ARRIANS HISTORY
OF
THE EXPEDITION
OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT,
AND CONQUEST OF PERSIA.
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK.

BY MR. ROOKE,

AND NOW CORRECTED AND ENLARGED;
WITH SEVERAL ADDITIONS.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.
WITH TABLES, &c.

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PREFACE.

HAD there been ever a tolerable history of Alexander's acts in the English tongue, I had hardly undertaken this; and had this been ever translated into English before, I had scarce attempted it again; but as most of the histories of him, in our language, are full of errors, inconsistencies, incredibilities, and romance, I thought it might be no unacceptable piece of service to present the public with the truest, justest, and most accurate account thereof now extant; and to put this matter beyond dispute, I have taken the pains to compare several of the most material passages in this history, with the accounts given us of them by other authors; and as I have no particular bias of prejudice, prepossession, nor interest, that I am sensible of, to incline me one way or another, I presume I have stated the case, all along, fairly and impartially, on each side. The greatest part of the knowledge we arrive at is acquired by comparing things and ideas with each other; and if so, the nearest way to it is by laying them fairly together, and making apt and useful comparisons. Before we can justly determine the difference between two bodies, in quantity, we must know the exact dimensions of both; and before we can be satisfied of the difference of two ideas, in quality, we must form a true judgment of each. When a considerable number of authors treat upon one subject, unless they have all copied each other, which seldom happens, wherever one seems to run mad, we find another in his senses; where one sleeps, another keeps awake; where one curtails a story too much, another gives it fully; and where one delivers it in dark and unintelligible terms, another serves to clear up his meaning, and render him plain and easy. In short, wherever one errs in any particular, he is either corrected by some other, or may be, by a judicious commentator. This is the method I have taken, with the writers of the ensuing history; and by this means my readers will reap the advantage of consulting many authors by looking into one, and have the substance of several volumes contracted into the compass of a few pages. Of almost an hundred and fifty authors who have handled this subject, scarce half a score have come down to our times, and even the better part of these have only touched it casually. The chief of the remaining ones are Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, Curtius, Justin, and Orosius. Of these, Diodorus, Justin, and Orosius, wrote his acts only transiently in their larger works, and having so many things upon their hands at once, it is no great wonder if they be found accurate in nothing. Diodorus took much upon trust, without ever examining into the truth or credibility of the facts which he related; he swallowed every thing, without digesting anything; and Curtius either copied from the same authors, or, which is much more likely, translated a great part of his work from him. Trogus was either a sad historian, or Justin a vile abridger; but as we have the testimony of many famous men of antiquity in favour of Trogus, Justin will stand condemned as an injudicious author, and the world would have been highly satisfied, if an hundred such as he had perished, so Trogus had come safe to our hands. Orosius consulted Justin as his grand oracle, and copied much from him; and when the fountain is muddy, it is no wonder if the stream partake of the same qualities. Strabo has intermixed sundry excellent passages of Alex-
ander's life with his geography, which makes us regret the loss of the
treatise which he wrote upon that subject: he has also given us a just char-
acter of many of Alexander's followers, who, to satisfy their monarch's
vanity during his life, or to gratify their own inclinations after his death,
published strange and unaccountable stories of his exploits. Even Pto-
lemy and Aristobulus, whom our author chiefly copied, are not always
free from this; but as Arrian was a man of a sound judgment, he took
care to choose only what was most probable, and left the rest as husks
and chaff, to be gleaned up by such as were ambitious of swelling their
works to a huge size, by heaps of all gatherings:

—Quaequid Gracia mendax
Audet in Historia—

But thanks to kind time, the greatest part of these romancing gentry are
now gone to rest, and their works have followed them. What Calis-
thenes wrote of Alexander is long since lost; besides, he was put to death
before that monarch had half finished his expedition.

Eratosthenes was the first, so far as I can find, who undertook to de-
tect the Macedonian forgeries, and did it to so good purpose, that Strabo,
Plutarch, and Arrian, have steered after his light, and thereby reduced
their accounts to reason and probability, whilst Diodorus, Curtius, Ju-
tin, and some others of inferior rank, have followed blind credulous
guides, and are perpetually groping and stumbling about in mists of
error and uncertainty. Few would, perhaps, have drawn up a better
narrative of Alexander's acts than Plutarch, had he designed his work
as pure history; but he himself acquaints us, at his first setting out,
that he rather endeavours to declare the springs or causes of actions,
than the actions themselves. Besides, with regard to prodigies, omens, &c.,
he was extremely credulous, and even his accounts of facts are not always
carefully given. Many other authors have presented us with single
stories relating to this affair, particularly Pliny, Athenæus, Philostratus,
Seneca, Lucian, Polyænus, Frontinus, Ælian, and others, to whom I
have occasionally referred in the comment upon the ensuing work; but
as they are all well known, I shall forbear characterising them here.
Thus far, I think, I have truth and justice on my side; and I believe I
may safely affirm, that no ancient author, who ever wrote a particular his-
tory of Alexander, now remains, except Curtius and Arrian; and if I
have made it evident that Arrian is the best, the truest, and the most
accurate historian of the two, by setting the truth and credibility of the
several facts, as related by each, in a clear light, I shall go a great way
in convincing the unprejudiced part, at least, that my chief design was
their instruction: besides, this may, perhaps, be a means of gaining
Arrian an esteem among English readers, to whom he has hitherto lain
wholly unknown. The chief benefit we can receive from history, is by
comparing effects with the causes which produced them; and, as like
effects will always flow from like causes, we may form a pretty good
judgment of future contingencies, by looking carefully into past events,
and learn to regulate our affairs accordingly. This renders history really
useful to the world, and this sets the grave, judicious, and exact
historian, above the airy, vain, and empty romancer; for, if either our
accounts of causes, or their effects, be erroneously given, we shall form
a wrong judgment concerning them, and instead of making ourselves
wiser by them, we shall be immersed in greater folly and stupidity than
before.

As to the translation of Arrian, I have done it justly, to the best of
my knowledge, without endeavouring so much at eloquence in diction,
as thereby to destroy the plainness and simplicity of his manner of re-
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iating facts. And whenever I have had occasion to introduce other au-
thors, in my comment, I hope I have seldom misunderstood, misquoted, misinterpreted, or misrepresented them, to serve any sinister purpose of my own. I have generally directed my readers to the book, chapter, or page, whence I borrowed my materials; and I neither desire nor expect further credit than the vouchers I produce, and the arguments I use, naturally demand. Historical facts are not reducible to mathematical certainty; the most we can hope for is, that the historian be a man of judgment, who will not be imposed upon by fiction himself, and a man of veracity, who will not impose it upon us; and then we may safely rely upon him, unless some other gives us a more probable account of some particulars; for as demonstration cannot be had, every story will gain credit with us according to the degree of probability it bears. I have been no more partial to Arrian, in my remarks, than to any other author; he has been sometimes overthrown through haste or inadvertency; and if I add that he is not exempt from human frailty, it will be no great diminution to his credit. He has been much abused by ignorant transcribers; and though three or four have published observations, and critical notes with their editions, I still suspect several passages to be corrupt; however, I have pointed them out, and earnestly recommend them to his next editor to correct, by the assistance of manuscript copies.

Curtius has had a multitude of editions, and a numerous herd of commentators have exercised their faculties upon him, and been lavish in his praise, among whom the celebrated Erasmus, of Rotterdam, appears as one; but Mr. Le Clerc has justly observed, that these have either commended the whole work, without any regard to the parts which compose it, or some of the parts, without considering what relation they bore to the whole. They were, indeed, so blinded with the glare of his oratory, that they seem never to have presumed to look further. The first who attempted to call his veracity in question, was Henry Glareanus: he wrote very sharp and severe notes upon him, and taxed him with abundance of errors, some say, more than were true; however, Snakeburgh commends his industry, and excuses him, by telling us, it often happens that the first remarkers upon other men's failings fall into errors themselves. Modius attempted to vindicate Curtius from the reflections of Glareanus, and made himself excessively merry with him; but he was served the same sauce by Acidalius, and used in the same sarcastic manner. His next commentators were Popma, Loccernius, Radaur, and Freinshemius, which last took immense pains in comparing him with Arrian, and other authors; and to his labours I am not ashamed to own myself much indebted. Teijler, with some others, succeeded him, and every one found new faults in their author, Curtius, which had escaped the search of the rest. As for my part, I have used each of them, as far as I deemed them agreeable to truth, and have sometimes taken the same liberty of departing from all of them, which they have occasionally taken with each other, namely, when I had stronger reasons to induce me to a contrary opinion: however, if any other commentator upon Curtius arises in my days, who will be so kind as to show me one of my errors, for I am no more than a man, and pretend not to infallibility, and bring sufficient proofs along with him, I shall freely and readily subscribe to his opinion. I desire no better, nor more candid usage from posterity, than what I have given my predecessors in this province, and have set aside all authority of great names, whenever they endeavoured to make me swerve from truth. Truth is, and always will be, what it ever was, and what was false two thousand years ago, is the same at this present writing; for antiquity can give no sanction to error. There was a time when all the ancients were moderns, and there may come a time
when some, who are now moderns, may be stiled ancients. We moderns are men, the ancients were no more: they were subject to the same frailties, passions, and prejudices, with ourselves: some of them wrote as smartly against their predecessors, as we can write against ours, and laid as many accusations of partiality and error to their charge, as we ever pretended to lay to ours. Had I transcribed or translated all I could have raked up, relating to this subject, neither two, nor half a dozen such volumes as these, would have contained them; but my intended brevity debared me from making long quotations. However, where I have only abridged others, I hope I have seldom failed to carry the strength of their reasons along with me, and to take whatever suited my purpose. The works of a Dutch commentator would, I fancy, be grateful to few English readers; for which reason, I have given my observations such a turn, as to take off that dulness and dryness so common to most of my fraternity, and endeavoured to render them agreeable, at the same time that they are instructive. No remarks of this kind, that I know of, have ever yet been published to an English translation of any ancient historian, and of what vast use they are, may be perceived at first sight. We have, indeed, had a faint attempt towards some, in Brown's Justin; but the commentator has not thought fit to take notice of a tenth part of his author's errors, as they had been published, before his time, in the Variorum, and other editions. We have also some remarks of Mr. Ducier, upon an English version of Plutarch's Lives; but those relating to Alexander especially are so mean and trifling, that I could find no more than about five lines, which I thought worth transcribing, from him. I have purposely avoided taking notice of the controversy relating to Curtis's antiquity; for whether he be an ancient or a modern, concerns neither me nor the world, half so much to know, as whether the work bearing his name be bad or good. That has, indeed, been the subject of some part of my enquiry; and, if I may be allowed to declare my sentiments freely, I think it a pity that a particular brand of infamy cannot be stamped upon every author, without distinction, who dares presume to impose romance upon us, under the specious title of true history. But some of his admirers may be apt to say, in his defence, that, as his two first books are lost, we know not what title he gave his work; perhaps that which now goes for history, was only designed for romance; and what we call the Acts of Alexander, he might only stile the Adventures of Alexander. Perhaps it might be so. However, as it now is, so grave a title before so loose a work looks like a bag-gown upon a buffoon's back, or a cardinal's hat upon the head of a monkey. I shall neither take up my own time, nor tire out my reader's patience with much more concerning an author, whom I have censured so freely elsewhere, but refer him to the observations upon the ensuing work. Had Mr. Le Clerc illustrated his criticisms with more examples, there had been less necessity for my comment; and the more I have said there, the less I have occasion to say here. Allow me only to add the character of Curtius from Tellier, who was appointed to write notes upon him in Usnum Delphini. "His periods," says he, "are generally round, and well turned, and his cadenses sweet and harmonious; his wit is terse, and his sense strong; his language pure and elegant, and his thoughts refined. But, among so many shining qualities, (which, by the bye, are fitter for a declamer than an historian) he has many blemishes; for he often runs counter to true history, and his geography is frequently false: he has shewn himself unskilled in describing battles, (which was the better half of his task), and frequently confounds truth with fiction; he seems to have had but an ordinary judgment, and strives more to tickle the ear, than inform the understanding: he
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describes things rather as they might have been, than as they really were act ted, and affects the artful turn, and harmonious cadence of his periods too much: in his descriptions, he is too poetical, and, in his speeches, too pedantic and affected." Thus far Tellier; to which, I hope, I may add, that nigh one half of his work is made up of speeches which were never spoken, letters which were never sent, and descriptions of mountains, rivers, towns and countries, whereof many are false, and the few that are true, nothing to his purpose, as an historian; for they only serve to distract his readers, and divert them from the main story.

I shall conclude this discourse with some particulars of Arrian's life, from Photius, Vossius, Boileau, Fabricius, and others. Under that learned Prince, (says Vossius, speaking of the Emperor Hadrian) flourished Arrian of Nicomedia, the celebrated scholar of Epictetus. (Dio calls him, Flavius Arrianus Nicomediensis, a philosopher, an historian, and, if some may be credited, an eminent civilian. Suidas acquaints us, from Helcicouius, that he attained even to the consular dignity, and that, for the sweetness of his style, he was termed another Xenophon. Photius agrees with him, and adds, that he was priest to Ceres and Proserpine. Lucian, in his Pseudomantes, assures us, that Arrian, the scholar of Epictetus, a man of the first rank in Rome, employed his whole life in the study of polite literature, for which he was so particularly famous, (says Dio), that he was complimented with his freedom, both of Rome and Athens. Arnobius mentions him towards the close of his second book, and so does Aulus Gallius, lib. xvii. 19. & lib. xix. 1. Dio informs us, that he was advanced to be prefect of Cappadocia, and that he reduced the Alani, and Massageteae. Pliny, the younger, who was then proconsul of Pontus, and Bithynia, addressed seven of his epistles to him; and this is the more probable, because Arrian was not only a native of Nicomedia, a city of Bithynia, but wrote the Bithynian and Alamanian history, an abridgement of the first of which may be seen in Photius, and a fragment of the last in the second volume of Blanchard's edition of his works. He wrote the Parthian history, in seventeen books, an extract whereof Photius has preserved. We have four books of his Dissertations on Epictetus, as also a paraphrasis, or lustration of coasts of the Euxine and Red Seas, inscribed to the Emperor Hadrian, if that inscription be genuine; (for Salamasis imagines these to have been the works of another of the same name, who flourished from the time of Nero to Vespasian.) He wrote the life of Dio the Syracusan; an account of Timoleon's acts in Sicily, a book of tactics, and a treatise on hunting, as a supplement to Xenophon's work upon the same subject. His Indian history we have entire, notwithstanding the assertion of the learned Stichius to the contrary; and Tzetzes, in chil. iii. hist. xcv. takes notice of his history of Alexander. But time has deprived us of all the ten books which he wrote of the transactions after Alexander's death, except a short abstract preserved by Photius. Allow me here to add the character which Mr. Boileau has given us of our author, in his life of Epictetus, translated by Dean Stanhope, p. xxii, xxiii. Of all the scholars of Epictetus, says he, Arrian is the only one whose name has been transmitted with reputation to posterity; but he is such a one, as sufficiently demonstrates the excellency of his master, though we should suppose that he alone had been of his forming: for this is the very person who was afterwards advanced to be the preceptor to Antonine, surnamed the Pion, and distinguished by the title of Xenophon, because, like that philosopher, he committed to writing the dictates delivered by his master, in his life time, and published them in one volume, under the name of Epictetus, his discourses, or dissertations, which, at present,
we have in four books. After this he composed a little treatise, called his Enchiridion, which is a short compendium of all Epictetus's philosophical principles, and has ever been acknowledged for one of the most valuable and beautiful pieces of ancient morality. He likewise wrote a large book of the life and death of Epictetus, which is now unfortunately lost. And to shew how much he was of opinion our author had obliged mankind, he assures us, p. vi, that Epictetus left nothing of his own composition behind him, and if Arrian had not transmitted to posterity the maxims taken from his master's mouth, we have some reason to doubt, whether the very name of Epictetus had not been lost to the world.

This history of Alexander's Expedition was translated into Italian by Leo of Modena, and printed at Venice, anno 1564. Claudius Vitart bestowed a French version upon it, which was published at Paris, anno 1581, and Ablancourt another, which has been reprinted three times, and is accounted the best of his performances. It has had four Latin translations; the first by Nicolaus Saguntinus; the second by Petrus Paulus Vergerius; the third by Bartholomaeus Facius; and the fourth by Bonaventure Vulcius. Mr. Fabricius imagines the two first never appeared in public, because he could not find them in any library, nor even so much as mentioned in a catalogue of books. Facius's translation is generally condemned, for his numerous omissions, interpolations, mistakes, and wilful deviations from his original; besides which, he is often guilty of slightly skimming over whatever he did not fully understand. That of Vulcius is the most esteemed, and, for that reason, annexed to all the best editions of our author. How many editions Arrian has had, I never had curiosity enough to enquire; all I could procure I made use of, particularly those of Henry Stephens, Blancard, and Gronovius; and have not only taken what was fit for my purpose, from the annotations annexed to each, but also from those of the best editions of Curtius. I am as far from pretending that all these observations are my own, as that they would be ever a whit the better if they were so; I acknowledge my obligations to all my assistants, and whoever has a mind to distinguish mine from their's, may easily satisfy himself, by consulting the several editions of Curtius and Arrian, already mentioned. As to the remarks upon prodiges, predictions, omens, auguries, answers of oracles, &c. they are my own. Whether Mr. Van Dale has taken notice of those particular stories, in his history of oracles, I know not; however, I had not that treatise by me; and, indeed, I found no manner of difficulty in giving a plain and natural solution of each of them, as fast as they came in my way.

What additions, alterations, and amendments I have made to Alexander's genealogy, the catalogue of author's upon this history, the account of the division of the empire after Alexander's death, and Ptolemy's tables, will be easily perceived by such of my readers as are skilled in the Latin language, if they compare mine with those in Snakenburg's edition of Curtius. The chronological table, which I have added at the end of the second volume, contains an abstract of all the most memorable facts mentioned in the history, in their due order of time, drawn chiefly from Arrian. Such of the names of the Athenian Archons as he had passed by, I have supplied from Mauriuse's Treslae De Archontibus Atheniensiis; the Roman Consul form Divorcium, and the last edition of Petavius's Rationarium Temporum; and for the agreement between the Greek Calender and ours, I consulted Scaliger, Petavius, Potter, and especially the learned Usher, who has handled that matter more fully and clearly than all others.
Whoever mentions this history, bestow high encomiums on its author’s
veracity, beyond any other upon the subject; but as a long detail of
them would be tedious, I shall refer my readers, for full satisfaction, to
Fabricius’s Bibliothece. Grec. tom. iii. The consideration of his veracity
alone induced me to undertake this version, and to make the fol-
lowing remarks, whereby I have been enabled to contradict many strange
stories, which have hitherto passed for truths, and to bring some truths
to light, which had lain long buried in oblivion. I have taken upon me,
as all commentators do, to judge of the probability of facts, as related by
the several authors I have quoted, and shall now leave my work to the
judgment of the wide world, without further apology.
ARRIANS PREFACE.

I HAVE chose to make use of the writings of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and of Aristobulus, the son of Aristobulus, concerning Alexander, the son of Philip, as the most authentic accounts of those actions, so far as they are consistent with themselves, or with each other, and in those points where they differ, whichever appeared to me the most consonant to truth, and fittest to be recorded, I have followed. Others indeed have set Alexander's acts in a different light, and there is no hero, on whose life so many pens have been employed, or where they disagree so much among themselves. But Aristobulus and Ptolemy are preferable to all the rest, and most worthy of credit; for, as the first was one of Alexander's companions in that expedition, and the latter not only bore a command there, but was also a king himself afterwards, a deviation from truth would be more unpardonable in them than others. And sure their veracity is the less to be doubted, because they compiled their histories after Alexander's death, when neither fear nor favour could induce them to relate facts, otherwise than they really happened. Some things touched upon by others I have thought not altogether unworthy the rehearsal, as falling within the compass of probability; but those are only delivered as reports. And if any now wonder why, after so many writers of Alexander's acts, I also attempt the task, and endeavour to elucidate the same, after he has perused the rest, let him proceed to the reading of mine, and he will find less cause of wonder than before.
ARRIANS HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAP. I.

PHILIP* died when Pythodemos was Archon at Athens, and his son Alexander, then about twenty years of age, ascended his throne, and marched into Peloponnesus, where, in a grand council of all the Greeks of those parts, he requested to be made General of the intended expedition against the Persians, an honour which had been before conferred on his father Philip. This was granted by all, except the Lacedemonians, who alleged, that by ancient custom of theirs, deduced from their ancestors, the Lacedemonians ought not to obey the orders of a foreign General, but themselves to have the command of any army raised for a foreign expedition. The Athenians were also busy in contriving to bring some innovation about, but were so terrified at Alexander's approach, that they decreed him more honours than they had before promised his father. He then returned into Macedonia, to raise forces for his expedition into Asia. However, the spring following, he determined to march through Thrace, and so to penetrate into the countries of the Triballi,† and Illyrians, ‡ who, he heard, were also plotting mischief; and as they almost bordered upon his kingdom, he deemed it inconsistent with true policy to neglect humbling them, before he attempted to march with his army against places so remote; wherefore, setting out from Amphipolis,‖ he marched first against those Thracians, ¶ who were governed by their own laws, and tenacious of their own customs, and leaving the city Philippi, and the

* Pausanias, a young nobleman of Macedonia, having been forcibly abused by Attalus, made his complaints to King Philip; but Attalus's interest prevailing, and finding no redress, turned his rage upon the king; whereupon, as he was to see some shows between the two Alexanders, his son, and nephew, without his ordinary guards, he was suddenly assaulted and slain. See Diodor. lib. xvi. pag. 468. Editionis Hannoviae, & Justini. lib. ix. cap. 6 & 7.

† The Triballi were a nation inhabiting the lower part of Moesia, between mount Hemus and the river Ister. Their country is now called Bulgaria.

‡ The country of Illyria bordered on the Adriatic sea on one side, and on Pannonia on the other. It is now called Slavonia.

‖ Amphipolis was a city seated on both sides of the river Styrmon, partly in the borders of Thrace, and partly in those of Macedonia.

¶ The Thracians were a valiant people. Their country, which was bounded by the Euxine and Aegean seas, and mount Hemus, is now called Romania.
mountain Orbelus on the left, and having passed the river Nessus, after
ten days journey, he arrived at Mount Haemus. Here a mighty num-
ber of the neighbouring inhabitants appeared in armour, as also multi-
tudes of the free Thracians abovementioned, being fully determined,
by seizing the tops of the mountains, and securing the streights, or pass,
to hinder him and his army from any further progress. Their carriages,
or wagons, they therefore placed before them, not only to serve instead
of a breastwork for their security, if they should be attacked, but they
resolved, if the Macedonians attempted to ascend, to tumble them down
among them, from the most steep and rugged parts of the mountain; for
they had well considered, that the more firm the phalanx was, into which
these carriages should be thus hurried, the more execution would
be performed by the violence and rapidity of their fall. But Alexander
consulted how he might, with the least danger, gain that pass, and being
assured that the mountain must be ascended, and that there was no
other way for an army to march, warned his soldiers, the moment they
perceived the enemy’s machinery put in motion, that those whom the
convenience of their station would allow should open their ranks, and
suffer them to roll freely through, but those who were confined by the
narrowness of the pass should close their shields artfully together, and
fall flat on the ground, so that when the carriages passed over them with
their utmost velocity, they might receive as little damage as possible;
and the event answered Alexander’s expectations; for some of them
opening their ranks, and others closing their shields, and thereby cover-
ing their bodies, they sustained the shock without the loss of one man.
The Macedonians, thus freed from the enemy’s contrivance, re-assumed
their courage, and raising a loud shout, advanced against the Thracians.
Alexander ordered his archers to move from the right wing, and place
themselves before another phalanx, because there the ascent was easier,
and gall the enemy from thence with their arrows. He himself, besides
his own cohort, led on the targeteers and dartsmen on the left. The
archers beat the Thracians back with their arrows, wherever they ap-
proached within their reach; and the phalanx advancing, without any
great difficulty, forced the barbarians, who were ill armed and defence-
less, to quit their posts, and thereby rendered them unable to stand the
shock of Alexander rushing upon them from the left; wherefore, casting
away what armour they had on the mountain, they fled. About fifteen
hundred of them fell on the spot; few were taken prisoners, the swift-
ness of their flight, and their exact knowledge of the country, securing
them; but the women and children who followed the camp were all
taken, as also much spoil.

CHAP. II.

THE spoil which the King had seized he sent into the maritime
places behind him, giving the charge thereof to Lysianias and Philotas.
He himself having gained the ascent, passed by way of Haemus in his
march against the Triballi, and came to the river Lyginus, which is distant from the Ister, if you take Haemus in the way, about three days' journey. Syrnus, King of the Triballi, being informed of Alexander's approach, had dispatched the women and children, and all his defenceless multitude, to the Ister, with a strict charge that they should pass over a branch of that river, and secure themselves in a small island named Peuce, whither also the Thracians, their neighbours, on the same intelligence, had before retired, and Syrnus himself, with his guards, soon after followed. However, a great multitude of the Triballi retreated to the river Lyginus, from whence Alexander decamped the day before. When he heard this, he returned, and marching against these, surprized some of them in their tents, and then proceeded against the rest, who lay encamped in a wood adjacent to the river. Alexander first prepared his own cohort for the onset, and then dispatched the archers and slingers, with orders to provoke the barbarians with stones and arrows, and by that means, if possible, draw them out of the wood into the open country. The enemy, who were within reach of their darts and stones, and were galled with their arrows, rushed forward upon the slingers and archers, who were unarmed, and endeavoured to fight them hand to hand: but Alexander having, by that stratagem, drawn them out of the wood, ordered Philotas, with a choice party of Macedonian light horse, to charge them on the right wing, and Heraclides and Sopolis, with the Bottaians and Amphipolitans troops, on the left, he, with a phalanx of foot, and another of horse, rushing in among the midst of them. And indeed, so long as they only skirmished with the bowmen and slingers, the fight seemed doubtful, but as soon as the firm phalanx attacked them, and the horsemen began not only to strike them with their spears, but trample them under foot, they betook themselves to their heels, and passing through the wood, escaped to the river. Three thousand of them were slain in this fight; few were taken alive, the thick wood contiguous to the river, and the approach of night, hindering the chase. About eleven of the Macedonian horse, and forty of their foot, according to Ptolemy's account, fell in that action.

CHAP. III.

ON the third day after that battle, Alexander came to the river Ister, the most considerable of all the European streams, both in regard to the length of its course, and the many warlike nations through whose territories it passes, among which the most renowned are the Celtes, where it has its rise. The remotest of these nations are the Quadi and Marcomanni, next the Jazyges, a branch of the Sauromates; and, lastly, the Scythians, whose country terminates the river, where, through five vast mouths, it falls into the Euxine Sea. Here Alexander found some long ships, which had been brought from Byzantium through the Euxine
Sea, and thence drawn up the river against the stream; on board which, having embarked as many soldiers as they were capable of containing, he steered directly for the island, to which the Triballi and Thracians had fled for shelter. But endeavouring to land his forces, the barbarians rushed forwards to oppose him; and forasmuch as his ships were few, and his force on board small, the shores of the island in most places steep and rugged, and the river, by being confined in narrow banks, fierce and rapid, he drew off his fleet, and altered his resolutions, designing to attack the Getæ,* who inhabited the other side of the river; for he observed great numbers of them to come flocking down to the shore, and stand ready to obstruct his landing, if he attempted it; for they were, in all, about four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot. Besides, he had a strong desire to pass the Ister there. He therefore embarked on board his ships as great a force as he could, and at the same time ordered the hides which had been made use of as covers for their tents, to be filled with like buoyant matter, and all the boats employed on that part of the river to be seized, and brought together. The neighbouring inhabitants made use of a vast number of these, partly for their fishery, and partly for commerce, besides many for piracy. This done, the rest of the army was ferried over with all the speed and secrecy imaginable. The number of those who then passed the river was about one thousand five hundred horse, and nine four thousand foot.

CHAP. IV.

THEY passed over by night, to a place where the corn stood thick on the opposite shore, that they might be the less perceived by the enemy. The next morning Alexander marched his army through the corn, having ordered his soldiers to transverse their pikes and bow their bodies, and thus to proceed till they came to an open and uncultivated place. So long as the phalanx was sheltered from sight by the corn, the horse followed; but when they came into a champaign country, Alexander himself led them on to the right wing, and commanded Nicanor to range the phalanx of foot on the left. The Getæ were so much astonished at their unusual boldness, who in one night durst attempt to pass over the mighty river Ister without a bridge, that they stood not the first shock, the firmness of the foot, and the violent assaults of the horse putting them into confusion; whereupon they fled first to the city, which was about four miles distant; but when they perceived Alexander draw his foot along the banks of the river with great caution, to prevent falling into ambuscades, and range his horse on the front, they abandoned the city as untenable, and carrying away as many of their women and children;

* The Getæ were a considerable people of Sarmatia Europæa, inhabiting both sides of the river Ister, near the Euxine Sea, whence some confounded them with the Dacians. Their country comprehends what is at this day called Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transilvania.
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

as they could, betook themselves to the deserts, at a great distance from the river.

Alexander, in the meanwhile, enters the city, and gathering up whatever was left by the inhabitants, delivered the spoil to Meleager and Philip, and afterwards levelled it with the ground. This done, he offered sacrifice to Jupiter the preserver, and to Hercules, as also to Ister, for affording him a passage so safe and easy; and the same day he brought all his troops into the camp. Thither came ambassadors as well from sundry free nations bordering upon the river, as from Syrmus, king of the Triballi, and from the Celtæ, who inhabit the country near the Ionian bay; they are a people strong in body, and of a haughty spirit. All these came with offers of friendship; and a league was accordingly made and accepted on either side. Alexander then took an opportunity of asking the Celtæ what they dreaded most of all things in the world? imagining, that as the terror of his name must needs have reached their country, and much further, they would have given that for their answer; but he was widely deceived in his expectations; for as they lived in a remote part of the world, difficult of access, and so far from the course of Alexander’s expedition, they told him, they were afraid of nothing more than that the sky should fall upon their heads. He hearing this, treated them as friends, ranked them among the number of his allies, and dismissed the ambassadors, saying, that the Celtæ were an arrogant nation.

CHAP. V.

THENCE, passing through the countries of the Agrians, and Pæonians, he received intelligence that Clytus, the son of Bardyles, had revolted from him, and joined in confederacy with Glaucaeus, king of the Taulantii; as also that the Autaritæ were resolved to obstruct his march; for which reasons he thought fit to hasten his departure. But Langarus, King of the Agrians, a steady friend to him, and who had formerly sent an embassy to him, during the life of his father Philip, being then present at the head of his choicest and best armed pikemen, hearing that Alexander was making inquiry who, or of what force these Autaritæ were, assured him, that they were able to give him no disturbance, as being less inured to martial discipline than any of their neighbours; that himself would make an irruption into their confines, and find them employment enough. To this Alexander assenting, he marched suddenly among them, laid their country waste, and so deterred them from attempting any thing. At his return, he was received

* The Agrians inhabited part of Thrace, nigh mount Haemus; they passed by several names among authors, viz. Agrial, Agrian, Agrians, and Agrienses.
† The Pæonians were a nation seated northward from Macedonia, near the fountains of the river Axios.
‡ The Taulantii inhabited part of Illyria, and the Autaritæ another part thereof.
ARRIAN'S HISTORY OF

with the highest honours, and not only rewarded with choice presents, but with the promise of his sister Cyna for a wife, at his return to Pella. But the death of Langaros, on a journey to his own kingdom, put an end to that design. Alexander, after this, marching near the river Eri- gene, advanced towards Pellion, which city Clytus had seized, it being the strongest in all those parts. When Alexander approached, and had pitched his tents near the river Eordacus, he determined to batter the walls the next day. Clytus had encamped his forces upon the adjacent mountains, which were very high, and covered with thick woods, determining that if the Macedonians assaulted the city, they would rush upon them on all hands, for as yet Glacias, King of the Taulantii, had not joined them. When Alexander drew nigh the city, the enemy having offered three boys, three maids, and as many black rams for sacrifice, made a feint as though they would have encountered them; but those mountaineers, however advantageously posted, soon quitting their stations, retreated into the city, leaving their very sacrifices behind. When they were thus inclosed within their walls, Alexander encamped against them, and determined to have surrounded them with a wall, to prevent all succours; but hearing the next day that Glacias was upon his march to their relief with a huge army, and despairing, with the forces he had, to reduce the place, because many warlike troops were there in garrison, and many more would come against him, should he attempt to storm it; he therefore changed his resolution, and sent Philotas with a strong body of horse, which served him as a guard, to forage in the enemy’s country. Glacias having received information of his coming, advanced to meet him, and seizing on the passes through the mountains, endeavoured to obstruct his march, which, when Alexander came to understand, and knowing that the horse would be driven to great straits if the night seized them, he forthwith drew off his targeteers, archers, and Agrians, and about four hundred horse, and hastened to their assistance, leaving the rest to awe the city, lest if the whole army had decamped, the besieged should have issued forth, and joined with Glacias.

Glacias no sooner heard of Alexander’s approach, than he abandoned his post between the mountains, by which means Philotas and his forces returned safe into their camp. Hitherto both Clytus and Glacias had entertained a notion that Alexander would be embarrassed among the hills, where they had posted great numbers of their horse, as also several parties of darters and slingers, and other armed soldiers, to annoy him. They had also resolved that those who were left in the city should sally forth upon them as they drew off. Besides, the road, along which Alexander was obliged to march, was narrow and woody, and so much straitened with a river on one side, and a steep and craggy mountain on the other, that four armed men could hardly walk a-breast.
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CHAP. VI.

ALEXANDER, hereupon, having ranged his army in such a manner, that the phalanx of foot consisted of one hundred and twenty in depth, and the horse of two hundred on each wing, enjoined silence, that his commands might be the sooner received, and accordingly ordered the armed soldiers to advance first, with their spears erect, and, upon a sign given, to reverse them, and sometimes to direct them towards the right, and then to the left, as occasion required. He, in the mean time, altered the phalanx, and ranged the wings into various positions; and thus the whole being new modelled, and reduced into a cuneus, he rushed upon the enemy, who having long stood amazed to see with what order and expedition every thing was performed, withstood not the first onset, but suddenly quitted their first posts, upon the mountains; whereupon, Alexander having commanded his soldiers to shout, and strike their spears upon their shields, the Taulantii were so exceedingly terrified with the noise, that they retired into the city in disorder. However, he still perceiving a small number of them posted upon a hill, nigh which he was obliged to pass, ordered his body guards, and such of his friends as were about him, to arm themselves and mount their horses, and thus attack the hill; which, when they approached, if the enemy, who possessed the pass opposed them, half the number were to have dismounted and fought among the rest, as foot forces. But the enemy quitted the hill upon their approach, and fled confusedly through the country. Alexander no sooner made himself master of this post, than calling to him about two thousand of the Agrians and archers, he commanded the targeteers to pass the river, and the Macedonian cohorts to follow them, with orders, that as soon as they had gained the other shore, they should stretch out their shields, that the phalanx might make the greater show; he himself, from that eminence, all the while observing the enemy's motions. They seeing that part of the army had passed over, wheeled round the mountains, with a design to attack them on the rear; but he, with his forces fronting them, frustrated their design, and the phalanx having now crossed the river, shouted for joy. The enemy hereupon perceiving the whole Macedonian force ready to fall upon them, turned their backs and fled. Alexander then straight led his Agrians and archers to the river, and attempted to pass it; but perceiving his rear in danger, he ordered his engines to be placed upon the banks, to play upon the enemy with all sorts of missive weapons, and his archers, who had just then entered the river, to gait them with their arrows as much as they could, out of the water; but Glaucaus durst not come within their reach; so that the Macedonians passed over safe, and lost none of their number in the river.

Three days after this, Alexander having notice that Clytus and Glaucaus lay carelessly encamped, and had neither appointed a sufficient watch, nor surrounded themselves with a ditch, nor rampart, as believing that
Alexander was retired out of fear, and their army lay stretched out at length, to their disadvantage; he privately, under covert of the night, with his targeteers, archers, and Agrians, and Coenus' and Perdiccas's troops, passed a river in their way, and ordered the rest of his forces to follow. But as soon as ever an opportunity offered, without waiting for the arrival of the rest, he dispatched his archers and Agrians against them, who, rushing upon them unawares, and assailing the weakest parts of their camp with the greatest fury, they killed some in their sleep, others unarmed, and others endeavouring to fly; so that many were slain, and many prisoners were taken: nor did he cease the pursuit of them till he reached the Taulantian mountains. As many of them as escaped fled away without their arms. Clytus first fled to the nearest city, which having set on fire, he hastened to Glaucias, who was then in the country of the Taulantii.

CHAP. VII.

