, 157—189. From the restoration of the younger Dionysius to the death of Timoleon, 190—230. Appointment of Timoleon to manage the affairs of Sicily, 196. State of, under Timoleon, 215, 216. Repopled by him, 221. Prosperity of, under his rule, 226, 227. (See Athens and Syracuse.)
- Sicyon, the oldest city in Greece, i. 21. Sketch of the history of, 241. Affairs of, vi. 235—243. History of the tyrant Euphron, ib. The Sicyonians recover their port, with the assistance of the Arcadians, 246. Sedition in Sicyon after the battle of Leuctra, 322. Sicyon a school of the fine arts, 327.
- Sidon, an opulent city, in the earliest ages of Greece, i. 8. The great seat of manufactures, 130. Account of, ix. 148. Revolts against Persia, 149. Subdued by Artaxerxes, 150. Submits to Alexander, 295.
- Siege, the first of which any connected detail exists, iii. 111. Inefficiency of ancient sieges, 246, 247.
- Sigeum, establishment of an Athenian colony at, i. 369.
- Σικελιώτης and Σικελός, distinction between, vii. 77.
- Σίλφιον, x. 43. note.
- Simmias, the Macedonian, his conduct at the battle of Arbela, ix. 341. Accused of treason, but acquitted, x. 32.
- Simmis, a robber-chief, slain by Theæscus, i. 52.
- Simonides of Ceos, invited to Athens by Hipparinus, and maintained there by him, i. 371.
- Sindomana, notice of, x. 194.
- Sinope, site and foundation of the town of, v. 226, 227. Account of, ib. Transactions of the Cyrean army there, 227, 228.
- Sisicottus appointed to the command of Aornos, x. 129. Sends despatches to Alexander, 150.
- Sisygambis, mother of Darius, intercedes with Alexander on behalf of the Greeks, ix. 353.
- Sisyphus, a prince of Corinth, i. 22.
- Sitalces succeeds to the sovereignty of Thrace, iii. 88. His alliance with Athens and Perdiccas, ib. Causes of his invasion of Macedonia, and terms of the treaty, 130—132.
- his irruption into Macedonia, vii. 236—238.
- Sitalces, one of Alexander's generals, notice of, x. 34. Recalled from Media, 214. Executed, ib.
- Slaves, state of, in Crete, i. 18. Tribute of, imposed by Minos, 55. Why necessary at Sparta, 253. Regulations of Lycurgus concerning them, 264—266. Their condition at Athens, and regulations of Solon respecting them, 237—239.
- , the first occasion upon which they were admitted to military service, ii. 79. note. Immense number of, shared by the Agrigentines, 234.
- , improvement in their condition, during the Peloponnesian war, v. 7. Greek words used for, 177. note. Those of servile origin not admitted to the first honours of the state at Lacedæmon, 303. note.
- offered for torture by Æschines, vii. 19.
- , account of slavery among the ancients, x. 344—346.
- Smindyrides, notice of, ix. 20.
- Sneezing, Grecian superstition respecting, v. 186. Popular custom in England respecting, probably derived from Greece, 185, 186. note.
- Social war, the allies in the, attack Samos, ix. 20. Succour Byzantium, 21. Negotiate with the Athenians, 25. Peace concluded with them, 32.
- Society, good effects produced on, by the hospitality of the early Greeks, i. 150.
- Socrates, profited from the instruction of Aspasia, iii. 2. He professed to have learned eloquence from her, 4. His narrow escape at the battle of Delium, 244.
- , account of his descent, v. 117. Derived his first impressions from the theology of Anaxagoras, ib. The conclusions and opinions he was led to deduce from these principles, ib. His mode of communicating instruction, 117, 118. Account of the manner in which he passed his time, and of his general habits, 118. How far he was subject to superstition, 119, 120. His practice in the forms of worship and ceremonies of his country, 119. His faith in oracles, ib. Occasions on which he discharged the duties of a citizen in war and in civil affairs, 120. The unbending uprightness which he

- exhibited, *ib.* Cause for the hostility of Aristophanes to him, as shown in the comedy of the "Clouds," 121. In what light he is represented there, *ib.* How this was received by the Athenian audience, 121, 122. Information laid against him by Melitus, *ib.* Grounds stated by Ælian for his condemnation, 122, 123. These confirmed by other writers, 123. Nature of his defence, 123, 124. Reasons of the popular jealousy against him, 124. His political principles, where particularly declared, *ib.* note. Account of his accusers, and the parties to which they belonged, 124. The probability of his condemnation a subject of rejoicing to him, 125. Believed in the immortality of the soul, and the superintending Providence of an all-god Deity, *ib.* His age at the period of his prosecution, *ib.* How he might have obtained his acquittal, 126, 127. His conduct on his trial, 127. Circumstances which occasioned his respite, *ib.* Refuses the means of escape, *ib.* Manner of his death, *ib.* In what his singular merit consisted, 127, 128. His life an era in the history of Athens and of man, 128. Observations on the aspersions on his character, collected from ancient writers by the author of the Observer, 129. note.
- Socrates, the master, friend, and adviser of Xenophon, *vi.* 334, 335.
- , account of his refusal to visit the court of Archelaus, king of Macedon, *vii.* 242.
- Sogdiana, its capital and modern name, *x.* 57. Revolts of the Sogdians, 61. 75.
- Soldiers and sailors, diet and clothing of British, *v.* 215. note.
- Soldier, Athenian, pay of one, *iii.* 139.
- Soli, entered by Alexander, *ix.* 258. Festival celebrated there by him, 259.
- Solois, a Phœnician settlement in Sicily, *ii.* 216.
- Solon, introduced into public life by a remarkable political event, *i.* 328. State of affairs between the Eupatrids and the people at Athens, 329—331. Effects of the oligarchal principle in the Athenian constitution, 330. Invites Epimenides to Athens, 331. Appointed archon, 333. Measure adopted with respect to the public religion, *ib.* Defects of the Athenian constitution, *ib.* Reformation introduced into it by Solon, *ib.* Law of debtor and creditor arranged by him, 334. Component members of the Athenian commonwealth, 336. Citizens, *ib.* Metics or freemen, not being citizens, 337. Slaves, and their condition, 337—339. Account of the Athenian democracy, 339—343. Of the council or senate of Five hundred, 344. Power of the Prytanes, *ib.*
- Business of the general assemblies, 345, 346. Mode of enacting laws, 347, 348. Power of the court of Areopagus, 348, 349. Other courts for administering justice to inhabitants of the country at a distance from Athens, 350, 351. Enactments of Solon respecting military service, 352. His success as general-in-chief in the first Sacred war, 357. Expedient adopted by him, to preserve his institutions from the opposition of factions, 358. His conduct after the revolution effected by Pisistratus, 363. His death, 365.
- Solon, defects in the Athenian constitution, as established by him, *v.* 5.
4. The transcription of his code of laws committed to Nicomachus, 69. How interpolated and altered, 70. Decree respecting, 71.
- , account of his legislation for the Amphictyonic council, *viii.* 9—11.
- Σωματοφύλαξ, explanation of, *ix.* 84. note.
- Soothsayers, *i.* 99, 100.
- Sophists, who first attained eminence in the profession of, *v.* 116. Nature of their instructions, and causes of their success at Athens, *ib.* How they recommended themselves to public notice, *ib.*
- Sophocles, son of Sostratidas. See Eurymedon.
- Sophronicus, the father of Socrates, notice of, *v.* 117.
- Sosis, accuses Dion of tyranny, *vii.* 175. The falsehood of this accusation, *ib.* Condemned to death, *ib.*
- Soul, the, believed immortal, among the Greeks, *i.* 100.
- Spain, the peasants in some parts of, eat the roasted acorns of the ever-green oak, *i.* 9. note. Use of sepulchral barrows in, *ii.* 99. note. The Spaniards in the defeated Carthaginian army are taken into Syracusan pay, *vii.* 109.
- Spain and France, remarks on the governments of, *ix.* 72.
- Sparta. See Lacedæmon.
- Spenser's description of the ancient state of Britain, *i.* 51. note.
- Sphacteria, island of, its situation, *iii.* 198. Blockaded by the Athenians, 207. Attack upon, by Demosthenes, 211—215. Surrenders to the Athenians, 215. Treatment of the prisoners, 216, 217. (See Pylus.)
- Sphodrias, the Lacedæmonian general, left in command at Thespiæ, *vi.* 126. Invades Attica by night, 129. Is tried at Lacedæmon, and acquitted through the interest of Agesilaus, 130. Is killed at the battle of Leuctra, 164.
- Spies, the first instance on record of their being treated with generosity, *ii.* 109.
- Spitamenes, satrap of Sogdia, his message to Alexander, *x.* 55. His revolt,