DURING these transactions, some fugitive Thebans entering the city by night, and stirred up by some of the citizens to endeavour a change of the government, seized Amyntus and Timolaus, prefects of the Cadmean tower, who apprehended no mischief, and having dragged them thence, put them to death. Then, in a set speech, they instigated the people to a revolt from Alexander, and, under the old and specious pretence of liberty, persuaded them to attempt to throw off the Macedonian yoke, confidently affirming that Alexander was dead in Illyria. Such a report had indeed been spread abroad, and gained some credit, because he had been long absent, and no news had come from him. Wherefore it happened in this, as in most other cases, where no certain intelligence could be had, every one contrived and believed what pleased him best. Alexander being acquainted with this commotion, thought it was not to be slighted, as well because he had a long time suspected the fidelity of the Athenians, as that he deemed the Theban audacity a matter of no small consequence, if the Lacedæmonians, who were already averse to him, and others of the Peloponnesians and Ætolians, equally desirous of novelty, should join themselves to the revolted Thebans. Having therefore passed by Eordæa, and Elymiotis, and the rocky country of Stymphaea Paryèas with his army, on the seventh day he arrived at Pellene, a city of Thessaly, and marching thence, on the sixth day after entered Boeotia; and so little did the Thebans dream of his approach, that he was at Onchestus, with his whole army, before they received the news of his passing the strights. And even then, the authors of the sedition affirmed, that that must be an army newly raised in Macedonia, by Antipater, and that Alexander was dead. Nay, when some asserted that Alexander was at hand, in person, they still persisted in their obstinacy, and said it must be another Alexander, the son Areopus. However, he moved from Onchestus, and approached the temple of Iolaus the next
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* Day, where he made a halt, that the Thebans, repeating their rashness, might have time to send ambassadors to him. But so far were they from shewing any signs of remorse, that a party of horse and light-armed foot suddenly issued out of the city, and assaulting their out-guards, slew some of the Macedonians with their darts. Alexander heretofore ordered a party of his light-armed men and archers against them, who in a short time drove them back, though they were ready to have entered the camp. The next day he advanced with his army towards the gate which leads to Elatea and Attica, yet still he forbore to assault the walls, and therefore pitched his tents near the Cadmean tower, that he might be at hand to assist the Macedonians in garrison there; for the Thebans had surrounded that tower with a double wall, as well to hinder their receiving succours from abroad, as to prevent their excursions, and keep them from joining with their enemies. However, Alexander, who had much rather have made up the matter peaceably, than have had the citizens drawn into their ruin, lay still in his camp near the Cadmean tower. In the mean time, some of the citizens, who had the welfare of the state at heart, proposed to go out to Alexander, and intreat his pardon for this revolt of the multitude. But, on the other hand, the exiles, and authors of the sedition, despairing of mercy for themselves, as also some of the Boeotian nobility, used all imaginable arguments to incite the populace to war. However, all this did not provoke Alexander to lay close siege to the city.

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CHAP. VIII.

HOWEVER, Ptolomy tells us, that Perdiccas, captain of an advanced guard, who, with his forces, was posted not far from the town-wall, gave the first attack upon the wall, without waiting for Alexander's orders, and making a breach, rushed suddenly forwards upon the Theban garrison. He was seconded by Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, another captain, who, as soon as saw him enter the city, than he followed with his forces. Alexander, now perceiving a necessity of fighting, to prevent his friends being surrounded and cut off, changed his former resolution, and led on the rest of the troops the same way, commanding the Agrians and archers to enter by the breach, but the targeteers and others to remain without. Perdiccas pushing forward to win the inner wall, was struck with a dart, and borne away into the camp grievously wounded; neither did he recover his strength for a long time. However, the troops which entered with him, assisted by the archers, pursued the enemy as far as the street leading to the temple of Hercules, where the citizens, recovering themselves from their fright, and reasuming their courage, raised a shout, which striking a fear among the pursuers, they beat them back, and put them to flight. There Eurybotas, captain of the Cretan archers, fell, with about seventy of his men; the rest escaping to the Macedonian brigades of horse and targeteers, which were
posted without the walls. Alexander, beholding the flight of his soldiers, and the confused and disorderly pursuit of the Thebans, fell upon them afresh with a chosen body, and drove them back into the city; and so great was their fear and terror in their flight, that they neglected to shut their gates, and so the conquerors entered with the conquered; for that part of the walls, by reason of the numerous guards elsewhere, was without defence. When they came to the Cudmean tower, the garrison of that fort rushed suddenly forth, and joining with the Macedonians, made a great slaughter of the Thebans as far as Amphion's temple. Other parties pursued them into the Forum. A few of the citizens made a stand near the temple of Amphion; but perceiving their case desperate, and that Alexander with his troops pressed hard upon them, as also that their horse were dispersed about the country, resolved to consult their own safety. And now the Macedonians themselves were not more impecable than the Phocceans, Plateans, and the rest of the Boeotians; for though the citizens made no further resistance, they were slain without mercy; and now neither private houses nor temples were regarded, nor sex nor age spared in that general destruction.

CHAP. IX.

THE ruin of so great a city, so suddenly brought about, and so contrary to the expectation of the victors, as well as the vanquished, struck no small terror into all the other states of Greece; for the Athenian overthrow in Sicily, though, in regard to the number of the slain, it brought no less calamity to the city, yet, because the army was routed far from home, and that it was composed rather of auxiliaries than natives, and because their city itself stood untouched, and afterwards defended itself gallantly against the Lacedaemonians and their confederates, who vigorously assaulted it, was less dreadful to the Athenians themselves, and less surprising to the rest of the Grecian states. Again, that other Athenian overthrow by sea, near the mouth of the river Egina, was no ways comparable to this, in its consequences; for there the city received no other damage besides the demolition of her walls, the loss of the greatest part of her fleet, and a small diminution of her power; for her ancient form of government, as well as her ancient liberties, she still retained, and, after some time, regained her strength to such a degree as to rebuild her walls, repair her losses, recover her dominion of the seas, and not only so, but to rescue the Lacedaemonians (who had long disputed the sovereignty with them, and had well nigh conquered their city) from the most imminent danger. That blow given the Lacedaemonians, at Leuctra and Mantinea, was rather shocking, by reason of its suddenness, than because of the multitudes of the slain; and that other which they received by the Boeotians and Arcadians, under the conduct of Epaminondas, wrought greater astonishment by the strangeness of the sight than the greatness of the loss, both to the Lacedaemonians and
their confederates. The sacking of the city Plata, by reason of the small numbers there slain, (for the best part of the citizens had before removed to Athens) was less calamitous; and the destruction of Melos and Seio, sea-port towns, was rather a disgrace to the victors, than a terror to the Grecians. But this sudden and ill-concerted revolt, and their quick and easy overthrow, the cruel slaughter made among them, by those of the same stock and nation, whom old grudges had rendered remorseless, and the signal overthrow of one of the most powerful and warlike cities of Greece, may, with the greatest justice, be referred to the effects of the Divine vengeance upon them, for their deserting the Grecians in the Median war; for falling upon the Plateans, contrary to the most solemn treaties, and utterly spoiling their city; for putting the Lacedaemonian captives to death, against the Grecian custom, and laying the country waste where the Greeks encamped against the Medes, and thereby endangering the liberties of all Greece; and, lastly, for giving their suffrage against the Athenians, when the Lacedaemonians and their confederates consulted about the sacking of their city. They are reported to have been forewarned of this great and terrible overthrow of their city, by sundry prodigies from heaven, which they all along disregarded, till afterwards, the events recalling them to their remembrance, they were forced to own them fulfilled. The auxiliary forces, to whom Alexander had given the spoils of the city, were placed as a garrison in the Cadmeian tower; but the city itself was levelled with the ground. The lands, saving such as were set apart to sacred uses, were shared among the soldiers. The men and women, who remained after the general slaughter (excepting such only of either sex who were priests, or had privately recommended themselves to him, or his father Philip, or some of the Macedonians, by some signal service) were ordered to be sold. Nevertheless, the house of Pinder the poet, and those of his relations, were saved, for the reverence which Alexander bore him. Oenomenes and Platea were then restored by Alexander’s followers, and their walls rebuilt.

CHAP. X.

The news of the Theban overthrow was no sooner carried to the rest of Greece, than the Arcadians pronounced sentence of death against all such of their citizens as had aided the Thebans, either with men or council. The Eleans restored their exiles, because they were Alexander’s friends. The cities of Aetolia, severally, sent ambassadors to him, craving pardon, because of a report which had been spread abroad, as if they had designed a revolt, as well as the Thebans. But the Athenians, who were busy with their celebration of the grand mysteries, at the very time when some of the Thebans arrived, left off their rites, in a great consternation, and conveyed their instruments of sacrifice out of the field into the city, where, calling a council, by the advice of Demades,
they elected ten ambassadors from among the citizens, to send to Alexander, such as they judged would be most acceptable to him. These signified to him, though somewhat unseasonably, the public joy of the Athenians for his safe return from among the Triballi and Illyrians, and for his chastisement of the seditious Thebans. Alexander dismissed their ambassadors with a favourable answer, as he had done the rest; but wrote an epistle to the Athenians, wherein he required, that Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyenetus, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diocrates, and Morocles, should be surrendered up to him, alledging that they were the authors of the action at Charonea, and of all the mischiefs which happened after that time, either to his father Philip or himself, after Philip's decease; and the Thebans themselves were not more studious after a change of government than they, nor more eager for a revolt. The Athenians, without complying with his request, sent other ambassadors, who besought him to turn away his wrath from those citizens of theirs, whom he had threatened. This embassy he hearkened to, and pardoned them: and this he did, either out of reverence to the city, or an earnest desire of passing over into Asia, being willing to leave every thing quiet behind him in Greece. Charidemus alone, of all those whom he had required, and were not delivered up, he ordered into banishment, who thereupon fled into Asia to King Darius.

CHAP. XL.

These affairs thus concluded, he returned into Macedonia, where he offered sacrifices to Jupiter Olymipia, according to an institution of the Greeks, and appointed the celebration of the Olympic games among the Greeks. Some say, he also performed sports in honour of the muses. About this time came news, that the statue of Orpheus, the son of Cæcrops the Thracian, on Mount Pieria, sweated exceedingly. Various were the opinions of the augurs concerning this prodigy; but at last, Astiander the Tellusian, a celebrated soothsayer, bid Alexander take courage, for it foretold that the poets of all sorts should exert themselves to the utmost, in singing and describing his great actions. After this, in the beginning of the spring, he moved towards the Hellespont, (leaving the administration of the affairs of Greece in Antipater's hands) and carried an army of foot, consisting of archers and light-armed soldiers, about thirty thousand, and a little above five thousand horse. He first directed his march to Amphipolis, by way of the lake Cercynites, and thence to the mouths of the river Strymon, which having crossed, he passed by Mount Pangaeus, along the road leading to Abdera and Maronea, maritime cities of Greece. Thence he marched to the river Ebrus, which being easily forded, he proceeded through the country of Petis, to the river Melas, and thence, on the twentieth day after his departure from Macedon, he arrived at Sestos, whence marching to Eleusis, he sacrificed upon the tomb of Protesilaus, because he, of all the Greeks
who accompanied Agamemnon to the siege of Troy, set his foot first on the Asiatic shore. The design of this sacrifice was, that his descent into Asia might be more successful to him than the former was to Protesilaus. Then, having committed to Parmenio the care of conveying the greatest part both of the horse and foot from Sestos to Abydos, they were accordingly transported, in one hundred and sixty trireme galleys, besides many other vessels of burden. Several authors report, that Alexander sailed from Eleaus, another port in Greece, himself commanding the flagship; and also, that when he was in the middle of the Hellespont, he offered a bull to Neptune, and the Nereids; and poured forth a libation into the sea from a golden cup. He is moreover said first of all to have stept on shore in Asia, completely armed, and to have erected altars to Jupiter Descensor, and to Pallas, and Hercules. When he came to Illium, he sacrificed to Pallas Iliaca, and, having fixed the arms he then wore in her temple, he took down from thence some consecrated armour, which had remained there from the time of the Trojan war. This armour some targeteers were always wont to bear before him, in his expedition. He is also said to have sacrificed to Priamus, upon the altar of Jupiter Hercius, that he might thereby avert the wrath of his manes from the progeny of Pyrrhus, whence he deduced his pedigree.

CHAP. XII.

When he arrived at Illium, Menetes the Governor crowned him with a crown of gold: the same did Chares the Athenian, who came for that purpose from Sigaeum; and several others, as well Greeks as Asiatics, followed their example. He then encircled the sepulchre of Achilles with a garland (as Hephæstus did that of Patroclus) and pronounced him happy, who had such a herald as Homer to perpetuate his name: and, indeed, he was deservedly so stiled, because that single accident had raised him to the highest pitch of human glory. As to his actions, none had hitherto described them in a suitable manner, either in prose or verse; neither had any attempted them in a lyric strain, as the poets had, heretofore, done those of Hieron, Gelon, Theron, and many more, whose exploits were no ways comparable to his; for which

* Strabo assures us, that, in Alexander's days, Illium was no better than a village, wherein was a temple of Pallas, small and inconsiderable; but that when he returned thither, after the battle of Granicus, he enriched the temple with gifts, and ordered the village to be called a city, appointing overseers to adorn it with spacious buildings, and declared it free. Afterwards, when he had subdued the Persians, he promised, in the letters which he wrote concerning it, that he would enlarge its bounds, and erect a magnificent temple, instead of the small one; and besides, that himself would see solemn sports exhibited there. After his death, Lysimachus undertook the rebuilding of the temple, and walled the city round; he also induced many of the neighbouring people to come and inhabit it, and called it Alexandria, in honour of Alexander. It afterwards underwent sundry changes, and lies now entirely waste. - See Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 885 & 887. Ed. Cursæus, and Sandys Travels, p. 93.
reason his greatest acts are less known than the least and most insconsiderable of many antient Generals. The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes, with ten thousand men, with the captivity of Clearchus and his followers, and the return of those ten thousand, by way of the coast, under the conduct of Xenophon, are rendered much more illustrious, by Xenophon’s pen, than either Alexander or his greatest achievements. Alexander never made war under another’s banner, nor had he ever an occasion to encounter those who guarded the coast, in his flight from the King of Persia: and, indeed, there was never any General, whether Greek or Barbarian, whose exploits, either in number or greatness, are fit to stand in competition with his. This was the reason which first induced me to attempt this history, not deeming myself altogether unworthy to transmit those mighty acts of his to posterity. But who I am, that thus characterize myself, and what is my name, though that be far from being obscure, concerns the reader but little to know; neither would he be any ways profited by an account of my family, my city, or what offices I have borne there. Let it suffice him to know, that an extreme passion for letters, wherein I have always indulged myself from my youth, has, to me, been instead of family, city, and magistracy, altogether. Wherefore I may, perhaps, be little less worthy a place among the most celebrated authors of Greece than Alexander among her most famous heroes.

CHAP. XIII.

ALEXANDER then moved from Illium to Aiaibe, where his whole army had encamped after their passing the Hellespont, and leaving Percotas and Lampscus, the next day he arrived at the river Pactius, which, issuing from the sides of Mount Ida, falls into the sea, between the Euxine and the Hellespont. Thence, leaving the city Colonae, he came to Hermotus. He there dispatched a number of scouts before his army, under the command of Amyntas the son of Arrabeus, as also a troop of those termed his friends, from Apollonia, under the conduct of Socrates, the son of Sathon; and to these he added four companies of scouts. In this march he dispatched Panegorus, the son of Lycaenoras, one of his friends, to take possession of the city Priamus, which was surrendered by the inhabitants. The Persian commanders were, Arsamea, Rheomithres, Petenes, Niphates, as also Spithridates, Governor of Lydia and Ionia, and Arsites, President of that part of Phrygia which borders on the Hellespont. Memnon, the Rhodian, dissuaded the Persians from offering the Macedonians battle, who were not only superior to them in foot, but also encouraged by the presence of their king; whereas Darius was absent. He advised them rather to trample the herbage under their horses’ feet, to burn all the fruits of the country, and even to lay the towns and villages waste; by which means Alexander, finding himself destitute of provisions and forage, would be unable to penetrate.
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further. To this Artares, in the same council, is said to have replied, That he would never suffer so much as one of the houses of those he had subdued to be burnt: and this resolution was the more satisfactory to the Persians, because they then began to suspect that Meuron endeavoured to protract the war, for the sake of the Royal honours he enjoyed.

CHAP. XIV.

In the mean while, Alexander drew near the river Granicus with a choice army, which having ranged into a double phalanx, he placed the horse on the two wings, and the baggage and other carriages in the rear. The scouts, whose office was to survey the enemy's strength, as also the horsemen, who were armed with pikes, and the light-armed soldiers, in number about five hundred, were under the command of Hegelocus. He was now not far from the river Granicus, when some of his scouts hastened to him with the utmost expedition, and brought him news that the Persians, with a well-appointed army, lay encamped on the other side; whereupon he drew up his forces in battle array. Then Parmenio approaching him, is said to have spoke to this effect: "It seems good, O king, that we should, at this time, encamp as near the bank of the river as possible; for I cannot suppose that the enemy, who are so far inferior to us in foot, will remain all night in their present encampment, which will give an easy passage to our army to-morrow as soon as the dawn appears; for we may then pass over before they can draw up in order of battle; whereas we cannot now attempt it without manifest hazard. Besides, we can never propose to convey an army over a river, when an enemy stands on the opposite bank, ready to dispute the passage; especially, seeing the stream is deep, and full of eddies, and the opposite shore steep and rugged; and therefore our enemy's well-ordered cavalry will certainly attack us as we climb the other bank, and fall upon our wings where they are most exposed. Such a blow as this, at our first setting out, would not only be terrible as this juncture, but a grievous specimen of ill-success throughout the whole war." To whom Alexander replied, "These reflections of yours are certainly just, O Parmenio: but it would be a mighty disgrace to us, who have so easily passed the Hellespont, to be stopped here by this brook," (for so, by way of scorn, he termed the river Granicus,) "and hindered from reaching the other shore. This, I am persuaded, would reflect upon the glory of the Macedonians; and my readiness in encountering dangers; and besides, the Persians will surely style themselves our equals in war, unless we, in this first conflict, do something worthy the terror which we bear.

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CHAP. XV.

HAVING thus spoke, he appointed Parmenio over the left wing, and on the right, where himself presided, was Philotas the son of Parmenio, with the royal cohort, and the archers and Agrians, as also Amyntas the son of Aristeus, with the pikemen, the Paeonians, and Socrates's cohort. Next these were the royal targeteers, commanded by Nicander, another of Parmenio's sons. Then the battalion of Perdiccas, the son of Orestes; and after these, that of Cænus, the son of Polemocrates. Next, those of Craterus, the son of Alexander, and Amyntas, the son of Andronymus. And last of all, the forces headed by Philip, the son of Amyntas. The first on the left wing were the Thessalian horse, commanded by Calas, the son of Harpalus. Then a troop of auxiliaries, led on by Philip, the son of Menelaus. Next to these, the Thraciens, headed by Agathon. After these were the foot, and the squadrons of Craterus, Meleager, and Philip, reaching quite to the centre of the army. The Persian forces consisted of about twenty thousand horse, and near the same number of mercenary troops of foot. Their horse stood stretched out in a long range on the bank of the river, and the foot behind them. But when they beheld Alexander himself facing their left wing, for he was easily known, as well by the brightness of his armour, as by the fierceness of the countenances of his body guards, they there placed their horse thicker upon the bank. Both armies then stood some time fronting each other, and observed a profound silence, as though they dreaded the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, that they might attack them as they came forth; whereupon Alexander mounting his steed, and exhorting those about him to follow his example, and behave themselves like men, he sent the light horse into the river, with the Paeonians, and one troop of foot, led by Amyntas, the son of Arabeus; but a little before this he had sent Socrates's troop the same way, as also Ptolemy, the son of Philip, on whom the whole charge of the horse was devolved that day. He himself led on the right wing; and the trumpets sounding, and the soldiers raising a loud martial shout, he entered the ford, leading his troops a little obliquely down the current, lest the enemy should attack them before they could draw up; for which reason he endeavoured to gain the shore, that he might encounter them with a well-ordered body.

CHAP. XVI.

THE Persians, posted at the place where Amyntas and Socrates first approached, the other side plying them warmly with darts from their high stations; and others, where the shore was flat and level, threw their javelins into the water. Never was a more obstinate conflict of horse known; these pushing forward to gain the shore, and those endeavour-
ing to obstruct them. The Persians fought chiefly with barbed javelins, the Macedonians with spears. The Macedonians being far inferior in numbers, received no small loss at the first onset, because they were forced to fight in a low slippery place in the river; whereas the Persians were posted on an eminence, which they had taken care to line with their best troops of horse. There Memnon's sons, and there Memnon himself fought valiantly; and all the Macedonians who first attempted to gain the bank were slain, except some few who retired to Alexander, then in full march towards them. He soon approached at the head of the right wing, and observing the place where the Persian officers and their horses stood thickest, there he made his first effort. There was then a dreadful scene of blood around the king; and the Macedonian troops, one after another, easily gained the shore. Though they fought on horseback, yet being in the water, they seemed to fight on foot; for there the horse encountered with horse, and man with man. The Macedonians strove to drive the Persians from the bank, and they endeavoured to obstruct the others landing, and to push them back into the river. However, the Macedonians at last gained the advantage, and repulsed their enemies, partly by their strength, and superior skill in martial discipline, and partly because they used corneil lances against the other javelins. Alexander having broken the staff of his, demanded another from Arctes, the master of his horse; and when Arctes had broke his, he continued to fight with the staff, which he held in his hand, till shewing it to Alexander, he ordered him another. Demaratus, the Corinthian, one of his friends, reached the king his own spear, which he no sooner received, than viewing Mithridates, son-in-law to Darius, mounted on a stately horse at the head of his troops, he, with a small party of his own, met him on horseback, and striking him through the mouth, cast him to the ground. Then Rhessaces, in the heat of his fury, coming against Alexander, struck at his head with a sword, which carrying away part of his helmet, gave him a slight wound; but he perceiving it, thrust his lance through his breast plate into his body, and killed him. And now Spitridates coming behind Alexander, had already lifted up his sword to kill him; but Clitus, the son of Dropidas, prevented him, for with one stroke he disabled his arm, whereupon his sword fell to the earth.

CHAP. XVII.

IN the mean while, the horse continued passing the river as fast as they could, and joined the army; so that the Persians were everywhere galled by their lances, and borne down by them. They also sustained no small damage by the light-armed foot, who fought among the horse. They began first to give way where Alexander fought in person, soon after which the main body retired, and both wings were overpowered and put to flight; so that above a thousand Persian horse were slain by the pursuers. Yet did not Alexander follow them far from the field, but
faced about to attack the foreign mercenary troops, whose whole body still stood firm and entire as at first; but who seemed rather stunned with the unexpected event, than fixed by any steady resolution; for the phalanx of foot, and the whole body of horse, rushing violently upon them, they were all slain, not so much as one of their whole number escaping, unless such as might conceal themselves among the heaps of dead bodies, and about two thousand who surrendered themselves prisoners. Among the Persian commanders who fell that day, were Niphates, Petenes, Spithridates, governor of Lydia, Mythobuzenes, president of Cappadocia, Mithridates, son-in-law to Darius, Arbupales, son to Darius Artaxerxes, Pharnaces, brother to the wife of Darius, and Omares, captain of the band of mercenaries. Arites fled from the battle, and escaped into Phrygia, where he is said to have slain himself, because he was deemed the author of that great overthrow. Of the royal cohort of the Macedonians, about twenty-five fell at the first onset, whose statues, cast in brass by Lycippus, at the command of Alexander, were placed in the city Dio. The same artist also cast the statue of Alexander himself, in brass; for he was superior to all others of his profession. Of the other troops of horse, near seventy were slain; and of the foot forces about thirty; all whom Alexander ordered to be interred the next day, and with them their arms and warlike accoutrements. To their parents and children also, in whatever city they were settled, he granted the freedom of the place, and wholly released them and their goods from all exactions, public or private. His care of the wounded was no less; for he went about and visited each of them, saw their wounds, and examined how they received them, allowing each the free liberty of being the herald of his own praise. He also took care to bury the Persian captains, and the mercenary Greeks, who served the Persians as auxiliaries, and fell in that day's action. But as many of those mercenaries as he took alive, he sent, in chains, to prison in Macedonia; because they, being Greeks, had borne arms for barbarians against their country, in opposition to the laws of Greece. To Athens he sent three hundred suits of Persian armour, to be hung up in the temple of Pallas there, by way of acknowledgment, and ordered an inscription to be fixed over them, to this effect: "Alexander, the son of Philip, and all the Greeks, except the Lacedemonians, have devoted these spoils, taken from the barbarians inhabiting Asia."

CHAP. XVIII.

CALAS was then constituted Lieutenant of that province, instead of Arites, and the same tribute ordered to be paid as had been before paid to Darius, and as many of the barbarians as would descend from the mountains, where they lay hid, and surrender themselves, were suffered to return to their habitations. The Zelitsi he pardoned, because he knew they were forced into the barbarian service. He then dispatched Parmenip to take Dascylium, which he easily performed, the garrison
having quitted it and fled. He himself marched toward Sardis, and when he was about seventy stadia distant from that city, he was met by Myrthreus, governor of the garrison in the castle, accompanied by the chief citizens; these surrendering the city into his hands, and Myrthreus the castle, with the royal treasures therein contained. He then proceeded to the river Hermus, about twenty stadia distant from Sardis, where he encamped, and from whence he dispatched Amyntas, the son of Androscus, to Sardis, to take the government of the castle, and carrying Myrthreus with him, treated him honourably. To the Sardians, and other Lydians, he granted the privilege of being governed by their ancient laws. He then entered the castle, which was garrisoned by Persians, and seemed to him well fortified. It was seated on a high rock, which was everywhere very steep, and surrounded with a triple wall. He therefore purposed to erect a temple on the top of that eminence, and therein to dedicate an altar to Jupiter Olympius; but while he was yet in suspense which part of the castle was most commodious for that purpose, a dreadful tempest arose on a sudden, huge claps of thunder were heard, and a violent storm fell on that part where the royal palace of the Lydian Kings had stood. Thus the God seemed to point out the place where the temple should be erected, and it was ordered to be built accordingly. The government of this castle he committed into the hands of Pausanias, one of his friends; but the collection of tributes and imposts to Nicias. Amander, the son of Philotas, was constituted Prefect of Lydia, and the rest of the provinces of Spithridates, and had such a number of horse and light-armed foot allowed him as were judged necessary. Callas, and Alexander, the son of Aeropus, were dispatched into the province governed by Memnon, and with them were the Peloponneseans, and most of the royal cohort, except the Argives, who had been left to garrison the castle of Sardis. In the mean while, the fame of this battle being every where spread abroad, the mercenary troops which lay in garrison at Ephesus, having seized two trireme galleys, fled, and with them Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, who had before withdrawn himself from Alexander in Macedonias, not because of any injury received, but out of a certain hatred he had conceived against him, as deeming himself too great to pay him any homage.

On the fourth day after the battle, Alexander coming to Ephesus, ordered all their exiles to be recalling, and having abolished the oligarchy thereof, established a popular government there. The tributes which he took from the barbarians he ordered to be paid to Diana, as aforesaid. The citizens, thereupon casting off all fear of their former rulers,

* That the temple of Diana was set on fire by Herostratus, more than twenty years before this time, namely, on the night that Alexander was born, is a known story. It was then rebuilding with great cost and magistracy; and the King, to encourage the Ephesians to proceed vigorously in the work, commanded that the tribute, which they had hitherto paid the Persians, and which had been formerly dedicated to Diana, should be restored towards the finishing this fabric. See this at large in Strabo, lib. xiv. p 942. Edit. Cassub.
conspired to slay those who had brought Memnon into the city, as also those who had robbed the temple of Diana, and overthrown the statue of Philip therein, and those who had defaced the sepulchre of Herophilus, by whom the city was formerly freed from tyranny, in the forum; and, accordingly, having seized Syrphaces, and his son Phlegon, with his brother's children, who had fled into the temple, they drew them forth and stoned them, Alexander hereupon strictly forbade all inquiry after the rest; for he was afraid, that if that liberty was once given to the people, the guilty and innocent, either through envy or avarice, would be alike sufferers. And he gained himself a vast credit among the Ephesians by this very action.

CHAP. XIX.

ABOUT this time arrived ambassadors from Magnesia and the Tralli, proffering to surrender their cities to Alexander, whither he dispatched Parmenio, with two thousand five hundred mercenary foot, and as many Macedonians, besides two hundred of the royal cohort of horse. He also sent Alcimalus, the son of Agathocles, with the like force, to reduce those cities of Eolia and Ionia, which the barbarians yet held. He moreover issued out his royal mandate, that the aristocracy, or government of the nobility, should be everywhere abolished, and democracy, or popular state, set up: that all their own country laws should be everywhere restored; and that the tributes, which had been exacted by the barbarians, should be remitted. While he continued at Ephesus, he sacrificed to Diana, and led his whole army in procession, with all their military accoutrements, in honour of that goddess. Then, with the remainder of his foot, the archers and Agrians, the Thracian horse, the royal cohort, and three other troops, he marched the next day towards Miletus. At his first approach, the outward city, as it is called, surrendered to him, being without a garrison: wherefore, encamping there, he resolved to surround the inner city with a wall; for Hegistratus, on whom Darius had conferred the government of the Milesians, had, before this time, wrote letters to him concerning the surrender; but receiving intelligence that the Persian army was not far off, he took courage, and resolved to keep the city for them. But Nicanor, admiral of the Grecian fleet, anticipating the Persians, arrived there three days before them, and with an hundred and sixty ships, took the haven on the island Lade, near Miletus. The Persian fleet coming too late, and their commanders finding Lade already possessed by Nicanor, withdrew from thence, and came to an anchor under Mount Mycale. Neither did Alexander defend that island only by the ships in the haven, but he transported four thousand Thracians, and other foreign soldiers, thither. The barbarian fleet consisted of about four hundred ships. Parmenio advised Alexander to a naval engagement, assuring him that the Greeks would be victors at sea, because a lucky omen had just happened; an eagle being seen upon the shore, from one of the
ships of his navy. He also added, that if they overcame their enemies, they would reap an immense advantage from such an engagement during the whole war, and if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vast danger would ensue, because the Persians, by virtue of their shipping, already held the sovereignty of the sea, without fighting. As for his part, he would willingly enter himself on board, and share the danger of the fleet in his own person. However, Alexander returned him answer, 'that he was mistaken in his conjectures, and did not interpret the omen justly, for it would be a point of small prudence in him, with so few ships, to hazard an engagement against a fleet so numerous, and with soldiers so little trained up in naval discipline, to pretend to attack the expert Cyprians and Phoenicians. Neither was he willing that the barbarians should try the skill and valour of the Macedonians in so unstable an element: and besides, should they be beaten in a sea fight, an inexpressible damage would accrue to them, from the same their enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that if the Greeks were animated by the news of an overthrow at sea, they would begin to study innovations. All which things, maturely weighed, he deemed a sea fight altogether unsafe, at that juncture; and for his part, he expounded the omen in a different manner. The eagle, indeed, he allowed, promised success; but as she was seen on the shore, it seemed rather to portend, that he should become master of the enemy's fleet, by beating their armies on the Continent.

CHAP. XX.

ABOUT this time Glaucippus, one of the chief men of Miletus, was dispatched to Alexander from the people and foreign auxiliaries, to whom the chief care of the city was committed, to acquaint him, that the Milesians were willing their walls and gates should be free to him as well as to the Persians, if, on these terms, he would raise his siege. Alexander, upon this, ordered the messenger immediately to return, and tell the citizens to prepare every thing for a speedy storm. Whereupon he moved his engines to the walls, which, in a short time, being partly shaken, and partly beat down, he drew his army forwards, that they might make a sudden entrance, wherever a breach became practicable, the Persians, all this while no further off than Mycale, being witnesses of the streights of their besieged friends. Nicanor, in the mean time, observing Alexander's motions, made sail from the island Lade, and coasting along shore, entered the haven of Miletus; in the very jaws, or narrowest parts of which, ranging his triremes, with their beaks towards the sea, he at once shut up the entrance of the port from the Persian navy, and put an end to all the citizens hopes of succour. The Macedonians then entering the city, and rushing forwards, and the Milesians and mercenary soldiers now despairing of safety, some of them
cast themselves into the sea, and lying upon their shields, escaped safe to a certain island, whose name is now unknown. Others, leaping into their boats, as they endeavoured to escape the Macedonian triremes, were taken at the mouth of the haven; and many were slain in the city. Alexander having gained the place, moved next with his fleet to assault those who had fled into the island; and having ordered ladders to be fixed to the beaks of their ships, they began to climb up a part thereof as steep as a wall: but when he perceived that the islanders were resolved to hold out to the last extremity, he was moved with compassion towards them, as deeming them both brave and loyal; wherefore he sent them proposals, that the mercenary Greeks should serve under him and receive his pay, and that the Milesians, who had saved themselves from slaughter in the city, should have life and liberty granted them. The barbarian fleet then moving from Mycale, sailed all day in view of the Grecians, hoping, by that means, to dare them to an engagement by sea, and at night they returned to their former station, which was no way commodious, because they were forced to send as far as the mouths of the river Meander for fresh water. Alexander, receiving intelligence of this, and having blocked up the mouths of the haven of Miletus with his ships, so as to hinder the enemy's fleet from entering it, dispatched Philotus with all his horse, and three troops of foot, to Mycale, to hinder the Persians from landing; who, being hereupon reduced to great straits, for want of water and other necessaries, and besieged everywhere but on board, they sailed thence to Samos, where, furnishing themselves with whatever they wanted, they came to Miletus, and drawing up the chief part of their fleet before the haven, to provoke the Macedonians to put out to sea, five of their ships run themselves into a certain creek, between the other island and the array, in hopes to surprise Alexander's empty fleet; for they knew that the sailors were dispersed up and down far from the ships, some to gather wood, others provisions, others plunder, and some were absent on other occasions. Alexander no sooner saw the five Persian ships approach, but he dispatched ten out of his fleet, well manned, to meet them, with orders to engage them. But they perceiving the Macedonians bear up towards them, contrary to their expectations, stood immediately away, and returned to the rest of their navy; only one of them, belonging to the Jussi, a heavy sailor, was taken: but the other four being swifter, escaped safe to their own triremes. Upon which disappointment, the Persians, growing weary of their undertaking, drew of their fleet from before Miletus.

CHAP. XXI.

ALEXANDER then, partly for want of money, and partly because his naval force was inferior to the Persians, resolved to discharge his fleet; for he was unwilling to hazard his army in any engagement by sea. He considered also, that now he had got footing on the firm land
of Asia, he would not stand in need of a fleet; and when their seaports were taken, the Persians would also be under the necessity of discharging theirs; for they would neither be able to procure a constant supply of oars, nor would they have so much as one port in Asia to betake themselves to: and thus he interpreted the omen of the eagle to signify, that he should destroy the enemy's naval force by his land army. After this, he directed his march straight to Caria, because a great body of troops, as well barbarians as auxiliaries, were said to be in Halicarnassus. Wherefore, all the towns between Miletus and Halicarnassus surrendering at his first approach, he encamped five stadia distant from the city, because he imagined the siege thereof might take him up some time, the place being well fortified; and wherever there seemed to be any deficiency of strength, Memon, who was there present, and had been before declared admiral of Darius's fleet, and governor of all Lower Asia, had supplied it long before; for many troops of mercenaries lay there in garrison, besides several of Persian soldiers; he had also brought the triremes into the haven, imagining they would be of great advantage to him in the preservation of the city; and accordingly, on the very first day of the siege, while Alexander was leading his army forwards to the walls, near the gate looking towards Mylassa, a strong party issued out on a sudden, and a sharp skirmish happened; but the Macedonians bearing hard upon them, beat them back, and forced them to retire within their walls. A few days after this, Alexander drew out his horsemen, and royal cohort of horse, as also Perdiccas' and Meleager's troops of foot, with the archers and Agrians, to that part of the city which looks towards Myndus, that he might view the wall, and try if it was more easy to be assaulted there than elsewhere, or if by some sudden and unexpected excursion, he might not surprise Myndus itself; for the reducing that city, he thought, would greatly contribute to his making himself master of Halicarnassus; and not only so, but some of the Myndians had promised to surrender their city to him, if he would make his approach thither secretly, and under covert of the night. At midnight, therefore, he approached the walls, according to his promise; but perceiving no signs of a surrender from the citizens, and considering that he had neither engines, nor scaling-ladders at hand, as coming there not to besiege a city, but to have it delivered to him; he, nevertheless, ordered the Macedonian phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the wall, which they did, and presently overturned one of the towers thereupon, without making a breach in the wall itself. But the citizens making an obstinate defence, and being assisted by the Halicarnassaeans, who sent them succours by sea, Alexander was disappointed in his expectations of taking it at the first assault; wherefore, without more ado, he drew off, and returned to his siege of Halicarnassus: and first of all, ordered the ditch, which the citizens had dug round their walls, of thirty cubits in breadth, and fifteen in depth, to be filled up, so that the wooden towers out of which they were to direct their missive weapons against the besieged, and their engines to shake the walls, might advance forwards.
The ditch being accordingly filled up, the towers begun to advance; but the besieged issued forth by night, with a design of burning both the towers and engines, which were now nigh the walls; and had certainly effected their designs, had they not been encountered by the Macedonians, who were placed to guard the engines, and others who came hastily forth, at the noise of the skirmish; so that they were, with small loss, beat back into the city. There fell of the Halicarnassians in this conflict, one hundred and seventy, among whom was Neoptolemus, the brother of Arrabaeus, the son of Amyntas, one of those who had formerly fled to Darius. Of the Macedonians, sixteen were slain, and near three hundred wounded; for that sally being made in the night, they were the less able to guard their bodies, and avoid the darts and arrows of their enemies.

CHAP. XXII.