62. Defeats some Macedonian forces, 68. He retreats before Alexander, *ib.* Makes an inroad into Bactria, 77. Surprises a body of Macedonians, 78. Circumstances in which he was placed, 79, 80. Is defeated by Cœnus, *ib.* His death, 81.
- Spithridates, the Persian, joins Arsites, ix. 180. Is slain, 191.
- Stadion, or foot-race, the only game exhibited at the Olympian festival, as established by Iphitus, i. 193.
- Stagira, account of, ix. 5, 6.
- Stasanor, one of Alexander's generals, sent against the Arians, x. 69. Joins Alexander at Nautaca, 83. His origin, 84.
- Stasippus, the Tegean, opposes the union of Arcadia, vi. 185. His death, 187.
- Stater, value of, v. 13.
- Statira, queen of Persia, anecdote of, ix. 291.
- Staius, his allusion to the mountain of Anopœa, ii. 126. note.
- Sthenelaidas, speech of, at the congress at Lacedæmon, iii. 51.
- Στίχος, synonymous with λόγος, i. 355. note.
- Stonehenge, considered to be a temple, i. 93.
- Storm, a remarkable one, assails the Lacedæmonian army under Cleombrotus, vi. 126.
- Strabo, his division of Peloponnesus, i. 11.
- Stratege, rank and power of, i. 355.
- Στρατεύματα, sense of, v. 338.
- Στρατηγός, signification of, iv. 257. note.
- Stratocles, the Athenian, account of, viii. 163, 164.
- Στρατόπεδον, meaning of the word, vi. 285. note.
- Stratus, battle near, iii. 118.
- Strymon, river, bridge built over, ii. 93. Battle of, 204.
- Suffete, explanation of the title of, ii. 223.
- Superstition, why Egypt the great school of, i. 81, 82. The use made of by Solon, 331. Of seamen, ii. 118. Remarkable instance of, iii. 271, 272. Influence of, over the Greek soldiers, v. 219, 220. 228—234. 213—236, 237. 239; vi. 6.
- Surgeons in the army, when first mentioned, v. 195.
- Susa, surrenders to Alexander, ix. 348. Spoils found there by him, 349, 350. Darius's family settle there, 350. The Susiad rocks defended by the Persians, 353. Are passed by Alexander, 355. The rivers on which Susa was situated, x. 279. Alexander's return thither, 281.
- Swords, two kinds of, used by the Greeks of the heroic age, i. 47. note.
- Sybaris, foundation of, i. 317. Extent of territory belonging to, ii. 233. The luxury of its citizens proverbial, 234. Beauty of its coins, 235. The native inhabitants, expelled by Telys, take refuge in Crotona, *ib.* Destruction of their commonwealth, *ib.* Population of, 236. note. Mention of, by different writers, 237. note. Consequences of the conquest of, by the Crotoniats, 238, 239. Style of architecture of the Sybarites, 248. note. Destruction of the remnant of this unfortunate people, 240.
- Sybota, sea-fight off, iii. 26, 27.
- Sycophant, original meaning of the term, v. 22. Encouragement afforded by the Athenian government and judicature to, 23, 24. Revival of sycophancy, 72, 73.
- Syennesis, negotiation of Cyrus with, v. 141.
- Syllium, fortress of, noticed, ix. 231.
- Syndics, office of the, i. 347.
- Synedrians, account of the, viii. 172.
- Synedrium, or congress of states at Athens, constitution of the, vii. 289.
- Synomosies, or political clubs at Athens, account of, iv. 181.
- Syracuse, at first subject to Corinth, i. 239. Becomes independent and wealthy, *ib.* Finds its own colonies in Illyria, *ib.* By whom originally founded, 319, 320.
- , sketch of the history of, ii. 217—228. Situation and advantages of the city, 220, 221. Made the seat of government by Gelon, *ib.* (See Gelon.)
- , situation of, and parts of which the town was composed, iv. 3. 71. note. Becomes the sovereign city of Sicily, 11, 12. Accedes to the Lacedæmonian confederacy, 11, 12. Defects of its constitution, 38, 39. Measures taken against the Athenian invasion, 39—41. Preparations of the Syracusans, 58—62. Account of the siege, 70—83. 88—90. 100—109. Naval actions in the harbour of, 101—104. 113—116. Improvements in the tiremes of, 100. Retreat of the Athenians from, 119—130. The Syracusans decree Nicias and Demosthenes to death, 131. Their cruel treatment of the Athenian prisoners, 132, 133. How the Syracusans obtained the freedom of the city of Antandrus, 236, 237. Honours obtained by, for their conduct at Ephesus, 244, 245.
- , the Syracusans send maritime assistance to Lacedæmon, vi. 150. The Syracusan auxiliaries described, 206. They invade Sicynonia, and return, *ib.* Auxiliaries again sent to the Lacedæmonians, 211. 253. 255.
- , becomes the leading state of Sicily, vii. 7. Its government a pure democracy, *ib.* Hermocrates, son of Hermon, at the head of its affairs, *ib.* Diocles takes upon himself the office of legislator, 9. The Syracusans send a deputation to Carthage, deprecating