SOON after this, two Macedonian soldiers, intimate friends and companions, belonging to the troop which was afterwards given to Perdiccas, beginning to extol each his own valour and heroic exploits, in an extraordinary manner, and a quarrel arising between them in their cups, about their honour, they agreed to arm themselves secretly, and march towards the walls, near the tower pointing to Miletus, designing rather to make trial of each others valour in single combat, than of adventuring a dangerous conflict with the enemy. The townsmen, however, espying them, and perceiving that only two attempted rashly to approach the walls, issued forth; but they slew the first as soon as they came near, and cast their darts at the next, who were drawn thither by the noise, and were at last overborne by numbers, and the disadvantage of their station; for their enemies, in attacking them, threw their weapons from an eminence. In the mean while, many hastened thither from Perdiccas' troop, and great numbers also from the city; and hence ensued a sharp battle without the walls, wherein the citizens were worsted, and beaten back, and the city itself was on the point of being taken; for they were too careless in their watch, and two towers, with the whole intermediate space, being already thrown down, would have offered an easy entrance to the besiegers, had their whole army attempted it. Besides this, another tower, which stood next, being shaken with their engines, had certainly fallen, if it had been undermined; and this the townsmen were not ignorant of; wherefore, preparing for the worst, they built another wall of brick, of a semicircular form, within, in the room of that which was fallen down; and this they finished with no great difficulty, because of the vast number of hands employed in the work. When Alexander endeavoured to batter this wall, the next day, the besiegers suddenly sallied forth, with a design to set fire to his engines; and some of the sheds which stood nearest, and part of one of the wooden towers, were consumed, but the rest were saved by Philotus and Helianthus, to whom the charge of them was committed. But, as soon as they
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

who had made this excursion saw Alexander, they cast away their torches, and many of them also threw down their arms, and fled into the city; and, as the place where they then stood was commodious, being mounted upon an eminence, they had the advantage; for they not only directed their weapons right forwards against the engineers, but, from the towers at each end of the ruined wall, they galled those who assaulted the new-built one, on each side, so that no part of them, except their backs, remained unexposed.

CHAP. XXIII.

NOT long after this, when Alexander again applied his engines to batter the inner brick wall, and himself was present to forward the work, the besieged, partly from the breach now made, and partly from the gate Tripylus, where the besiegers least expected them, issued out suddenly upon the Macedonians, some bringing burning brands, which they applied to the engines, and others combustible matter, to increase the flames: but the Macedonians attacking them vigorously, and casting huge stones and darts among them, from their wooden towers, they were soon put to flight, and beat back into the city; and by how much the greater were their numbers, and the more obstinate the fight, by so much the greater was the slaughter of the besieged: for some of them were slain, valiantly fighting hand to hand; others were killed in flight, near the ruins of the wall, because the breach was too narrow to afford entrance for such a multitude, and the ascent through it was too steep and rugged. Those too who sallied forth by way of the gate Tripylus, were attacked by Ptolemy, one of the King's Body Guards, at the head of Addæus' and Timander's troops, and some other light-armed soldiers, who easily put them to flight. But a dreadful accident then befall them; for, as they endeavoured to make their escape over a narrow bridge, which they had laid over the ditch, the bridge broke, by the vast weight of the multitudes upon it, so that some fell headlong into the ditch, some were trampled to death by their own party, and others slain by the Macedonian darts from above. A great slaughter of the besieged was also made at the gates, which had been too hastily and unseasonably shut up; for the inhabitants, fearing that the Macedonians should enter the city with their own men, shut many of them out, who were every one cut off by the enemy, under the walls: and at this time the city had been taken, had not Alexander caused a retreat to be sounded, (for he was desirous of saving it) to try if, by any means, the Halicarnassesians would yet deliver it into his hands. Of the citizens, near a thousand were slain in that conflict; of the Macedonians, near forty, among whom was Ptolemy, one of the King's Body Guards, Clearchus, Captain of a troop of archers, and Addæus, who had the command of a thousand foot, besides many others, of no mean account.
CHAP. XXIV.

AFTER this, Orotoobates and Memnon, and the rest of the Persian commanders, considering that they could not now hold the town long, because part of their walls was already beat down, and part shaken and ready to fall, and many of the defendants either cut off, in the several enclosures which had happened, or wounded and rendered unserviceable, and, having weighed the matter deliberately, about the second watch of the night set fire to the wooden tower, which they had built to guard them from the shocks of the enemy's engines, and to the arsenal where their artillery was lodged, as also to some houses near the wall, which last blazed out with much fury, because the wind setting that way, many flakes of fire were driven from the tower and arsenal thither. Hereupon some of the townsman betook themselves to a castle in an island, and others to another castle, called Salmacis; which, when Alexander was informed of, by some deserters, and when he beheld the raging flames, though it was near midnight, he nevertheless detached a body of Macedonians thither, with orders to slay those who set fire to the city, but to spare whomsoever they found in their habitations. As soon as it was day-light, Alexander, viewing the castles which the Persians and their mercenary troops had seized, resolved not to lay siege to them, as well because the reducing them, considering their situation, would take up too much time, as because they would not be of any great importance, after he had reduced the city. Wherefore, taking care to inter those who fell in the last conflict by night, he commanded his engineers to convey the artillery to Tralles, which city he laid level with the ground; and marching thence into Phrygia, left a body of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse, under the command of Ptolemy, to keep the country of Caria in obedience; for he had, before this time, appointed Ada to be Governor of Caria. She was the daughter of Hecatomnus, and sister to Hildricus, and, nevertheless, was his wife, according to the Carian laws. Hildricus dying, left the administration of affairs in her hands; for it had been an ancient custom among the Asiatics, ever since the time of Semiramis, that the widow should reign after her husband's decease. She was dethroned by Pexodorus, who usurped the sovereignty; but he dying, Orotoobates, his son-in-law, was sent thither by Darius, to take possession of the kingdom. Ada held only one city in obedience, but that was the strongest in her territories, and named Alinda. She went forth to meet Alexander, who was marching with his army thither, and, delivering her city into his hands, adopted him her son. Alexander, neither despising her liberality, nor disdaining the title of son, which she had conferred upon him, left the city in her custody; and, after he had demolished Halicarnassus, and reduced all Caria, honoured her with the government of the whole province.
SOME of the Macedonian soldiers, who served under Alexander, having married wives, a little while before he undertook this expedition, he deemed their case not unworthy his consideration: wherefore, dismissing them at Caria, he gave them leave to return into Macedonia, and spend the winter with their wives, Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, one of the Body Guards, being appointed their Lieutenant. Cenus also, the son of Polemocrates, and Meleager, the son of Neoptolemus, (who had newly married wives) were joined in commission with him. Their orders were, that, at their return, they should bring back those he had then dismissed, and with them as many recruits of horse and foot as could be raised in the country. And this single act of Alexander’s endeared him as much to the Macedonians as any other throughout his whole reign. He also, about this time, dispatched Cleander, the son of Polemocrates, to levy soldiers in Peloponnesus and Parmenio, on whom he had conferred the command of the royal cohort, upon the same account, to Sardis. He also ordered him to convey the Thessalian horse, and other auxiliaries, and the waggons with him, from Sardis into Phrygia. He, in the mean time, directed his march through Lycia and Pamphylia, with a design to reduce the sea-coasts, and, by that means, render the enemy’s fleet useless. And, accordingly, at his first setting out, Hyparna, a town well fortified, and furnished with a good garrison of mercenary troops, surrendered at his approach, and the foreigners who held the castle, having received terms, were suffered to depart. Thence, hastening into Lycia with his army, he easily gained the Telmisaeans, and, passing the river Panthus, had the cities of Xanthus, Pinara, Putara, and about thirty more, surrendered to him. These things so happily accomplished, he marched, in the very depth of winter, to Mylas, a province so named, which properly belonged to Phrygia the Greater, but, by Darius’s command, was contributory to Lycia. Hither came the ambassadors of the Phaselian, who requested his friendship, and presented him with a crown of gold: and hither also a few of the cities of Lower Lycia sent ambassadors to him, and entered into amity with him. He thereupon ordered them to deliver up their cities to those whom he dispatched thither for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. He then passed into the province of Phaselis, which he reduced, as also a certain fort, which the Pisidians had built there, from whence the barbarians, by frequent incursions, had harrassed the country round about.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILE the King was in that country, he received information that Alexander, the son of Aeropus, one of his friends, to whom he had given the command of the Thessalian horse, had conspired his death. This
Alexander was brother to Heromenes and Arrabeus, who had been privy to the death of Philip, and he himself had some share therein. However, as he applied to him among the first, after Philip's decease, and accompanied him armed to his palace, he pardoned him, and afterwards heaped many honours upon him; for he gave him the command of the forces which he sent into Thrace; and Calas, Captain of the Thasian horse, being dispatched to his Government, he had that post conferred on him. This conspiracy is said to have been thus discovered: After Amyntas had fled to Darius, and had carried him letters and orders from this Alexander, he dispatched Asisines, a Persian, much in favour and credit, to the sea-coast, under pretence of an embassy to Aitzyes, Governor of Phrygia. But, in reality, to meet this Alexander, and withal to assure him, that if he would murder the King, he should have the kingdom of Macedonias conferred upon him, besides a gratuity of a thousand talents of silver. But Asisines, being seized and examined by Parmenio, related the true cause of his embassy; upon which account he was sent, under a strong guard, to the King, that he might make the same confession there. The King having then called his council together, advised with them what was best to be done. They all unanimously gave it as their opinion, that he had trusted the best part of his horse in unfaithful hands, and therefore it was necessary to dispatch him speedily out of the way, before he became so gracious among them, as, by their means, to be able to raise an insurrection. A prodigy, which was said to have happened at that time, struck them with no small fear; for, whilst the King, who then lay encamped before Halicarnassus, was fast asleep, at mid-day, a swallow, making a great noise, is said to have hovered over his head, and to have rested, sometimes on one side of the bed, and sometimes on the other, and to have been more noisy and troublesome than usual. He had been exceedingly fatigued, and was not easily awaked; but when her incessant chattering roused him from sleep, he put her away gently with his hand, notwithstanding which, she was so far from endeavouring to escape, that she perched upon his head, and ceased not her noise till the King was thoroughly awake. This prodigy being deemed of too great moment to be disregarded, he immediately consulted with Aristander, the Telmisian soothsayer, who assured him that a conspiracy was formed against his life, by one of his domestics, but that it would be brought to light, because the swallow was a domestic bird, and most exceedingly loquacious. He therefore comparing the soothsayer's answer with the confession of Asisines, dispatched Amphoterus, the son of Alexander, and Craterus his brother, immediately to Parmenio, attended by some Pergeans, as guides. Amphoterus, having put on the country habit, to prevent suspicion on the road, came secretly to Parmenio, and as he had brought no letters from the King, (the matter being not thought proper to be committed to writing) he delivered his message by word of mouth; whereupon Alexander was there seized, and committed to safe custody.
CHAP. XXVII.

THE King then moving from Phaselis, dispatched part of his army through the mountainous country, to Perga, by a nearer, though a much more difficult way, shewn them by the Thracian Bithynians, while he led the rest along the sea-coast. But this last road is always impassable, except when the north winds blow; but then, after the most raging south wind had held a long time, the north winds begun, and, by the interposition of some divine power, as he and his followers declared, they obtained a safe and easy passage. When he had passed through Perga, he was met, on his way, by the ambassadors of the Aspendians, who promised to surrender their city into his hands, but intreated him not to impose a garrison upon them. Their request was granted, on condition they would raise fifty talents, to pay his soldiers, and give him the tribute of horses they had hitherto given to Darius. These terms being agreed to by the ambassadors, they departed. Alexander then marched to Side, the inhabitants of which city were originally Cumans, from Cumae in Ætolia, and give this strange account of their original: Their ancestors, they say, who left Cumae, and betook themselves to this country, no sooner set foot on shore, but they forgot their native language, and begun to utter their minds to each other in a strange tongue, which, nevertheless, had no affinity with the barbarians, their neighbours, but was proper and peculiar to themselves, and altogether unknown before. From that time, therefore, the Sidites had a language different from all the nations round them. Alexander, having left a garrison in that city, directed his march to Syllius, a place well fortified and strengthened, not only with a garrison of foreign mercenaries, but a great number of stout inhabitants, so that it could not be taken by a sudden assault: and now he received intelligence that the Aspendians refused to perform their late covenants, and would neither deliver the horses to those who were sent thither to receive them, nor pay the money; but, on the contrary, having conveyed all their cattle out of the fields into the city, shut their gates against his messengers, and fell to repairing their walls, wherever they were gone to decay; whereupon he returned suddenly, and encamped with his army near Aspendus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE city of Aspendus is seated chiefly upon a high and steep rock, the foot of which is washed by the river Eurymedon; but round the rock, upon the plain, are abundance of houses, surrounded with a slight wall. As soon as Alexander approached, the inhabitants of the lower town, distrusting their safety there, fled, and betook themselves to the higher town, or castle; which, when he perceived, he entered the lower town with his army, and encamped within the walls. The besieged,
seeing Alexander’s force, and themselves hemmed in, on every side, contrary to their expectations, sent messengers to intreat him to accept of the former conditions. Alexander, considering the strength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long siege, was willing to agree with them, though not upon the former terms, but insisted now that their principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages; that the number of horses which they had before promised should be punctually delivered, and the number of talents doubled; and, moreover, that they should be under the command of such a garrison as he should place over them, and pay an annual tribute to the Macedonians; and, lastly, that the cause concerning the fields, which they were said to have wrested unjustly out of their neighbours’ hands, should be referred to arbitration. All these conditions being agreed to, he marched from thence to Perge, and thence led his army into Phrygia, and, his way obliging him, he passed by Telmissus, the inhabitants of which place are barbarians, a colony of Pisidia. The city is seated on a high mountain, steep and rugged on every side, so that the passage up to it is difficult and dangerous; for the mountain extends itself from the city to the very road, and another mountain rises over against it, equally inaccessible, so that the pass is extremely narrow, and, by a small party, might be entirely blocked up. The Telmissians had posted their forces upon both these hills, which Alexander perceiving, ordered his Macedonians to pitch their tents as near their enemies as possible; imagining that the Telmissians would not long continue their stations there, when they came to see his army encamped, but that the greatest part of them would retire into the city, and leave only a slight guard there. And the event shewed that he was not deceived in his judgment; for a small party was left to guard the hills, and their whole force besides hasted into the city. Alexander then immediately leading on his archers and darters, and light-armed soldiers, attacked the guard; whereupon the Telmissians, unable to endure the shock, betook themselves to flight, and abandoned the mountain.

CHAP. XXIX.

ALEXANDER, having made himself master of the pass, encamped before the city; and thither came to him the ambassadors of the Selge. They are also a colony of the Pisidians, inhabit a populous city, and are a warlike people, and, being ancient enemies to the Telmissians, they had dispatched this embassy to Alexander, requesting his friendship. Their request being granted, he afterwards made use of them as faithful and valiant soldiers. The siege of the city of Telmissus was looked upon as an undertaking which would require too much time; wherefore he decamped from before it, and marched to Salagusus. This was also a large city of the Pisidians, and, notwithstanding all the Pisidians were deemed warlike people, yet these were always counted the chief.
ALEXANDER’S EXPEDITION.

There was a hill which overlooked their city, and which they imagining of no less importance than their walls, from whence to annoy their enemies, they seized it, whereupon Alexander immediately divided his army into two bodies. On the right wing, where himself commanded in chief, were the targeteers in front; next these, the royal cohort of foot, extending even to the other wing, according as the particular orders for drawing up the army were given out that day. The left wing was commanded by Amyntas, the son of Arrhabæus. On the right wing were placed the archers and Agrians; on the left the Thracian darters, headed by Sitalces. As to the horse, they were altogether unserviceable, in a place so rugged and mountainous. The Telmissians, moreover, came to the aid of these citizens, and strengthened their force. And now Alexander’s army approaching the hill, which the Pisidians had fortified, and attempting to ascend it, in places extremely steep, the barbarians suddenly rushed upon both wings from an ambuscade; for all the passages round the hill were well known, and familiar to them, but rugged and dangerous to the assailants. The archers, who led the van, being light armed, were hereupon put to flight; but the Agrians stood their ground, for the Macedonian phalanx was at hand, with Alexander at their head. However, when they came to a close fight, and the naked barbarians were to encounter with the armed Macedonians, they were slain and wounded in great numbers; and the remainder turned their backs and fled. There fell of the citizens that day about five hundred. But many being light armed, and thoroughly acquainted with the place, easily escaped by flight: whereas the Macedonians, by reason of the weight of their armour, and their ignorance of the country, durst not pretend to pursue them. However, Alexander being victorious here, immediately attacked the city, and took it by storm. In this siege Cleander, one of his captains, was slain, and about twenty soldiers. He then marched against other places in Pisidia, and took some of their strong holds by force, whilst others were surrendered upon articles.

CHAP. XXX.

AFTER this, he hastened into Phrygia, and passed by the lake Asca-
nia, where salt is naturally concreted, which the inhabitants of that
country use instead of the common salt made from sea water. On the
fifth day after, he pitched his tent before Celaene, in which city was a
castle seated on an eminence, and every way well fortified. This was
garrisoned with a thousand Carians, and an hundred Grecian mercen-
aries, under the command of a Phrygian nobleman. These dispatched
ambassadors to acquaint Alexander, that if they received no succours
within a certain limited time, by them mentioned, they would surrender
the fort into his hands; which conditions he judging much more con-
venient for him, than to undertake a difficult and hazardous siege against
a castle almost impregnable, thought fit to accept: and the succours
not arriving at the time, the city and castle was delivered up. Alexander put therein a garrison of one thousand five hundred soldiers, and rested there ten days. He then, having appointed Antigonus, the son of Philip, Governor of Phrygia, and Balacrus, the son of Amyntas, Prefect of the auxiliary forces in his stead, directed his march to Gordium; and wrote letters to Parmenio to meet him there, with the troops under his command, which he accordingly did. The Macedonians, who had been sent home to visit their new wives, came also to Gordium, and with them some recruits which Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, Cenus, the son of Polemocrates, and Meleager, the son of Neoptolemus, had raised. These recruits consisted of a thousand Macedonian foot, and three hundred horse; two hundred Thessalian horse, and an hundred and fifty Eleans, commanded by Alcias the Elean. The city Gordium is seated in Phrygia, near the Hellespont, upon the river Sangarius. This river has its rise in Phrygia, whence, flowing through the Bithynian Thrace, it falls at last into the Euxine Sea. Hither the Athenians sent their ambassadors to Alexander, beseeching him to release such of their citizens as had been taken fighting for the Persians, at the river Granicus, and were then, with two thousand others, kept prisoners in Macedonia. But they returned without obtaining their request; for he did not think it advisable, whilst the Persian war yet continued, to remove that dread from the Greeks, who durst attempt to take up arms for barbarians, against their own countrymen: wherefore he dispatched them with this answer, that whenever the Persian war was finished to his wishes, they might then send their ambassadors, to solicit for the freedom of their citizens.

BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAP. I.

IN the mean time, Memnon, whom King Darius had constituted Admiral of his whole fleet, designing to move the seat of war into Greece, had the island Chios delivered to him by treachery: whence, hoisting sail for Lesbos, and having reduced all the towns upon that island, except Mitylene, which declared for Alexander, he appeared before it; and, as that city is seated on a promontory, cut off its communication with the island, by a double wall, fortified with five castles, and drawn across the neck of land, from sea to sea; whereby he prevented its receiving any succours by land, and with one part of his fleet he kept possession of the harbour, and ordered the rest to cruize near Sigeira, a promontory of Lesbos, where is a road for ships of burden, sailing from Chios, Gerastus, and Maleus; by which means he obstructed all hopes of supplies by sea. About this time he died; and his death was a great blow to Darius's affairs; nevertheless, Autophrades, and Pharnabazus, the son of Artabazus, to whom Memnon, at his decease, had
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left the navy in charge, till Darius should have leisure to consider the matter, for he was his sister's son, carried on the siege with vigour. The Mitylenians, therefore, finding themselves distressed, by sea and land, dispatched ambassadors to Pharnabazus, and agreed to surrender their city to the Persians, upon these conditions: viz. that the foreign auxiliaries sent them by Alexander should be suffered to depart peaceably: that the tables whereon their league with Alexander was engraved should be destroyed: that they should enter into a league with Darius, according to the articles of peace formerly made by Antalcis: that their exiles should return, and have half their effects restored them. These terms being accepted, Pharnabazus and Antiphrades entered the city, and introduced a garrison, commanded by Lycomedes, the Rhodian. The civil government of the city was, at the same time, committed into the hands of Diogenes, one of their exiles, and a huge sum of money extorted from them, one part thereof by a tax on the wealthy citizens, and the rest from the multitude.

CHAP. II.

PHARNABAZUS then set sail for Lycia, carrying the foreign auxiliaries above mentioned with him: and Antiphrades had a design upon some other islands. In the mean while, Darius dispatched Thymondas, the son of Mentor, to Pharnabazus, to take care of the mercenaries, and acquaint him, in his name, that he was come to succeed his father. Pharnabazus having delivered up the soldiers to Thymondas, immediately made sail to join Antiphrades. These, jointly, dispatched Datames, the Persian, against the Cyclades, with ten ships, whilst they, with a hundred, made ready to attack Teos. They accordingly hastened thither, and entering the north haven, dispatched a message to the inhabitants, commanding them immediately to destroy the tables whereon their former league with Alexander and the Greeks were engraved, and accept of peace from Darius, on the same terms which were granted them before by Antalcis. The islanders had indeed a much greater affection for Alexander and the Greeks; but, as their affairs then stood, they run the risk of being destroyed, unless they immediately condescended to accept the terms imposed on them; because Hegelochus, whom Alexander had ordered to refit the fleet, had not yet got so many ships ready as could give them any hopes of speedy succour; for which reason they were induced to a compliance, rather out of fear than good will. In the mean time, Proteas, the son of Andronicus (having gathered together as many long ships from Euboea and Peloponnesus, by Antipater's order, as at least to secure the Grecian coasts and islands from insults of the barbarians), upon advice that Datames, with his ten ships, had chosen the river Syphnum for his station, sailed with fifteen ships to Chalcis, seated on the Euripus;
and early the next morning to the island Cythnus, where he spent the rest of the day in receiving more certain information of the place where the enemy's ships lay, and at the same time resolved to attack them by night, that he might strike the Phœnicians with more terror: and when he was fully assured that the enemy was at the mouth of the river Sythnus, he sailed thither by night, and as the drawn appeared, attacked them furiously, when they least expected it, and soon made himself master of eight of those ships of force. But Datames, with the other two, escaping, at the beginning of the fight, made the best of his way to the rest of the fleet.

CHAP. III.

AS soon as Alexander arrived at Gordium, and had entered the castle, wherein the palace of Gordius, and his son Midas, had stood, he discovered his ambition of seeing Gordius's chariot, and the knot which was reported to have been made in the harness thereof; for strange stories had been told concerning it among the neighbouring inhabitants. This Gordius, as the story goes, was a man of slender fortune among the antient Phrygians, who had a small piece of land, and two yoke of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon; and that on a certain day, while he was ploughing, an eagle alighted upon the yoke, and there rested till the evening. He, terrified at the sight, hastened to consult the Telmisian augurs in that case, for the art of divination was common to all that people, even to the women and children, so that it was, in a manner, hereditary; and when he arrived at a certain village in that country, he met a virgin going to a fountain, who foretold what should happen to him, and ordered him, as she was of the Telmisian progeny, to return to his field, and there offer sacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius, on the other hand, intreated her to accompany him thither, to teach him after what manner the sacrifice should be performed. He, thus instructed by the virgin, took her to wife, and she bore him a son named Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was both beautiful and valiant. The Phrygians were at that time harassed with a cruel sedition, and going to consult the oracle, were told, that a chariot should bring them a king, who should quell their sedition. Whilst they were yet busy in offering their conjectures about this answer, Midas arrived with his father and mother, and appeared suddenly, in his chariot, before the council. They, hereupon, interpreting the answer to relate to him, as the man whom the god had told them should come thither in a chariot, made him their king. Their seditions he appeased, and consecrated his father's chariot to Jupiter the king, by hanging it up in his palace, as an offering of thanks for the eagle (the bird of Jupiter), sent to his father, by which he received the kingdom. This was also reported concerning the chariot, that whose-
never could untie the knot, whereby it hung, should obtain the sovereignty over all Asia. The cord in which this knot was tied was composed of the inner rhind of the curneil tree, and no eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. Alexander, when he could find no possible way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, lest it should cause some fears to arise in the hearts of his soldiers, is said by some to have cut the cords with his sword, and affirmed that the knot was untied. But Aristobulus assures us, that he wrested a wooden pin out of the beam of the waggon, which being driven in across the beam, held it up; and so took the yoke from it. How this knot was loosed by Alexander, I dare not affirm: however, he and his followers departed fully satisfied, as if the prophecy concerning the solution thereof had been fulfilled; and the thunder and lightning, which happened the following night, confirmed their opinion; for which reason, the next day, he offered sacrifice to the gods, who had assured him, by prodigies, not only that the oracle's response was fully accomplished, but also that the Gordian knot was truly untied.

CHAP. IV.

ALEXANDER, the next day, arrived at Ancyrus, a city of Galatia, whither ambassadors came to him from Paphlagonia, requesting his friendship, and promising to surrender their province to him, on condition that his army should not enter their borders, to which he agreed, and thereupon deputed Calas, president of Phrygia, their governor.—Thence marching into Cappadocia, he subdued all the country on this side the river Halys, and a great part beyond it; and having appointed Sabictas to preside over Cappadocia, he proceeded to the straights, which open into Cilicia; and when he approached the place which is called the Camp of Cyrus, under whom Xenophon, the famous Captain, served, and saw those straights already possessed by a party of stout soldiers, leaving Parmenio there, with the heavy armed cohorts of foot, he, in the first watch of the night, marched with his targeteers, and archers, and Agrians, to the straights,* with a design to surprize the enemy. But though he could not attack them unprepared, as he intended, yet the very attempt gained him his end; for the enemy appointed to guard the pass, being informed of his approach, quitted their posts and fled. The next morning, therefore, having passed these straights with his whole army, he descended into Cilicia. Here he received information, that Arsames, whom Darius had made governor of Taurus, hearing he had passed the straights, had resolved to abandon

* The country of Cilicia has three memorable straights or passes, the first whereof is so very narrow, that it is called The Gate. The second is called the straights of Amanus, and give an entrance into Armenia. The third is near the bay of Issus. Cilicia is bounded westward by Pamphylia, eastward by Syria, southward by the

bay of Issus, and northward by Cappadocia.
the city, and that the citizens were afraid he would first plunder it; upon which, taking with him his horse, and light-armed foot, he used his utmost endeavours to arrive there in time to save it. But when Ar- 

tees was assured of his coming, he immediately fled from King Da- 
rus, leaving the city unhurt. Here Alexander, according to Aristobu- 

lus's account, fell into a fit of sickness, by the too excessive toils he 

underwent; though other authors tell us, that while he was sweating vehe- 

mently with the heat of his journey, he cast himself into the river Cyd- 

ans, which runs through the city, with a design to refresh himself by 

swimming. This river, arising from the mountain Taurus, flows along 

a fine country, by which means its waters are extremely pure, and ex- 

cessively cold. And hence Alexander was seized with pains in the 

nerves, accompanied with a sharp fever, and a continual waking, inso- 

much, that when all the rest of his physicians despaired of his life, Philip 

the Acarnanian, in whose extraordinary skill in physic he had great 

confidence, because of his success in the camp, was ordered to ad- 
mister a draught to him. After these orders were given, while he was 

preparing the cup, came a letter from Parmenio to Alexander, warning 

him to beware of Philip, for that he had heard how Philip had been 

bribed by Darius to poison him. Alexander, having read the letter, 
took the cup, wherein was the potion, in his hand, and gave Philip the 
letter to read: and, while he was reading, he drank up the draught; 
the physician shewing, by the composure of his countenance, that the 
medicine was inoffensive, and, by his intrepidity on perusing the letter, 
that he was not conscious of any crime that he had been guilty of, only 
intreated Alexander to acquiesce in his advice, in what he should pre- 
scribe for the future, which, if he did, he would recover his health.--- 
After his disease had left him, he declared his esteem for Philip, by as- 
suring him that he should always have a share in his friendship; and 
certified to all who were present, how steady an opinion he retained of 
their loyalty, in refusing to entertain any suspicions to the contrary; as 
also, that he could meet death with a true heroic magnanimity.

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PARMENIO was dispatched to seize the streights which divide 
Cilicia from Assyria, and to keep possession thereof; and with him the 
 auxiliary troops of foot, the mercenary Greeks, and Thracians, com- 
manded by Sitalces, as also the Thesmalian horse. He afterwards fol- 
lowed him from Taurus, and in his first day's march, arrived at Auchi- 
ahas. This city is said to have been built by Sardanapalus, king of As- 
syria; and, indeed, the vast circuit thereof, and the foundations of the 
antient walls, shew that it has been a stately, flourishing, and populous 
city. The tomb of Sardanapalus was nigh the walls, on the top where- 
of was his statue, seeming to clasp his hands for joy. The inscription 
thereof was formerly wrote in the Assyrian language, and, as the inha-
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bitants thereabouts report, in verse, the substance of which was this: Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxes, built Anchirodes and Tarsus in one day. As for thee, O traveller, eat, drink, play, for all other human things do not deserve this; alluding to the joy signified by the clapping of his hands. But the word ισαχας is said in the original to contain a much more effeminate and lascivious meaning. From Aehialus Alexander hastened to Soli, in which city having placed a garrison, he exacted two hundred talents of silver from the inhabitants, because they seemed to incline most to the Persian interest. Afterwards, with three troops of Macedonian foot, and all his archers and Agrians, encountering the Cilicians, who had seized the passes through the mountains, in the space of seven days, partly by force, and partly by composition, he reduced them all to his obedience, and then returned to Soli. Here he received intelligence, that Orontobates the Persian, who had held the government of the castle of Halicarnassus, and Myndus, and Cannus, and Callipolis, against him, had received an overthow by Ptolomey and Asander; and that the island Cos, and Triopium, had declared for the conquerors. The battle was bloody; about seven hundred Persian foot, and fifty of their horse, being slain, and not less than a thousand taken prisoners. While Alexander lay at Soli, he sacrificed to Esculapius, for the recovery of his health; himself and all his army walking in procession, with lighted torches in their hands. He also exhibited gymnastic and musical exercises; and allowed the citizens to change their government into a popular state. Thence taking his route towards Tarsus, and giving Philotas orders to march through the country of Aleius, as far as the river Pyramus, with his foot, and royal cohort, he arrived at Megarsus, where he offered sacrifices to Minerva of Magarsus. Thence moving to Mallos, he sacrificed to Amphilochus, as a hero; and having quelled a sedition among the citizens, he released them from the tribute which they had formerly paid to Darius, because the inhabitants of that city were a colony of Argives; and he himself deduced his pedigree from Hercules Argivus.

CHAP. VI.

WHILE Alexander continued at Mallos, news was brought him that Darius, with his whole army, lay encamped at Sochos, a place in Assyria, about two days journey from the straights before mentioned. Whereupon, having called a council of his friends, he declared what had been related to him concerning Darius and his forces; and they immediately requested to be led thither against them. Herenupon he dismissed the council, with due praises of their valor; and, the next day, set forwards with his army, and having passed the Persian straights, the day after he pitched his tents before the city Myramdrus. But a huge tempest arising that night, and a prodigious quantity of rain falling, so annoyed his forces, that he continued still in the same place. Darius,
in the mean time, had chose a fit place for his army to encamp in, being a large plain, every way open, and exceedingly commodious for so great a force, especially where the horse made up so considerable a part of the army; and Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, a deserter from Alexander, persuaded him, by all means, to remain there; and assured him, that that place, considering the multitudes of their friends, and the vast quantity of their baggage, was the fittest place imaginable, and Darius accordingly remained there for some time. But Alexander's long stay at Tarsus, by reason of his sickness, and at Soli, where he exhibited shows, and offered sacrifices, besides the time he spent in subduing the Cilicians, who had possessed the passes, drove Darius entirely from his resolutions; and indeed, such was his nature, that he was easily induced to believe that truth, which he wished to be so; and was, then especially, influenced by those who consulted not so much what would be profitable, as what was pleasant to him. Those sycophants, the most certain bane of all kingdoms, persuaded him that Alexander, upon advice of his approach, at the head of such a numerous army, durst not proceed any further. And their common discourse, throughout the camp, was, that Darius's horse alone would be sufficient to trample the whole Macedonian army under foot. Notwithstanding this, Amyntas always affirmed, that Alexander would certainly come to any place, wherever he heard Darius lay encamped; and persuaded him, by all means, to continue there, and wait his approach. But worse advice proving more grateful to the king's ears prevailed. And whether it was some god, or fortune, which drew him out, most certain it is, he afterwards chose an unfit place, where his horse could neither be of much service to him, nor the numerous multitude of his darters and archers contribute to his safety; nor, indeed, had he so much as an opportunity to shew the magnificence of his army, but afforded Alexander a cheap and easy victory. And it was undoubtedly decreed by fate, that the Persians should be deprived of the empire of Asia by the Macedonians, as the Medes had been by the Persians, and the Assyrians heretofore by the Medes.

CHAP. VII.

DARIUS, having already passed by the mountain, which is near the straights of Amanus, directed his march towards Issus, not knowing that Alexander was now behind him. Having taken Issus, as many Macedonians as had been left there by Alexander, for the recovery of their health, were first cruelly handled, and afterwards slain. The day after, he proceeded to the river Pinarus. So soon as Alexander heard that Darius was left behind him, because he could not believe the news, he dispatched some of his friends, in a ship with thirty oars, towards Issus, to inquire into the truth of the story; who, going accordingly on board, as the sea on that coast terminates in a large bay, they soon perceived where
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the Persians had pitched their tents; and accordingly acquainted Alexander that Darius was now in his hands. He calling a council of all his captains of cohorts, and troops, and the prefects of his auxiliaries, advised them to be of good courage, to remember what great and glorious actions they had already performed, and to consider that this battle would be no more, than for them, who were ever conquerors, to fight against those who were always beaten; that the gods must certainly declare for them against Darius, who had been so far intemperate as to move his army from that spacious plain into these straits, where the Macedonians had room enough commodiously to form their phalanx, but where the vast multitude of their enemies would be altogether unserviceable. He added, that those with whom they were now to fight were neither equal to them in strength nor valor; that the Macedonians were to encounter with the Medes and Persians, nations which had been enervated by long ease and effeminacy; whereas they had been injured to warlike toils, and well exercised to undergo all difficulties with a becoming bravery. Besides, they, being a free people, were to attack a nation of slaves; and even the Greeks, who were in the two armies, were to fight on terms vastly different; those of Darius's party for hire, and that small and inconsiderable; but those of his freely and voluntarily engaged, themselves, for the sake of glory and their country; that the Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, and Agrians, the stoutest and most warlike nations in Europe, were about to meet the wanton, the luxurious, and effeminate Asiatics; and lastly, that Alexander was to lead an army against Darius. Thus far he proceeded, that the Macedonians, and other nations which composed his host, might know how much they surpassed their enemies in heroic exploits. He then begun to expatiate upon the greatness of the rewards they were to receive from that day's action, by telling them, they were not only to overcome the nobles of Darius in that conflict, nor that party of horse which stood posted on the banks of the river Granicus, nor twenty thousand mercenary soldiers, but the whole body of the Persian and Median empires, and what other nations soever have bowed to their power, throughout all Asia; and that when they had subdued so great a king, in one battle, nothing would hinder them from taking possession of all Asia, and putting, at once, a happy end to all their labours. He then recited the glorious acts which they had already done in a confederate body; and withal assured them, that if any single person among them performed a gallant action, he would call him out by name, and make a suitable mention thereof; and at the same time declared his own contempt of danger in war, to stir up others by his example. He forgot not, on this occasion, to mention the story of Xenophon, and the ten thousand soldiers, his followers, who were, as he said, neither equal to his troops in number, nor on any other account to be compared to them, there being neither Thessalians, nor Boeotians, nor Peloponnesians, nor Macedonians, nor Thracians, nor any other body of horse in their whole army, neither had they any archers nor slingers, except a few Cretans and Rhodians, whom Xenophon had hastily levied.
in the very face of danger. And yet even those chased a mighty monarch, with his whole army, from before the walls of Babylon, and subdued all the nations which lay in their way, from thence to the Euxine Sea. He also added several other arguments, such as were fit for a great commander, in order to inspire a stout and gallant army with courage, immediately before a battle. When he had made an end, they gave their hands to each other, and extolling their king's words, such a heat inflamed their minds, that they instantly required to be led forth against the enemy.

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDER then gave his soldiers a strict charge to take care of their bodies; and, having dispatched some of his horse and archers before, to clear the road to the straights, through which he was obliged to pass, the night following he moved, with his whole army, to take possession of them again; and this being also accomplished, about midnight, he ordered his men to compose themselves to sleep till morning, having appointed a strict guard, wherever it seemed necessary. As soon as the dawn appeared, he begun to descend from the hills, having straightened his front, by reason of the narrowness of the pass; and when the mountains begun to open a little, he disposed his army, one part after another, into a close and regular phalanx, the right wing thereof extending to the mountain, and the left to the sea-shore, the horse, at the same time, standing ranged behind the foot. But when they arrived in an open country, he immediately drew them up in order of battle. In the right wing, towards the mountain, he placed a squadron of foot, and the targeteers, commanded by Nicanor, the son of Parmenio. Next to these, the troops of Cænus and Perdiccas; and these he placed so as to extend to the middle ranks of the heavy-armed foot. In the left wing were Amyntas', Ptolemy's, and Meleager's forces. The foot, in this range, was commanded by Craterus, but the charge of the whole wing was given to Parmenio, who had strict orders not to remove from his station on the sea-shore, lest he should suffer the army to be surrounded by the barbarians, who were much superior to the Macedonians in numbers. Darius, as soon as he was certified of Alexander's approach, with a choice army, ordered thirty thousand of his horse, and twenty thousand foot, to pass the river Pinarus, that the rest might draw up the more commodiously: and, first of all, he ranged the * Greek mercenary troops, which were heavy-armed, in front (in number about thirty thousand) to oppose the Macedonian phalanx; and on each hand of them stood sixty thousand of the Cardaci, who were also heavy-armed, in the form of wings; for the mountain being so near, would not suffer

* These troops of mercenary Grecians were under the command of Thymondas, the son of Mentor; and in them the chief strength of Darius's army lay.
more troops to stand ranged in front. On the left hand, towards the
mountain, facing Alexander’s right wing, he placed twenty thousand,
and some of those extended even to the banks of the Macedonians; for
the mountain under which the army was drawn up, sloping a great way
inward, formed a kind of a bay, or hollow part, like those made by
the sea on the shore, and, after that, winding forwards, was the cause
that those who were posted at the foot thereof beheld the backs of Alex-
ander’s right wing. The remaining multitude of Darius’s soldiers, as
well light as heavy-armed (according to the difference of nations whereof
they were composed) were reduced into close and unserviceable orders,
and placed behind the Greek mercenaries; and the phalanx of barba-
rians, and the whole number of Darius’s forces there, is said to have
amounted to six hundred thousand. As soon as ever Alexander saw
the narrow passage open, he drew up his horse in order, as well his own
royal cohort as the Thessalians and Macedonians, and those he placed
on the right wing, near his person. The Peloponnesians and the rest
he dispatched to the left wing, to Parmenio. When Darius had or-
dered his army, the horse which he had before commanded to pass the
river he suddenly recalled, and posted the greatest part of them on the
right wing, towards the sea, against Parmenio; because they were of
most use there; the rest he ordered to the left, at the foot of the moun-
tain. But when he perceived that they could not be serviceable there,
by reason of the narrowness of the place, he commanded many of them to
go and strengthen their companions on the right wing. Darius, ob-
serving the ancient and established rule of the Persian monarchs, kept
the main body, the reason of which custom is given us by Xenophon, the
son of Gryllus.

CHAP. IX.

In the mean while, Alexander perceiving almost all the Persian horse
drawn up against his left wing, on the sea-shore, and considering that
only the Peloponnesian, and part of the royal cohort of horse, were
posted there, he immediately dispatched the Thessalian horse thither,
with orders that they should convey themselves to that post as secretly
as they could, to prevent the enemies from discovering their march.
In their places, on the right wing, he appointed those horse which had
usually made up the forlorn hope, commanded by Protomachus, and
the Pæonians by Aristor; and among the foot, the archers headed by An-
tiochus, and the Agrianes by Attalus, besides some troops of horse and
archers, which he placed in the very turning, with their faces towards
the mountain; so that those who made up the right part of the phalanx
were divided into two wings, the one fronting Darius and the Persians,
on the other side of the river, the other opposite, who stood with their
backs towards the mountain. On the left side he placed the Grecian
and Thracian archers, commanded by Sitacles, and, before those, the
horse which belonged to the right wing, the foreign mercenary troops being placed on the rear. But now, perceiving the phalanx on the right wing too much weakened, and imagining that the Persians might easily surround it, he ordered two troops from the main body, the Anthebusian cohort, over which was Peritas the son of Menostheus, and the Lagaean cohort, commanded by Pantordamus, the son of Cleander, to wheel off silently to the right; but the archers, and part of the Agrians, with some of the Greek mercenaries he had before drawn off from the right wing, and placed in the front, by which means that phalanx was stretched out beyond the enemy's opposite wing. But, as those who were posted at the foot of the mountain did not attempt to descend, but, on the contrary, when an attack was made upon them, by a small party of archers and Agrians, were easily beat from their station, and fled up the side thereof, he thought those whom he placed there might be more useful to strengthen the phalanx elsewhere, and that a party of three hundred would be sufficient to cope with the enemy on that side.

CHAP. X.

ALEXANDER having thus marshalled his army, led them on slowly against the enemy: neither did Darius suffer his soldiers to move from their posts to meet them, but kept them on the banks of the river, which were there steep, and difficult to ascend; or, wherever the ascent was easier, he fortified the place with a rampart, which was an argument to the Macedonians that he, even then, imagined himself a prisoner. But, after the armies joined battle, Alexander appeared everywhere, that he might encourage his men to behave themselves valiantly, and not only called to all his chief commanders, by their several names and titles, but also to the tribunes, and other officers, and even those prefects of the mercenaries who were either illustrious by descent, or had made themselves so by martial exploits. And now the word was given, and the cry went round to rush forwards upon their enemies: but, although Alexander had Darius's whole army full in view, yet he advanced leisurely at first, lest his phalanx, by too eager a contention, should fall into disorder. Nevertheless, when they came within the reach of their darts, those of the right wing, who surrounded him, and afterwards he himself, pushed forwards into the river, in such a manner as struck terror into their enemies, and, coming swiftly upon them, they received little damage from their arrows. And this succeeded according to Alexander's design; for the moment they came to hand-blows, the enemies who were posted on the left wing of their army turned their backs, and fled, and Alexander and his companions obtained a cheap and entire victory on that side. But the Greek mercenary troops of Darius's party, seeing the right wing of the Macedonians divided (for Alexander suddenly entering the river, and encountering the Persians, easily re-
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pulsed them on the part where he landed; but those who followed had not the same success, for, being stopped by the steep and rugged banks, they could scarce preserve their order of battle) made an attack on that part of the phalanx which they saw disjoined, and thence ensued a sharp conflict, the Persians endeavouring to push the Macedonians back into the river, and (though many of their own troops were now flying) to wrest the victory out of their hands; and the Macedonians, on the other hand, striving to render the conquest they had already nearly obtained complete, and that the glory of the phalanx, which had, to that time, been unsullied, and which was known to every body, should not suffer by that day’s action. And then happened a strife between the Grecians and Macedonians, concerning the honour of their respective nations. In this conflict with the enemy fell Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, after having behaved himself gloriously, and other Macedonians, of no mean account, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

CHAP. XI.

THE cohorts which were posted on the right wing, perceiving the Persians opposite to them to turn their backs, hastened straightway to attack Darius’s foreign mercenaries, and, after an obstinate defence, drove them from the banks of the river, and surrounding that part of the army which had been broke, and attacking them on the opposite side, they made a great slaughter among them: but the Persian horse, which faced the Thessalians, continued the conflict a long time after the Macedonians had passed the river, and, opposing them with much valour and magnanimity, a fierce equestrian fight ensued, which continued till they received intelligence that Darius himself was fled, and the Grecian mercenaries routed, and dispersed by the Macedonians. The overthrow of the Persian army was then perceived on all sides; their horses, because their riders were heavy-armed, were many of them overtaken; and cut off in the retreat, and the riders themselves were so much incommoded by the narrowness of the roads, and their own fears, that, while each endeavoured to fly swifter than another, they hindered each other, and received less loss from their own party than from the enemy in pursuit after them. The Thessalians, however, followed them close, and it is hard to determine whether their loss of horse or foot forces was greatest in their flight. As soon as Darius perceived his left wing broken by Alexander, and that part of his army dispersed and put to flight, he immediately drove out of the battle, and escaped in a chariot, with some of his nobles: and, so far as the country was plain and open, his chariot conveyed him away with ease and safety; but when the roads begun to be rough, and the country mountainous, he quitted it, and having left therein his shield, his cloak, and his bow, continued his flight on horseback, and, had not the night favoured him, he had then fallen into his enemy’s hands; for whilst it
was yet day, Alexander pursued hard after him, but when it was dark he returned to his army, carrying with him the chariot, the shield, the cloak, and bow of Darius, which had fallen into his hands. Besides, Alexander did not attempt to pursue him before he had seen the foreign mercenaries, and the Persian horse, dispersed, and driven far from their station, on the banks of the river. Of the Persians there fell, Arsame, Rheoditheia, and Atizyes, who had been captains of horse in the fight at the river Granicus; as also Sabaces, Governor of Egypt, and Bubaces, men of great account in Persia, besides a vast multitude of private men, to the number of a hundred thousand, including ten thousand horse. The slaughter was so great, that Ptolomey, the son of Lagus, reports, that those who accompanied Alexander in his pursuit after Darius, when they came to a ditch, filled it up with the dead bodies of their enemies, and so passed over them. Darius's tent was taken at the beginning of the fight, and therein his mother, his wife, his sister, and his son, an infant, besides his two daughters, with a great number of the wives of the principal nobility in the army; for the other Persians had dispatched their wives, along with the carriages, to Damascus, whither also Darius had sent the greatest part of his treasure, and many other things, which warlike Kings carry with them, to shew their splendour and magnificence, so that there was not above three thousand talents found in the whole camp. However, all the treasure above mentioned was, soon after, seized on the road, by Parmenio. This battle was fought in the month Maimacterion, when Nicostratus was Archon at Athens.

CHAP. XII.

THE day after, Alexander, though still indisposed, by reason of a hurt which he had received in his thigh, visited the wounded, and, having diligently searched after the bodies of the slain, ordered them to be splendidly interred, the whole army standing ranked in battle array, and, at the same time, bestowing praises on every one whom either he had seen behaving themselves gallantly in the battle, or relating their noble actions, from the information of others: he also honoured each of them with a largess of money, according to his honour or merit. After this he constituted Balacrus, the son of Nicaor, one of his bodyguards, Governor of Cilicia, and appointed Menetes, the son of Dionysius, to succeed him. The troop of Ptolomey, the son of Seleucus, who fell in the last battle, he bestowed on Polysperchon, the son of Simmias. The fifty talents, which still remained unpaid by the citizens of Soli he remitted, and delivered up their hostages. Neither, among all this hurry of affairs, was he unmindful of the mother of Darius, nor of his wife nor children: for some of the writers of Alexander's life relate, that the very night on which he returned from the pursuit, when he entered into Darius's tent, which had been seized, and kept for him, he heard a woman's lamentation, and some other noise, not far distant, and,
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enquiring what women these were, and why in a tent so near? was immediately answered, "O King, the mother, and wife, and children of Darius, being told that thou hast taken his cloak, his arms, and his shield, pour forth their lamentations for Darius, supposing him slain." Alexander hearing this, immediately dispatched Leonnatus, one of his friends, to them, with orders to acquaint them that Darius was still alive; but that his arms and cloak were seized in his chariot, after he had quitted it, and only these were in Alexander's custody. Leonnatus having entered the tent, delivered his message, and withal told them that Alexander had allowed them to wear their royal apparel, to appear in state, and have the title of Queens; and to assure them that it was for no old enmity the war against Darius was undertaken, but gloriously to contend for the empire of Asia. Thus Ptolomey and Aristobulus relate the story; but others say that Alexander himself, the next day, entered the tent, without any attendant of note, except his friend Hephaestion, and that Darius's mother, doubting which of them was the King (for their habit was much alike) went to Hephaestion, and, because he appeared somewhat taller, fell at his feet, and saluted him: but when he retired, and some who were nearer shewed her Alexander, she was ashamed of her mistake, and endeavoured to retire; but he told her she was not mistaken, for Hephaestion was an Alexander. This last passage I neither relate as truth, nor condemn as fiction: if it be true, Alexander's pity and indulgence used to the women, and the honour bestowed on his friend, deserve the highest commendation; but supposing them feigned, and only related as probabilities by the writers of those times, yet still they are actions worthy Alexander, and truly great and glorious.

CHAP. XIII.

DARIUS fled away, by night, with a few of his friends; but, in the daytime, gathering up the Persians, and foreign mercenaries, who had escaped out of the battle, amounting in all to about four thousand, he marched, by long journies, to the city Thapsacus, on the river Euphrates, that he might, as soon as possible, have that river as a barrier between him and Alexander. In the mean while, Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, and Thymodes, the son of Mentor, with Aristomedes, the Pherean, and Bionor, the Acaeanian, all deserters, fled away from the battle, with about eight thousand men, and passed through the mountainous country to Tripolis, a city of Phoenicia, where seizing some ships, newly drawn out of the docks, wherein they had before been transported from Lesbos, as many of them as were fit for their purpose they put to sea with; the rest they burnt in the dock, lest they should afterwards be made use of by their enemies to pursue them; with these they sailed first to Cyprus, and afterwards to Egypt, where Amyntas, attempting innovations, was slain by the inhabitants. Pharnabazus and Autophradates staid some
time at Chius; but that island being strengthened with a garrison, and having dispatched some ships away to Coos and Halicarnassus, they, with an hundred sail, well stored, came to Sphinius; thither Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians, arriving in a trireme, required money for the use of the war, and as many sea and land-forces as they could spare, to be sent into Peloponnesus. But at that very time arrived a messenger with the news of the fatal battle of Issus; which, striking a terror into their minds, Pharnabazus, with twelve ships, and one thousand five hundred foreign mercenaries, sailed to Chius, lest the inhabitants of that island, hearing of this defeat, should attempt to revolt. Agis having received from Autophradates thirty talents of silver, and ten ships, dispatched these, by Hippias, to his brother Agesilaus, at Tanagra, with orders, that the moment he had paid the sailors their arrears, he should hasten into Crete, to settle the affairs of that island. He, tarrying among these islands some time, departed, at last, to Autophradates, at Halicarnassus. In the mean time, Alexander appointed Menon, the son of Cerdias, to be governor of Cælousyria, and left him some of the auxiliary troops of horse, for the safety of the province, while he marched forwards into Phœnecia, where, by the way, he was met by Strato, the son of Gerostratus; this Gerostratus was king of Arados, and all the neighbouring islands, and he, with other Phœnician and Cyprian princes, had joined his fleet with Autophradates, who, placing a crown of gold upon Alexander's head, surrendered into his hands the island Arados, and Marathus, a wealthy and populous city on the Continent, over against it; as also Mariamne, and whatever territories besides he had in possession.

CHAP. XIV.

WHILE Alexander remained at Marathus, ambassadors came to him with a letter from Darius, who also entreated him by word of mouth, to set Dariu's mother, and wife, and children, at liberty. The letter itself mentioned the league which Philip, his father, had entered into with Artaxerxes; and that when Arses, the son of Artaxerxes, ascended the throne, the same Philip, without any damage received from the Persians, or other provocation whatsoever, had first of all unjustly invaded his dominions; and how Alexander, from the time he began his reign, had never sent ambassadors to confirm the ancient leagues and treaties between the two nations; but, on the contrary, had passed over into Asia with his army, and had committed numerous depredations upon his subjects; that he only took up arms to defend his own rights, and protect his dominions; however, the event of the war must be according as the gods had determined. In the mean time, he, a king, sought his wife, his mother, and children, from him, who was also a king, offering to enter into friendship and alliance with him, and to that end desired, that when Menicus
and Arsime, his ambassadors, returned, he would send others with them who might both receive the terms proposed, and agree to them on his part. Alexander, without returning any answer by the ambassadors, ordered Thersippus to accompany them back again to Darius, and to give him a letter; declaring, at the same time, that he would not admit of any verbal conference. The letter was to this purpose:—"Your predecessors have entered Macedoniana, and the rest of Greece, in an hostile manner, and injured us, before they received any injuries from us. I, at my advancement to the empire of Greece, willing to revenge my country's wrongs upon the Persians, have passed over into Asia, having received sufficient provocation from your former numerous ravages. You aided the Persians in their unjust wars against my father; and Ochus transported an army of Persians into Thrace, to disturb the peace of our government. My father was slain by traitors whom you had hired for that purpose, as you have, everywhere, boasted in your letters; and, at the same time, when you had taken care that Ares should be dispatched by Bagoas, you usurped the empire unjustly, and in open defiance of all the Persian laws. You have, moreover, wrote letters into Greece, encouraging my subjects to rebellion, and to that end have sent money to the Lacedaemonians, and others, which, nevertheless, all the Grecians, except the Lacedaemonians, loyally rejected; by which means you strove to withdraw my friends and followers from me, and to dissolve that firm league which I have entered into with all the states of Greece. Wherefore I have invaded thy realms in a hostile manner, because thou wast the first author of hostilities. And now, when I have beaten thy governors, and captains, and afterwards thyself and thy whole army, in a pitched battle, and have already, by the permission of the gods, gained possession of Asia, as many of thy soldiers as surrendered themselves into my hands, after the battle, I protect; neither do they tarry with me against their inclinations, but freely and voluntarily take up arms for my cause. To me, therefore, as lord of all Asia, come, and apply thyself; but if thou art afraid of any harsh usage upon thy coming, send some of thy friends, who may take an oath from me for thy safety. When thou comest into my presence, ask for thy mother, thy wife, and children, and whatsoever thou wilt besides, and thou shalt receive them; and nothing shall be denied thee. However, when you write to me, next, remember to entitle me King of Asia; neither write to me any more as your equal, but as lord all your territories. If you act otherwise, I shall look upon it as an indignity of the highest consequence; and if you dispute my right to the possession of your realms, stay, and try the event of another battle; but hope not any more to secure yourself by flight; for, wherever you fly, thither I will surely pursue you."

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CHAP. XV.

AFTER Alexander had been informed that all the treasure which Darius had sent to Damascus, by Cophenes, the son of Artabazus, was seized, and that the Persians appointed to guard it, and the rest of the royal furniture, were taken prisoners, he ordered them to be carried back, and kept safe at Damascus, by Parmenio. But the Grecian ambassadors, who had been dispatched to Darius before the battle, and were taken, he commanded to be sent to him. These were Euthycles the Lacedæmonian, Thaliscus, the son of Ismenia, Dionysodorus, the son of Olympionices, the Theban, and Iphicrates, the son of Iphicrates the General, the Athenian. When they were brought into his presence, Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, being Thebans, were immediately set at liberty, partly out of compassion to the Thebans, and partly because they deserved pardon, if, after their city had been sacked and overthrown by the Macedonians, they endeavoured, in some measure, to retrieve the miserable state of themselves and country, by the assistance of Darius and the Persians; for thus he stated the case mildly, and with great humanity, towards both. He had, moreover, a private value for Thessaliscus, on account of his pedigree, for he was descended from an ancient Theban family, for which reason he dismissed him. He released Dionysodorus, because he had been conqueror at the Olympic games; and Iphicrates, for the love he bore to the Athenians, and the memory of his father's glory, whom, whilst he lived, he had always highly honoured, and, after his death, took care that his bones should be conveyed to be interred among his ancestors at Athens. But Euthycles, as he was a Lacedæmonian, and that city was then at open variance with Alexander, and as he could find nothing in his character worthy of notice, he ordered into custody, though without fetters, and afterwards, when his affairs were crowned with prosperity, on all hands, he also set him at liberty. Alexander, after this departing from Marathus, had the city Byblus* surrendered to him; as also the city Sidon;† the citizens inviting him thither, out of their hatred to Darius and the Persians. Then, marching to Tyrus, the Tyrian ambassadors came forth to meet him, assuring him that the citizens were ready to obey his commands,—he, with due praises, given both to the citizens and to the ambassadors, (for they were some of the principal citizens, and one of them the king's son; for the King Azelmicus himself had embarked on board the fleet, with Autophrades) commanded them to return, for he was determined shortly to enter the city, and there offer sacrifice to Hercules.

* Byblus was a city of Phœnicia, seated on the coast, between Berytus and Tripolis. Enylas was then king thereof; but he being absent with Autophrades, the citizens surrendered to Alexander, and shook off the Persian yoke.

† Sidon was the most ancient and illustrious city of all Phœnicia, and deservedly renowned for the wit and invention of her citizens. They first found out, and taught astronomy, arithmetic, the art of dying purple, and making glass; as also the manner of sailing in the night, by the observation of the stars. It is distant from Tyre two hundred furlongs, or twenty-five English miles.
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CHAP. XVI.

THERE was in that city a temple, dedicated to Hercules, the most ancient of all those recorded in history; not the Grecian Hercules, who was the son of Alcmena: for this Hercules was worshipped at Tyre, many ages before Cadmus sailed from Phenicia, and seized Thebes, and long before Semele was born to Cadmus, whence came Bacchus, the son of Jupiter. For Bacchus was the third from Cadmus, Polyclitus being his son, and Labdacus, who was cotemporary with Cadmus, son to Polymius. But the Grecian Hercules flourished at the time of Oedipus, the son of Laius. The Egyptians worshipped another Hercules, different from both these; and Herodotus assures us he was one of their twelve gods. The Athenians, in like manner, worshipped another Bacchus, different from this, the son of Jupiter and Proserpina, and the mystical title of Iacchus belonged to this Bacchus, and not to the Theban. Nevertheless, the Hercules, worshipped among the Iberians, at Tartessus, who gave the name to Hercules's pillars, is, in my opinion, the same with the Tyrian; for Tartessus was built by the Phenicians, and a temple was reared there, and sacrifices performed to Hercules, in the Phenician manner. Moreover, Hecataeus the historian assures us, that that Geryon, against whom the Grecian Hercules was dispatched by Eurystheus, to seize his oxen, and bring them to Mycene, was no inhabitant of Spain, neither was Hercules sent to any island called Erythia, seated in the ocean; but that Geryon reigned on the Continent, between Ambracia and Amphilochos; that from thence it was that Hercules drew his oxen; and even then he deems it a prodigious labour. I am assured, that, to this day, there are rich pastures on that Continent, that fat oxen are bred there, and that these being drawn thence by Hercules, the glory of that action was described to Eurystheus; neither can I think it improbable to imagine, that a King of that country might be named Geryon, especially because Eurystheus could never be supposed so much as to have heard of the name of a King of Iberia, the remotest nation in Europe, much less, whether any fat oxen were to be had there, unless some have a mind here to introduce the story of Juno, commanding Hercules to perform this task for Eurystheus; which is no other than disgracing true history, by an unnecessary mixture of fable. Alexander sent word, that he would offer sacrifice to this Tyrian Hercules, which, when the citizens understood, by their ambassadors, they thought fit to declare that they were ready to perform whatever Alexander should command them, but that none, either Grecian or Macedonian, should be admitted to enter their gates; that this (considering their present state) was the mildest answer they should send him, and, considering the chance of war, which was variable, the safest for themselves. As soon as this answer of the Tyrians came to Alexander, he commanded their ambassadors to return,
in a great fury; and calling a council of his friends, and the generals, and captains of his army, he harangued them thus:—

CHAP. XVII.

"I CAN, by no means, deem it safe for us, my friends and companions, to undertake an expedition into Egypt, while the Persians have the sovereignty of the sea, nor to continue our pursuit of Darius, while Tyre remains unsubdued, and our enemies have Egypt and Cyprus in their possession. This I hold dangerous, in many respects, but in none more than by reason of the present state of Greece, lest if they should regain their sea-ports, while we are pushing on our conquests against Babylon and Darius, they, by the help of their fleet, should transfer the war into Greece, especially, considering the Lacedaemonians are already our open and declared enemies, and the Athenians retain their fidelity towards us, at this juncture, rather out of fear, than love. But when Tyre is taken, and all Phœnicia brought into subjection, the great and mighty force of their navy, which the Persians now enjoy, will, in all probability, fall into our hands. Neither will the Phœnicians suffer either their rowers, or sea-soldiers, to hazard a naval engagement for other nations, when we are masters of their towns on the Continent. Cyprus will then either join in confederacy with us, or may easily be reduced by a fleet; and so scouring the sea with the united force of the Macedonians and Phœnicians, and Cyprus being in our hands, we shall reign absolute sovereigns at sea, and an easy way will be laid open for making a descent upon Egypt; and when Egypt is added to our empire, we shall then cease to be solicitous about the state of Greece, or our own domestic affairs: and as we may undertake the Babylonian expedition with much more security at home, so we may attempt it with much more glory and honour, when the Persians are removed from the sea-coasts, and chased out of all the countries on this side the Euphrates."

CHAP. XVIII.

BY this speech, his soldiers were easily induced to attempt the siege of Tyre. But he was also encouraged by a divine vision; for that very night, as he seemed to be scaling the Tyrian walls, in a dream, the figure of Hercules reached forth his right hand to him, to draw him into the city. This was interpreted, by Aristander, to signify, that Tyre would be taken with abundance of toil, and that the siege thereof would be an Herculean labour. And, surely, the attempt itself seemed to threaten no less; for the city was seated in an island, surrounded with
strong walls. And the naval affairs seemed, at that time, to favour them, the Persians being not only masters at sea, but the citizens themselves having a strong and powerful fleet. Notwithstanding these difficulties, they were resolved to try their fortune; and, accordingly, their first attempt was to extend a huge bank, or rampart, from the Continent to the city. There is clay at the bottom of that part of the sea, and shallow towards the shore; but when you draw near the city, it is almost three fathom deep. But as there was abundance of stone not far off, and a sufficient quantity of timber and rubbish to fill up the vacant spaces, they found no great difficulty in laying the foundations of their rampart; the stiff clay at the bottom, by its own nature, serving instead of mortar, to bind the stones together. The Macedonians shewed a wonderful forwardness and alacrity to the work; and Alexander’s presence contributed not a little thereto; for he designed every thing himself, and saw every thing done, and encouraged some, who seemed to slacken in their work, and commended others, who proceeded in theirs, with vigour, and were ambitious of excelling their fellows. And indeed, so long as the work was not far off the Continent, it went on, with a more than ordinary speed; for they built the mole in a small depth of water, and proceeded without opposition; but when they came to greater depth, and approached nearer the city, they were galled with darts, and other missive weapons, from the high walls, and sustained much loss, being prepared rather for work than battle. The Tyrians, besides this, vexing them, on all hands, from their ships, for the sea was yet open, made the mighty work go on slowly, and with great danger to the Macedonians. To prevent this, Alexander erected two wooden towers on the rampart, where it was furthest extended into the sea, and planted his engines in them. Their covering was of leather and raw hides, so that they could not be burnt by fiery missive weapons from the walls, and might, at the same time, preserve their workmen from their darts, and not only this, but as often as the Tyrians gave them any disturbance from their ships, they might beat them back from those towers.

CHAP. XIX.

THE Tyrians, not to be behind hand with their enemies, made use of this contrivance: they procured a huge hulk, or ferry-boat, which they filled up with dry twigs, and other combustible stuff, and having placed two masts towards the prow, and made their piles as broad and capacious as possible, they added huge quantities of pitch and sulphur, and whatever was proper to raise a great fire. Moreover, to each mast they fixed two yards, at the arms or extremities of which were hung caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the flame; they afterwards filled the stern with stones and rubbish, that the head might be raised the higher. Then taking the oppportunity of a favourable wind,
blowing towards the mole, they fixed two triremes to her, and towed her into the sea. When they approached the towers, at the end of the mole, they set fire to the materials on board the hulk, which they forced forwards to the mole-head, with their utmost strength; and the rowers on board easily escaped, by swimming. In the mean time, the towers having caught fire, begun to blaze exceedingly; and the yards of the hulk breaking, whatever was contained in the caldrons, which hung there, increased the flames. The Tyrians also, in their triremes, cast their darts upon the Macedonians in the towers; so that they could not move to extinguish the flames, but with the utmost hazard. When the towers had now caught fire, many of the citizens, getting on board small skiffs, attacked the mole in several parts at once, and the wall which faced the rampart being soon demolished, all the rest of the materials, which the fire from the ships had not yet reached, were now consumed. Alexander, upon this, laid the foundation of a rampart from the Continent, much broader, and stronger than the former, and capable of containing more towers; and, at the same time, gave orders to his engineers to prepare new engines, which, being performed, he, with his targeteers and Agrians, marched to Sidon, with an intent to seize upon all their ships; because the siege of Tyre was a matter of extreme difficulty, while the citizens were so potent at sea.

CHAP. XX.

ABOUT this time, Gerostratus, King of Arados, and Enylus, King of Byblus, being assured that their dominions were possessed by Alexander, left Autophrdates and his navy; and each, with his own fleet, came and submitted themselves to him; and with them came also the Sidonian triremes, so that he had now near eighty Phœnician ships in his power. At this juncture, several triremes came to his assistance from Rhodes, one of which was, by way of excellency, called Peripoles; and with her were nine more. From Soli and Mallus arrived three; from Lycia, ten; from Macedon, one with fifty oars, commanded by Proteas, the son of Audronicus; and soon after, the kings of Cyprus (having received intelligence of the Persian defeat at Issus, and terrified with the news that all Phœncia had submitted to the conqueror) arrived at Sidon with a navy of one hundred and twenty ships. Alexander granted them a general pardon for all past offences, because they had not joined their fleet with the Persians out of choice, but necessity. In the mean time, while the engines were preparing, and the ships fitting out, as well to attack the city, as for a sea fight, Alexander, with some troops of horse and targeteers, besides archers and Agrians, made an excursion into Arabia, to the mountain called Anti-Libanus; and, having reduced the country therabouts, partly by force, and partly by composition, at the end of ten days, he returned to Sidon,
where Cleander, the son of Polemocrates, who was newly arrived from Peloponnesus, met him with four thousand Greek mercenaries: his fleet being now ready, and a sufficient number of targeteers taken on board, (unless a sea fight should happen rather with ships than men) he set sail from Sidon, and, with a choice army, hastened towards Tyre, himself being on the right wing; which was stretched forth to seaward, and with him were the Cyprian Kings, and all the Phœnicians, except Pnytargoras; for he and Craterus brought up the left wing. The Tyrians had, at first, resolved upon a sea fight, if Alexander should attempt to bring a fleet against them; but when they saw such a prodigious naval force, far beyond what they expected, (for they had not yet heard that all the Cyprian and Phœnician fleets were in his hands) and those ready to make a descent, with a choice army, (for a little before they came near the city, the ships, on the right wing, stood out to sea, but the Tyrians not coming forth to meet them, they received contrary orders, and with all their force, steered directly thither) then the Tyrians began to lay aside all thoughts of a sea engagement, and only studied how to block up the mouths of their harbours, with as many triremes as they could contain, that the enemy's fleet might not be able to force an entrance into either of them. Alexander, perceiving that the Tyrians came not forth to meet him, sailed still nearer the city, but durst not attempt to make his way into the haven towards Sidon, because of the narrowness of it entrance, which was also obstructed by many ships, whose opposite prows he could easily discern: three of those ships, posted at the extremity of the passage, the Phœnicians attacked with their armed prows, and immediately sunk; but the sailors who were on board easily escaped, by swimming to their friends. Then Alexander drew his fleet ashore, near the new mole, which he had built, to preserve them from the danger of storms; and the day after commanded Andronacus, captain of the Cyprian navy, to block up the haven towards Sidon, and besiege the city on that side. The Phœnicians were ordered to lie over against the haven, on the other side of the mole, which looks towards Egypt, where also he fixed his royal pavilion.

CHAP. XXI.

MANY engineers were now assembled from Cyprus and Phœnicia, and many warlike engines prepared, some whereof were planted upon the rampart, others on board the hulks, which were brought from Sidon, and others on the decks of such of their ships as were the slowest sailors. All things thus in readiness, he instantly proceeded to batter the walls, as well from their ships as the rampart. The Tyrians who were posted on the walls, opposite to the enemies batteries, built towers of wood, wherein they placed themselves, to annoy the besiegers, and from whence, if the engines assaulted them on any side, they might defend themselves with darts, and cast their missive weapons, bearing fire
at their points into their very ships, endeavouring, by that means, to deter the Macedonians from approaching. The wall, opposite to their mole, was near one hundred and fifty feet high, with a breadth proportionable, and built with vast stones, strongly cemented together. The hulks and triremes, which should have advanced with the besiegers, engines against the walls, could not approach there, because the huge stones, which the Tyrians continually cast down into the sea, hindered their access. Alexander, however, took care to clear the passage, by drawing the stones out of the sea, which was a work of great difficulty, especially since it was to be performed out of their ships, where no such firm footing was to be had as on shore. Some Tyrians, then, in close vessels, made towards their ships, and cutting their cables, which held them, entirely deprived them of all power of assaulting them that way. Alexander seeing this, dispatched some close ships, of thirty oars each, to cast anchor there, and repel the Tyrians in theirs. But neither could this take effect; for the Tyrians, being expert divers, slid secretly out of their vessels, and again cutting their cables, set their ships adrift. The Macedonians then used chains for cables, to secure them from the danger of divers. The stones which the citizens had cast into the sea were drawn up with ropes, and thrown into a deeper place, at a distance, that they might no more hinder their access; and this huge bank of stones thus cleared away, the ships easily approached the wall.

CHAP. XXII.

The Tyrians, seeing themselves reduced to such great straights, resolved to attack the Cyprian squadron, posted at the mouth of the haven, which looks towards Sidon, and having, before that time, spread sails across the mouth of the haven, that their ships, filled with soldiers, might not be discovered by the enemy, about noon (at which time the Macedonian sailors were usually busied about their private affairs, and Alexander had retired from his fleet to his pavilion, on the other side of the city), with five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and seven triremes, filled with expert rowers, and resolute soldiers, well armed for fight, and armed to the sea, rowed out slowly and silently, one by one, against the enemy. But when they advanced within sight of the Cyprians, encouraging each other with a great shout, and clashing of their oars, they attacked their fleet. But it happened that day that Alexander, having retired, as usual, to his pavilion, tarried there but a short time, and returned to his fleet. The Tyrians assaulted the enemy’s ships all on a sudden, when some were entirely empty, and others, by reason of the noise and violence of the attack, were surprised, and unprepared for resistance. Phytagoras’s quinquereme was sunk at the first onset, with another commanded by Androcles, the Amathusian, and Pasircrates, the Thurian; others were forced on shore, and beat to pieces. Alexander, hearing of this excursion of the Tyrian triremes, immedia-
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stely ordered as many ships as he could spare, and were well armed, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby hinder the rest of the Tyrian fleet from coming forth. He then, with the quinqueremes which he had ready, and five triremes, well prepared, sailing round the city, hastened to attack the Tyrians. The besieged, seeing this from the wall, and perceiving Alexander himself there, endeavoured, by loud cries, to recal their men, who were on board; and when their cries, by reason of the tumult, could not be heard, they made several signals for them to return, because the enemy was at hand: but finding, too late, that Alexander was upon them, they turned their sails, and hastened to the haven; yet few of them could save themselves by flight; for Alexander's ships falling in suddenly among them, rendered some unfit for sailing; and one quinquereme, and a quadrireme, were taken at the very entrance of the port. The slaughter of the Tyrians was not great, because, as soon as they perceived it impossible to save their ships, they escaped into the harbour by swimming. The Macedonians, now knowing that the Tyrian fleet would be unserviceable, moved their engines up to the walls. Those which advanced on the side towards the rampart did no execution, by reason of the firmness of the wall there. Others moved some hulks with engines, to that quarter of the city which looks towards Sidon. But when they found their endeavours there fruitless, sailing along the whole south part of the wall towards Egypt, they tried to batter it every where; and there, indeed, by the violence of their attacks, it was at first shaken, and afterwards beat down, and demolished; whereupon they immediately mounted the breach, by the help of their ladders, and began to storm the place; but the Tyrians, without any great difficulty, repulsed them.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE third day after this, the sea being perfectly calm, Alexander having called his Captains together, and encouraged them to fight, caused his batteries to be advanced to the walls, a great part whereof fell down at the first shock of their engines; and when he perceived that the breach was wide enough, he ordered the hulks, which bore the engines, to retire, and other two, with the scaling ladders, to advance, that they might enter the town over the ruins of the wall: one of these had the targeteers on board, commanded by Admetus; the other the auxiliary troop of foot, commanded by Cænus himself, with the targeteers, standing ready to mount the walls, on the first opportunity. He ordered some triremes to block up both havens, and, if possible, while the Tyrians were busy in defending themselves elsewhere, to enter by force; and as many of his ships as carried the shooting artillery, or were built close, for the convenience of archers, he commanded to sail round the wall, and assault it wherever they could; and where they could not, to keep, at least, within reach of their darts; and this he did, that the
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Tyrians, finding themselves pressed on all hands, might be confounded, and unable to defend their city. The ships being now drawn up close to the walls, and the ladders fixed, the targeteers, headed by Admetus, valiantly mounted the breach; and it was not long before he was seconded by Alexander, who was always present where danger called, and a constant encourager and rewarder of valour in others. The wall was taken, and entered on that part where Alexander made the assault; and the Tyrians being beat back, the Macedonians found firm footing.—While Admetus, who first mounted the breach, was exhorting his soldiers to follow his example, he was thrust through with a spear, and died; but Alexander, with his men, mounting at the same time, kept their ground. Some towers being then seized, with the whole space between them, he marched directly from the wall towards the royal palace, because the descent into the city that way seemed the most easy and agreeable.

CHAP. XXIV.