- war, 22. Equip a fleet, which defeats the Carthaginians, 23. Take the lead in the defence of Sicily, 24. State of Syracusan affairs on the downfall of Agrigentum, 36, 37. The Syracusans dismiss their generals, and appoint Dionysius, 39. Restore the party of Hermocrates, 41. Appoint Dionysius and Hipparinus autocrator-generals, 45. Vote a guard of six hundred men to Dionysius, 49. Are defeated by the Carthaginians before Gela, 53. The port improved, and the maritime power of advanced, by Dionysius, 58, 59. A division of lands among the people, 60. Dionysius besieged in the island, 62. The city regained by him, 64. Nature of the connection between Syracuse and Lacedæmon, 66. A Corinthian party, in opposition to the Lacedæmonian, at, 67. Which is disarmed during the season of harvest, 68. The mercenary troops increased, 69. Works of magnitude before unknown, executed in, 75. The Syracusan empire extended generally over the Grecian towns of Italy, 79. Motives and preparations for war with Carthage, 80—83. Violence of the Syracusans toward the Carthaginian residents, 89. A herald despatched to Carthage, announcing war, *ib.* The harbour attacked by Imilcon, in the absence of Dionysius, 91. The Syracusan territory is fortified against Imilcon, 98, 99. Syracuse is besieged by him, and the division of Achradina taken, 102. Successes of Dionysius, 107. Peace made, 108. The Syracusans oppose the fulfilment of the conditions, *ib.* War of Rhegium with, 112. War renewed by Carthage, 118. War of Rhegium and Crotona with, 125, 126. Enjoys a peace of sixteen years, 136. Is greatly enlarged and embellished by Dionysius, 137. Syracusan revenue, *ib.* Literature encouraged, 142. Assistance sent to Lacedæmon against Thebes, 145. War renewed with Carthage, 146. Death of Dionysius, 147. Alarm created at, by the proceedings of Dion, Heraclides, and Andromachus, 165. Is invested and taken by Dion, 167. State of, during the dissensions of Dion and Heraclides, 173, 174. A new election of generals, *ib.* The fleet of baffled by Nypsius, and two quarters of the town taken by him, 175. Is still agitated by the continued rivalries of Dion and Heraclides, 177—183. Introduction of Corinthians there by Dion, 183. Plot against, and murder of Dion at, 184. State of, on the death of Dion, 186, 188. Dionysius the younger returns to, 189. It is taken possession of by Ictetes, 201. And is conquered by Timoleon, 203. Desolation of, 205, 206. Attacked by Ictetes, 206. The magistracy at, established by Timoleon, 222.
- Syria, one of the earliest civilised countries, i. 5. Recovered to the empire of Persia through the treachery of Reomithres, vi. 308. The entrances into, described, ix. 268, 269.
- Syrmus, king of the Triballians, notice of, ix. 99, 101, 102.
- Syrphax, notice of, ix. 198, 199.
- Tachos, king of Egypt, engages Agesilaus and Chabrias, vi. 309. Deserted by his people, he takes refuge in Sidon, 311. Is restored to the Egyptian throne, 312. note.
- Tactics. See Army, Military Affairs, &c.
- Tænarum, promontory of, i. 12.
- Tagus, explanation of the term, ii. 335. note; vi. 172. note; ix. 86.
- Tamynæ, battle of, viii. 126.
- Tanagra, battle of, ii. 326. Ravaged by Nicias, iii. 178.
- Tanais, river, its various names, x. 58. and note. Alexander wounded on its banks, *ib.* A colony founded there by him, 63.
- Taocs, account of the, v. 207.
- Tapoors, the, notice of, x. 20. note.
- Tarentum, the foundation of, i. 284, 317.
- Tarquinius, the principal city of Tuscany, a Corinthian colony settled there, ii. 231.
- Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome, his descent, ii. 231.
- Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, Alexander taken ill there, ix. 254, 255. By whom founded, 257.
- Tartars, the modern, inherit the character and manners of their ancestors, the Scythians, x. 82.
- Taste, v. 115.
- Tattooing, existence of, among various barbarous nations at a distance from each other, iii. 87.
- Taulantians, the, join the Illyrians, ix. 104. Repulsed by Alexander the Great, 106.
- Tauriscus, the Macedonian, anecdote of, ix. 327.
- Tauromenium, or Taormina, foundation of, i. 319.
- took its origin from the Sicels of Naxus, vii. 99. Who obstinately retain it against Dionysius, 117. Reduced, and conferred on the Syracusan mercenaries, 121. Re-established by Andromachus, 165. Its occupation available in detaching the Italian cities from the Syracusan alliance, 166. Applies for the interference of Corinth, 193. Arrival of Timoleon there, 201.
- Taurosthenes and Callias of Eubœa, their projects, viii. 123, 124. The agents of Demosthenes, 304.

- Taurus, mountains of, described, ix. 225.  
x. 38.
- Taxes of the Persian empire, ii. 27.  
note.  
—imposed on Athenians and free residents in Attica, v. 14—16.  
—, nature of those imposed by the Syracusan government, vii. 138—141.
- Taxila, its situation, x. 137. Alexander winters there, 138.
- Taxiles, an Indian prince, submits to Alexander, x. 114, 115. His interview with him, 137. Sent after Porus, 147. And reconciled to him, 150. Appointed to superintend the Indian dominion, 212.
- Taxis, and Taxilarch, of the Athenian army, i. 355.
- Taygetus, mountain of, i. 12.
- Taylor, John, his note on a proposed correction of *Æschines*, viii. 372. note. Observations on his objections to the authenticity of the funeral oration of *Demosthenes*, 375, 376. note.
- Tearless battle, the, gained by *Archidamus*, son of *Agesilaus*, vi. 212. Why so denominated, ib.
- Tegeans, their dispute for precedence with the Athenians, ii. 184, 185. Their bravery at *Platæa*, 198. Plunder the magnificent pavilion of *Mardonius*, ib. Dedicate a part of their spoil in the temple of the *Alean Minerva*, 199.  
—, war between *Tegea* and *Mantineia*, iii. 271.  
—, the, unite all *Arcadia*, vi. 185—189. About eight hundred flee to *Lacedæmon*, 187. Deputies from all the *Arcadian* cities assemble in *Tegea*, 274. The inactivity of *Epaminondas* at, defended by *Xenophon*, 285.
- Teians, the, retire to *Thrace*, and found the town of *Abdera*, ii. 19.
- Telchines, i. 17.
- Teleclus, king of *Sparta*, notice of, i. 276.
- Telesilla, a poetess, story of, ii. 70. note.
- Teletias, brother of *Agesilaus*, appointed commander-in-chief of the *Lacedæmonian* forces in *Asia*, vi. 59. His peculiar merit, 71. His remarkable speech to his soldiers and seamen, ib. His successes against the Athenians, 71, 72.  
—, appointed commander-in-chief in *Thrace*, 100. His first engagement with the *Olynthians*, 101. His defeat and death, 103.
- Telmissus, situation of, described, ix. 235. The *Telmissians* assist the *Sagalassians*, 236. And are defeated, 237. For what celebrated, 246.
- Telys, the demagogue of *Crotona*, notice of, ii. 235.
- Temenus, *Cresphontes* and *Aristodemus*, great-grandsons of *Hyllus*, associate with them *Oxylus*, and overrun *Arcadia*, i. 163, 164. *Temenus* takes possession of *Argos*, 164. And *Cresphontes* of *Armenia*, ib. Death of the latter, 274.
- Temperature of the air, x. 43.
- Tempe, vale of, i. 31.  
—, the *Grecian* army encamped in, ii. 111.
- Temples, rare in ancient *Greece*, i. 93. Without roofs, 93, 94. Form of, in *Africa*, 94. note. Temples in *Greece* converted into banks, 178.  
—, the *Grecian* temples ordered by *Xerxes* to be burnt, ii. 211. Temple of *Minerva* at *Platæa*, 253.
- Ten, the. See *Council*.
- Ten thousand, retreat of the, ii. 252—253. (See *Greece*.)
- Tenedos, subdued by *Pharnabazus*, ix. 242. Submits to the *Macedonians*, 312.
- Tennes, king of *Sidon*, revolts against *Artaxerxes*, ix. 149. Subdued and executed, 150. Notice of, 150, 151.
- Teos, city of, its foundation, i. 311. Recovered to the Athenian alliance, iv. 158.
- Terēs, king of *Thrace*, notice of, ii. 222.
- Teribazus, the Persian commander against *Evagoras*, vi. 306. Is removed, and succeeded by *Orontas*, ib.
- Terillus, tyrant of *Himera*, expelled from his government, ii. 222. Flees to *Carthage*, and is favourably received there, ib.
- Terms of *Mercury*, ancient use of, iv. 34. Destruction of, at *Athens*, and its consequences, ib.
- Teucer, said to have been the founder of the *Trojan* state, i. 65. note. Not known to *Homer*, 67.
- Teutonic dialects, their affinity with the *Greek* and *Latin*, i. 114. note.
- Thais, the Athenian courtesan, account of, ix. 357.
- Thales, the poet, notice of, i. 247, 248.
- Thales, of *Miletus*, origin of *Grecian* philosophy attributed to him, v. 111. Derived his learning from *Egypt*, ib. The kind of philosophy and science possessed by him, 112, 113. Rule of morality for which he was celebrated, 113. Difference between it and the *Christian* precept, 113. note.
- Thalestris, story of, discredited, x. 330. note.
- Thamyris, one of the fathers of *Grecian* poetry, i. 63.
- Thargelia, a *Grecian* courtesan, influence of, iii. 4.
- Tharyps, king of *Molossis*, joins the *Lacedæmonians*, ix. 24. Account of, 25.
- Thasos, or *Thasus*, island of, noticed, i. 16.; vii. 334. Revolt of the *Thasians*, ii. 306. Reduced to obedience by *Cimon*, ib.
- Theatres at *Athens*, a proportion of the public revenue devoted to the service of, vii. 284.



- Theatrical satire at Athens, effect of, iii. 273, 274. Extent of, v. 25, 26.
- Thebaid, the, ravaged by Agesilaus, vi. 133. Again invaded by the Lacedæmonians, 135.
- Thebe, wife of Alexander, tagus of Thessaly, joins in a plot to assassinate him, vi. 324. and note.
- Thebes, in Bœotia, foundation of, i. 39. Its ancient celebrity, ib. Five places of this name, 41.
- , revenge taken against, by Pausanias, ii. 202, 203. The Thebans attempt the recovery of their ancient authority, 327.
- , attempt of the Thebans against Plataea, iii. 64—67. Their exasperation against the Platæans, 160—162. The town and territory of Plataea given to them, 163.
- , resort of Athenian fugitives to, v. 50. Causes for its alienation from Lacedæmon, 293, 294. Origin of the war with Lacedæmon, 324. The Thebans march against and defeat Lysander, 325, 326.
- , the bad government and violent factions at, vi. 94. Its citadel betrayed by Leontiades, the polemarch, 96. Reduced to dependency upon Lacedæmon, 98. Revolution in favour of democracy, 115—120. The Thebans appoint Bœotarchs, 128, 129. Their system of warfare, 134. They invade Thespiæ with success, ib. Obtain corn in their distress from Eubœa, 136—138. Reduce all Bœotia to subjection, 139. Invade Phocis, 141. Their tyranny over Bœotia, 152. Expel the inhabitants of Plataea and Thespiæ, 153. Join the general congress at Lacedæmon, 156. Resign their supremacy over the Bœotian cities, 157. But retract, and are excluded from the treaty, 159. Gain the victory of Leuctra, 164—166. The Thebans invade Laconia under Epaminondas, 193, 194. Place Sparta in imminent danger, 196. Besiege Gythium without success, ib. Withdraw from Laconia, 200. Effect a passage into Peloponnesus, and join their allies there, 205. Ravage the lands of the Epidaurians, ib. And the Corinthian territory, ib. Are recalled by the Thessalian war, ib. and note. Eminent only through the talent of a few extraordinary men, 207. War with Thessaly, 212—216. A congress procured at Susa, 216. A rescript in favour of Thebes obtained from the king of Persia, 217. The Thebans now assume to be arbiters of Greece, 218. They summon a congress at Thebes, ib. Propose an oath to the various deputies, 219. Failure of their attempt to acquire the supremacy of Greece, 219, 220. They march an army into Achaia under Epaminondas, 225. Their impolitic illiberality, 226, 227.
- Trial at Thebes of the assassins of Euphron, of Sicyon, 239—242. A peace concluded between Thebes and Corinth, 251. Sedition of the aristocratical party in Thebes and Orchomenus, 258, 259. The Thebans assist the Thessalian cities against Alexander of Pheræ, 260. And mediate a peace, 261. Seize the principal Arcadian citizens at Tegea, 275. But set them at liberty, 276. Are unsuccessful in their maritime attempts against Athens, 281, 282. Amount of the Theban army on the fourth invasion of Peloponnesus under Epaminondas, 285. They re-enter Laconia, and attempt to surprise Sparta, 287. Hasten to the Mantinean territory, 289. Are worsted by the Athenian horse, ib. Gain the victory of Mantinea, 294—296.
- Thebes, the Thebans make an alliance with Macedon, vii. 260, 261. They assist the Eubœans, 317, 318. Are obliged to leave Eubœa, 320.
- , state of, after the death of Epaminondas, viii. 18. The Thebans prosecute Lacedæmon in the Amphictyonic Council, 19. and note. Their designs against Phocis, 20—25. Grounds of the war between it and Thebes, 25. The Thebans deficient in generals, 40. Their alliance against the Phocians, 40, 41. Their treatment of the Phocian prisoners, 42. Failure of the negotiation with the Phocians, 44. and note. Send Pammenes to Artabazus, 46. and note. Are defeated by Onomarchus, 78. Decay of Thebes, 104, 105. The Thebans march into Peloponnesus, 112. They plunder Phocis, 113. Send an embassy to Persia, 127. Defeat the Phocians, 181. But afterwards are defeated by them, 182. Send an embassy to Philip, 183. Notice of the Thebans by Isocrates, 202. They join Philip, 209. How Thebes was connected with the Athenian confederacy, 326. Political state of, 331. Preponderance of the Athenian party there, 331, 332. The allurements held out to the Thebans by Demosthenes, 333. They renew their peace with Philip, 335. And receive a letter from him, 336. Form an alliance with Athens, 345. Operations of Thebes and Athens, 346, 347. The Thebans reject Philip's offers of peace, 351. The Theban and Athenian army march against Philip, 355. and note. They are defeated at Chæronea, 355, 356. Account of the government of Thebes, 351.
- , its disturbed state, ix. 108. Its citadel, how garrisoned, 109. Assassination of the commanding officers of the citadel, 111. A general insurrection there, 112. Commotions on the approach of Alexander, 114. Attack of the Theban horse on the Macedo-

- nians, *ib.* Reply of the Theban generals to Alexander's proclamation, 115. Particulars of the siege and the taking of Thebes, 119—123. Its destruction, 123. Amount of Thebans slain and of those sold, 127.
- Theft encouraged by Lycurgus, i. 258.
- Themistocles, character of, *ii.* 104. First public measure adopted by him for the defence of Athens, *ib.* His interpretation of the response of the Delphian oracle, 106. His plan for keeping the Grecian fleet at Artemisium, 133. His expedient for creating disaffection among the Persians, 137. His character compared with that of Aristides, 145, 146. Part which he took in the naval councils, 148. Extraordinary measure adopted by him for the purpose of bringing the Persians to an engagement off Salamis, 151. His interview with Aristides, 152. Difference in the principle on which Themistocles and the Persian commander respectively manned their vessels, 153, 154. In what service he employed the fleet, 166. note. How he enriched himself at the expense of the islanders, 167. Honours received by him, 169, 170. Measures adopted by him for rebuilding and fortifying Athens, 256. Policy of his conduct with respect to Lacedæmon, 257, 258. Undertakes the embassy to Sparta, 259. And his proceedings there, 260. Improves and fortifies the port of Piræus, 262—264. Complaints against him, 266. Revenge of Timocreon against, 267. His integrity doubtful, *ib.* Party against him at Athens, 268—271. His banishment, 271. Persecution and flight of, 293—296. His reception at the Persian court, 296, 297. His death, 298. Examination of his character, 299. His reception by the prince of Molossis noticed, *ix.* 23.
- Theocles, or Thucles, founds the first Grecian town in Sicily, *i.* 318.
- Theodorus, a Syracusan, inveighs against Dionysius at an assembly of the people, *vii.* 104.
- Theopompus, king of Sparta, leads an army toward Ithome, *i.* 337. Battle with the Messenians in his reign, decided by a combat of 300 men on each side, *i.* 297. The establishment of ephors referred to him, 300. Saying reported of him, *ib.*
- Theoric portion of the revenue, *viii.* 139.
- Thera, island of, noticed, *i.* 314.
- Theramenes joins the oligarchal party at Athens, *iv.* 191. Accused of instigating sedition, 216. His measures, 216, 217. Success of his party, 221. His mission to Lysander, 318. And to Lacedæmon, 321. Elected one of Council of Thirty, 322.
- , account of his family, character, and political conduct, *v.* 37—46. Prosecuted and condemned to death, 46—49.
- Therma, in Sicily, origin of its name, *viii.* 92. A Carthaginian army lands at, *ib.* Another place of that name near Himera, *ib.* note.
- Therme, arrival of the Persian fleet and army at, *ii.* 99.
- Thermopylæ, pass of, *i.* 11.
- , its situation and advantages, *ii.* 113, 114. Measures for defending it, 115, 116. Station of the Grecian army there, 116. Battle of, 124—130. Honours paid to those who fell there, 253, 254. Inscriptions on, 255. and note.
- , meeting of a congress at, *viii.* 214.
- Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum, notice of, *ii.* 221, 222.
- Theseus, son of Ægeus, birth and education of, *i.* 48. His adventures, 52. Arrives in Attica, *ib.* Is recognised by Ægeus as his son, 53. Signalizes himself by the destruction of wild beasts, 54. Goes with the Athenian captives to Minos, 55, 56. Liberates his country from tribute, 57. Annual ceremony instituted to commemorate that event, *ib.* New-models and improves the Athenian government, 58—62. Dies in exile, 62. The succession of his family to the throne of Attica terminated, 306.
- Thesmophoria, the ceremony so called, remarks as to the season of, *vi.* 96. note.
- Thesmothete, six of the nine archons so called, *i.* 325.
- Thespiæ, how oppressed by Thebes, *iii.* 271.
- , the Thespians expelled by the Thebans, *vi.* 154. Find an asylum at Athens, *ib.*
- , restoration of, *ix.* 124.
- Thessaly, boundaries and geographical description of, *i.* 11. Natural circumstances of, 35, 36. Emigration of Thessalians after the Trojan war, 302.
- , measures taken by the Thessalians against the Persian invasion, *ii.* 110.
- Thessaly the only province of Greece that possessed any considerable strength of cavalry, 111. A party among the Thessalians disposed to the Persian interest, 112. Send their profession of submission to Xerxes, *ib.* The defence of Thessaly given up by the confederates, 113. Origin of the war in, 334. Success of the Thessalians, 334, 335.
- , state of, in the time of Jason of Pheræ, *vi.* 170. War with Thebes, 212—216. The Thessalian cities apply to Thebes for assistance against Alexander of Pheræ, 260. Peace obtained through the mediation of Thebes, 261. Numerous Thessalian auxiliaries re-enforce Epaminondas's army, 284. Political state of Thessaly on the death of the tagus Alexander, 324.
- , the nobility of, receive Amyn-