THOSE, then, who were ordered to block up the haven looking towards Egypt, with the Phoenicians, making a sudden attempt upon it, broke the chain, and attacked the ships in the haven; some floating on the water were sunk; others running on shore were beat in pieces. The Cyprians also broke into the haven towards Sidon, and entered the city on that side. The Tyrians, seeing their walls in the enemy's possession, retired thence, in a body, to the Agenorium (a place so called), where they rallied, and drew up against the Macedonians; but Alexander, with his targeteers, hastening to the place, killed many, and put the rest to flight. A great slaughter also happened at the haven, where Cænus and his forces entered the city; for the Macedonians were vehemently enraged at the citizens, partly for holding out the place so long, and partly because they, having seized some of their men sailing from Sidon, first hoisted them up aloft upon their walls, in sight of their friends, and afterwards stabbed them, and threw their bodies into the sea. About eight thousand Tyrians were slain. Of the Macedonians, besides Admetus, who first entered the breach, and took possession of the wall, about twenty targeteers fell in that assault; and during the whole siege, about four hundred. They who had fled to the temple of Hercules (being some of the chief Tyrian nobility, besides King Azelmicus, and some Carthaginian priests, who, according to ancient custom, were sent to their mother city, to offer sacrifices to Hercules), had the benefit of a free pardon. The rest, to the number of thirty thousand, including strangers, were sold for slaves. Alexander, after this, offered sacrifice to Hercules, at which his whole army assisted. The navy also performed a part in the solemnity. He moreover appointed gymnastic sports in Hercules's temple, which was then finely illuminated. The engine, wherewith the wall was demolished, he placed there, as an eternal monument of his victory; and the Tyrian ship, consecrated to Hercules,
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which he had taken in a sea-fight, he caused to be hung up there, with an inscription, which, whether composed by himself, or any other, as it contains nothing worth notice, I have deemed it unworthy to be communicated to posterity. And thus was the city of Tyre taken, in the month Hecatombaion, when Anicetus was Archon at Athens.

CHAP. XXV.

WHILE Alexander was yet besieging Tyre, ambassadors arrived from Darius, telling him, that Darius would bestow upon him ten thousand talents of silver, if he would set his wife, his mother, and children, at liberty; as also all the country between the Euphrates and the Hellespont; and if he would take his daughter in marriage, he should be stiled his friend and confederate. Which embassy being debated in council, Parmenio is said to have told him, that if he was Alexander, he would accept the terms; and, when the end of war was gained, no longer tempt the hazard thereof. To which the other is said to have replied, so would he, if he was Parmenio; but as he was Alexander, he must act worthy of Alexander. He therefore answered the ambassadors, that he neither wanted Darius's money, nor would accept of part of his empire instead of the whole; for that all his treasure, and his country, was his; that he would marry his daughter, if he pleased, without his consent; but, if he had a mind to try his humanity, let him come to him. This answer being carried to Darius, and he despairing of peace, made fresh preparations for war. Alexander then resolved upon an expedition into Egypt, all the cities of that part of Syria called Palestine being surrendered peaceably into his hands, except Gaza, which was kept by a certain eunuch, named Batis, who, foreseeing this, had already hired many troops of Arabsians, and laid up vast stores of provisions, to serve for a long siege. He also entirely trusted to the strength of the place, which he looked upon as impregnable; for which reason he was resolved, that whenever Alexander approached, he should be denied entrance.

CHAP. XXVI.

GAZA is only twenty furlongs distant from the sea-shore, and exceeding difficult of access, because of the depth of the sand, and the neighbouring sea, which is everywhere shallow. The city itself is large and populous, seated on a high hill, and surrounded by a strong wall. It is also the last inhabited place which travellers meet with, in their way from Phœnicia to Egypt, and borders upon a vast desert. Alexander, immediately after his arrival there, encamped over-against that part of the wall which seemed most subject to an assault, and ordered his engines to be brought thither, and, notwithstanding it was the opinion of
some of his engineers that the wall was not possible to be taken by force, by reason of the height of the bulwarks, he thought fit to declare his sentiments to the contrary, and that the more difficult the attempt was, it was the more necessary to be undertaken; for that the very suddenness and briskness of their assault would strike their enemies with no small terror. He added, that if he was unable to reduce the city, it would abundantly redound to his dishonour, when the news should be carried to Greece, as well as to Darius. He therefore ordered a rampart to be run round it, of such an height, that the engines placed thereupon might be upon a level with the top of the wall; which rampart he then built over-against the south part of the wall, because it seemed there the least difficult to be assaulted; and when the work was now brought to its full height, the Macedonian engines were immediately placed thereon. About this time, as Alexander was sacrificing, with a crown of gold upon his head, according to the custom of Greece, and just entering upon the office, a certain bird of prey hovered over the altar, and let a stone fall from his claws upon his head. Alexander immediately sent to consult Aristander, the soothsayer, what this prodigy could portend, who returned answer, “Thou shalt, indeed, take the city, O King; but beware of danger from thence, on the day it is taken.” He hearing this, retired out of the reach of their darts, to the engines on the rampart.

CHAP. XXVII.

BUT when Alexander saw the Arabians make a furious sally out of the city, and set fire to the engines, and, having the advantage of the higher station, gall the Macedonians below, and beat them from the rampart which they had built, then, either forgetful of the divine warning, or moved with the danger of his soldiers, he called his targeteers together, and hastened to succour the Macedonians, where they were most exposed, and, by his presence, kept them from betaking themselves to flight, and abandoning the rampart; but while he was thus pushing forwards, an arrow from an engine pierced his shield and breast-plate, and wounded him in the shoulder, which, when he perceived, and thereby knew that Aristander’s prediction was true, he rejoiced, because, by the same prediction, he was to take the city, notwithstanding that wound was not cured but with much difficulty. In the mean time other engines, which had been used at the siege of Tyre, arriving by sea, he ordered the rampart to be run quite round the city, two stadia in breadth, and two hundred and fifty feet in height. The engines then being prepared, and planted thereupon, the wall was vehemently shaken, and the miners, in many places, working privately underneath the foundations thereof, and conveying the rubbish away, it fell down. The besiegers then plying the citizens with their darts, beat them out of their towers; yet thrice they sustained the Macedonian shocks, with the loss of abundance, slain and wounded; but, at the fourth attack, when Alexander had called his
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men thither, he so levelled the wall, which had been undermined in some places, and widened the breaches made by the engines in others, that it seemed then a matter of no difficulty to the Macedonians to fix their ladders to the ruins thereof, and storm the city. As soon as the ladders were fixed, there arose a great emulation among the besiegers, who should first mount the breach. This honour was gained by Neoptolemus, of the race of the Aecidae, one of his friends, and, after him, other captains, and others, still entered with their forces; and, when many of the Macedonians were now within the walls, they forced open the gates, one after another, and gave entrance to the whole army. The citizens, notwithstanding they saw the place thus taken by storm, were resolved to fight to the last, and, gathering together in a body, every one lost his life where he stood, after a brave resistance. Alexander sold their wives and children for slaves, and, a colony being drawn thither from the neighbourhood, the city was afterwards made use of as a garrison.

BOOK THE THIRD.

CHAP. I.

ALEXANDER continued his journey into Egypt, as he had first proposed, and, on the seventh day after his departure from Gaza, arrived at Pelusium. His navy, which had sailed from Phoenicia, he found there, in the haven. In the mean while Mazaces, the Persian, whom Darius had appointed Governor of Egypt, being assured of the sad defeat at Issus, and of Darius's flight, as also that Phoenicia and Syria, and a great part of Arabia, had already submitted to the conqueror, as he had no army to defend himself, ordered that Alexander should be kindly received into the cities of that province. Having therefore placed a garrison in Pelusium, and ordered his ships to sail up the river Nilus, he set out for Heliopolis, having the river on his right hand, and, receiving as many towns as lay in his way into his protection, he passed through the deserts to Heliopolis, and then, crossing the river, came to Memphis, where he offered sacrifices to the gods, but especially to Apis, and exhibited gymnastic and musical sports, at which all the most excellent combatants of Greece were present. From Memphis he sailed down the river to the sea, where he ordered his targeteers and archers, and Agrians, besides his royal cohort of horse, on board his ships; and, when he had passed by the city Canopus, and sailed round the lake Ma-rias, he pitched upon the place where Alexandria now stands; and that situation seeming to him very convenient for a city, he even then presaged that it would become rich and populous. Being therefore fired with the thoughts of this undertaking, he laid the foundations of a city,

"Curtius tells us, Mazaces there delivered to Alexander eight hundred talents of silver, and all the royal furniture, lib. iv. cap. 7. 4."
pointed out the place where the forum should be built, gave orders where
the temples should be reared, and how many, as also which should be
dedicated to the gods of Greece, and which to the Egyptian Isis; and,
lastly, shewed what should be the circuit of the wall; and when he had
consulted the gods upon this subject, by sacrifices, the omens promised
success.

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CHAP. II.

THERE is a story told concerning this, which seems not improbable,
viz. that when Alexander had a mind to mark out the ground for the
walls, and had nothing ready fit for that purpose, one of his workmen
advised him to gather in all the meal which his soldiers had in their
stores, and strew it upon the ground, where the foundations of the walls
should be drawn. His soothsayers, and particularly Aristander the Tel-
misian, who had already given him many true predictions, viewing this,
is said to have prophesied, that it would be blessed with plenty of all
things necessary for life, but especially the fruits of the earth. About
this time arrived Egelochoi in Egypt, with some ships under his com-
mand, who acquainted Alexander that the inhabitants of the island Te-
medos had revolted to him from the Persians, with whom they had un-
willingly entered into a confederacy; as also, that the inhabitants of
Chios had withdrawn themselves into the city for safety, because of the
tyrranny of those whom Pharnabazus and Autophrades had appointed
to govern them; that Pharnabazus himself was seized in that city, and
committed into custody, and with him Aristonicus, governor of Me-
myrna, who, coming into the port, with five piratical vessels, and not
knowing it was in the citizens hands, but imagining that the fleet, set to
guard the entrance thereof, belonged to Pharnabazus, the ships were all
seized, and the pirates put to death; that he had brought to him the
said Aristonicus, with Apollonides the Chian, Phisinus, and Megareus,
chief authors and encouragers of the revolt to the Persians, and who, till
that time, had usurped an arbitrary sovereignty over the whole island;
that Mitylene, which Chares had seized into his hands, was recovered;
and that all the rest of the towns of the island Lesbos had voluntarily
surrendered to him; and that Amphoterus, with a fleet of sixty ships,
had been sent into the island Coos, at the request of the inhabitants, and
that he sailing that way, and understanding that the island was possessed
by Amphoterus, had received the captives on board, and conveyed them
all thither, except Pharnabazus, who had deceived his keepers, and made
his escape out of the city. Alexander ordered those arbitrary governors
of cities to be delivered into the hands of the citizens, over whom they
had tyrannized, to be used at their discretion; only Apollonides the
Chian, and his companions, were conveyed, under a strict guard, to Elep-
phantines, a city of Egypt.
ABOUT this time, Alexander had an ambition of visiting the temple of Jupiter Hammon, in Lybia, and of consulting his oracle, which was said to foretell events, with an exactness beyond all others, because Perseus and Hercules had, aforetime, consulted that god, the first when he was dispatched by Polydeuces against the Gorgous, the latter, when he travelled into Lybia against Antæus, and into Egypt against Busiris; for as Alexander deduced his pedigree from both of them, he was ambitious of arriving at a pitch of glory equal to either of them; for he boasted of his rise from Hammon, the Lybian Jove, as Perseus and Hercules are said to have boasted of theirs from the Grecian Jove. He therefore undertook this expedition to oracle, that he might be certified of the success of his future undertakings, or at least that he might boast of being so. He travelled at first, says Aristobulus, along the sea-shore, to Paretonius, through a country altogether waste, but not ill-watered, the space of one thousand and six hundred stadia, and thence took his course into the midland country, where stands the temple of Hammon, famous for oracles. The road is desert throughout, and, in most parts, not only covered with a deep sand, but destitute of water. But a plentiful shower falling from heaven, as he was travelling, was ascribed to a divine power, as was also this. As often as the south wind blows there, it overwhelms the whole country, with huge quantities of sand, so that all the marks of former paths are covered, and the traveller is as much as a loss whither to direct his course, amidst those sands, as if he were at sea; for no marks or signs of a road then appear, not a mountain, nor a tree, nor so much as a hillock, from whence passengers might discover their right path, as seamen do theirs, from the stars. Alexander's army wandered out of the way, in those deserts, and even their guides were uncertain how to give directions. Ptolomey, the son of Lagus, reports, that two dragons, at that time, passed along before the army with a great noise, and that Alexander ordered his captains to rely on the prodigy, and follow them. He also adds, that they conducted them safe to the seat of the oracle, and conveyed them back again. But Aristobulus, and even common fame, relates the matter otherwise, viz, that two ravens flew before the army, and were their guides in that expedition. I am fully persuaded that Alexander was conducted by some divine power, as appears by all the relations; but the diversity of opinions, among authors, has obscured the truth of this story.

* Strabo assures us, that from Paretonius to the temple of Hammon, is one thousand and three hundred stadia:—so that from the lake Maris, or the present Alexandria, to the temple of Hammon, by way of Paretonius, is two thousand and nine hundred stadia, or three hundred and sixty-two English miles. Pliny reckons it twelve days' journey from Memphis to Hammon's temple. Diodorus, lib. xvii. p. 526, 527. assures us, that Alexander travelled along the deserts eight days, the first four of which he made use of water, which they carried upon the backs of camels; afterwards, he and his train were refreshed with showers from the clouds. And lastly, they were conducted to the temple by ravens.*
CHAP. IV.

THE whole region round the temple of Hammon is no other than a huge thirsty waste, or wide extended desert; near the middle part, or centre whereof, is a space included in small bounds, for where it is broadest, it scarce exceeds forty furlongs, curiously planted with olive-trees, and palm-trees, and watered with dews, which fall no where else in all that country. A fountain also has its rise here, different in its nature and properties from all the fountains upon earth; for at mid-day it is cool to the taste, but to the touch intensely cold; towards evening it begins to be warm, which warmth increaseth by degrees from thence till midnight; after midnight, it waxes cool by little and little; in the morning it is chilly, at noon, excessive cold; and it receives all these various alterations regularly every day. This country naturally produces a kind of fossil salt, which, being put into little boxes of palm-tree, some of the priests of Hammon carry into Egypt, and bestow on the king, or some great men, as a present. It is dug out of the earth, in large oblong pieces, some above three fingers in length, transparent like crystal. This kind of salt the Egyptians, and other nations, who are curious in their worship, use in their sacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from sea-water. Alexander, being surprised at the nature of the place, consulted the oracle, and having received an acceptable answer, as himself told the story, returned to Egypt the same way he went, as Aristobulus has it; but, according to Ptolomey, a much nearer, leading to Memphis.

CHAP. V.

WHEN he was arrived at Memphis, he received sundry embassies from Greece, and dismissed none of them without granting their requests. A body of four hundred new-raised mercenary troops was also sent thither from Greece, by Antipater, under the command of Menetas, the son of Hegesander; besides another of five hundred horse from Thrace, under the command of Asclepiodorus, the son of Eunicus. At this place he sacrificed to Jupiter, walked in martial pomp at the head of his army, and exhibited gymnastic and musical sports. Afterwards, resolving to settle the affairs of Egypt, he appointed two of their own nation their presidents, viz, Dolosaspis and Petisis, between whom he divided the whole country; but Petisis declining his charge, the whole devolved upon Dolosaspis. The governments of particular garrisons he bestowed on his friends: that of Memphis, upon Pantaleon, the Pydnaian; Pelusium, upon Polemon, the son of Megacles the Pellawa. The command of the foreign troops he gave to Lycidas the Eolian; the secretaryship of the same to Eugnostus, the son of Xenophon, one of his friends; and over these he placed Eschylus, and Ephippus, the Chalcedonian. The government of the hither Lybia he conferr'd on Apollonius, the
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son of Carinus. That part of Arabia adjacent to Heroopolis, on Cleomenes the Nausacian, with orders that the chief men of his province should live according to their ancient laws, and enjoy their liberties, and he should only take care to collect the tribute, which Alexander commanded to be paid into his hands. The forces which he left behind him in Egypt were under the command of Peucetas, the son of Meccatatus, and Balacrus, the son of Amyntas. The fleet under Polemon, the son of Theramènes: and, in the room of Balacrus, who was one of his bodyguards, he nominated Leonnatus, the son of Onasus; for Arrybas was already dead, as was also Antiochus, captain of the archers, who was succeeded by Ombrion the Cretan. Calanus was appointed captain of the companies of foot, which were left in Egypt, instead of Balacrus. Alexander is said to have divided the country into so many governments, because, considering the nature of the inhabitants, and the strength of the fortified towns, he thought it unsafe to commit the government thereof to any single person. And in this particular piece of policy the Romans seem to have copied after him, who would allow no senator but one of the equestrian order, to be sent proconsul into Egypt.

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CHAP. VI.

IN the beginning of the spring, Alexander set out on his march for Phœnicia, and having laid bridges over the Nilus, and all its trenches, near Memphis, he came to Tyre, where he met his fleet, and again sacrificed to Hercules, exhibiting the usual sports. At this place arrived a ship from Athens, with Diophantus and Achilles, their ambassadors, and all the inhabitants of that coast, joined in their request. Alexander granted them their desires, and thereupon ordered all the Athenian citizens, who were taken prisoners at the battle of Granicus, to be set at liberty. And hearing that some commotions were risen in Peloponnesus, he dispatched Amphoterus thither, to assist those in that country, who, throughout the whole Persian war, had opposed the Lacedaemonians. Having therefore ordered the Phœnicians and Cyprians to fit out an hundred ships more, besides those designed for Amphoterus and the Peloponnesians, he himself marched into the inland parts, to Thapsacus, and the river Euphrates, having deputed Caranus the Berœan to gather the tributes in Phœnicia, and Philoxenus, in Asia, on this side the mountain Taurus; but the money he bad in his own custody he committed to the charge of Harpalus, the son of Machatas, who was newly returned from exile, and now supplied their places. This Harpalus, for his fidelity to Alexander, while Philip yet possessed the throne, was forced to quit Macedonia, as also did Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Nearchus, the son of Andrias, and Erigyius, the son of Larichus, and his brother Laomedon, all at the same time, and for the same cause. For Alexander begun to feel under the suspicion of his father Philip, after he had divorced his
mother Olympia, and taken Eurydice to wife. But after Philip's death, when they, who fled for Alexander's sake, returned, he promoted Ptolemy to be one of his body guards; to Harpalus, being unable to endure the fatigues of war, he committed the charge of his treasure; Erigius was made captain of the royal cohort of horse; and his brother Laomedon, because he was skilled in two languages, was appointed to preside over the barbarian captives. Nearchus was constituted governor of Lyicia, and all the adjacent countries as far as mount Taurus. However, a little while before the battle of Issus, Harpalus was deluded by one Tauriscus, a wicked man, and fled away with him. This Tauriscus passing over into Italy to Alexander, King of Epirus, there ended his life. But Harpalus, when he got to Megen, being persuaded by Alexander to return, on a promise that his flight should not be to his prejudice, returned, and was not only received into favour, but again preferred to be keeper of his treasurers. Menander, one of his friends, was appointed governor of Lydia; and Clearchus succeeded him in the command of the foreign troops. Instead of Arimmas, Asclepiodorus, the son of Eunicus, was made governor of Syria, because Arimmas, in making preparations for the army, which accompanied him to the eastward, seemed to aim at sovereignty.

CHAPEL VII.

IN the month Ecathombia, Aristophanes being Archon at Athens, Alexander came to the city Thapsacus, where he found a broken bridge, and Mazeus, to whom Darius had committed the care of this pass, with three thousand horse, two thousand whereof were Greek mercenaries, lay ready to dispute his passage; and as one continued bridge did not extend to the further bank, the Macedonians, at first, were afraid lest Mazeus's soldiers, on the other side, should repair it, and attack them. But Mazeus no sooner received intelligence of Alexander's approach, than he abandoned the place, and drew off all his forces. After his flight, Alexander, having repaired the bridge, passed over with his whole army. Thence he marched into the country called Mesopotamia, having the river Euphrates, and the mountains of Armenia, on his left hand. From Euphrates he took his way towards Babylon, but not by the direct road, because another was not only more convenient for the drawing up of his army, but afforded greater plenty of forage, and all other necessaries; and besides, the heats were not so excessive in the countries through which he was to pass. Whilst he was upon this expedition, some of Darius's spies, wandering far from his camp, were taken, who gave him intelligence that Darius had encamped on the banks of the Tygris, and was resolved to obstruct his passage over that river; as also, that he had a more numerous army than that wherewith he fought in Cilicia. Alexander hearing this, immediately directed his face thither; but when
he arrived at that place, he neither found Darius himself, nor any garrison left behind him; wherefore he passed the river with difficulty enough, by reason of the rapidity of the stream, though there was no enemy to interrupt him. There he rested a while with his army. At this time happened a great eclipse of the moon; whereupon Alexander offered sacrifices to the moon, the sun, and the earth, by which eclipses are said to be caused; and was assured by Aristander that this eclipse of the moon portended happiness and success to him and his Macedonians; that a battle would be fought in that very month, and that the entrails promised him the victory. Having therefore decamped from thence, he led his forces through Assyria, having on his left hand the Sogdian mountains, and the river Tygris on his right; and on the fourth day after he was informed, by some of his spies, that some troops of the enemy's horse appeared in the field, but they were not able to discover their number. With a choice army, therefore, he proceeded to give them battle, but was soon met by other spies, who had gone further in their search, and brought him a more certain account, and they assured him that the whole number of the enemy's horse, then in sight, was not above one thousand.

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDER bearing this, immediately marched forwards, taking with him his royal cohort, and another, called the Auxiliaries, with the Phoenicians, for the forlorn hope, the rest of his army having orders to march a slow pace after. The Persian horse, perceiving their enemies rush among them, betook themselves to flight, but Alexander pursued them, and those whose horses failed them were slain; the rest escaped, though some, with their horses, were taken prisoners. From those he had intelligence that Darius, at the head of an huge army, was not far off: for the Indians adjacent to Bactria, as also the Bactrians and Sogdians, all under the command of Bessus, governor of Bactria, had come to his aid. The Sace also, a colony of the Scythians, inhabiting Asia, had joined him. These were not subject to Bessus, but in confederacy with Darius. The captain of those was Mabaces, and they were all equestrian archers. Barsaetes, governor of the Arachoti, brought thither his Arachotia, and Indian mountaineers. Satibarzanes, governor of the Arians, arrived with his Arians; Phratapernes, with his Parthians, Hycranians, and Topireans, all horse. Atropates led thither the Medes, with whom were joined the Cadusians, Albanians, and Sacesains. Orontobates, Ariobarzanes, and Oxines, came with succours from the countries near the Red Sea. The Uxians and Susians were led thither by Oxathres, the son of Abulitus; the Babylonians, by Bupares. The Carians, who had been driven from their country, and the Situcini, were joined with the Babylonians. Onoutes and Mithraustes headed the
When all these things were told Alexander, by the Persian spies which he had taken, he tarried four days in the very place where he heard the news, to give his army some refreshment, after the fatigues of a long march. He then surrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, resolving to leave there all the baggage, as also the soldiers who were unfit for a present engagement, that he, with those who were stout and hearty, might rush upon the enemy, clogged with no other encumbrance than that of their armour. Having therefore drawn out his forces, he began his march, about the second watch of the night, that he might be ready to attack the Persians by break of day. As soon as Darius was acquainted with Alexander's approach, he instantly set his army in battle array, and Alexander did the same on his part. Their camps were then about sixty stadia distant from each other, neither were they yet come within sight of each other; for some small hillocks, lying in the middle, hindered them. But when Alexander had advanced with his army almost thirty stadia, he arrived at these hillocks, where, having a full view of the barbarians, he ordered them to halt, and, calling a council, consisting of his friends, and the generals of his forces, the prefects of troops, and the captains of his Grecian and foreign auxiliaries, he consulted with them whether the army should immediately proceed from their present station, and enter upon an engagement (which was the opinion of the greatest part), or whether as Parmenio better advised) they should, for a while, pitch their tents there, and thoroughly survey all the circumjacent parts, to prevent ambuscades, and see if the enemy's camp was strengthened by a ditch, or if any galetaps, or other impediments, lay in their way; and, lastly, that they should more curiously and diligently examine the present disposition of the enemy's army. This advice of Parmenio prevailed, and they encamped there, ready prepared for battle. Then Alexander, taking
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with him his light horse, and the royal cohort, viewed the whole field where the battle was to be fought, with the utmost accuracy; and, again calling together the captains of his forces, he told them, that they ought not to be stirred up to warlike actions by any speech of his; for their own ancient and experienced valour, and the many gallant achievements they had so often performed, were sufficient incitement for them. He only requested, that every one among them, on whom the command of a troop, wing, squadron, or phalanx was conferred, should assuage his followers what glorious rewards would attend that day's action; for they did not then fight for small provinces, such as Cappadocia, nor Ptolemais, nor Egypt, as they had done in former battles, but for the empire of all Asia, and that very conflict would determine whose the dominion should be. He directed them not to endeavour to excite those to valour, by many words, in whom true valour was properly inherent; only he warned them to take the utmost care to keep them in their ranks, in time of action; and, as silence was so necessary, they should strictly observe it: yet, nevertheless, when occasion offered, they might exalt their voices, and that their cries should be as loud and terrible as possible. He ordered them to transmit the instructions they had received to their followers, with all expedition: and, lastly, that they should well weigh the matter, and consider that the whole army may be endangered by any one's neglect, as, on the other hand, it may be preserved, and become victorious, by each man's particular courage and magnanimity.

CHAP. X.

WITH these, and such like short speeches, he animated his captains, and received a confirmation of their courage; so that, relying on their valour, he ordered them to be careful of their troops, and let them take a little rest. Some say that Parmepio came afterwards to his pavilion, and endeavoured to persuade him to attack the Persians by night; for that the shock given in the dark, and falling upon the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly, would be much more terrible and destructive. To which Alexander is said to have returned answer, that a victory gained by stealth argued baseness in the general; but it was the business of Alexander to conquer fairly, and not by fraud. And surely that speech favoured not so much of arrogance in him, as of his constant dextitude in encountering dangers; and I am of opinion that he acted the part of a consummate general in that affair; for many strange and accountable accidents happen by night, as well to those who are prepared for battle, as to those who are otherwise, which oftentimes bring ruin to the strongest party, and unexpected victory to the weakest. Besides, the night seemed too dangerous a time for Alexander to hazard his army in; and he was resolved, if Darius received another overthrow,
that no night engagement should hinder him from being necessiated to confess that he was a less experienced captain, and had less valiant soldiers than himself could boast of. Add to this, if, contrary to his expectation, the Macedonians should receive a defeat, their enemies had the friendship of all the country round them, whereas they would have their hatred. Their enemies were thoroughly acquainted with the country; they wholly ignorant of it; and, as there was no small number of captives in their camp, they might chance to be invaded, even by them, in the night, not only if they were worsted by their enemies, but even if they obtained the victory with loss and difficulty. For these, and such like weighty determinations, I think Alexander no less to be admired than for the greatness of his courage, which so often crowned him with success.

CHAP. XI.

DARIUS and his forces stood under arms all night, in the manner they had been first drawn up; for as they had not fortified their camp, they were afraid the enemy should attack them by night. And, surely, their long and tedious watching, in heavy armour, and the fear which usually possess men’s minds before a great danger, contributed not a little to their overthrow: and this fear did not spring up on a sudden, but had been of long continuance; it was firmly rooted in the hearts of many of them, and wholly dastardised them. Darius’s army was drawn up in this manner; for the description thereof, says Aristobulus, was found in little books after the battle. On the left wing were the Bactrian horse, and with them the Dae and Arachoti; behind these the Persian horse and foot, mixed together; next these were the Susians; and behind them the Cadusians: and this was the order of the left wing, quite to the main body of the army. On the right were the Cilcysrians, and they who inhabit the country between the two rivers; these were joined by the Medes; next these stood the Parthians and Scææ; after these the Tapurians and Hyrcanians; behind these the Albanians and Sacesinsæ; and these also reached to the main body. In the main body, where Darius was, were his kindred, and the Persian Melophori, the Indians, the Carian exiles, and Mardian archers; next these stood the Uxians, the Babylonians, the inhabitants bordering on the Red Sea, and the Sitacini. Before the left wing, facing Alexander’s right, stood about a thousand Scythian and Bactrian horse, and an hundred armed chariots; and round Darius’s royal guard were elephants, and about fifty chariots. Before the right wing stood the Armenian and Cappadocian horse, and about fifty armed chariots. But the Greek mercenary soldiers quite surrounded Darius, and the Persians, who were his guards, and fronted the Macedonian phalanx, as those whose valour alone was equal to theirs.
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Alexander's army was thus marshalled: on the right wing stood his auxiliary troop of horse; before those the royal cohort, commanded by Clitus, the son of Dropidas; next stood those of Glaucias; and then that of Ariston; after which, was that of Sopolis, the son of Hermodorus; next, that of Heraclitus, the son of Antiochus; then that of Demetrius, the son of Althaemenes, followed by that of Meleager; and the last of the royal troops was that commanded by Hegelochnus, the son of Hippostratus. But the command of all the auxiliary horse belonged to Philotas, the son of Pemenio. The first rank of the Macedonian phalanx, which was joined with the horse, consisted of the targeteers, commanded by Nicanor, the son of Parmenio; next to these was the troop of Cnaeus, the son of Polemocrates; then that of Perdiccas, the son of Oroutes; after this stood that of Meleager, the son of Neoptolemus; then that of Polysperchou, the son of Simnius; and next that of Anyntas, the son of Philip. The command of this cohort belonged to Simnius; for Anyntas had been before dispatched into Macedonia, to raise recruits. On the left side of this phalanx was posted the troop of Craterus, the son of Alexander, who also commanded the whole body of auxiliary horse, whose captain was Erigyius, the son of Larichus; next these, still towards the left wing, were the Thessalian horse, commanded by Philip, the son of Neoclaus. But the whole body of horse, on the left wing, was under the command of Parmenio, the son of Philotas. Round these the Pharselian horse were posted, who were both the best and most numerous of all the Thessalian cavalry.

CHAP. XII.

AFTER this manner, Alexander ranged his army in front; but he added also another phalanx, which should be a kind of flying party, or squadron, having given orders to the commanders thereof, that if they perceived their own countrymen surrounded by the Persian army, they should suddenly turn backwards, and charge the barbarians, and contract or dilate their phalanx, as occasion offered. On the right wing, next to the royal cohort, was posted a troop of Agrians, under the command of Attalus; behind these, the Macedonian archers, led by Briso, to whom were joined those troops, named the foreign veterans, commanded by Cleander. Before the Agrians stood the forlorn hope of horse, and the Paeonians, headed by Aretas and Aristoc. Before the rest stood the mercenary troops of horse, under the command of Menidas: but before the royal cohort, and auxiliary troops, the remaining part of the Agrians and archers; and the darters, led on by Balacrus, were ranged to front the armed chariots. Moreover, an order was given to Menidas, and the troops under his command, that if the enemy should surround his wing, he should charge them on the flank. And this was the disposition of the right wing. On the left, in a half-moon, were the
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Thraces, commanded by Situlces; next the auxiliary horse, led on by Cereanus; after these the Odrysian horse, under the command of Agathon, the son of Tyrimmas. But, to front all, on this wing, stood the foreign mercenary troops of horse, under Andromachus, the son of Hieron; and the Thracian foot were placed as a guard upon the baggage. The whole army of Alexander, thus disposed, consisted of about seven thousand horse, and forty thousand foot.

CHAP. XIII.

WHEN both armies were ranged in such order as was judged necessary, and drew near each other, Darius, and those who were about him, viz. the Persian Melophori, the Indians, Albanians, Carian exiles, and Mardian archers, were perceived to place themselves directly opposite to Alexander and his royal cohort. Alexander, therefore, caused his right wing to stretch out in length; then the Persians, in the same manner, extended their left wing. And now the Scythian horse almost touched those who were the Macedonian forlorn hope: nevertheless, Alexander still continued to draw towards the right hand, till he approached near the place which the Persians had levelled. But now Darius, fearing that, if the Macedonians proceeded to move to uneven ground, his armed chariots would be useless, commanded those who were at the extremity of his left wing to wheel round, and thereby hinder Alexander from extending his right wing further. This done, Alexander gave orders to his mercenary horse, led on by Menidas, to attack them. But when the Scythian horse, and those of the Bactrians, who were joined with them, had almost cut off these few, their numbers being much superior, Alexander ordered Aretes, with the Paeonians, and foreigners, to their relief; upon which the barbarians gave way: but another body of Bactrians coming up caused their flying troops to rally, and renewed the fight; and a sharp equestrian conflict ensuing, many of Alexander's soldiers fell, not only because they were overborn by numbers, but because the Scythian horses and their riders were much more completely armed. But, as it was, the Macedonians sustained the shock, and beginning to push forwards with great fury, broke the enemy's ranks. The barbarians, on the other hand, sent their armed chariots against the Macedonians, to put them into confusion, but their designs were frustrated; for they no sooner approached, than the Agrians and darters, under Balarus, who were posted before the auxiliary horse, destroyed many with their missive weapons. The reins of some of them were seized, and their drivers being thrown headlong from their seats, their horses were stopped and slain. Yet some ran quite through the middle of the army, and escaped, for they opened their ranks, as they had been ordered, wherever the chariots approached them; by which means it happened, that the chariots drove through safe, and the part of the army through which they were hurried remained firm and untouched. However, most of these
were afterwards seized by the captain of horse and targeteers belonging to Alexander.

CHAP. XIV.

BUT when Darius’s whole body of foot begun to be in motion, with design to environ Alexander’s right wing, he speedily dispatched Aretas against them, though himself still continued his command there. But when he perceived that the party of horse, sent against those who harassed his right wing, had begun to break into the barbarian ranks, he immediately hastened thither, and drawing up his party of auxiliary horse into a sort of cuneus, flew directly to the place where the chasm was, with a mighty noise, as though he had been in pursuit of Darius: and, indeed, the battle was doubtful for a little time. But when the auxiliary troops about Alexander, and even he himself, begun to redouble their force, and smite the Persians in the faces with their spears; and when the Macedonian phalanx, still firm and terrible, begun to rush in upon them, then Darius, whose mind had been before possessed with dismal apprehensions of Alexander, gave up all for lost, and fled. The Persians also, who had endeavoured to environ the right wing, were in great straits, being violently assaulted by Aretas; but at length they betook themselves to flight, and the Macedonians made a huge slaughter of them in the pursuit. Simmias, with his troop, could not assist Alexander there, but was forced to make a halt, and fight; for he not only received intelligence that the left wing was in danger, but that the part from whence Alexander had drawn his troops, to pursue the enemy, and left a vacant space, was so much weakened, that some of the Indian Persian horse had penetrated as far as the Macedonian baggage, and a dreadful conflict happened there; for the Persians rushed boldly forwards against the Macedonians, who were chiefly unarmed, and never suspected that a small party would dare to attack them, and break their double phalanx. The barbarian captives also, seeing the Macedonians in this distress, by the Persians, rose up against them in the heat of the battle. But the captains of those forces, who were placed as a rearguard to the first phalanx, perceiving this defeat of their countrymen, immediately faced about, (according to their orders) and came upon the backs of the Persians, and, finding them entangled among the baggage, slew many; the rest escaped by flight. But the right wing of the Persian army, who had not yet heard of Darius’s flight, set themselves in opposition to Alexander’s left, and falling obliquely upon Parmenio’s troop, did great execution among them.
IN the mean time, while the Macedonian affairs hung thus in suspense, Parmenio dispatched a messenger to acquaint Alexander with his danger, and beg his assistance. When Alexander understood this, he immediately left off the pursuit, and returning to the army with his auxiliary forces, rushed with great fury upon the right wing of the barbarians: his first attack was made upon the enemy's light horse, namely, the Parthians, some Indians and Persians, which last were both the stoutest, and most numerous; and then happened a far more dreadful scene than any of the former; for the barbarians still keeping their ranks, begun to face about, to meet Alexander; and then there was no casting of darts, nor dexterous management of horses, as is common in equestrian battles, but every one strove to dismount his foe, and, as if their whole safety had depended on their success that way, they proceeded to give wounds, and receive them, to smite, and be smitten, as if each particular person had endeavoured to procure a victory for himself, and not for another. In this conflict, about sixty of Alexander's auxiliary forces were slain, and Hephaestion, Cænus, and Menidas, wounded. But even here the Macedonians had the advantage; for the barbarians, not able to endure their rage any longer, begun to consult their safety, by a precipitate flight. And now Alexander had almost arrived at the enemy's right wing, which he also designed to have encountered; but the Thessalian horse having already attacked them with great valour, little remained to be done; for he no sooner appeared with his forces, than they quitted their stations, and fled. Alexander therefore, returning to his pursuit of Darius, left not off till the night compelled him; and Parmenio, with his troops, also pursued as far as they could, Alexander passing the river Lycus, there encamped, to give his men and their horses a little refreshment. Mean while, Parmenio seized upon the enemy's tents, and secured all their baggage, elephants, and camels. Alexander, having given his auxiliary troops some rest, arose, about midnight, and hastened to Arbela, hoping there not only to seize upon Darius, but all his treasures, and royal furniture. The next day he arrived there, having already pursued the fugitives about six hundred furlongs. But he could not find Darius there; for he, not daring to trust himself any where, found rest no where: but the royal treasures and furniture fell into his hands, and Darius's chariot, and shield, and bow, came again into the conqueror's power. Of the Macedonian horsemen, about one hundred fell in that battle: but a thousand horses were lost, partly by wounds received in fight, and partly being over-heated in the pursuit; near one half of which number belonged to the auxiliary forces. Of the barbarians, no less than three hundred thousand are said to have been slain; and that the number of prisoners was much greater. All the elephants, and all the chariots, which were not broke in the fight, were now taken. This battle was thus won in the
month Panepseion, when Aristophanes was Archon at Athens; and hereby the prediction of Aristander was accomplished, viz. that, before the month was fully past, in which the eclipse of the moon happened, Alexander should both fight a battle, and obtain a victory.

CHAP. XVI.

DARIUS, immediately after this battle, fled through the mountainous tract of Armenia, into Media, and with him were the Bactrians, and some Persians of his kindred, besides a few of the Melophori. About two thousand foreign mercenaries also accompanied him, commanded by Paron, the Phoccean, and Glaucus, the Etolian. He took his flight thus precipitately into Media, because he imagined Alexander would, immediately after this battle, hasten to Susa and Babylon; for all that country is not only extremely populous, but commodious for marching an army through; and, besides, Babylon and Susa seemed to be destined as the rewards of that day's action; whereas the ways into Media were by no means commodious for the march of a great army; and in that Darius's judgment was just; for when Alexander left Arbela, he hastened straight to Babylon; and when he came near the city, he drew up his whole army in order of battle. But the Babylonians, having notice of his approach, threw open their gates, and, in vast multitudes, with their priests and chief men, went out to meet him, offering him great gifts, besides delivering the city, the tower, and the royal treasure, into his hands. Alexander, entering the city, commanded the Babylonians to rebuild the temples there which Xerxes had destroyed, and especially the temple of Belus, whom the Babylonians worshipped, as their chief god. He constituted Mazæus governor of the city, Apolloedorus, of Amphipolis, captain of those troops left with Mazæus, and Asclepiodorus, the son of Philo, gatherer of the tribute. He also sent Methrines (who had delivered the castle of Sardis into his possession) to be governor of Armenia. He consulted the Chaldeans in this city, about the restoration of the temples, and whatever they advised he performed, and, in particular, by their advice he offered sacrifices to Belus. Taking his leave of Babylon, he marched for Susa, and was met on his way by the governor's son, and a messenger, with a letter from Philoxenus, whom he had dispatched directly thither, from the field of battle. The substance of the letter was, that the Susians had delivered their city into his possession, and all the royal treasure was safe. On the twentieth day after his departure from Babylon, he arrived at Susa, and, entering the city, took possession of all the money, amounting to fifty thousand talents, besides the royal furniture. Many other things were found there, which Xerxes had formerly carried out of Greece, particularly the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton.
These he sent back to Athens, and they are no beseen at this day, placed in the Cerameicus, near the ascent into the city, from the district called Metress, hard by the altar of Eudameus, which whoever has been initiated in the Eleusinian rites, knows to stand in the Portico. Hence, Alexander sacrificed with lighted torches, after the custom of his country, and exhibited gymnic and musical sports; and then, leaving Abulites, a Persian, governor of the country round Susa, Mazarus, one of his friends, commander of the castle, and Archelaus, the son of Theodore, captain of the forces, he directed his march against the Persians. He also sent Menetes into the maritime parts, having made him governor of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia, to whom he delivered three thousand talents of silver, with orders, that as much thereof as was necessary should be conveyed by sea to Antipater, to carry on the war against the Lacedaemonians. Thither arrived Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, with an army of new-raised men, from Macedonia, the horse belonging to which he incorporated with his auxiliary troops, but the foot were distributed each into the troop belonging to his own nation. He also appointed two decurios to every troop, whereas, before this time, there were no decurios in the horse service; and those he chose out of the number of his auxiliaries, who had already served him with the greatest courage and fidelity.

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Chap. XVII.

After this, moving with his army from Susa, he passed the river Pasitigris, and entered the territories of the Uxii. Those Uxii who inhabited the open country, and had, before, been subject to the Persians, promised him obedience; but the mountaineers, who never stooped to the Persian yoke, sent him word, that they would not suffer him to march with his army against the Persians, unless he would allow them as much for his passage as the Persian monarchs were wont to allow. Alexander sent back the messengers, with orders, that they should block up those streights, whereby they designed to put a stop to his intended march, and there receive their usual tribute. He, in the mean time, accompanied with his royal cohort, his targeteers, and about eight thousand others, by the direction of some Susian guides, entered their country by night, another way, much less frequented, but more difficult, and, the next day, came into some of the Uxian villages, where he took much spoil, and slew many of the inhabitants, whom they surprized asleep; others fled to the mountains. Alexander hereupon marched speedily to these streights, to which he observed the Uxians flocking in great numbers, in hopes of the accustomed tribute for the passage of an army; but he had dispatched Craterus before, to seize the tops of the mountains, whither, he imagined, the enemy would retire, if reduced to extremities. He, hastening his march, seized upon the pass, and, having drawn up his forces in order of battle, attacked the barbarians from
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

the highest and most advantageous station. They, being in a con-
station at the suddenness of his arrival, and seeing those places seized
wherein they chiefly trusted, without striking a blow, betook themselves
to flight. However, many of them fell by Alexander's soldiers, in the
pursuit, and many tumbled down from the rocks and precipices, while
others, endeavouring to escape over the tops of the mountains, were
seized, and slain by Craterus's forces. Being thus rewarded for their
securing the passage through the straits, they, after much interces-
sion, at last obtained a grant from Alexander, to remain quietly in pos-
session of their ancient territories, upon their agreeing to pay an annual
tribute. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, tells us, that Darius's mother was
their mediator to Alexander, who, upon her account, restored them to
their possessions. The tribute imposed upon them was, an hundred
horses for war, five hundred baggage-horses, and thirty thousand head
of cattle; for the Uxii had no money among them, nor were their lands
fit for tillage, but most of them employed themselves in breeding and
feeding cattle.

CHAP. XVIII.

ALEXANDER then dispatched Parmanio with the carriages and
baggage, as also the Thessalian horse, the royal cohort, the foreign merci-
cenaries, and the rest of the heavy-armed soldiers, against the Persians,
and ordered him to choose a road fit for chariots; while he, with the
Macedonian foot, the auxiliary horse, and the Scythian horse, as also
the Agrians and archers, marched a nearer way through the mountains.
When he came to the Persian straits, he found that Aristobulus,
with an army of forty thousand foot, and about seven thousand heavy,
had blocked up the entrance with a wall, which he had fortified with
towers, to secure the passage. The first day Alexander encamped his
army there; the next, with a choice party, he determined to storm the
wall; but, as the storming thereof seemed a work of great difficulty
by reason of the advantageous situation of the enemy, and that many of
his soldiers were already wounded, some by stones rolled down the pre-
cipices, others by darts from the engines, he caused a retreat to be
sounded, and withdrew his forces: for some of his captives had promised
to conduct him to the farther side of these straits another way; but,
when he heard that that pass was also dangerous and narrow, he left
Craterus and his camp there, and, with him, his own troop, Melasce's
forces, some of the archers, and about five hundred horse, with orders
that when he perceived he had passed the straits and drew near the
Persian camp, (which he might easily do, by the sound of the trumpets) he
should assault the wall. Alexander, with his targeteers, and Perdiccas's
troop, his light-armed archers, and Agrians, the royal cohort, and one hun-
dred choice horses besides, having passed a hundred furlongs by night, ar-
ived at these straits, by an intricate road, according to the direction of
his guides, but ordered Amyntas, Philotas, and Caenus, to lead the rest of the forces through the plain country. He laid a bridge over the river which was to be passed, before he entered into Persia, and, in spite of the difficulty of the road, performed it with incredible haste. Arriving, therefore, at the first station of the barbarians, before day-light, he slew their watch. Afterwards, reaching the second, and having slain most of theirs, when he came at the third, the greatest part of them fled: but even those carried no intelligence to the camp of Ariobarzanes, but, being struck with a sudden consternation, every one escaped, by the nearest way he could, to the mountains; so that, when day-light appeared, the enemy's camp received an unexpected assault. As soon as they came to the intrenchment which surrounded the camp, Craterus, hearing the sound of their trumpets, attacked the wall on the other side. The enemy then, in great amazement, endeavoured to secure themselves by flight, without so much as striking a blow; but, finding themselves inclosed on all hands, Alexander pushing them forwards, and Craterus meeting them, many of them were constrained to direct their flight to the wall; but that was already seized by the Macedonians; for Alexander, imagining what afterwards happened, had ordered Ptolemy there, with three thousand foot. The greatest part of the barbarians were slain; even many of them, endeavouring to escape by the mountains, were struck with sudden terrors, and fell down the rocks. However, Ariobarzanes, accompanied with a few horse, fled to the mountains. Alexander then returning in haste to the river which he had passed before, and, making the bridge of sufficient strength, brought over his whole army. Thence, by long marches, he hastened against the Persians, that he might surprise the royal treasures, wherever he came, before any notice could be carried of his arrival. At Pasargadæ he seized upon the money which had belonged to Cyrus, and made Phraorites, the son of Rheomithras, governor of Persia. The royal palace of the Persian monarchs he burnt, much against the will of Parmenio, who treated him to leave it untouched, not only because it was improper to destroy what he had gained by his valour, but that he would thereby disoblige the Asiatics, and render them less benevolent to him; for they would then suppose that he would not keep Asia in his possession, but abandon it as soon as it was conquered and laid waste. To which Alexander made answer, that he was resolved to revenge the ancient injuries his country had received by the Persians, who, when they arrived with their army in Greece, subverted Athens, burnt their temples, and committed many other barbarous devastations there. But this, in my opinion, seems to have been no prudent or politic action in Alexander, and was no revenge upon the Persians at all.
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CHAP. XIX.

ALEXANDER then directed his march into Media; for he had received information that Darius was there. Now Darius had determined with himself, if Alexander rested at Babylon or Susa, to remain in Media till he heard whether the Macedonian soldiers attempted any innovations; but, if he led his army forwards against him, then he would retire into Parthia and Hyrcania, or even into Bactria; and, having laid all the country behind him waste, render it impossible for Alexander to follow him. He therefore dispatched the women, and all the royal furniture which he then had, and the carriages, before him, to the Caspian streights; but he, with the few forces which he had newly levied, lay yet at Ecbatana. Alexander hearing this, hastened into Media, and entering the country of the Paritaces, subdued it, and appointed Oxathres, the son of Abulitas, governor thereof, who had before been president of Susa. And when he received notice that Darius was resolved to meet him, and try the fortune of another battle (for the Scythians and Cadusians had come in to his assistance) having ordered his carriages and royal furniture to follow him, under a guard, he, with all his forces, marched forwards, in order of battle, and, on the twelfth day, pitched his tents in Media, where he soon understood that Darius was in no condition to meet him, with the forces he then had, as also, that neither the Cadusians nor Scythians had joined him; and that he repose all his safety in a speedy flight; for which reason he was resolved to be the more hasty in his pursuit: and when he came within three days journey of Ecbatana, he was met by Bithanes, the son of Ochus, who reigned in Persia before Darius. He acquainted Alexander that it was now the fifth day since Darius had fled from thence, having carried out of Media seven thousand talents of silver, and having with him an army of three thousand horse, and six thousand foot. When Alexander arrived at Ecbatana, he dispatched the Thessalian and auxiliary troops of horse towards the sea-coast, and, besides their whole wages, bestowed a gift of two thousand talents upon the soldiers, and, at the same time, published an order, that if any of them were willing to serve him longer for wages, his name should be registered. Many of them, therefore, gave in their names. He then ordered Epocillus, the son of Polyides, with a guard of horse, to convey those to the sea-side who chose rather to return home than follow his fortunes: for the Thessalians sold their horses there. He also sent Menetes with them, to take care that, as soon as they came to the coast, ships should be in readiness to transport them to Euboea. He afterwards ordered Parmenio to lodge all the money brought out of Persia in the castle of Ecbatana, and deliver the charge thereof to Harpalus, whom he appointed to preside over his treasures there, and with whom he left a guard of six thousand Macedonians, and some of his auxiliary horse. He then dispatched him (Parmenio) with the foreigners and Thracians, and the rest of the horse, except the royal cohort, along the confines of the Cadusians, into Hyrcania.
He also wrote to Clitus, captain of the royal cohort, that when he came from Susa to Ecbatana (for he was left there for the recovery of his health) he should take those Macedonians, whom he had appointed to guard the treasures, and march with them against the Parthians, whither also he would soon follow him.

CHAP. XX.

THEN, taking with him his auxiliary horse, and the forlorn hope, with the mercenary troops commanded by Erygius, and the Macedonian phalanx (except those who were appointed to guard the treasures), as also the archers and Agrians, he marched in pursuit of Darius; and notwithstanding many of his soldiers fainted on the road, and many of his horses died, through excessive weariness, he still resolved to continue the same expedition; and accordingly, on the eleventh day, he arrived at Rhagae. This city is one day's journey distant from the Caspian straits, according to Alexander's manner of marching an army. But Darius had already passed through these straits, whereupon many of his followers returned to their habitations, and not a few surrendered themselves to Alexander. He then laying aside all hopes of ever being able to overtake Darius by the utmost expedition he could make, rested there five days; and having refreshed his army, after the fatigues of travel, he appointed Oxydatus, a Persian, who had been taken prisoner by Darius, and confined at Susa, governor of Media; for this confinement of his, by Darius, gained him credit with Alexander. He then marched with his army against the Parthians, and encamped the first day near the Caspian straits, which he entered the day after, and came into a fruitful country; and as he was resolved there to lay in a stock of forage for his army, because he had heard that the inner parts of the country lay uncultivated and waste, he dispatched Cænus with his horse, and some part of his foot, to gather in stores for that purpose.

CHAP. XXI.

ABOUT this time Bagistanes, the Babylonian, a noted man, and with him Antibelus, the son of Mazæus, came to Alexander, from Darius's army, and acquainted him, that Nabarzanes, a captain of a thousand horse, and one of those who had accompanied him in his flight, with Bessus, governor of Bactria, and Brazes, prefect of the Arachot, and Drangae, had seized Darius, and held him in custody. Alexander hearing this, imagined there was now more need of expedition than ever; wherefore, taking with him only his auxiliary forces, his light horse, and his stoutest and best marching troops of foot, without waiting for the return of Cænus, and those whom he had sent a foraging, and having
given the command of those whom he left behind to Craterus, he ordered them to march moderately. Those who accompanied him carried no more than their arms, and two days provisions. Then all that night they continued their march, and till noon the next day, when allowing his soldiers a little rest; he again marched all the next night, and early in the morning entered the camp, from whence Bagistanes came, but found not the enemy. There he was assured that Darius was carried prisoner in his chariot; that Bessus had usurped the Imperial title, and was named general by the Bactrian horse, and all the other barbarians, except Artabazus and his sons, and the Greek mercenaries, who continued still faithful to Darius, and could not hinder what had happened; but that they had left the great road, and retired to the mountains, refusing to hold correspondence with Bessus. He also received advice, that those who had the king in custody had determined, if Alexander continued the pursuit, to deliver him up, and consult their own safety; but if he left it off, they would raise as great an army as they could, and share the empire among them; that Bessus was declared general of the army at present, as well because of the great necessity there was for him about Darius’s person, as because he was taken prisoner in his province. Alexander hearing this, resolved to continue his march with all possible speed; and though his men, as well as their horses, were harassed, with incessant labour, he nevertheless proceeded, and travelling hard all that night, and till noon the next day, arrived at a certain village, where they who led Darius about had pitched their tents the day before; and being there further assured, that they designed to march by night, he inquired of the inhabitants if they knew any higher road than that by which they fled, that he might the sooner overtake them; they told him, they did; but that it lay through a country desert and destitute of water. He, notwithstanding, ordered them to be his guides; and, when he understood that the foot could not possibly keep pace with the horse in so hasty a march, he commanded about five hundred horsemen to alight, and the captains of foot, and others of their best men, such as were heavy armed, to mount their horses. He also ordered Nicanor, captain of his targe- teers, and Attalus, commander of the Agrians, to march, with those who were light-armed, along the great road, which Bessus and his companions had taken. The rest of the foot were left to follow in order. He set forwards at the close of the evening, and proceeded with the utmost vigour; and, having marched four hundred furlongs that night, early the next morning came up with the barbarians, who were flying all in disorder and unarmèd. A few of them drew up in ranks, as if they had designed to defend themselves; but the greatest part, at the first sight of Alexander, turned their backs without striking one blow: and even when a few of those, who betook themselves to their arms, were cut off, the rest fled. Bessus and his companions still carried Darius about in a chariot, but perceiving Alexander at hand, Satibrazanes, and Barzaentes, after having given him several grievous wounds there, left him;
and with a party of six hundred horse, hastened away; soon after which, Darius, before Alexander had yet seen him, died of his wounds.

CHAP. XXII.

ALEXANDER sent the body of Darius into Persia, to be interred in the royal mausoleum, among the antient Persian kings, his predecessors. After which, he constituted Amyntapes, the Parthian, who, with Mazaces, had yielded Egypt into his hands, governor of Parthia and Hyrcania; and Tlepolemus, the son of Pythophases, one of his friends, was ordered to assist him in the affairs of his government. Thus died Darius, in the month Ecatombaion, when Aristophanes was Archon at Athens; a prince unexpert and imprudent in warlike affairs, but as to other matters, one who never attempted any invasion upon the rights of his subjects; neither, indeed, could he; for as soon as he ascended the throne, his dominions were attacked by the joint forces of the Greeks and Macedonians; for which reason it would not have been safe for him to have injured his own people, when he had so much need of their assistance. As long as he lived, one calamity immediately seized him after another; neither enjoyed he the least moment’s ease from the time he ascended the throne. For his reign was ushered in with that dismal equestrian defeat at the river Granicus; soon after which ensued the loss of Ionia and Eolia; both Phrygia, Lydia, and all Caria, except Halicarnassus; and in a little time, that of Halicarnassus also, with all the sea-coast, as far as Cilicia. Then followed the sad overthrow at Issus, where his mother, wife, and children, were taken captives; soon after which Phoenicia and Egypt were wrested out of his hands. Then succeeded the last, and fatal battle of Arbela, where he was one of the first who fled, and where he lost a vast army, made up of all the nations under his power; soon after which, he was forced to abandon his own kingdoms, and wandered in exile, where, being seized by those about him, he was, at the same time, a king and a captive among his own people; when, after much ignominious usage, received from those who hurried him from place to place, he was, at last, barbarously betrayed, and murdered, by those in whom he most confided. These disasters pursued Darius to the last moment of his life; but after his death, he was honoured with a royal interment; his children received a princely allowance and education from Alexander, as if their father had still reigned; and Alexander himself took his daughter to wife. Darius was about fifty years of age when he died,
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

CHAP. XXIII.

ALEXANDER, having gathered up those whom he was forced to leave behind, marched into Hyrcania, which is situate on the left hand of the way which leads to Bactria; which road is bounded on one side by a chain of mountains, high and inaccessible; but on the other is a spacious plain, extending itself even to the great sea; and this way he led his army, the rather, because he was informed, that the foreign mercenary troops, which served Darius, had retreated into the Mardien mountains; wherefore he was resolved to bring the Mardi under subjection. Having therefore divided his forces into three parts, he himself took the shortest and most difficult roads, because he led the best and stoutest part of the army. Craterus, with his own and Amyntas's troops, and with the archers and some horse, he dispatched against the Tapuri; but Erygius was ordered to lead the foreign troops, and the remainder of the horse, by a smoother and easier road, though somewhat longer; and to his care was committed the chariots, and baggage-wagons, and the rest of the multitude. Having, therefore, passed over the first mountains, and placed guards there, he, with his targeteers, and some of the swiftest of the Macedonian phalanx, besides a few archers, entered a road extremely rugged and difficult, and having placed guards wherever he apprehended danger, lest the barbarian mountaineers should fall upon those who were to follow, and cut them off, he, with his archers, having passed the straights, encamped in a champaign country, near a small river. Hither Nabarzanes, a captain of a thousand horse, under Darius and Phradapheernes, governor of Hyrcania and Parthia, and others of the Persian nobility, of great esteem with Darius, came, and surrendered themselves to Alexander. Wherefore, tarrying there four days, part of his forces, which he had left by the way, came up with him, and another part passed by him safe; but a party of barbarian mountaineers attacked the Agrians, who were left to conduct a troop of new-raised men; yet being repulsed by their darts, they soon departed. Alexander moving from thence, marched into Hyrcania, towards the city Zadracarta; and at this time came Craterus, with the troops under his command, who had not found the foreign mercenary troops of Darius, which they sought; but they had brought all the country, through which they passed, under subjection, part thereof by force, and part by a voluntary surrender of the inhabitants. Erygius also, with the chariots, and baggage, arrived there; and not long after, Artabazus and three of his sons, Copheu, Arbiobarzanes, and Arsames, came to Alexander, attended by ambassadors from the foreign mercenaries which served Darius, as also Autophradates, governor of Tapuri. Autophradates he restored to his government, and Artabazus and his sons he held in high esteem, as well because they were some of the chief Persian nobility, as for their great fidelity to Darius: but when the ambassadors from the Grecian mercenary troops required, that he would receive all foreigners
into friendship, he returned answer, that he would enter into no articles with them, because their offence was heinous, in taking up arms for the barbarians against their own country, in direct opposition to the general decree of Greece. However, he commanded that they should all either come and surrender themselves, that he might dispose of them according to his pleasure, or shift for themselves as well as they could afterwards. They hereupon agreed not only to commit themselves, but others, into his power, if he would condescend to send them a captain, to conduct them safe to him. Their whole number was said to be one thousand five hundred. Alexander hereupon dispatched Andronicus, the son of Aggerus, and Artabazus, thither for that purpose.

CHAP. XXIV.

HE then directed his march against the Mardi, taking with him his targeteers, archers, and Agrians, with Caenus' and Amyntas's troops, and half of the auxiliary horse and darters; for he had constituted a troop of darters, who should fight on horseback: and he soon over-run a great part of the country of the Mardi, many of the inhabitants flying; some, indeed, betook themselves to arms, and were slain, and many were taken prisoners. None, before Alexander, had ever attempted to enter that country in a hostile manner, partly because of the steep and rugged hills, which must be passed over, and partly because of the poverty of the inhabitants, which poverty makes them warlike, at the same time when they are not worth the conquering; for which reason they, never suspecting Alexander would have attacked them (because they had heard that he was already marched beyond them), were over-run on a sudden. However, many of them fled to the mountains, which are there steep and craggy, imagining that he would never attempt to disturb them there. But when they found their mistake, they sent messengers to him, and surrendered themselves and country into his hands. Having then dismissed them, he appointed Autophrades governor of the Tapuri, to preside over them, and, returning into the camp from whence he set forth on his expedition against the Mardi, he found the Greek mercenaries, who were come to him, as also the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, who had been dispatched to Darius: these were, Callicratidas, Pausippus, Monimus, Anomantus, and Dropides, the ambassador of the Athenians; all which, having ordered to be seized, he committed them to custody. The Sinopean ambassadors he set free, because the Sinopeans were never a part of the commonwealth of Greece, but were subject to the Persians, for which reason he deemed them guilty of no crime, in sending an embassy to their king. As to the rest of the Greeks, those who had entered into the Persian service before the league and confederacy of their countrymen with the Lacedaemonians, he set free, and, with them, Heraclides, the Carthaginian ambassador. The rest he ordered to take up arms for him, on the same conditions
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they had served Darius. Over those he appointed Andronicus, who brought them to preside as captain, whom he judged to have deserved well, because he had taken the best means for the preservation of their lives.

CHAP. XXV.

AFTER this he hastened with his army to Zeudracarta, the chief city of Hyrcania, where was the royal palace; and, having tarried there fifteen days, sacrificed to the gods, after the manner of his country, and exhibited gymnastic exercises, he began his march against the Parthians. Then he passed into the Arian confines to Susia, a city of the Arii, where Satibarzanes, governor of Aria, came to meet him. He restored him his government, and, with him, sent Anaxippus, one of his friends, at the head of a party of forty archers, on horseback, whom he appointed to guard the places, that the Arians might sustain no damage by his army, in their march through their country. About this time arrived certain Persians, with news that Bessus had assumed the recta tira, or turban, and the Persian vest, ensigns of royalty, and, laying aside the name of Bessus, would be stiled Artaxerxes, King of Asia; that he had with him the Persian troops, which had fled into Bactria, and great numbers of the Bactrians, and daily expected the arrival of some confederate Scythians. Alexander, having now all his forces together, directed his march towards Bactria; for here Philip, the son of Menelaus, came to him from Media, with the mercenary troops of horse under his command, and the Thessalians, who, by his order, tarried behind in the camp, besides the recruits led on by Andromachus; for Nicanor, the son of Parmenio, Captain of the tar- geteers, was now dead. As Alexander was upon his march into Bactria, he received information that Satibarzanes, governor of the Arii, having slain Anaxippus, and the archers, his attendants, had armed the country, and ordered them to meet at the city of Artacoana, where is the royal palace of the Arian princes. He had also resolved, as soon as he had received the news that Alexander had marched a little further off, to lead his army to Bessus, that so, by their joint force, they might be able to match the Macedonians, wherever they met them. When Alexander heard this, he postponed his journey into Bactria, and, taking with him his auxiliary horse, his darters on horseback, his archers, and Agrians, as also Cœnus' and Amyntas's troops, leaving the rest of the army there, under Graterus, he marched suddenly against Satibarzanes and the Arians, and, having travelled six hundred furlongs in two days, came to Artacoana. Satibarzanes no sooner perceived his approach, than he was struck with astonishment at the expedition he had made; wherefore, with a few of the Arian horse, he made his escape, many of his soldiers, when they were assured that the enemy was at hand, deserting from him in his flight. Alexander seized as many as he knew were guilty of the revolt, and those who had forsaken their habitations, and used them with rigour, putting some to death, and sending others into slavery; and,
having then appointed Ataces, the Persian, governor of the Arii, he, with those forces which he had before left with Craterus, marching against the Zarungni, came to the Imperial city; but Barseuates, one of those who had murdered Darius in his flight, and was then prince of that country, hearing of his approach, fled to the Indians on the other side of the river Indus; but they, having seized him, sent him to Alexander, who, for his treachery to Darius, commanded him to be put to death.

CHAP. XXVI.

AT this time Alexander was assured that Philitas, the son of Parmenio, had conspired against his life. Ptolemy and Aristobulus acquainted us, that, when the treason was first divulged to him in Egypt, he rejected the information, as deeming it highly improbable, not only because of the ancient friendship and honour he had for his father Parmenio, but also because of the extraordinary confidence he had reposed in him. But Ptolemy elsewhere tells us, that Philitas, being brought before a council of the Macedonians, and grievously accused by Alexander, was then acquitted: but afterwards, fresh circumstances appearing, and a new charge being drawn up against him and his accomplices, among other things, one, in particular, was, that he had confessed his having knowledge of a certain conspiracy against his sovereign's life, which he never divulged, notwithstanding he had all the opportunity he could wish to make a discovery, having free access into the royal tent twice every day. Upon this Philitas, and all the rest of the conspirators, were slain by darts from the Macedonians which surrounded them. Polydamus, one of Alexander's friends, was immediately dispatched away to Parmenio, with letters from him to the captains of the army in Media, who, at that time, were Cleander, Sitalces, and Menides, who commanded there under Parmenio; and by them Parmenio was put to death, either because Alexander deemed it unlikely that Philitas should form so deep a conspiracy against his life, and his father be ignorant thereof, or rather, though, perhaps, he might think him innocent, he might, at the same time, think it dangerous, having slain the son, to suffer his father to survive, especially since his power was so vast, both with Alexander and the army, as well Macedonians as foreigners, over a great part of whom, by his sovereign's command, he had often presided, both in his course and otherwise, and acquitted himself with the highest applause.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE same authors add, that Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, was accused before the council, and, with him, Polemon, Attalus, and Symbrias, his brothers, as privy to the conspiracy against Alexander, by reason
of their extraordinary intimacy with Philotas; and the suspicion of their guilt was strengthened among the common people, because, when Philotas was apprehended, Polemon, one of those brothers, fled to the enemy. But when Amyntas, who, with his two brothers, which stood their ground, had taken their trial, he pleaded his cause so well, that they were all acquitted; immediately after which, before the council rose, he begged leave to go and bring his brother back to Alexander, which being granted, he went, and the same day returned with his brother: and, from this circumstance, his innocence appeared much plainer than before. However, as he was assaulting a small village, not long after, he was struck with an arrow, and died of the wound; so that he received little advantage from his absolution by the council, except that of carrying the character of a loyal subject to his grave. After this, Alexander gave the command of the auxiliary horse to two of his friends, namely, to Hephaestion, the son of Amyntor, and Clitus, the son of Dromidas. And he thus divided these troops, because he would not trust any one of his friends with the sole command of them, they being the best in his whole army, both for honour and martial prowess. He then turned his eyes upon those who were anciently called Agriasae, but afterwards, Energetae, or Bountiful, who had assisted Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, in his expedition against the Scyths. Those Alexander highly esteemed, because their predecessors had behaved themselves well; and when he heard that they lived not after the manner of the barbarians, their neighbours, but administered justice, like the best ordered states of Greece, he declared them free, and gave them as much land, out of the neighbouring country, as they requested, because their requests were moderate. In that place he sacrificed to Apollo, and then, having seized upon Demetrias, one of his body-guards, whom he suspected to be one of the accomplices of Philotas, he substituted Ptolomey, the son of Lagus, in his place.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ALEXANDER, after this, directed his march against Bactria and Bessus, and, in his way, having received homage of the Drangae, the Gadrosi, and Arachoti, he appointed Menon their governor. He then proceeded to the Indians, adjacent to the Arachoti, all which nations he subdued, but with the utmost toil and difficulty, his soldiers passing through deep snows, and enduring all the extremities of want: but when he had notice that the Arii had again revolted, and that Satibrazanes, with two thousand horse, which he had received from Bessus, had entered the country, he dispatched Artabazus, the Persian, with Eragyius, and Caranus, against them, and ordered Phrataphernes, governor of the Parthians, to accompany them. A sharp battle then happened, between the troops of Eragyius and Caranus, and those of Satibrazanes; and the
barbarians stood their ground, till Satibarzanes, encountering Erigynus, was struck in the face by a dart, and died of the wound; but then, terrified at the death of their general, they betook themselves to flight. Alexander then marching to Mount Caucasus, built a city there, which he named Alexandria, and, having offered sacrifices to the gods, after the custom of his country, passed over the mountains. He left the government of the land in the hands of Proxes, the Persian, and appointed his friend Niloxenus, the son of Satyrus, to remain there, with his army. Mount Caucasus, according to Aristobulus's account, rises to as great a height as any mountain in all Asia, and the surface thereof, in that part where Alexander viewed it, was bare. It also stretches out to such a mighty length, that some reckon Mount Taurus, which crosses Cilicia and Pamphylia, to be a branch thereof, as also many other high mountains, which vary their names, according to the variety of nations inhabiting near them. Nothing but sylphium, and the turpentine-tree, grow there, according to the same author, notwithstanding which, it is very populous, and multitudes of sheep and next cattle are seen there; for they feed upon sylphium, and the sheep especially are so fond thereof, that if they chance to smell it at a distance, they immediately hasten thither, and, having cropt the flower, even dig up and gnaw the root; for which reason, some of the Cyreneans keep their sheep at a distance from the places where the sylphium grows, and others inclose it with a fence, lest their sheep should smell it, if too near, or break in and devour it; for it is there very valuable. Beatus, with those who were his accomplices in the treachery against Daris, besides seven thousand Bactrians, and Dae, who inhabited the country beyond the Tanais, had laid all the country about Caucasus waste, to the intent that the desolation thereof, and the want of all necessaries, might put a stop to Alexander's progress; but he, nevertheless, marched forwards, though with extreme difficulty, by reason of the depth of the snow, and scarcity of provisions. As soon as Beatus understood that Alexander was not far off, he passed the river Oxus with his forces, and, having immediately burnt the vessels which they had used in ferrying over, retired to Nautaca, a city of Sogdia. He was attended thither by Spitamenes and Oxyartes, with the Sogdian horse, and Dae, from the river Tanais; but the Bactrian horse, perceiving that he had no hopes of safety remaining but what he placed in a precipitate flight, fell away from him by degrees, and returned to their own country.

CHAP. XXIX.

ALEXANDER then hastened to Drapaca, where, having refreshed his army, he moved thence against Aornus and Bactra, the chief cities of the Bactrians; which being immediately surrendered to him, he placed a garrison in the castle of Aornus, and, making Archelaus, the
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son of Androcles, one of his friends, governor thereof, and all the rest of the country being easily reduced, Artabazus, the Persian, was appointed their president. He then led his army to the river Oxus. This river has its rise from Mount Caucasus, and is the greatest in all Asia, which Alexander passed over with his army, except those of India; it discharges its waters into the great sea, near Hyrcania. When Alexander came to this river, he found no possibility of passing over it; for its breadth was full six furlongs, its depth proportionable to a greater breadth, and the bottom sandy. Its stream was so rapid, as suddenly to root out and sweep away whatever piles were driven down into the bottom, which could not be firmly fixed, by reason of the looseness of the sand. Add to this, that he had no materials ready for the building a bridge, and it would have taken too much of his time to have conveyed every thing necessary for that purpose thither, from parts so far distant. Having therefore ordered all the skins, which they used for their tents, to be gathered together, he commanded them to be filled with any light and dry matter they could find, and carefully bound up and stitched, to prevent the water from entering; upon which skins, so stuffed out and sewed up, in the space of five days, he conveyed his whole army safe over. But, before he attempted to pass this river, he sought out such of the Macedonians as were rendered unfit for service, either by age or wounds, and such of the Thessalians as had chosen to remain in their tents, and sent them back into their own country. He then dispatched Stassanor, one of his friends, into the territories of the Arii, to seize Ansames, the governor there (who was endeavouring to stir up his people to a revolt) and take the care of that province upon himself. Having therefore passed over the river Oxus, he marched with his forces towards the place where he heard that Bessus and his army lay encamped; but in the mean time arrived messengers from Spitamenes and Dataphernes, who assured him, that if he would send any of his captains thither, with a small party, they would deliver Bessus-prisoner into his hands; for they had already apprehended him, though they had not yet bound him with fetters. When Alexander understood this, he slackened his pace, and moved easily forwards with his army, but ordered Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, with three troops of the auxiliary horse, and all his archers on horseback, as also Philotas's regiment of foot, besides a thousand targeteers, all his Agrians, and half of his archers, to make the best of his way to Spitamenes and Dataphernes. Ptolemy having accordingly marched ten ordinary days journey in four days space, arrived at the place where Spitamenes and the barbarians had encamped the night before.
CHAP. XXX.

THERE Ptolemy was assured that Spitamenes and Dataphernes were not fully resolved, in their own minds, about the delivery of Bessus. Wherefore, leaving his foot behind, and commanding them to follow in order, he hastened forward with his horse; till he came to a certain village where Bessus was, with a few of his soldiers; for those with Spitamenes had quitted the place, because they would not seem to be guilty of betraying him. Ptolemy, having surrounded the village with his horse (for it was walled round) ordered proclamation to be made, that the inhabitants should not receive any harm, if they would deliver up Bessus. The barbarians hearing this, opened their gates, and Ptolemy, with his forces, entered the village, where, having seized Bessus, he returned to Alexander, but, first of all, dispatched a messenger, to enquire after what manner Bessus should be brought into his presence? who returned answer, That he should be brought chained, and naked, and afterwards placed on the right-hand side of the way, along which he was to pass with his army. When Alexander saw him, he caused his chariot to stop, and asked him, What induced him to seize upon Darius, his sovereign and his friend, and who had always deserved well at his hands, and, after having seized and led him about prisoner, to murder him? To whom Bessus replied, That it was not his act, nor done by his advice alone, but it was the general opinion of all then present that it would procure them the favour of Alexander. He then ordered Bessus to be whipped, and the upbraiding speech he had first made to him to be proclaimed aloud by a crier. Bessus, thus punished, was sent into Bactria, there to be put to death. Thus far Ptolemy; but Aristobulus's account of this affair is, that Spitamenes' and Dataphernes's soldiers delivered Bessus into Ptolemy's hands, and that he was then brought chained and naked to Alexander. Alexander, having received the horses he there expected, to remount his cavalry (for he had lost many horses, in his passage over Mount Caucasus, as well as in his march towards the river Oxus, and his departure from thence), marched straight to Maracanda, in which city stands the royal palace of the Sogdians, and afterwards to the river Tanais. This (which Aristobulus says, has the name of Orxantes, among the neighbouring inhabitants) owes its rise to Mount Caucasus, and discharges its waters into the Hyrcanian sea. There is another Tanais, whereof Herodotus, the historian, makes mention, as the eighth river of Scythia, and adds, that it has its origin from a great lake, and loses itself at last in one much greater, namely, the lake of Maeotis; that some place this Tanais as the boundary of Europe and Asia; for this river falling into the Palus Maeotis, and that afterwards into the Euxine Sea, parts Europe and Asia, in the same manner as the sea between Gades, and the opposite shore of Numidia, disjoins Europe from Africa; or as the river Nilus separates Africa from another part of Asia. Here (namely at this river Tanais) some of the Macedo-
lian horse, foraging at a great distance, were surprized, and slain by the barbarians, who were gathered together, to the number of about thirty thousand, and who, after this exploit, betook them to a high mountain, steep and rugged, and every way difficult to ascend. Against these Alexander, with the swiftest and lightest armed troops of his whole army, suddenly directed his march. The Macedonians, in several of their first attempts to dislodge the mountaineers, were beat back by the barbarians, and many of them wounded; even Alexander himself was shot through the leg with an arrow, whereby the fibula, or lesser bone thereof, was broken. However, at last, the mountain was gained, and many of the barbarians slain by the Macedonians; many others also threw themselves headlong from the rocks, and perished; so that, of thirty thousand who endeavoured to maintain that post, scarce eight thousand made their escape.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAP. I.