- tas, king of Macedon, vii. 248. Philip's expedition thither, 339.
- Thessaly, interest of, in the Amphictyonic council, viii. 3, 4. Expedition of, against Crissa, 7. Joins Thebes against Phocis, 40. The Thessalians and Locrians defeated by Philomelus, 41. Assistance rendered by Philip to, 242, 243.
- , analogy of its constitution to those of Lacedæmon and Rome, ix. 50—55. The Thessalians elect Alexander to the supreme dignity, 86. The general assembly declares war against Athens and Thebes, 112.
- , a revolt takes place in, x. 9.
- Θ pronounced as Σ by the Lacedæmonians, vi. 29.
- Thetes, what citizens comprehended under the rank of, i. 342.
- Thimbron appointed commander-in-chief of the Lacedæmonian forces in Asia, v. 276; vi. 50. Is joined by the Cyrean forces, v. 276. His operations, 276, 277. Defects of his conduct, 278. His character, vi. 50. His death, 51.
- Thirty, the. See Council.
- Thoas, commander of the Ætolians at the siege of Troy, i. 40.
- Thoas, Alexander's general, how employed, x. 207, 209. Appointed satrap of Gadosia, 211.
- Thrace, coincidences tending to show that its early inhabitants were the same with those who inhabited Greece and Asia Minor, i. 63—65.
- , summary view of the history of, iii. 86, 87. March of Brasidas into, 247, 249. His successes there, 258—260. Transactions in, 261—269.
- , massacre of the inhabitants of Mycalessus by the Thracians, iv. 95.
- , circumstances of, in the time of Seuthes, v. 256—265. Severity of the winter in, 262.
- , produce of the Thracian gold mines, vii. 294. Moral principles of the Thracians, 350, 351. Notice of the royal family of Thrace, 352. note.
- , war of Macedonia with, viii. 255.
- , account of the Thracian constitution, ix. 57, 58. The Thracians and Agrians defeated by Alexander the Great, 97, 98.
- Thracian Chersonese. See Chersonese.
- Thracidæ, allusion to the term, viii. 30.
- Thrasius, heads the mutiny in Timoleon's army, vii. 210.
- Thrasylbulus, succeeds to the throne of Syracuse, iv. 5. Party formed against him, 6. Retires to Locri, ib.
- Thrasylbulus, son of Lycus, and Thrasylus, leaders of the demagogical party in Samos, iv. 197, 198. Measures of, 199, 200. Transactions of the fleet under their command, 223, 224. Part taken by Thrasylbulus against Alcibiades, 266, 267. Dis-
- missed, with Alcibiades, from his command, 268.
- Thrasylbulus, his first enterprise against the Council of Thirty, v. 51. Defeats their army at Munychia, 54. Enters Athens, 63. And restores the democracy, 64, 65. Praise of his political conduct, 71.
- , sent to Aria with the Athenian fleet, vi. 60. His successes there, 60—64. Killed in his tent by the Aspendians, 63. His character, ib. Cornelius Nepos's eulogy of him, 64. note.
- Thrasylus leads his forces against Agis, iv. 241. Transactions of the fleet under his command on the Asiatic coast, 243, 247. Appointed one of the ten generals on the deposition of Alcibiades and Thrasylbulus, 268. Condemned to death and executed, 283. (See Thrasylbulus.)
- Thrasymelidas, commander of the Peloponnesian fleet at Pylus, notice of, iii. 200.
- Thronium taken by the Phocians, viii. 49.
- Thucydides, the historian, his simple affirmation of more authority than that of any other writer, i. 163.
- , nautical term used by him explained, ii. 163.
- , notice of, iii. 8, 23. Commands the Athenian squadron at the island of Thasos, 252. His influence among the Greeks and Thracians, 254. Deprived of his command, and banished for twenty years, 256. How he employed his leisure time, ib.
- Tbucydides, son of Melesias, brought forward by the Athenians in opposition to Pericles, ii. 345. His descent and character, ib. Candid acknowledgment of his rival's powers, 346. His banishment, 353.
- Thurium, or Thuria, causes which led to the colonisation of, i. 149. Great men who accompanied the expedition thither, 149. Foundation of the town, 151. Foundation of the city of, 317.
- , member of the Rhegian confederacy, vii. 124. More than ten thousand Thurians destroyed by the Lucanians, ib. The rest of their army generously treated by Leptines, 125. Thurium gained to the Syracusan alliance, ib.
- Thyamia surprised by the Phliasiens, vi. 231. Evacuated, 251.
- Thymbron. See Thimbron.
- Thymætes, king of Attica, deposition of, i. 306.
- Thyrea, taken and burnt by the Athenians, iii. 227.
- Tibarenes, notice of the, v. 218, 219.
- Tides of rivers, observations on the, x. 198. note.
- Tigranes, general of the Persian army, encamps at Mycale with sixty thousand men, ii. 206. Is slain in the battle there, 209.

- Tigris, river, crossed by Alexander, ix. 332. His passage up the, x. 298.
- Timæus Siculus, means used by him for the correction of chronology, i. 200. His history only known by the quotations of other writers, vii. 166.
- Timarchus, his accusation of Æschines, viii. 237.
- Timegenides, the Theban, one of the heads of the faction which led the Bœotians to the Persian alliance, ii. 203. Executed by order of Pausanias, ib.
- Timoclea, a Theban lady, anecdote of, ix. 125.
- Timocrates, the Lacedæmonian, account of his death, at the battle of Naupactus, iii. 135, 136.
- Timocrates, of Rhodes, sent on a mission to the Grecian republics by Tithraustes, v. 322.
- Timocrates, the Athenian minister, character of, vi. 244. Tried and executed on his return from the Persian embassy, 245.
- Timocreon, of Ialysus, the poet, notice of, ii. 266.
- Timolaus, notice of, ix. 100.
- Timoleon, causes his brother to be assassinated, vii. 195. Appointed to the management of affairs in Sicily, 196. Superstition he resorted to on his embarkation, 198. Arrives at Metapontium, 199. Goes to Rhegium, 200. Reaches Tauromenium, 201. Icetes defeated by, ib. Gains possession of part of Syracuse, ib. Is joined by Mamercus, 202. Completes the conquest of Syracuse, 203. Negotiates with Dionysius the younger, 204. Difficulty in rewarding his troops, 206. Overcomes Leptines, ib. His conduct at Entella, 207. Gains over Icetes, 209. His army mutinies, ib. Gains the battle of the Crimesus, 211, 212. His treatment of the mutineers, and their fate, 214. Imports colonists from Peloponnesus, 215. Enters into a treaty with the Carthaginians, ib. His measures to reduce the independent Grecian chiefs of Sicily, 216. His cruelty to Icetes, 217. His treatment of Mamercus and Hippon, 218, 219. His measures for re-peopling the country, 221. The magistracy established by him at Syracuse, 222. Character of his administration, 224, 225. Anecdotes of, ib. State of Sicily when governed by him, 226, 227. His blindness, 227.
- Timophanes of Corinth, his popularity, vii. 194. Assassination of, 195.
- Timotheus, son of Conon, appointed to command the Athenian fleet, vi. 139. Gains Corcyra to the Athenian cause, 139. His liberal conduct there, 140. Panegyrics upon him by Cicero and Diodorus, 140. note. Defeats the Lacedæmonian fleet under Nicolochus, 141. Superseded in the command by Iphicrates, 145. Relieves Cyzicus, 282. And takes Torona and Potidæa, ib.
- Timotheus, is sent to take the command in Asia, vii. 299. Subdues Samos, ib. Overcomes Cyprothemis, ib. Co-operates with Philip against the Olynthians, 300. Supersedes Iphicrates, 304. Is compelled to retreat, 305. His expedition against the Thracian Chersonese, 305—308. His address to the Athenians, 319. Commands against Eubœa, 321. His success, ib. Is sent to relieve Samos, 358. Is impeached by Chares, 359. And fined, 361. His death, ib.
- , his retirement to Eubœa noticed, viii. 122.
- Timoxenus, commander of the Scio-næan auxiliaries in Potidæa, his treacherous correspondence with Artabazus, ii. 170.
- Tinin, notice of an ancient temple in, i. 94. and note.
- Tiribazus, governor of western Armenia, his transactions with the Greek army under Xenophon, v. 203—206.
- , embassy to him from Lacedæmon, vi. 40, 41. His measures in favour of Analcidas, 41. His proposal of peace to the Greek nation, 75, 76.
- , his treatment by Artaxerxes Mne-mon, ix. 141. Plots against him, and is slain, ib.
- Tisamenus, son of Orestes, notice of, i. 164.
- Tisamenus, the Elean prophet, attends the Lacedæmonian army under Pausanias, ii. 180, 181. Honour conferred upon him, ib.
- Tisiphonus, assassinates Alexander, tagus of Thessaly, vi. 324. Succeeds him as tagus, vii. 339, 340.
- Tissaphernes, a satrap of Persia, Alcibiades tries to set him at variance with the Peloponnesians, iv. 171—173. Renews negotiations with them, 183. And concludes a treaty with them, 183. His wily and treacherous policy, 229. Defeats Thrasyllus at Ephesus, 245.
- , post which he held at the battle of Cunaxa, v. 158. His operations, 159. Concludes a treaty with the Greeks, after the battle of Cunaxa, 171. His perfidious seizure and massacre of the Grecian generals, 176, 177. Probable motives for this conduct, 179, 180. Succeeds Cyrus in the command of the army, 275. Bargains with Dercyllidas for a particular peace with his own provinces, 279. Union between him and Pharnabazus, 289. His conference and treaty with Dercyllidas, 290. His message to Agesilaus, 312. His measures for the preservation of his own provinces, 312, 313. Superseded and beheaded, 318.
- Tithraustes, satrap of Lydia, succeeds Tissaphernes as viceroy of the Persian empire, v. 319. Negotiates with

- Agesilaus, *ib.* Strange proposal to which he accedes, 319, 320. Means to which he has recourse for exciting enmity against Lacedæmon, 322.
- Titormus, the strongest man in Greece, notice of, ix. 20. and note.
- Tmolus, mountain of, anciently abounded in gold, ii. 1.
- Tolmides, the Athenian commander, successes of, ii. 331. Sent to reduce the Bœotians, 348. Killed at Coronea, 349.
- Torone taken by Brasidas, iii. 259. By Timotheus, vi. 282. Garrisoned by the Athenians, vii. 300.
- Torture, existence of, in Macedonia, x. 31. note. Extensively used by almost every known government, *ib.*
- Toxolæ, or bowmen, attached to magistrates, i. 362.
- Τοξόται and Φιλοί, distinction between, x. 183.
- Trapezus, or Trebizond, account of, v. 210, 211. note. Transactions of the Cyrean army at, 211—214.
- Treason, law of, at Athens, x. 30. Trials for high treason, x. 26—36.
- Treaties, proclaimed at Olympia, and columns erected, with the treaties engraved thereon, i. 194.
- Trebizond. See Trapezus.
- Triballians, notice of the, ix. 58. They join the confederacy against Alexander the Great, 95, 96. Are put to flight by him, 99. Enter into a treaty with Alexander, 101.
- Tribunes at Rome, their resemblance to the Ephors at Sparta, i. 300.
- Tricranum held by the Phliasian exiles, vi. 251, 252.
- Trierarch, rank of, i. 355.
- Trieris, or trireme, how improved by Dionysius of Syracuse, vii. 82.
- Triopium, promontory of, for what celebrated, i. 313.
- Tryphylia, district of, subject to Elis, vi. 209. The Triphylians protected by the Arcadians, 210.
- Tripod, at Delphi, nature of the, i. 174.
- Tripolis, origin of, ix. 148.
- Trireme, by whom first made, i. 240. Description of, ii. 131.
- Troezen, town and territory of, i. 46.
- Trojan war, observations on the conflicting dates of chronologers concerning, i. 209. note. Shore, sea-fight near the, iv. 230, 231.
- Tromes, meaning of the word, viii. 92. note.
- Trophonius, prophetic cavern of, ii. 187.
- Troy, origin of, i. 66, 67. Succession of kings of, from Dardanus to Priam, 67. Flourishing condition of the Trojan state under Priam, 67. Expedition of the Greeks against, 70—72. Fate of Troy, 73. And of the Trojan state and name, *ib.* The authority of Homer's account of the Trojan war vindicated, 75—77. Resemblance in the Trojan war, to circumstances in modern history, 76, 77. Destruction of Troy, and the name of its people, 310.
- Troy, the site of, visited by Alexander, ix. 176.
- Turkish titles, disquisition respecting, x. 192, 193. note.
- Tuscans, the, make themselves masters of the Campanian plain, and found the city of Capua, ii. 246. The principal pirates of the western parts of the Mediterranean, vii. 133. Are repressed by Dionysius of Syracuse, *ib.* (See Etruscans.)
- Tydeus, i. 40.
- Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon, notice of, i. 34. Oath exacted by, of the chieftains who sought his daughter in marriage, 63.
- Tyndaris, or Tyndarium, a city in Sicily, founded by the Peloponnesian Messenians, vii. 113. Their superiority to the Sicilian Greeks, *ib.* They obtain Enna, and the Greek towns of Cephaledion and Solus, 114.
- Tyranny, definition of the term, i. 231, 232. Nearly related to democracy, ii. 340.
- Tyrant, when the term was substituted for that of king, i. 106, 107. Import of the term, 228. Evils incident to a tyranny, 231. Distinction between the ancient and modern sense of the term, 360. Application of the term to the Athenian people in the age of Pericles, ii. 318. Distinction between the attendants of tyrants and kings, 340.
- Tyre, celebrity of, ii. 79. Migration of Tyrian families to Carthage, 214. Stormed by Evagoras, tyrant of Salamis, vi. 306. The Tyrians send a message to Alexander, ix. 295, 296. Description of Tyre, 297, 298. Cruelty of the Tyrians, 300. Tyre besieged and taken by Alexander, 301, 302. and note. His arrival at, 328.
- Tyriaspes, a Persian, appointed satrap of Paropamisus, x. 113. Is sent against the Assakenes, 150.
- Tyrrhenes. See Etruscans.
- Tyrtæus, sent from Athens to Sparta, in consequence of an oracle, i. 286. Powerful effects of his poetry, 287.
- Tzetzes, John, quotation from, respecting Demosthenes, ix. 118. note.
- Universal History, remarks on the writers of the, viii. 228. note; x. 35. note; 129. note; 165. note; 313. note.
- Τρογαραμματεῖον, office of, viii. 93. note.
- Τρήκοος, explanation of the word, ii. 301. note.
- Usher, archbishop, his chronology of the foundation of Sicyon, i. 23. Abstract of his chronology of Grecian history, 202—205. Corrections of it by Sir Isaac Newton and others, 206.