A FEW days after came ambassadors from Alexander, from the Scythians, named Abii, (whom Homer in his work commends as the justest nation upon earth; these are inhabitants of Asia, subject to no laws, by reason of their poverty, and their exact distribution of justice) and with them came also ambassadors from the European Scythians; for a great nation of the Scythians inhabits Europe. Alexander sent some of his friends to attend those on their return home, under a pretext indeed of settling a friendship with them, by an embassy, but, in reality, that he might know the situation of their country, the number of their habitants, the stature of their bodies, and what kind of arms they use in battle. In the mean time, he resolved to build a city near the banks of the river Tanais, and have it called after his own name; for the place seemed extremely commodious for that purpose, and a fit situation (whenever occasion should offer), for an expedition against the Scythians; and not only so, but it would also serve as a fortress, to secure the country on this side of the river from the incursions of those on the other. He also conjectured that this city would become great, as well by reason of the numbers of its future inhabitants, as by its being dignified with such a name. In the mean time the barbarians inhabiting the country near the river, having seized the Macedonian soldiers, who had been appointed to guard the cities of Scythia, put them to death; and for their greater security fortified their cities. Many of the Sogdians joined with them in this revolt, being stirred up to it by those who had taken Bessus; some of the Bactrians also sided with them, either because they were afraid of Alexander, or as the report then went, because Alexan-
der had fixed the meeting of the presidents of that province to be held at Zariaspa, from which convention they predicted no good to themselves.

CHAP. II.

WHEN these things were told to Alexander, he ordered all his foot, according to their several cohorts, to furnish themselves with ladders; and he marched with his forces to the city which lay nearest the army, called Gaza (for the barbarians of that country were reported to have seized upon seven cities); he dispatched Craterus to Cyropolis, the greatest of these cities, and into which most of the barbarians had retired, commanding him to encamp near the walls, to draw a ditch and rampart round the city, and plant his engines wherever he thought convenient; so that the citizens there, finding employment enough to defend themselves at home, might not be able to succour other places elsewhere. As soon as he approached Gaza, he ordered the wall, which was but of mud, and low built, to be assaulted, and his scaling ladders every where got ready. Then his slingers and archers, and darters mixed with the foot, beginning the attack, smote the besieged with missile weapons, and at the same time galled them with darts from their engines, inasmuch that the walls were deserted by the barbarians, and the ladders being immediately fixed, the Macedonians mounted, and entering the city, killed all the men they met (for so Alexander had commanded); but the women, and children, and the riches of the place, were given as spoil to the soldiers. Thence he moved to another of those cities, which was built and fortified like the former, which he assaulted and took the same day, and disposed of the captives in the same manner. Thence, proceeding to the third city on the next day, he took it at the first attack. In the mean time, while he, at the head of his troops of foot, was busied in reducing those places, he dispatched his horse to other two cities, not far off, with orders to take care that the citizens, when they heard of the storming of their neighbouring towns, and his near approach, should not betake themselves to flight, and so render it a difficult task for him to overtake them. And as he thought, so it happened, that the dispatch of these troops thither was necessary; for the barbarians, who held the other cities, not yet taken, seeing the smoke of that over-against them, which was then on fire (and besides, some who had escaped out of that calamity bringing them the news), they fled out of both the cities as fast as they could; but falling in among the horse, posted for that purpose, were most of them slain,
CHAP. III.

THESE five cities, thus taken and destroyed in two days, he hastened to Cyropolis, the greatest and most populous of the whole country. It was surrounded with a wall, much higher than any of the rest, and was built by Cyrus; and as many barbarians, both stout and warlike, had fled for shelter thither, it was not to be supposed that the Macedonians should gain it at the first assault. Wherefore, Alexander having planted his engines in places convenient, determined to batter the wall, and wherever he made a breach, to storm the place: but finding the channel of the river, which usually run through the town like a torrent, at that time dry, and the wall disjoined, so as to afford an entrance for his soldiers, be, with his body guards, his targeteers, his archers, and Agrians, (while the barbarians were employed in guarding themselves from the engines and the assailants) privately entered the city at first with a few men, through that channel, and having burst open the gates near that part, gave an easy admittance to the rest. The barbarians then, notwithstanding they perceived their city taken, falling upon the Macedonians, a sharp battle ensued, wherein Alexander himself received a blow on the head and neck with a stone, and Craterus, and many more of his captains, were wounded with missile weapons. However, the barbarians were at last driven out of the forum. In the mean time, those who battered the wall seeing it void of defendants, took it, and, at their first entrance, slew about eight thousand of the enemy. The rest (for the whole number there gathered together was eighteen thousand) retired into the castle: but these, when Alexander had continued his siege but one day, being destitute of water, surrendered the place. Thence, moving to the seventh city, he took it at the first assault. Ptolemy, indeed, says, it was delivered up without fighting; but Aristobulus, on the contrary, affirms, that it was taken by storm, and all who were found therein slain. Ptolemy tells us, that the captives were dispersed throughout the army, and kept chained till he should depart out of that country, lest any of those who had occasioned the revolt should be left. About this time an army of Asiatic Scythians assembled on the banks of the river Tanais, because they had heard that some barbarians, on the other side, had revolted from Alexander, that if the revolt was anything considerable, they might also fall off from the Macedonians. Then came news to Alexander, that Spitamenes had besieged those whom he had left in garrison in the castle of Marcanda; wherefore, having dispatched Andromachus, Menudemus, and Caranus, with sixty of his auxiliary horse, and eight hundred mercenaries, under the command of Caranus, and about one thousand and five hundred mercenary foot; over those he appointed Pharnaces the interpreter, a Lycian, skilled in the barbarian language, and well qualified to treat with them. He surrounded the city, which he was now building, with a wall, in twenty days space, and gave it
for a residence to some Greek mercenaries, and to all such barbarians as had a mind to inhabit there; as also to some Macedonians, who were become unfit for service.

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CHAP. IV.

THEN offering sacrifices to the gods, according to the custom of his country, and having exhibited equestrian and gymnastic exercises, when he saw that the Scyths retired not from the banks of the Tanais, but threw their darts across the river, which was not broad there, and used reviling speeches, according to their barbarous manner, giving out that Alexander durst not encounter them, or if he did, he should soon find the difference between them and the Asiatic barbarians; he, enraged at this, resolved to pass over to them; and accordingly ordered the skins which covered the tents to be made ready. Then, sacrifices being offered for their safe passage, the omens proved inauspicious. This he took very ill, but bore it with patience, and kept his station. But the Scyths, still persisting in their scoffs, he again sacrificed for a safe passage; and notwithstanding Aristander assured him that the omens still portended danger, Alexander replied, that he had rather run the extremest hazard, than, after having subdued almost all Asia, be a sport to the Scyths, as Darius, the father of Xerxes, had formerly been. Aristander protested, that he told him the divine portents truly and faithfully, though Alexander had much rather have heard a different relation. However, having prepared the skins for ferrying over, and his armed troops now ready to enter the river, upon a sign given, he ordered his engineers to gall the Scyths, upon the opposite bank, with darts. This was accordingly done, and some of the enemy were wounded, and one, in particular, losing his shield and breast-plate, fell from his horse. The barbarians, terrified at the strength of their engines, which could cast darts at such a distance, and at the loss of so stout a man, retired a little from the river. Alexander, seeing the effect of his missive weapons, ferried over with trumpets sounding, and his whole army followed. The archers and slingers being the first which arrived on the other side, they began to gall the enemy with stones and arrows, and kept them from falling upon the phalanx, which was then passing over, and this they continued till all the forces were safe landed. When this was performed, he first of all sent one troop of the auxiliary horse, and four cohorts of spearmen, against the Scyths, whose shock the enemy easily bore, and surrounding them with their horse, being a multitude against a few, readily recovered their ranks. Alexander then dispatched his archers, and Agrians, and other light-armed foot, under the command of Balacræsus, and ordered them to mix with three troops of auxiliary horse and all the darters on horseback, and proceed against the enemy; he himself, with the rest of the horse, designing to attack them on the other side.
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And now they were no longer able to draw up their forces in the same circular manner they did before (for the Macedonian horse pressing them on one hand, and the light-armed foot, mixed among the horse, on the other), hindered them from shewing their dexterity that way. Then their flight was apparent, about a thousand of their number being slain upon the spot, and, among the rest, one of their generals, named Satracas; and one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. But when he proceeded to pursue the Scythians, his whole army was so overcome with excessive heat, that they were ready to die with thirst; even Alexander himself, having drunk some corrupted water, such as the country afforded, was thereby thrown into a violent flux, which hindered the pursuit; otherwise the whole Scythian army had, in all probability, been either cut off in their flight, or taken captives: but he was brought back to the camp in great danger of his life; and thereby the prophecy of Aristander was accomplished.

CHAP. V.

Soon after this arrived ambassadors from the king of the Scythians, endeavouring to excuse the fact, as not done by the general consent of the whole Scythian nation, but by a party, who exercised robbery, and lived by spoil; but assuring him that they were willing to receive his commands. Alexander returned them a courteous answer, as neither deeming it prudent to seem to suspect the truth of the excuse they made, nor to revenge his cause, by giving them battle, which it was no ways convenient for him, at that juncture, to attempt. In the mean time, the Macedonians, who were besieged in the castle of Maramnda, when Spitamenes, with his forces, assaulted them, made a sudden excursion, and having killed some of the besiegers, and put the rest to flight, returned safe into the castle; and news afterwards coming to Spitamenes, that the forces designed for the relief of the besieged in the castle of Maramnda were at hand, he raised the siege of that place, and retired towards the capital city of the Sogdian kingdom. Pharnaces and his forces pursued him as far as the confines of Sogdia, but not being able to overtake him, fell accidentally upon a party of Nomidian Scythians, and irritated them to that degree, that about six hundred horse of them hastened and joined Spitamenes, who, receiving such a recruit, was resolved to revenge the late insult of the Macedonians; to which end, drawing up his forces in a plain place, on the edge of the Scythian wilderness, he determined neither to wait for the enemy, nor yet to meet and attack them, but taking a compass with his horse, to gull their phalanx of foot with their arrows. But Pharnaces rushing forwards upon them with his horse, easily frustrated that design, because their horses, at that time, were both swifter and stronger than those of the Scythians: but Aristomachus's horse, wearied with hard travelling, and

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wasted for want of food, were hard pressed by the Scythians, both while they stood their ground, and when they retired. Many of them being, therefore, wounded with arrows, and some slain, those who remained drew up in a square battalion, and retreated to the river Polytimetus, because there was a wood adjacent to it, which would cover them, in a great measure, from the barbarians arrows, and which might also be useful to their foot. Caranus, captain of one of the troops of horse, without consulting with Andromachus, had already attempted to pass the river, because he thought his horse might be safer on the further side. The foot followed the horse, without any orders, but as their fears urged them forwards; this was the most disorderly passage over a river, with steep banks, that could be imagined. The barbarians, seeing the Macedonians thus at a loss, entered the river, in several places, with their horse, and some of them attacked those who endeavoured to pass over, but returned; some then, placing themselves opposite to those who still went forwards, slew them in the river; others, flanking them, galled them with their arrows; whilst others, again, rushed upon those who had not yet entered the water. The Macedonians, seeing themselves pressed with so many difficulties, retreated into a small island, which the Scythians and Spitamenes entirely surrounding with their horses, slew them all with their arrows, at a distance, except a very few, whom they first seized, and afterwards put to death.

CHAP. VI.

ARISTOBULUS gives us an account of this action somewhat different, namely, that the greatest part of the army was cut off by an ambuscade of the Scythians, who, lying concealed in some adjoining thickets, attacked the Macedonians suddenly and unexpectedly; he also tells us, that Pharnaces was willing to have resigned his post, as general of those forces who were with him, alledging his want of skill in military discipline, and that he was rather sent thither by Alexander to bring the barbarians to reason, by his knowledge in their language, than to reduce them by force of arms, as a general; he also declared, that the Macedonians then committed to his care were the King’s friends as well as the rest. But Andromachus, and Menedemus, and Caranus, refused to act as generals, partly because they would not seem to exceed the commission which they had received from the King, and partly because the forces were then reduced to such streights as rendered it unsafe for them to accept it; for they well considered, that if any disaster happened, they were not, then, each to give an account for their several parts in that loss, but that the ill success of the whole army would be laid to their charge. In this confusion and hurry of affairs, the Scythians rushed suddenly upon them, and cut them almost all off; so that not above forty horse, and about three hundred foot, escaped. When Alexander
heard this news, he was enraged at the loss of his soldiers, and therefore determined speedily to march with an army against Spitamenes and the barbarians; and taking with him the half of his auxiliary horse, with all his targeteers, archers, and Agrians, and some of his light-armed phalanx of foot, he hastened to Maracanda, whither, he was informed, Spitamenes had returned, resolving, once more, to raise the siege of the castle there. Wherefore, having marched a thousand five hundred furlongs in three days space, on the fourth, early in the morning, he approached the city: but Spitamenes, hearing of Alexander's speedy arrival in these parts, and not daring to give him battle, raised the siege, and fled. Alexander pursued them vigorously, and coming to the place where the former battle was fought, buried his soldiers, as well as the time would allow, and continued his pursuit as far as the Scythian deserts. Returning thence, he laid their fields waste, and even slew those who had fled into the towns for refuge, because they were said to have used the Macedonians in that manner. And thus he over-run and depopulated the whole country through which Polytimetus passes; for all beyond the place where that river loses itself is a desert; for though it carries a full stream, it sinks from the sight, and hides its streams in the sand. Nor is it so strange in this; for many other great and constant rivers hide themselves in the same manner; as namely, Epardus, which waters the territories of the Mardi; and Arios, which gives name to the country of the Arii: as also Etymandrus, which flows through the confines of the Euergete. These are all vast rivers, none of them inferior to Peneus in Thessaly, which passing through Tempe, discharges itself into the sea: but the river Polytimetus far exceeds it.

CHAP. VII.

AFTER this, Alexander marched to Zarissasa, where he tarried some time, putting his soldiers into winter-quarters. In the mean while arrived Phrathermessus, governor of Parthia, and Stasanor, whom he had dispatched to the country of the Arii, to seize Arsames. Him they brought with them, bound in chains, as also Barzanes, whom Bessus had made governor of the Parthians, and some others, who, at that time, had taken up arms for Bessus. Then arrived from the sea-coast Epocillus and Melamnidas, with Ptolemy, captain of the Thracians, who had conveyed the money, and the recruits sent with Menetes, to the sea. Then also came Asander, and Nearcirus, with a fresh band of Greek mercenaries, and Bessus, governor of Syria, and Aselepiodorus, a captain of horse; and these also brought new forces. Here, Alexander calling a council of all the chief men then present, caused Bessus to be brought in, and having accused him of treachery towards Darius, he commanded his nose and ears to be cut off, and then sent him, under a guard, to Ecbatana, there to receive sentence of death, according to the
judgment of a full council of the Medes and Persians. This extreme severity, used to the person of Bessus, I deem no ways praise-worthy; and surely the mutilation of his nose and ears was an action little less than barbarous: though I cannot but think Alexander was led to this by his emulating the Median and Persian pomp and ostentation, as also by the cruel customs of some barbarous kings over those in their power. Neither was it any ways commendable in him to lay aside his Macedonian and country habit, seeing he sprung from the race of the Hellenes, and assume that of the Media: and I cannot but wonder he did not blush, when he exchanged the decent covering of the head, which he had worn in all his conquests, for the Persian turban, and weakly imitated those in habit whom he had so frequently overcome in the field. But surely, if any thing can, Alexander’s high achievements may be a lesson to mankind, that whether a man exceeds in strength of body, or in the glory of his ancestors, or though in warlike exploits and happy success he could even out-do Alexander himself; if he could sail round Africa and Asia, as he had designed, and bring them both under subjection; nay, could he join the dominion of Europe to his former acquisitions of Asia and Africa, and thereby become master of the world; all these things would add nothing to the tranquillity of his mind, nor would he be one jot the happier, unless he were ended with a suitable moderation of temper, how specious an appearance of tranquillity soever he might put on, to deceive the eye of the world.

CHAP. VIII.

HERE, therefore, I have thought it not amiss to give an account of the death of Clitus, the son of Dropides, and of Alexander’s extreme grief for that action, though it happened a little while after this, in order of time. The Macedonians had observed a certain yearly festival, in honour of Bacchus, and Alexander had always offered sacrifices to Bacchus on that day; but then Bacchus was neglected, and the Dioscuri introduced: and these sacrifices were ordered, for the future, to be performed to them, and a banquet to be made in honour of them. But when the banquet had now continued long, and the guests had drunk deep (for even in his cups Alexander had now begun to imitate the customs of the barbarians), and all were heated with wine, the discourse happened to hinge upon the Dioscuri, after what manner they derived their origin from Jove, seeing Tyndarus, a mortal, was their father: when some of the guests, willing to soothe the king, (for such sycophants have always been destructive to the affairs of princes, and ever will) affirmed, that the actions of Castor and Pollux were no ways comparable to those of Alexander. Others, at the same time, proceeded to compare his achievements with those of Hercules; and withal added, that envy alone hindered the present race of men from paying him those honours
which were so justly his due. But Clitus, who had long since perceived Alexander's proclivity to fall in with the barbarian customs, took these speeches of his flattering courtiers very heinously; and being now heated with wine, declared that he could neither bear to hear those indignities offered to the gods, nor that the actions of ancient heroes should be extenuated to tickle his monarch's ears. He affirmed, that Alexander's acts had nothing so great nor surprising in them as they would imitate; and that they were not performed by him alone, but that his Macedonians ought, at least, to share the glory with him. These words of Clitus enraged Alexander exceedingly; and indeed, howsoever just his reflections might be, I can by no means think they were seasonable at a time of such general drunkenness, but that silence would have been much better. However, when some began to lessen the actions of his father, Philip, and (that they might please Alexander) to declare that nothing great nor glorious had been done by him, Clitus, in the highest fury imaginable, began to magnify the exploits of Philip, and to depress those of Alexander. He proceeded so far as to upbraid him with saving his life at the battle of Granicus; and arrogantly stretching out his right hand,—"This hand (said he), preserved thee, O Alexander, in that conflict." Alexander, no longer able to endure Clitus's rough and unseasonable reproaches, in a great rage leaped upon him, but was held back, and restrained from hurting him, by the guests then present at the banquet. However, Clitus still persisting in his reflections, Alexander called for his tarrets to attend him; but when none came, he cried out, that he was reduced to the same condition with Darius, when he was carried about prisoner by Bessus and his associates; and that he had now no more than an empty title left him. Then his friends, not daring any longer to hold him, he leaped up, and snatching a lance out of the hand of one of his body-guards (say some, or, as others, a sarissa, or Macedonian pike, from one of his ordinary guards), he therewith struck Clitus, and slew him. Aristobulus gives us no account whence this madness proceeded, but lays all the blame upon Clitus, who, when Alexander was in such a fury as to leap upon him with a design to slay him, notwithstanding he was conveyed out of the city, beyond the walls and ditch, and committed to the care of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, for his preservation, could not tarry there, but must needs return; and then, hearing Alexander call upon him by name, he answered, Clitus is here present; whereupon Alexander thrust him through the body with a pike, and slew him.

CHAP. IX.

As Clitus deserves the severest censures, for his bitter reproaches to his sovereign, so I cannot chuse but be sorry for Alexander, who then apparently shewed himself obnoxious to two of the greatest vices in life,
namely, unbridled wrath and drunkenness; to neither of which the meanest person ought give way: but then he is exceedingly to be praised, because, the moment his wine had left him, he was grieved, and repented himself for what he had done. Some writers of his life affirm, that he was resolved to have dispatched himself with the same weapon wherewith he had before slain Clitus; imagining he was unworthy to enjoy life, who had so rashly put his friend to death; though most authors are silent as to this particular. But when he came fully to himself, and retired to bed, he bewailed his loss, and poured forth the bitterest complaints imaginable, often calling upon the name of Clitus, and of Lanie, the daughter of Dropides, and sister of Clitus, who had been his nurse; complaining what a reward, now he was arrived to man's estate, he had bestowed on her for nursing him when he was a child; how he had seen her sons slain, fighting for him, and had murdered her brother with his own hands. Thus he, ever and anon, cried out that he was become the executioner of his friends; nay, to such a height of indignation at himself did his deep remorse drive him, that for the space of three days he wholly abstained from food, and became entirely regardless of his former sumptuousness of apparel. Some priests ascribed the cause of all this to the wrath of Bacchus, because Alexander had discontinued his sacrifices. However, being at length induced by his friends to refresh his body with a little meat and drink, he afterwards sacrificed to Bacchus; for it was not unacceptable to him to have that rather imputed to the wrath of a god than to any crime of his own. However, he is certainly to be commended, because he neither made unseemly rejoicings on his committing that fact, nor, what would have been worse, gloried in it afterwards; but acknowledged his crime in the most submissive manner imaginable. Some affirm, that Anaxarchus, the sophist, being sent by his friends to comfort him, when he found him lying upon the bed sighing, said, in raillery, he wondered why the antient sages always placed Justice so near Jupiter, unless because whatever was decreed by Jupiter should therefore be deemed just; and that all the actions of so great a king as he was ought first to appear just to himself, and afterwards to the rest of mankind. And they add, that Alexander was hereupon much eased of his grief. But, in my opinion, Anaxarchus was guilty of a much greater error than Alexander, if he supposed it to be the sober reflection of a wise man, that a king ought not to be so exceedingly anxious in doing good actions, as that whatever he did should be so accounted by the world. Some authors report, that Alexander would have divine honours paid him, because he had conceived a notion that he was the son of Hammon, and not of Philip. But when he begun to affect the Persian and Median customs, and to imitate them in his attire as well as his manners, he then seemed to stand in need of no flatterer to debauch his mind, nor any sophist, such as Anaxarchus, or Agis the Greek poet, to seduce him.
CHAP. X.

CALISTHENES the Olynthian, a scholar of Aristotle, one of a rough disposition, and inflexible, entirely disapproved these methods of proceeding; for which he is worthy due praise: but what he has wrote relating to that affair, if he really wrote it, is no great argument of his humility, viz. —that Alexander and his military exploits were no ways comparable to him and his writings:—that he did not accompany him for any glory he hoped thereby to acquire himself, but that he might render him the most illustrious and most glorious among mortals:—that he was not to build any hopes of divine honours upon those fabulous stories relating to his mother and his birth, but rather upon those things he should hang down to posterity concerning him. Some also say, that when he was asked by Philotas whom he deemed most honoured by the people of Athens, he answered, Harmodius and Aristogiton, because they had slain one of the tyrants of their state, and dissolved the tyranny. And when Philotas again asked him if any one was now to put a tyrant to death, in which of the Grecian states would he find protection? He replied, if in no other, surely he would in Athens; for they had entered into a war with the sons of Hercules against Eurystheus, who had, at that time, usurped the government of Greece. As to the adoration, which should have been paid to Alexander, there goes a story to this purpose:—it was agreed upon between him and his sophists, and those of the Persian and Median nations, who were of the highest rank about him, that as they were drinking they should fall into a discourse on purpose, which Anaxarchus was to usher in, by asserting that Alexander was more worthy to be esteemed a god than either Bacchus or Hercules; not so much on account of the greatness of his actions, as because Bacchus was no more than a Theban, a race of men, for valour and renown, no ways comparable to the Macedonians; and as for Hercules, he was, indeed, a Greek, but his chief glory was, that Alexander deduced his origin from him; and that therefore the Macedonians might with much more reason and justice attribute divine honours to their king than either the Thebans to Bacchus or the Grecians to Hercules. And as there was no doubt but he would be worshipped as a god by his people after death, it would be much better to pay him the same adoration in the time of his life; for after his decease, no fruits of the honours bestowed upon him by mortals would be able to reach him.

CHAP. XI.

THESE, and many other things to the same purpose, were spoken by Anaxarchus; and when he had finished, those who were of his party applauded his oration, and declare themselves ready to begin their adoration immediately; upon which many of the Macedonians, who dis-
liked Anaxarchus's speech, held their peace. But Calisthenes, breaking
the general silence, spoke to Anaxarchus in this manner:—"I cannot,
O Anaxarchus, deem Alexander unworthy any honour, which it
becomes a mortal man to accept; but divine and human honours are
widely different, as well in other things as in the rearing of temples and
the erecting of statues. To the gods we consecrate temples, offer sac-
crifices, and pour out libations; again, hymns are peculiarly attributed
to the gods; praises to men, but accompanied with no adoration. Men
we usually kiss by way of salutation, but the gods, being placed aloft, it
is not lawful so much as to touch them, because they are objects of wor-
ship. Dances are also led up, and poems sung in honour of them, which
is no wonder; but one sort of honours is ascribed to the gods, another to
heroes; and the honours paid to heroes is vastly different from divine
adoration. It is therefore a matter of the utmost importance for us to
avoid confounding these things with one another: and neither by ex-
travagant accumulations of honours to pretend to exalt men above mor-
tality, nor to debase the gods, by robbing them of the worship they so
justly claim, and reducing them to a level with mankind. Even Alex-
ander himself would be enraged, should any private man usurp a royal
title in an unlawful manner; with how much more justice may the gods
be enraged, if any mortal dares claim divine honours, or accept them
when offered by others. That Alexander is and ought to be esteemed
of heroes the most heroic, of men of valour the most valiant, of kings
the most king-like, and of emperors the most worthy of imperial digni-
ity, none will deny. It was thy province, O Anaxarchus, if it was any
one's, to have instilled such notions as these into Alexander's mind, and
to have deterred him from those opposite to them, by thy discourse,
which he daily delights in, because of thy wisdom and learning. It was
highly unbecoming thee to be the author of such a speech, who oughtest
to have called to mind that thou wast not then giving counsel to Cam-
byses or Xerxes, but to the son of Philip, who derives his pedigree from
Hercules and Eacus, whose ancestors came to Macedonia from Argos,
and obtained the kingdom, not by force, but by law and right. Hercules
had no divine honours ascribed to him by the Grecians during his life,
nor yet after his death, till they were commanded by the Delphic oracle
to worship him as a god. But if there be some few, who, among a na-
tion of barbarians, have degenerated into the barbarian customs and man-
ners, I beseech thee, O Alexander, still to continue mindful of Greece,
for whose sake this expedition was undertaken, that thou mightest join
Asia to the Grecian empire. Consider now, when thou returnest into
thine own country, whether thou wilt force the Greeks, a free people, to
pay thee adoration; or, if they are to be exempted, whether the Mac-
donians alone are to be laden with that disgrace, or whether different ho-
nours are to be given thee by different people, the Greeks and Macedo-
nians approaching thee in their ancient manner, with such as belong to
mankind, and the barbarians, after theirs, saluting thee with those which
none but the gods can admit of. If you object to this, that Cyrus, the
son of Cambyses, was the first of all men who had divine worship offered him, and that this had been given to the monarchs of Persia and Media ever since. Consider, I beseech thee, that the Scythians, an indigent, but free people, corrected Cyrus for his unexampled insolency. Darius the former received a check from another nation of Scythians; Xerxes from the Athenians and Lacedemonians; Artaxerxes from C learchus and Xenophon, with no more than ten thousand soldiers; and this Darius from Alexander before any divine honours had been decreed to him.

CHAP. XII.

THESE, and many other things to the same purpose, Callisthenes uttered at that time, which Alexander took heinously, but they were grateful to the Macedonians; which, when the King understood, he immediately sent to examine whether the Macedonians were mindful of the adoration they owed him. While the King spake, a profound silence was observed; after which, those Persians who transcended others in age and honours, rose up and begun to worship him, after the Persian manner. But Leonnatus, one of his friends, observing one of them behave undecently, scoffed at his action, as too abject and ridiculous, at which Alexander was much offended; but afterwards received him again into favour. Some write that Alexander took a golden goblet, full of wine, in his hand, and having drunk it off to the person he designed should adore him, he rose from his seat, and having answered his expectations, received a kiss, and departed. And this was performed by all the company, in order; but when the cup came to Callisthenes, he indeed rose up and drank the wine, and, drawing nearer, would have received his kiss, according to custom, without performing his worship; and the King, then engaged in a deep discourse with Hephæstion, did not observe whether he went through with it or not; but Demetrius, the son of Pythoanactes, one of his friends, seeing Callisthenes approach nigh to kiss the King, acquainted him that he had not done his duty, for which reason he received a repulse; whereupon he departed, saying, he was only one kiss loser. I am far from approving any of these speeches of Callisthenes, which immediately tended to disgrace his sovereign; neither is his rigid stiffness and sourness of disposition any ways commendable: but this I may affirm, that whoever is resolved to serve a prince, must submit to such things as are deemed requisite to the advancement of that prince's honour; and therefore I cannot but think that Callisthenes became justly odious to Alexander, for the unseemly and unwarrantable license he gave to his tongue, as well as for his foolish haughtiness. And this, without doubt, was the reason why such easy credit was given to the information lodged against him, of his being privy to the conspiracy of some young men, to take away Alexander's
life; and this also strengthened the accusation of others, who protested that they were induced, by him alone, to join in that design.

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**CHAP. XIII.**

THE story of this conspiracy is thus related: an ordinance had been instituted by Philip, that the sons of those Macedonians, who had arrived to the highest posts of honour, should, as soon as they were grown up, be elected to attend the person of their Sovereign. These were to serve all the offices about the King, to be his guard when he slept, to receive the horse from the groom of the stable, and bring him for the King to mount; to clothe him in a Persian habit, and be his companions when he rode out a hunting. Among these was Hermolaus, the son of Sopolis, who seemed to be much given to the study of philosophy, and was an admirer of Callisthenes. This Hermolaus, on a certain time, when the King went a hunting, and a boar made towards him, prevented him, by striking the beast first, which immediately fell down dead. The King, enraged that this opportunity of smiting the boar was snatched out of his hands, commanded the youth instantly to be whipped in sight of all his companions, and his horse to be taken from him. Hermolaus, deeply resenting this disgrace, communicated his mind to Sostratus, the son of Amyntas, one of equal age with himself, and whom he exceedingly loved; and withal assured him, that his life would be a burden to him, unless he could revenge this heinous affront upon his Sovereign. Sostratus, by reason of the great love he had for him, easily came into his measures; and he afterwards persuaded Antipater, the son of Asclepiodorus, governor of Syria, to join with them; as also Epimenes, the son of Arseas, and Anticles, the son of Theocritus, and Philotas, the son of Cariss, the Thracian. When therefore it came to Antipater's turn to watch, they resolved, that night, to kill Alexander in his sleep. But it so fell out, that the King, of his own accord (as some say) sat up drinking till day-light. But Aristobulus tells us, that a certain Syrian woman, a prophetess, followed Alexander. She was, at first, looked upon as little less than frantic, both by him and his friends; but when, by her divine fury, she had foretold him the truth of what would happen, by several instances, she was no longer disregarded, but ordered to have free access to the King, either by day or night, even though he was asleep. The King departing from the banquet late that night, she met him, in one of her divine raptures, and begged that he would return, and drink until morning. He, supposing she was then inspired, returned accordingly, and so rendered the young men's conspiracy abortive. The next day, Epimenes, the son of Arseas, one of the conspirators, disclosed the whole matter to Chariclus, the son of Menander, his friend, who revealed it to Eurylochus, the brother of Epimenes. Eurylochus, entering the royal tent, declared the whole affair to Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, one
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of his body guards. He discovered it to Alexander, who instantly ordered all those whom Eurylochus had named to be apprehended; each of whom, being examined apart, declared his being privy to the conspiracy; and they gave the names of several others.

CHAP. XIV.

ARISTOBULUS adds, that the conspirators, when seized, not only confessed their own guilt, but alleged that they were instigated thereto by Callisthenes, and Ptolemy confirms his relation. Some writers give a different account of this matter, namely, that Alexander, bearing a deadly grudge to Callisthenes, and knowing the intimacy which was between him and Hermolaus, easily entertained a notion of his being concerned therein, from their information. Others assure us, that Hermolaus, being brought forth before the Macedonians, openly confessed, that the plot was contrived by himself; for that it was below the soul of a free man to bear the injuries he had received from the King; and that he then related all the cruelties committed by Alexander, in order, namely, the unjust murder of Philotas, and the more inhuman one of his father Parmenio, and those who suffered at that time; the rash and barbarous assassination of Clitus; his assuming the Median habit; his edict for having divine honours bestowed upon himself, not yet recalled; as also his drunkenness, sloth, and luxury; all which, when he could no longer bear, he was willing, at once, to set himself, and the rest of the Macedonians, free from such intolerable slavery. They add, that then Hermolaus and his accomplices were stoned to death by those who surrounded them. Aristobulus adds, that Callisthenes was carried round the army in chains, but afterwards died a natural death; though Ptolemy affirms, that he was stretched upon a rack, and then crucified. So little do these two writers, though otherwise of great credit, agree between themselves, about things so manifest, and the circumstances of which could not possibly escape their knowledge, they being both then present: so that 'tis no wonder these things are related by other authors in a manner very different. But enough of these matters, which I have here enlarged upon, because they happened not long after the story of Clitus, and are therefore not unfitly mentioned in this place.

CHAP. XV.

ABOUT this time arrived other ambassadors from the European Scythians, and with them those whom he had dispatched thither returned; for the King which reigned in Scythia, when Alexander sent his ambassadors, was dead, and his brother had mounted his throne. The purpose of this embassy was, that the Scythians were willing to receive Alexander's commands. They had also brought presents from their
King, which among them were deemed of great value. To bind this league and friendship between them the stronger, the Scythian King proposed to give his daughter to Alexander to wife; but, if he desired not to accept of that proffer for himself, the princes of the Scythian nation, and those who were in posts of the highest honour about his own person, should bestow their daughters in marriage to those who were his most faithful friends and followers; that he also, if he so thought fit, would attend him in person, to receive his commands. About this time also came Phraimanes, King of the Chorasmian, to Alexander, attended by a body of fifteen hundred horse, who affirmed that his territories bordered upon Golchos and the Amazonian nation, and that if Alexander was willing to undertake an expedition against those countries, which border upon the Euxine Sea, he, for his part, would not only conduct him thither with safety, but also provide his whole army with all necessaries. Alexander first dispatched the Scythian ambassadors with a friendly answer, well accommodated to the time, but withal told them, that he was not inclined to accept of a Scythian bride; then, having highly extolled Phraimanes, and entered into a league and friendship with him, declared that it was not convenient for him, at that time, to think of marching towards the Euxine Sea, but recommended him to Artabazus, the Persian, to whom he had committed the government of the Bactrians, and other bordering nations, and dismissed him. He also professed, that his mind was wholly bent upon an expedition into India; for when the Indians were subdued, all Asia would be in his power; and when Asia was his own, he would return into Greece, and thence, with all his land as well as naval forces, pass through the Hellespont and Propontis, into the Euxine Sea; and Phraimanes protested, whenever he came, to be ready to fulfil his promise. He then again directed his march to the river Oxus; for he designed to pay the Sogdians another visit, having received intelligence that many of them had betaken themselves to their strong holds, and refused to pay obedience to the governor which he had placed over them. And when he had pitched his tents not far from the banks of that river, two fountains suddenly issued out of the earth, near the royal pavilion, the one pouring forth water, the other pure oil. This prodigy being related to Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, he declared it to the King, who immediately offered sacrifice, according to the direction of his soothsayers, and received an answer from Aristander, that the fountain of oil portended the great toils he was to undergo, but that they would, at last, be crowned with victory.

CHAP. XVI.

He then, with part of his army, marched straight into the country of the Sogdians; for Polysperchon and Attalus, and Georgius and Meleager, were left in Bactria, to keep that province under subjection, and
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as well to hinder the barbarians from attempting to revolt, as to reduce those who had revolted already. He divided his forces into five parts, the command over the first of which was given to Hepheestion; the second to Ptolemy, the son of Largus, one of his body guards; the third to Perdiccas; the fourth to Cænon and Artabazus: he himself, at the head of the fifth, marched towards Maracanda; the rest, as they could most conveniently, entering the country, reduced some of their strong holds by force, and had others surrendered into their hands. And after they had over-run the greatest part of these territories, they all met together at Maracanda, from whence he dispatched Hepheestion, to draw new colonies into the depopulated cities of the Sogdians. He also sent Cænon and Artabazus against the Scythians, because he was informed that Spitamenes had fled thither; himself and the rest of his forces, marching towards the other cities of that country which had revolted, easily brought them under subjection. In the mean time, Spitamenes, at the head of a band of Sogdian exiles, who had fled into Scythia, and about six hundred Messagetae horse, attacked a certain castle in Bactria, the governor whereof, imagining no enemy near, was surprized and taken prisoner, and all the soldiers in the garrison slain. Having thus taken this castle, they were mightily elated, and, in a few days, marched to Zariaspe, which city, nevertheless, they durst not besiege, but, ravaging the country round, gathered together much spoil. There were then in that city some of the mercenary horse, who had been left there, by reason of their ill state of health, and with these Pithon, the son of Sosicles, the overseer of the royal household of Zariaspe, and Aristonicus the harper. These, having notice of this sudden inroad of the Scythians (for they had now recovered their healths so far as to be able to mount their horses, and bear arms), having gathered together about eighty of the mercenary horse, which had been left at Zariaspe, and some of the royal youths of the household, marched against the enemy, and, attacking the Scythians on a sudden, when they least expected any such treatment, they took from them all the spoil they had gathered together, and slew great numbers of those who guarded it; but, returning in a loose and careless manner, without regard to order, as having no head or captain, they fell into an ambuscade of the Scythians, placed there by Spitamenes, where seven of the auxiliaries, and sixty of the mercenary horse, were slain; and there Aristonicus the harper died, having behaved himself more like a brave soldier than a musician; but Pithon, being wounded, fell alive into the enemy's hands.

CHAP. XVII.