- Utica, foundation of, ii. 213.
- Uxians, the, account of, ix. 351. They send a deputation to Alexander, 352. And are repulsed by him, 353. Treatment of, by Alexander, *ib.* and note.
- Value of commodities, measure of, in Ancient Greece, i. 128.
- Velia, on the Lucanian coast, foundation of, ii. 245, 246. One of the earliest seats of philosophy, *ib.*
- Venice, local advantages of, vi. 325. note. The site of, compared with that of Tyre, ix. 297. Allusion to, x. 254. note.
- Venus, Medicean, vi. 329. note. Another statue of, similar design *ib.*
- Vessels, ancient Grecian. See Galleys, Ships.
- Victory, token of, in ancient and more civilised times, i. 154.
- Villoison, ix. 81. note.
- Vincent, Dr., his remark on the petulance of Voltaire, x. 198. note. Remarks on his commentary on Nearchus, 216, 217. His suppositions respecting the early embarkation of Nearchus, 232, 233. His account of Babylon, 346, 347. (See Nearchus.)
- Virgin's tomb, in Bœotia, oracular saying respecting, vi. 163.
- Virtuous age of Greece, not easy to fix the existence of, v. 109, 110. When the nearest approach made to, 173. What times so called by the orators, 111, 112.
- Voltaire, M., remarks on his petulant observations respecting the Macedonians, and William I. of England, x. 198. note.
- Vowel-points of, the Arabs and Persians, origin of, i. 117. Vowels of the ancient Greek alphabet compared with those of some other nations, 121, 122. note.
- Voyage of Nearchus. See Nearchus.
- Vulcanius, instance of his malice against Philip, ix. 29. note.
- Walachia, notice of, x. 42, 43, 46.
- War, first instance of any thing approaching to regular war in Greece, i. 39. State of the art of, in the Homeric age, i. 130—132, 134—138. Circumstances favourable to its improvement in ancient Greece, 134—139. Defects in Homer's art of war, 135—138. Cruelty of ancient warfare, 151. Barbarism and illiberality of the warriors, 151—154.
- , improvement in the art of, by the Athenian general Iphicrates, vi. 36.
- Welsh language, its resemblance to the Arabic, i. 114. note.
- William I., observations on his making of the New Forest, x. 196—198. note.
- Winds in the Mediterranean, how named in the present day, ii. 120. note.
- Wine, origin of drinking it over the graves of the dead, v. 284.
- Wolfe, general, comparison between him and Brasidas, the Spartan commander, iii. 282. note.
- Women, condition, manners, and pursuits of, in the early ages of Greece, i. 157—161. Their pursuits and condition at Sparta, 254—256.
- , political fury of those of Athens, ii. 178. Change in the condition of those of Greece, iii. 3, 4.
- Wood, Mr., his opinion on the age of Homer controverted, i. 213, 214. note.
- World, state of, before the first accounts of Greece, i. 1—5.
- , at the time of the retreat of Xerxes from Greece, ii. 251, 252.
- , when Alexander succeeded to the Macedonian throne, ix. 1—76.
- Wrestling, when introduced into the Olympic games, i. 194.
- Xanthippus, his accusation of Miltiades, ii. 88. Commander of the Athenian fleet, 172. Commander of a part of the Grecian forces at Mycale, 208. His attack upon the Chersonese, an Athenian colony, 210.
- Xenetus, of Locri, marries his daughter Doris to Dionysius of Syracuse, vii. 85.
- Xenias. See Pasion.
- Xenophon, son of Euripides, besieges and takes Potidæa, iii. 105. Enters Chalcidice, and ravages the country about Spartalus, 115. Is defeated and slain there, *ib.*
- Xenophon, the historian, son of Gryllus, account of his treatise on the public revenue of Athens, v. 19—22.; vii. 292.
- , his description of an eminent man, reduced from wealth to indigence, v. 27, 28. His character of the Athenian populace, 32. His account of the proceedings of the Council of Thirty, confirmed by Lysias and Plato, 41. Circumstances which led him to the court of Cyrus, 138. His preparations for the battle of Cunaxa, 158, 159. His judicious conduct after the seizure of the Grecian generals by Tissaphernes, 178, 179. The station he held in the army, 182. His belief in dreams and auguries, 182, 241. Passage in his Anabasis explained and translated, 193, 194. note. Causes assigned for his elevation to the rank of general, 183, 184. His appointment, 184. Measures and order of march recommended by him for conducting the retreat of the Greeks, 186, 187. His error in pursuing Mithridates, 188. His affair with the Cardoos, 203. His narrative generally to be credited, 204. His expedient for supplying the troops at Trapezus with necessaries, 212, 213. His attack upon the Trapezuntines,

213. Difference between him and Thucydides when they speak of the religion of their age, 218, 219. The use he made of the influence of superstition, 219. 233—237. His proposal to colonise the Greeks on the Euxine shore, 221—224. Calls the army together, and explains his conduct and intentions, 221—225. Declines the offer of being elected commander-in-chief, 228. Commences his march with a part of the army towards Chalcidon, 231. 232. His stratagem for alarming the Bithynians, 232, 233. His conduct of the war with them, 232—241. Advantage of his policy, 240. His speeches at an assembly of the army in the affair of Dexippus, 245—247. Address with which he restrained the army from outrage at Byzantium, 251, 252. Return for his services, 252. Leads the army to Perinthus to embark for Asia, 254. His probable motives for this conduct, 254, 255. Returns to the camp, 255. Proposes to negotiate with Seuthes, prince of Thrace, 259. His nocturnal interview with Seuthes, 259, 260. Account of his operations with the army when in the pay of Seuthes, 261—264. Knew how to value freedom, but not nicely scrupulous of supporting despotism, 263. His dexterous conduct towards Charminus and Polynices, 266. His own account of a nocturnal expedition against a Persian, 266, 267. His age, at the time of engaging with Cyrus, deduced from internal evidence in the Anabasis, 267, 268. note. Objection made against his claim to this work, and the solution which it is capable of admitting, 271—273. note.
- Xenophon, passage in Hellenics of, emended, vi. 91. note. His remarkable brevity on the war of Thebes with Thessaly, 213, 214. note. Memorials of, 333—363.
- , the purpose of his *Cyropædia*, ix. 7, 8.
- Xerxes, son of Darius, his accession to the throne of Persia, ii. 90. His motive for undertaking the expedition to Greece, 91. His immense preparations, 92. His motive for constructing the canal of Athos, 92, 93. And the bridges built over the Hellespont, 93. Goes to Critali to take the command of his forces, *ib.* Winters at Sardis, 94. His ridiculous punishment of the Hellespont disputed, 97. Honours paid to him on his march, 98. Arrives with his army and fleet at Therme, 99. His generous conduct to the Greek spies, 107, 108. Arrives in Pieria, 116. And afterwards at Trachis, near Thermopylæ, and fixes his head-quarters there, 123. Sends a herald to Leonidas to come and deliver his arms, 124. Commands the Medes and Cissians to bring the Greeks under Leonidas alive into his presence, *ib.* And orders the immortal band to the assault, *ib.* The means which he possessed of rewarding his followers, 125. Indignities offered by him to the body of Leonidas, 130. His return into Asia, 160. Fabulous accounts of his retreat noticed, 161. note. Receives news in Sardis of the defeat of his forces at Mycale, 211. Moves to his distant capital of Susa, and orders all the Grecian temples to be burnt, *ib.* Abandons himself to indolence and debauchery, 280. Xerxes and his eldest son murdered, *ib.*
- Xerxes, notice of the spoils taken by him from Greece, x. 348, 349.
- Ξίφος and μάχαιρα, distinction between, i. 47. note.
- Zacynthus, island of, complains to Lacedæmon of the restoration of its exiles by Timotheus, vi. 142.
- Zaleucus, the first who committed laws to writing, i. 320. Account of his institutions, *ib.*
- Zancle, or Messina, foundation of, i. 319.
- Zaranga, notice of, x. 39, 40.
- Zarex, mountain of, i. 12.
- Zeugites, rank of, i. 342, 343.
- Zeus, origin of the name, i. 90. and note.
- Zeuxis, the celebrated painter, notice of, iii. 6. Visits the court of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, vii. 243.
- Zoroaster, theology of, ii. 28—30.

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## ERRATA.

### VOL. I.

- Page xix. line 14., for "with" read "which."  
26. l. 3. of note, for "of story" read "story of."  
34. l. 6. of note, for "son" read "sons."  
107. l. 9. of note, for "cunninget" read "cunningest."  
108. l. 8. from bottom of text, for "twelve Phæacia" read "twelve of Phæacia."  
111. l. 9. for "lastest" read "latest."  
123. l. 3. of note, for "than" read "that."  
129. last line of note, for "ἀνθυμαρα" read "ἀθύμαρα."  
164. l. 2., for "Ægilea" read "Ægialea."  
165. l. 11. from bottom, for "uot" read "not."  
202. l. 6. from bottom, for "Arian" read "Arrian."  
212. l. 7., for "step and step" read "step by step."  
231. l. 5. from bottom of text, for "perhap" read "perhaps."  
244. l. 1., for "legal" read "regal."  
255. l. 18., for "opininion" read "opinion."  
276. l. 5., for "Telechus" read "Teleclus"  
298. l. 2. from bottom, for "Tega" read "Tegea."  
302. l. 14., for "distinguishing" read "distinguished."  
320. l. 19., for "Epizephrian" read "Epizephyrian."  
334. l. 20., for "have born" read "have been born."  
342. l. 5. from bottom, for "Thebes" read "Thetes."

### VOL. II.

- Page 9. line 16. of note, for "ἀκροσι" read "ἀκρόσειν."  
16. l. 13. from bottom, for "conjecture" read "conjuncture."  
28. l. 10., for "questions." read "questions,"  
32. l. 7. of note, for "that" read "than."  
56. l. 3. from bottom of text, for "it" read "its."  
57. l. 20., for "Aactria" read "Bactria."  
95. l. 6. from bottom of text, for "eight" read "eighty."  
100. l. 2., for "Rasponses" read "Responses."  
133. l. 21., for "enough" read "near enough."  
154. l. 1. of note, for "only the" read "only on the."  
158. l. 9., for "became" read "become."  
187. l. 17., for "as well a" read "as well as."  
238. l. 12., for "Pythygoras" read "Pythagoras."  
284. l. 8. and 9., for "Athenician" read "Athenian."  
294. l. 20., for "a child" read "the child."  
328. l. 5. of note \*, for "turn" read "turned."  
351. l. 7., for "Thrasian" read "Thriasian."  
352. l. 19., for "Nisæ and a" read "Nisæa and."

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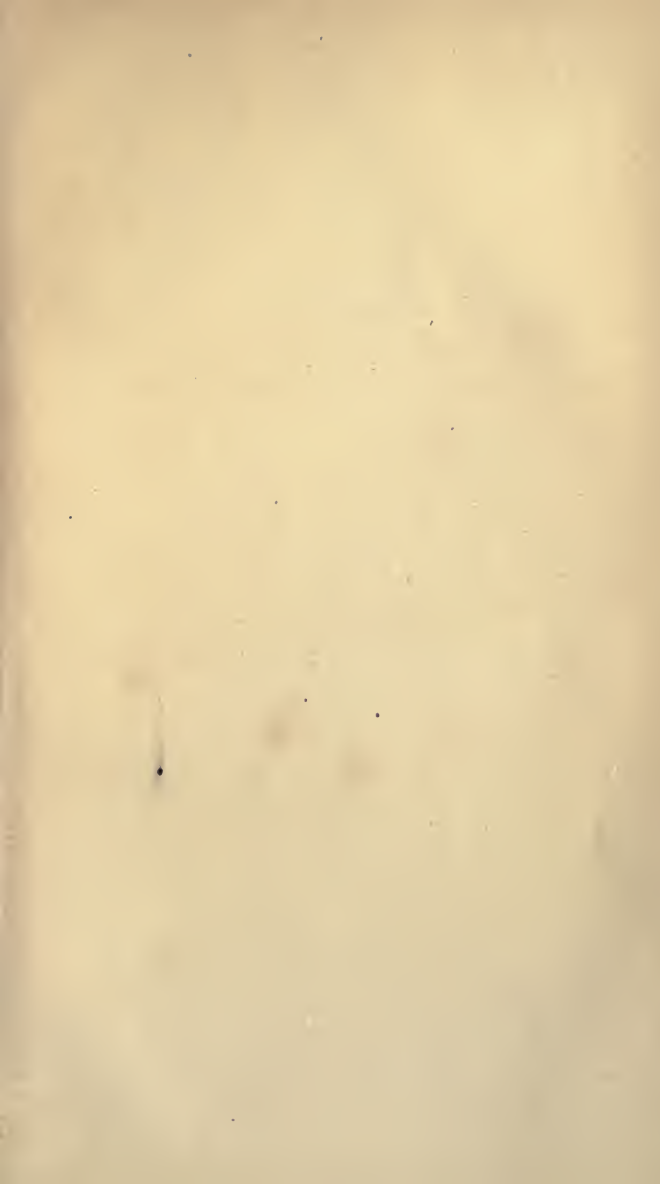
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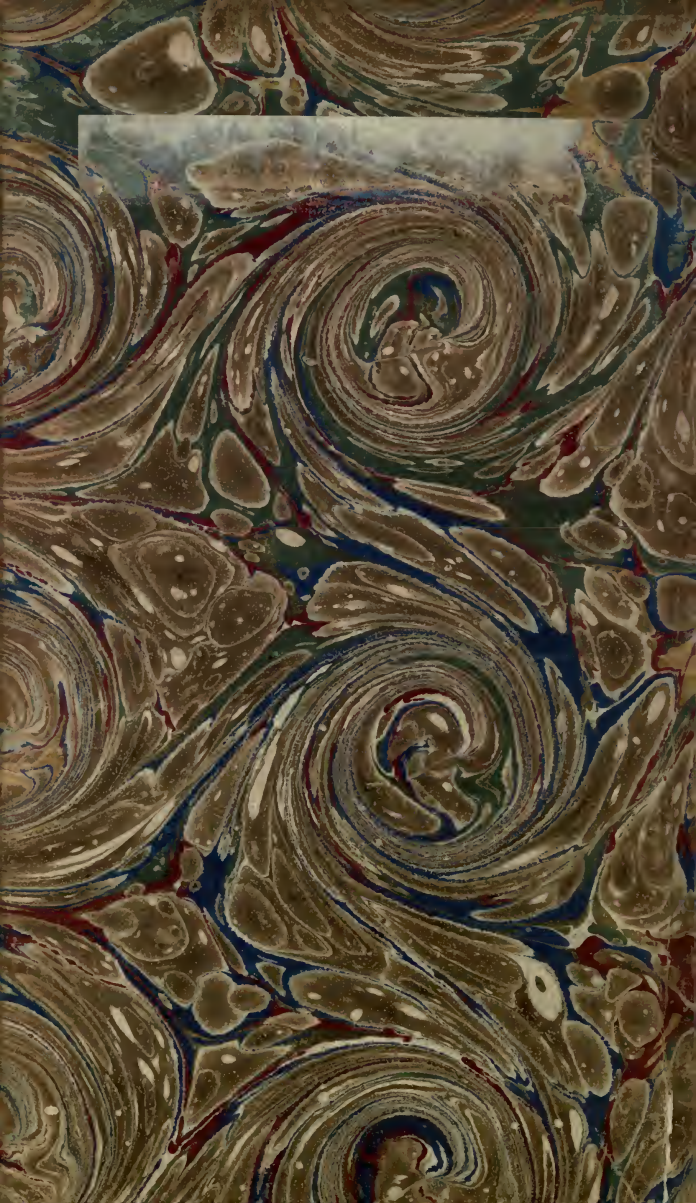
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