AS soon as the news of this defeat came to Craterus, he immediately marched against the Messagetae, who, when they heard of his approach, fled towards the desert, but were hotly pursued by him, and they, and
others of the same nation, to the number of about a thousand horse, were 
overlapped, just at the edge thereof, and a sharp contest happening there-
upon, the Macedonians were victors. Of the barbarians, about one hun-
dred and fifty were slain; the rest escaped into the desert, Craterus and 
his soldiers not being able to pursue them further. In the mean while, 
Artabazus begging to be discharged from his government of Bactria, 
by reason of his advanced age, his petition was granted, and Alexander 
substituted Amyntas*, the son of Nicolaus, to succeed him; and, having 
left Cenaus there, with his own and Melanger's troops, besides four hun-
dred of the auxiliary horse, all the pikemen on horseback, and the Bac-
trians and Sogdians under Amyntas, the chief command over all these 
was given to Cenaus, who ordered them to winter in Sogdia, partly for 
garrisons to defend the country, and partly to encounter Spitamenes. If 
he should attempt to make an inroad there during the winter. But 
Spitamenes, understanding that all places were filled with Macedonian 
garrisons, and that it would be a difficult matter for him to make a re-
treat, if he had occasion, resolved at once to turn his whole power 
against Cenaus and his forces, imagining that he would penetrate the 
most easily into the country that way: and when he approached Gabe, 
a fortified place belonging to the Sogdians, seated on the borders be-
 tween them and the Massagetae Scythians, he drew in four thousand 
Scythian horse to join his forces, that they might make an inroad into 
Sogdia. These Scythians being extremely poor, as having neither cities 
or fixed and certain habitations, nor possessing any thing which they 
were afraid to lose, were easily induced to join their forces with any na-
tion. Cenaus, having intelligence of Spitamene's approach, marched 
forth with his army to meet him, and a sharp battle thereupon ensued, 
in which the victory fell to the Macedonians. The barbarians lost above 
eight hundred horse, and Cenaus about twenty-five horse, and twelve 
foot, in this conflict. The Sogdians who survived this day's action, as 
also many of the Bactrians, leaving Spitamenes in his flight, came to 
Cenaus, and, having surrendered themselves into his power, swore fide-
licity to him; but the Massagetae and other Scythians, after the loss of the 
battle, having seized upon the baggage of the Bactrians and Sogdians, 
their allies, accompanied Spitamenes in his flight into the desert: but 
when they came to understand that Alexander was preparing to scour 
these places, they slew Spitamenes; and having cut off his head, sent it 
as a present to Alexander, hoping, by this action, to make him cease his 
pursuit after them.

* Artabazus's province, according to Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 19. was given to 
Citius; but his death happening presently after, it was then bestowed upon 
Amyntas.
ABOUT this time Cænus and Craterus returned to Alexander at
Nautaca, as also did Phrataphernes, governor of the Parthians, and
Stasanor, governor of the Arii, having executed whatsoever had been
ordered them. Alexander then, giving his army a little rest (for it
was now winter), dispatched Phrataphernes into the country of the
Mardii and Topiri, to bring Phradates, the governor of them, before
him, in chains, because he had been often sent for, and refused to come.
Stasanor was dispatched against the Drangae, and Atropates against the
Medes, because Oxydates, governor of Media, was inclinable to revolt.
Stamenes he ordered to Babylon, because Mazæus, the ruler thereof, was
said to be dead; and Sopolis, and Epocillus and Menædas, he dispatched
into Macedonia, to fetch recruits from thence. Then, at the approach
of the spring, he directed his march to a fortress built upon a rock in
Sogdias, into which many of the inhabitants of these parts had fled for
refuge; among whom were the wife and daughter of Oxyartes the Bac-
trian; for Oxyartes, when he revolted from Alexander, had taken care
to have them conveyed thither, as to an impregnable place; and it ap-
peared plain to him, that if that fort was once taken, the Sogdians would
have no place of strength left to invite them to rebellion. As soon as
Alexander approached the rock, he found it every way steep, rugged, and
difficult of access, and that the barbarians had laid up store of corn for a
long siege. The great depth of the snow likewise made the ascent up
the rock much more difficult to the Macedonians, and, at the same time,
supplied the barbarians with plenty of water. However, in spite of all
these dangers, Alexander resolved to besiege it; for the proud and inso-
lent answer sent him by the barbarians served only to inflame him with
the greater thirst of glory and revenge: for when he sent them a sum-
mons to surrender the place, with an offer that every one of them should
be suffered freely to return to their habitations, they mocked him rudely
and barbarously, and enquired whether he had furnished himself with
winged soldiers for the storming that rock? for otherwise they had no
cause to be afraid, it being out of the power of all other mortals to ascer-
.it by force. Then Alexander ordered a proclamation to be issued forth,
that the first man who gained the top of the rock should have a reward of
twelve talents bestowed upon him, and the second and third should be
gratified in proportion to the order of their ascent, and even the last of
these men should have three hundred darics. The extraordinary hopes they
conceived of this gratuity added new vigour to the Macedonians, who,
even of themselves, were sufficiently adventurous, upon the bare thirst
of glory.
HAVING therefore chose, out of his whole army, about three hundred of those who had been accustomed to scale walls, and climb up rocks in sieges, they took with them the iron pins which they had used in pitching their tents, and which they designed to fix in the snow, where it was sufficiently hardened by the frost, or in the ground where no snow lay. To these pins they tied strong ropes, and, in the dead of the night, made the best of their way to that part of the rock which was most steep and rugged, and where, of consequence, a guard was deemed the least necessary; and then, having fixed their iron pins, sometimes in the snow itself, wherever the frost had hardened it, and sometimes in the ground, where it was bare, they hoisted themselves up, by little and little, some in one place, and some in another. Thirty of those perished in the ascent, and, by falling down headlong from the rocks, were buried so deep in the snow, that their bodies could not be found. The rest, having gained the top by break of day, made a signal to their friends below where they were arrived, by waving their handkerchiefs over their heads; for so Alexander had commanded them. Upon this he immediately dispatched a herald, to give the barbarians a second summons to surrender without delay, for that he had furnished himself with winged soldiers, such as they spoke of, who had already possessed themselves of the utmost summit of the rock: and then the soldiers who had gained that post showed themselves. The barbarians, terrified with this unexpected sight, supposing them to have been many more, and much better armed than what they really were, immediately surrendered; so great a dread fell upon them at the sight of a few Macedonians. The wives and children of many great men were there taken, and, among the rest, those of Oxyartes. The daughter of Oxyartes was named Roxane, a virgin, but marriageable, and, by the general consent of writers, the most beautiful of all the Asiatic women, Darius's wife excepted. Alexander was struck with surprize at the sight of her beauty; nevertheless, being fully resolved not to offer violence to a captive, he forbore to gratify his desires till he took her, afterwards, to wife. This act of his undoubtedly deserves the highest honour that can be given him; and, as to the wife of Darius (whose charms surpassed all the Asians), he either had no desires towards her, or he took care to curb his desires, notwithstanding he was in the very heat of youth, and at the height of glory, which are commonly great debauchers of the mind, and often cause men to make a bad use of those advantages which fortune has put into their hands. But he, out of a certain awe or reverence, forbore to touch her, and herein shewed himself no less a pattern of true continency, than he had before done of heroic fortitude.
CHAP. XX.

THERE is a report, that a short while after the battle of Issus, which was fought betwixt Alexander and Darius, a certain eunuch, to whom the custody of Darius's wife was committed, escaped out of the camp, and fled to Darius; whom, when the King saw, he first asked him whether his children, and wife, and mother, were alive? And being answered that they were not only alive, but were stiled Queens, and received all the honours which they had been accustomed to, he again inquired whether his wife continued chaste? which he affirmed, and added, that the conqueror had not so much as offered any violence to her person, which might tend to his disgrace. All this he confirmed by an oath, and assured the King that his wife continued in the same state in which he left her, and that Alexander was the most temperate and chaste prince upon earth. Whereupon Darius is said to have lifted up his hands to heaven, and poured forth his prayers in this manner:—"O Jupiter, who hast the disposal of all the states and kingdoms of the earth in thy hands, grant to re-state me in the Empire of the Medes and Persians, which I once enjoyed. But if thou hast already decreed otherwise, and I must now cease to be Lord of Asia, I beg and intreat thee to confer my dominions rather on Alexander than any other." So much are good and generous acts regarded, even by enemies. Oxyartes, understanding that the rock was won, and his wife and children taken, and besides, that his daughter Roxane was betrothed by the conqueror, he assumed his courage, and came to Alexander, where he received all the honours to which such an affinity could entitle him.

CHAP. XXI.

WHEN Alexander had secured his conquests in Sogdia, by his obtaining possession of this rock, he led his army against the Parætaæ, because he had received intelligence that there was another fort erected upon a rock in that country, into which abundance of the inhabitants had retired. This was named the Rock of Chorieæ; and Chorieæ himself, and other great men in vast numbers, had chosen that place for their safety. The slant height of this rock was about twenty stadia, and the circuit thereof near sixty, every where steep and craggy. There was only one ascent leading to the summit, hewn out by art, and purposely made so extremely narrow as not to admit of two men to ascend abreast. The foot of this rock was also surrounded with a deep ditch, so that whoever would lead an army to it must of necessity reduce some part of the ditch to a level before he could bring his forces to a convenient station for an assault. Alexander, however, in spite of all these difficulties, resolved to undertake the task, as deeming no place inaccessible, or im-
pregnable against such an assailer; so great a confidence did he place in
the continued course of his successes. Having therefore ordered a
vast number of fir-trees, which grew every where near this mountain,
to be cut down, he commanded ladders to be made of them, whereby
his soldiers might descend to the bottom of the ditch, which they could
do by no other contrivance. All day long Alexander employed the half
of his army upon this task; and in the night time, Perdiccas, Leonna-
tus, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, having divided the other half into
three parts, took care to see the work carried on, which was of so great
difficulty, by reason of the extraordinary hardness of the rock, that
they finished no more than twenty cubits in a whole day, and in a night
much less, though the whole army laboured therein by turns. However,
descending into the ditch, and forcing large wooden piles into the bot-
tom, at such a convenient distance from each other as to be able to bear
a certain proposed weight; upon the tops of these piles they laid vast
hurdles of osiers, or other twigs bound together, and those they covered
with earth, that the army might pass over the ditch as upon a bridge.
The barbarians at first mocked the Macedonians attempts as dangerous
and ill-concerted; but when they found themselves galled with their
arrows, and perceived, that, notwithstanding the advantage of their high
station, they were unable to drive them from their work, because of the
coverings they had contrived to defend themselves with, against darts
and other missive weapons from above. Chorienes, amazed at the great-
ness of the attempt, immediately dispatched an herald to Alexander,
desiring that Oxyartes might be sent to him, which was granted, and
when he came, he failed not to persuade him to surrender his rock and
himself into Alexander's hands, for that no place was inaccessible to
him and his army; and the more to induce him to submit himself, he
excellled the King's goodness and generosity, whereof he was an eminent
example. Chorienes, won by these arguments, came with some of his
friends and relations to Alexander, who received him with the utmost
respect, and ranked him among the number of his friends; and having
ordered some of those who came down with him to ascend again, and
command those who kept the rock to deliver it up, it was accordingly
delivered. Alexander then, accompanied with about five hundred tar-
geteers, mounted the rock, on purpose to view the top thereof; and was
so far from doing any thing which might redound to Chorienes's disgrace,
that he committed the rock-again into his custody, and not only so, but
restored him all his former government. About this time (it being still
winter, and the deep snow covering the earth, during this siege) the
army was reduced to some straights for want of forage, and other ne-
necessaries; but Chorienes, in some measure to requite Alexander's libe-
rality, proffered to furnish the whole army with provisions for two
months, and accordingly, out of the stores he had laid up for a siege,
he distributed corn, and wine, and salt meat, to the soldiers in every
tent; all which, when he had distributed for the full time proposed, he
affirmed, that the tenth part of what they had before gathered together
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was not yet exhausted. Alexander, upon this, esteemed him the more, because he had plainly shewed, that his surrender of the rock was more to be imputed to his own inclination that way, than to any force of an enemy from without.

CHAP. XXII.

THESE things thus happily performed, Alexander marched against the Bactrians, and at the same time dispatched Craterus with six hundred auxiliary horse, and his own, and Polysperchon's, Attalus's and Alcetas's troops of foot, against Catane and Austanes, who alone were now remaining of all the revolters in Paretace. A sharp battle here-upon ensued, wherein Craterus being victor, Catane was slain, and Austanes taken alive, and brought in chains to Alexander. About one hundred and twenty of the barbarian horse fell in this battle, and near fifteen hundred foot. This done, Craterus also marched into Bactria, where at that time the conspiracy of Callisthenes, and the youths of the royal guard against Alexander's life, was detected. From Bactria, the spring now coming on, he pushed forwards with all his forces for India, (Amyntas being left Governor of Bactria, with one thousand five hundred, and ten thousand foot) and in ten days space, passing over Mount Caucasus, he arrived at Alexandria, a city which he had caused to be built among the Parapamisse, when he made his first expedition into Bactria. He displaced the Governor of that city, because he seemed not to have done his duty; and drawing many inhabitants thither, out of the neighbouring country, and leaving such of the Macedonians there as were rendered unserviceable, he appointed Nicanor their ruler; but Tyriaspes was made Governor of the country of Parapamisse, and of the whole province, as far as the river Cophenus.

Thence passing forwards to Nicæa, he sacrificed to Minerva, and proceeded to the river Cophenes, from whence dispatching a herald before, to Taxiles, and the other princes on this side of the river Indus, to come forth and meet him as he approached their territories, Taxiles and the rest hereupon came and met him, with the most valuable presents which India could furnish; and besides, they made him a promise of twenty-five elephants. There dividing his forces, he dispatched Hephaestion and Perdiccas into the country of Peucelaotis, towards the river Indus, with the troops of Gorgias and Clitus, and Meleager, besides half of his auxiliary horse, and all his mercenary horse, Their orders were to receive the surrender of all the towns through which they passed, or to force them thereto; and when they came to the river Indus, to make things ready for ferrying the army over. Taxiles, and the rest of the princes of that country, accompanied them in that expedition; and when they came to the river, performed whatever Alexander had commanded. But Astes, Prince of Peucelaotis, endeavouring to revolt,
lost both the city into which he fled, and his own life; for Hephæsten took it, after thirty days siege, and Astes being slain, the government thereof was delivered to Sangeusus, who flying from Astes some time before, had sought protection from Taxiles, which action gained him so much credit with Alexander, that he deputed him ruler over the country.

CHAP. XXIII.

Alexander then, with a band of targeteers, and those of the auxiliary horse who followed not Hephæsten, as also the troop called the auxiliary foot, and the archers, and Agrians, and equestrian darters, marched against the Aspis, the Thyresi, and Arasaci; and passing near the river Choe, through a country rough and mountainous, when he had with some difficulty crossed that river, he ordered his foot to follow him at leisure, while he, with all his horse, and eight hundred heavy armed Macedonian targeteers, which he caused to mount on horseback, marched forwards with all speed, because he had received information that the barbarians of that country had retired to the mountains, or withdrawn themselves to places of the best strength, on purpose to oppose him. When he approached the first of these towns, he found the inhabitants drawn up without the walls; but he beat them back at the first assault, and forced them to retire within their gates: however, a dart pierced his armour, and wounded him in the shoulder, but the wound was slight, by reason of the strength and thickness of his armour. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Leonatus, were both wounded in that conflict. Then Alexander encamped against the place, on that side where he thought the walls were weakest; and the next day, as soon as it was light, easily made himself master of the outward wall (for the town was surrounded with a double wall), whereupon the besieged retired to the inner one, where they stood for some time; but when the scaling ladders were fixed, and the besieged found themselves every where so galled with their darts, that they could endure it no longer, they issued suddenly out of their gates, and fled to the mountains. But the Macedonians pursu ing hard after them, slew many in the pursuit, and took many alive, who, because of the exceeding rage they had conceived against them for the wound given their King, were all put to death: however, great numbers escaped to the neighbouring mountains. When they had laid that city level with the ground, he led his army to another, named Andaca; which yielding upon articles, he there left Craterus, with other captains of foot, to take all such cities by force as refused to submit voluntarily, and to govern the whole province, as it should seem to him most convenient.
THEN, with his targeteers, archers, and Agrians, as also Cænus' and Attalus's troops, the Macedonian Agema, with almost four troops of the auxiliary horse, and half of his equestrian archers, he directed his march towards the river Euaspa, where the general of the Aspi lay, and in two days' time, by long journeys, came to the city. The barbarians no sooner perceived his approach than they set it on fire, and fled to the mountains; however, the Macedonians pursued, and made a great slaughter of them, before they could reach these rugged, and almost inaccessible places of retreat. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, viewing their general posted on a little hill, took with him a party of targeteers, and though their number was far inferior to the enemy, yet he advanced boldly on horseback; but when he could proceed no further on horseback, by reason of the steepness of the hill, he left his horse with one of his soldiers, and went forwards on foot. When the Indian general saw him approach, he rushed forwards, at the head of his men, and threw a spear at Ptolemy, which struck upon his breast-plate, but could not pierce through his armour; whereupon Ptolemy thrust him through the thigh, and having slain him, stripped him of his armour. The barbarians, who were upon the spot, seeing their general fall, betook themselves to flight; but the mountaineers, disdaining that his dead body should be carried off by the enemy, ran to the hill, and renewed the conflict, by their endeavours to rescue it. But now Alexander himself approached, with those foot forces, whom he had ordered to alight from horseback, who rushing, all at once, upon the barbarians, with much difficulty drove them back to the mountains, and so carried off the body. Alexander then passed one of these mountains, and coming nigh the city called Aigion, found it deserted and burnt by the inhabitants. In the mean time, Craterus, having finished whatever was commanded him, returned; and because the situation of this place seemed extremely commodious, he gave orders to Craterus for the rebuilding it, and that he should people it with such of the neighbouring inhabitants as would come of their own accord, and with others out of the army, who were become unfit for further service. He, in the mean time, directed his march towards the place where the barbarians had fled, and coming to the foot of a certain mountain, encamped there: whence Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, being sent out to forage, and venturing somewhat further still, with a small party, to view the enemy, at his return acquainted Alexander that many more fires appeared in the camp of the barbarians than in his. Alexander, though he could make no sure guess at the enemy's numbers, from the multitude of their fires, yet being informed that vast crowds of them had resorted thither, left one party of his army there to defend the camp; and taking with him those whom he deemed fittest for his purpose, he no sooner advanced within sight of the enemy's fires than he divided his forces into three parts; one of which he ordered
should be commanded by Leonatus, one of his body-guards, and this
was composed of the troops of Attalus, and Balacrus; the second by
Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, in which were the royal targeteers, and the
cohorts of Philip and Philotas, besides two thousand archers and Agrians,
and one half of his horse. The third division he led on himself towards
that part of the barbarian army where they seemed to stand the thickest.

CHAP. XXV.

WHEN they perceived the Macedonians approach towards them (for
they were posted upon an eminence), trusting in their multitudes, and
despising the small number of their enemies, they descended into the
plain country; whereupon a dreadful conflict ensued, wherein Alexan-
der had the victory; but Ptolemy was not to encounter those on the
plain, but some who possessed a steep hill; wherefore he moved his
army to that part where the ascent seemed the easiest, and purposely
forbore to surround the hill, because he would leave a place for the en-
emy’s flight. There was also a terrible battle on this side, both by rea-
son of the disadvantage of the ground, on the part of the Macedonians,
and because the Indians of that province far excelled all the other In-
dians in military exploits: however, they were at last driven down from
the mountain. And in the same manner Leonatus behaved with his
party; for he also beat the enemy, and put them to flight. Ptolemy
tells us that forty thousand men were taken, and above two hundred and
thirty thousand head of cattle, out of which Alexander chose the best
and largest, that he might send them into Macedonia for a breed; for
they far excelled the Grecian cattle, both in bulk and beauty. Thence
Alexander moved towards the Assaceni, who were said to have an army
of twenty thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, besides thirty ele-
phants, ready to take the field. Craterus, having re-edified the city ac-
cording to the directions left him, returned, and brought with him the
heavy-armed foot, as also such engines as are necessary in sieges; where-
on Alexander, with his auxiliary horse and his equestrian darters, Ca-
enus’s and Polysperchou’s troops, besides a thousand archers and Agrians,
proceeded in his march towards the Assaceni, and passing through the
territories of the Gurazi, crossed the river of that name with much diffi-
culty, not only because of its great depth and the rapidity of the stream,
but by reason of the vast numbers of round and slippery stones at the
bottom, which neither horse nor man could tread upon with safety. As
soon as the barbarians perceived Alexander was at hand, they durst no
longer continue in a body, nor think of meeting him in the open field,
but dispersing, betook them to their strong holds, where they hoped to
defend themselves, and fight with greater advantage.
CHAP. XXVI.

ALEXANDER therefore first led his army against Massaga, the capital city of that country, and drawing near it, the inhabitants, led on by a party of about seven thousand mercenaries from the inner parts of India, advanced against the Macedonians, with a design to assault their camp; which Alexander perceiving, and finding that a battle must then be fought just under the walls of the city, strove to draw them further off, lest if they were forced to fly (as he imagined they would), the small space betwixt them and the city would favour their escape thither. Wherefore, as soon as he saw them pressing forwards, he caused his Macedonians to retreat to a hill, about seven furlongs distant, where he again made a stand. The enemy, encouraged by this retreat of the Macedonians, hastened after them, with much heat, in a disorderly manner: but when they were advanced within the reach of their darts, Alexander, having given the appointed signal for his soldiers to face about, the whole army turned upon them with great rage. The equestrian slingers, and Agrians, and archers, were the first which engaged: he, with a choice phalanx, followed in order. The Indians, terrified with this sudden and unexpected blow, no sooner begun to feel their fury than they fled towards the city, leaving two hundred dead behind them: the rest secured themselves within the walls. The King hereupon moved his army forward, to besiege the place, where he received a wound in the heel with an arrow; but planting his engines the next day, and making a breach in the walls, when the Macedonians endeavoured to storm the city, the Indians received them so briskly, that Alexander commanded a retreat to be sounded: however, they attempted to mount the breach again, with fresh vigour, the next day; having drawn a huge wooden tower to the place, out of which the archers poured showers of arrows; besides which, they pied the besieged with a store of darts from their engines. But such was the resistance of the Indians, that all their endeavours that day were to no purpose. The Macedonians again attempting the same place, the third day, laid a bridge over, from the wooden tower to the top of the breach, and thereby a party of targeteers entered the city, in the same manner as they had, long before that time, entered Tyre; and when, with the greatest joy imaginable, they crowded forwards upon the bridge with too much haste, it broke with their weight, and all who were upon it fell suddenly down with it: which the barbarians perceiving, and being thereby encouraged, they advanced with loud shouts, and galled the Macedonians from the walls with stones and darts, and all kinds of missive weapons; whilst others, issuing out from some small posterns between the towers in the wall, attacked those who were already stunned with their fall, and slew them.
CHAPTER XXVII.

ALEXANDER seeing this, immediately dispatched thither Alcetas, with his troop, to receive those who were wounded, and recall those who had assailed the city, and still made resistance, into the camp; and on the fourth day after, he raised another bridge from other works against the wall. The mercenary Indians, so long as their general survived, always repulsed the Macedonians with the utmost bravery; but he happening to be slain with a dart from an engine, and many of his soldiers being lost in the several skirmishes during a long continued siege, and others rendered useless and unfit for service by their wounds, they sent an herald to Alexander. He, willing to prevent the effusion of blood, and to preserve such stout soldiers, agreed with them (the mercenary Indians) that they should enter into his army, and serve under him. Whereupon, they coming forth from the city in armour, encamped by themselves upon a little hill, opposite to the Macedonians, with a full resolution to steal away by night and return home, because they would not fight against other Indians. Alexander, having intelligence of this, that very night surrounded the hill, on which they lay encamped, with his forces, and cut them all off; and afterwards immediately took the city by force, now void of defendants, and therein the mother and daughter of Assacenus. Only twenty-five of the Macedonians were slain during the whole siege. He then dispatched Cæenus to Bazira, imagining that the citizens, hearing of the fate of the Assaceni, would immediately surrender. He also, at the same time, sent Attalus, and Alcetas, and Demetrius, a captain of horse, to Ora, with orders to surround that city, with a rampart, and lie before it till he came. The citizens, seeing them approach towards them, made an excursion, but were beat back by the Macedonians, and, in a little time, confined within their walls by a rampart. But the affair of Bazira did not happen according to the opinion of Cæenus; for the citizens, trusting to the strength of the place (for it was not only seated on an eminence, but also surrounded with a stout wall), gave him no manner of hopes of a surrender: whereupon Alexander determined to march thither; but receiving news that some neighbouring Indian soldiers had conveyed themselves into the city Ora, being dispatched thither by Abissarus for that purpose, he changed his resolutions, and marched with his army against Ora, sending orders to Cæanus to raise a fort over-against Bazira, and place such a garrison therein as should restrain the citizens from making excursions, and bring the rest of his forces to him. The citizens then perceiving that Cæanus had drawn off the greatest part of his troops, despising the smallness of the number left to guard the fort, made an excursion into the open country, when a sharp battle ensued, wherein about five hundred of them were slain, above seventy taken prisoners, and the rest, who were beat into the city, durst not attempt to make any more excursions. The siege of Ora proved a business of no great difficulty, after the arrival of Alexander; for at the first assault
made against the walls, he carried the place, and seized all the elephants, which he found therein, for the use of his army.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE Bizarreans, hearing that Ora was taken by storm, distrusting their strength, fled out of the city in the dead of night, and betook themselves to a rock, called Aornus, for safety; and many of the neighbouring barbarians followed their example, for they forsake their villages, and escaped thither. This rock, the most stupendous piece of natural strength in all that country, was by the barbarians deemed impregnable; and there was a report, that even Hercules, though he was the son of Jove, was not able to reduce it. But whether any Hercules, or either the Theban, the Tyrian, or the Egyptian, ever penetrated so far as India, I cannot affirm for truth, but I am rather inclined to believe the contrary, because, whatever is difficult or hard to be accomplished, men, to raise the difficulty still the higher, have reported that Hercules himself attempted it in vain: and indeed it is my opinion that the name of Hercules is only here used, by the Indians, to make the danger seem insurmountable. The circuit of this rock is said to be two hundred furlongs; its height, where it is lowest, eleven; it is only accessible by one dangerous path, cut out by hand, and has a fine spring of pure water on the very summit, which sends a plentiful stream down the sides of the hill, as also a wood, with as much arable and fertile land as to supply a thousand men with provisions. Alexander hearing this, had a more than ordinary ambition to make himself master of the place; and the common tradition of Hercules’s fruitless attempt upon it inflamed him the more; wherefore, having placed garrisons in Ora and Mæssage, for the defence of the country, he sent a new colony into Bazira, and Hephæston and Perdiccas, by his orders, re-peopled another city, named Oroblæs, and, having furnished it with a garrison, marched forwards to the river Indus, where, when they arrived, they prepared every thing for the laying a bridge over it, as Alexander had commanded them. He then constituted Nicanor, one of his friends, governor of the whole country on this side of the river, and, moving that way himself, had the city Peuceliotis, not far from it, delivered up to him, into which having placed a garrison, under the command of Philip, he proceeded to take many other small towns seated upon that river, the two princes of that province, Cophaeus and Assagetes, attending him. He arrived at last at Embolina, a city seated not far from the rock Aornus, where he left Craterus with a part of his army, to gather what stores of corn he could into that city, and to provide himself with all other necessaries for a long continuance there, that, if he was not able to reduce the rock at first, either by assault or stratagem, he might, at least, weary them out with a long siege, and reduce them by famine. Then, with his archers, Argrians,
Caenus's troop, and the choicest, best armed, and most expeditious foot out of the whole army, besides two hundred auxiliary horse, and an hundred equestrian archers; he marched towards the rock, and on the first day chose a place convenient for an encampment, but the day after pitched his tents much nearer.

CHAP. XXIX.

IN the mean while, some of the neighbouring inhabitants came to him, and promised to shew him a way whereby the rock might be stormed, and taken without much trouble. With these he dispatched Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, with the Agrians, and other light-armed soldiers, and choice targeteers, giving them strict orders that, as soon as ever they found they had gained the top of the rock, they should intrench themselves strongly, and shew a signal thereof to those below. Ptolemy long struggled, in a path rugged and dangerous, but, at last (unperceived by the barbarians), gained the summit, and, having surrounded the place with a rampart and ditch, took care to hoist up a burning torch on that part of the hill where it might be the most easily discerned; which being perceived by Alexander, he, the next day, attempted to storm the rock; but, by reason of the vigorous defence of the barbarians, and the disadvantage of his station, he was able to effect nothing. When the Indians saw that his efforts on that side were vain, they turned their whole force against Ptolemy, and a dreadful conflict happened, the Indians being resolved to demolish the rampart they had thrown up for their security, and Ptolemy, with all his might, endeavouring to preserve it; but the barbarians, at last, finding themselves galled by the Macedonian archers, retreated by night to their former station. In the mean while, Alexander dispatched an Indian, whom he knew to be trusty and fit for his purpose, with letters to Ptolemy; wherein he advised him, that, whenever he perceived him to storm the rock below, he should not be satisfied only to maintain his present post, but attack the enemy, at the same time, above, that so they, being all in confusion, might not know how to defend themselves; but he, moving his camp, as soon as it was day-light, led on his army to the place where Ptolemy had before ascended, unobserved, being satisfied within himself, that if he could conquer the difficulties of that ascent, and join his forces with Ptolemy, the rock itself would soon be gained, which accordingly happened: for, even till noon, there was a terrible conflict between the Macedonians and Indians, the one party striving to ascend by force, the other to drive them down; but the former still persisted in their resolutions to push forward, and one party always succoured or succeeded another, whilst they drew back and refreshed themselves. They laboured thus till almost night, and at last gained the top, and joined with their friends. Then they made a fresh attack upon the rock, with all their forces; but neither could they yet succeed this way, and so that whole day was spent. The next morn-
ing, as soon as day-light appeared, he ordered each of his men to go into the neighbouring wood, and cut down an hundred poles or stakes, which being all brought together, a huge rampart was thereby raised, from the level of that part of the hill where their entrenchment was, against the higher part of the rock, possessed by the enemy, that so they might, from thence, gall them with their darts and arrows; and while the whole army was busied about this work, he was not only a nice observer, but a great encourager of them, praising those who forwarded it with vigour and alacrity, and causing those to be punished who were slothful and inactive in their respective stations.

CHAP. XXX.

THE army carried on the rampart the length of a full furlong the first day, and, on the morrow, by posting his slingers and engineers on that part already finished, he repelled the incursions of the Indians upon the labourers; so that the whole agger was perfected in three days; but on the fourth, when some of the Macedonians had begun to build a mount opposite to the rock, which was designed to be of equal height therewith, Alexander immediately marched thither, and, upon viewing it, determined to prolong the rampart that far. But then the barbarians were so terrified and astonished at the unaccountable boldness of the Macedonians, who had now just finished their mount, and extended the rampart to it, that they no longer trusted to the natural strength of their rock, but, sending an herald to Alexander, promised, if he would grant them certain conditions, they would surrender it into his hands. Their real drift was, to spin out that whole day in agreeing upon articles, and, as soon as night came, to steal down unperceived, and return every one to his own dwelling. This resolution of theirs coming to Alexander's knowledge, he allowed them a sufficient space to descend, by calling off the guards which surrounded them, and himself tarried there till the barbarians begun to descend. Then, taking with him about seven hundred of his guards and targeteers, he first entered the rock, which the enemy had deserted, and those Macedonians, by helping one another, climbed up after him. Having thus taken possession, the other Macedonians, on a certain signal, fell upon the barbarians, and cut many of them off; and many others, being seized with a panic fear in their flight, fell down headlong from the precipices, and perished. Alexander having thus gained the rock, which had been too hard a task for Hercules, offered sacrifice thereon, and furnished it with a garrison, under the command of Sisicottus, who, long before that time, had fled from India to Bessus, in Bactria, and, when Alexander entered that country, had done him great service in the conquest thereof. He then, descending from the rock, marched into the territories of the Assaceni; for he had heard that the brother of Assacenus, with some elephants, and a vast body of the neighbouring barbarians, had fled into the mountains
there, and, when he arrived at the city of Dyrrha, found both that and all the country round entirely destitute of inhabitants; but the next day he dispatched Nearchus, with a thousand targeteers, and those Agrians who were light-armed, and Antiochus, with three thousand targeteers more, to search all the country round, and try if they could catch any of the inhabitants, from whom they might learn the customs of the natives, their manner of making war, and the number of their elephants. He himself proceeded on his march towards the river Indus, having sent his army before him to level the road, which would otherwise have been impassable. Having then taken some of the barbarians, he understood that the inhabitants of that country were fled to Barisades for their security, but that they had left their elephants in the pastures near the river Indus; upon which intelligence, he ordered them to be his guides to the places where the elephants were. Some of the Indians of this country are expert at hunting them, and were therefore esteemed by Alexander, who then went in quest of those beasts, two of the number of which, whilst they were endeavouring to seize them, tumbled down from the rocks, and perished; the rest were taken, and being mounted by the Indians, were conveyed safe to the army. He also found a full-ground wood near the river, which he ordered to be cut down by his soldiers, and vessels to be built therewith, which being launched into the river, he and his forces were thereby conveyed to the bridge, which Hephaestion and Perdiccas had already built.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAP. I.

ALEXANDER then entered that part of the country which lies between the two rivers Copheanes and Indus, where Nysa is said to be situate. This city was built by Dionysus or Bacchus, when he conquered the Indians; but who this Bacchus was, and at what time, or from whence he sent forth those Indians, is hard to determine. Whether he was that Theban who, from Thebes, or he who, from Tmolus, a mountain of Lydia, undertook that famous expedition into India, and, when he had passed through so many warlike nations, then unknown to the Greeks, reduced none of them all by force but India, is very uncertain; only this I may venture to say, that those things which the ancients have published, in their fables, concerning the gods, ought not to be too narrowly searched into; for, whenever the truth of any story seemed liable to be called in question, some god was immediately summoned to their aid, and then all was plain, and easily swallowed. As soon as Alexander arrived at Nysa with his army, the citizens sent Achæphist with thirty of their chief men, to him, to beseech him to leave the liberties of their city entire, for the sake of their god. The ambas-
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

Ambassadors being introduced into the royal pavilion, saw the King all besmeared with dust and sweat, sitting in complete armour, for he had not yet put them off, his helmet was yet on his head, and his lance in his hand; at which sight they were dreadfully terrified, and, falling prostrate, observed a long silence; but when Alexander condescended to bid them rise up, and be of good cheer, Aculphus thus accosted him:—*The Nysseans intreat thee, O King, for the reverence thou bearest to Dionysus, their god, to leave their city untouched, and not to infringe their customs and liberties: for Bacchus, having subdued the Indians, and determining to return to Greece, as an eternal monument of the toils he underwent, and the victories he acquired, built this city for an habitation for such of his soldiers as age or accidents had rendered unfit for military service, in the same manner as thou hast raised Alexandria, near Mount Caucasus, and another city of the same name in Egypt, besides others which thou hast and wilt hereafter build, in different parts of the earth, to the glory of thy name: for thou hast already achieved higher and greater things than Bacchus. He called this city Nysa, after the name of his nurse, and the province depending thereupon the Nyssean territories. The mountain also which is so near as he would have denominated Meros, or the Thigh, alluding to (the fable of) his birth from that of Jupiter. From that time, we, the inhabitants of Nysa, have been a free people, and lived peaceably, under the protection of our own laws; and, as an undoubted token that this place was founded by Bacchus, the ivy, which is to be found no where else throughout all India, flourishes in our territories.*

CHAP. II.

THIS oration was very grateful to Alexander, who had a mighty mind that the story of Bacchus and his travels should pass for truth, and that he might be deemed the founder of Nysa, that himself might be believed already to have reached the utmost limits of Bacchus's journey, and yet still to be advancing forwards. And he imagined that the Macedonians would be easily persuaded to join with him herein, and boldly undertake fresh adventures, after the laudable example of Bacchus and his followers; for which reason he granted the citizens of Nysa the privilege of being governed by their ancient laws, and a full conformation of their liberties. And when he came afterwards to know the tenor of their laws, and that their republic was governed by the chief citizens, he commended the institution, and ordered that three hundred choice horse should be sent to him, besides one hundred of those principal citizens who had the administration of affairs in their hands; (their whole number being three hundred) Aculphus himself was one of those who were chosen out of the magistracy, and him he appointed a president of the province. At these demands of Alexander Aculphus is said to have smiled, and being asked the reason, made this
answer:—"After what manner, O King, should a city be afterwards well governed, when she is deprived of an hundred of her chief coun-
sellors? If thou hast the welfare of the Nyseans at heart, take three
hundred horse, or more, if it be thy pleasure; but if for one hundred
of the best citizens, thou wilt condescend to accept of two hundred of
the worst, thou mayest at thy return hither expect to find this city in a
flourishing condition." This speech being excellently adapted for the
purpose, satisfied Alexander, insomuch that he ordered the three hun-
dred horse to be sent to him, but freely gave up his former demand of
the hundred magistrates, without requiring any equivalent. However,
Aculphia sent his son, and his nephew with him, to learn the art of war.
Alexander had then an ambition of visiting the place where the Nyseans
boast of some monuments of Bacchus, and of ascending Mount Meros
with his auxiliary horse, and a squadron of his foot, that he might see a
hill overspread with laurel and ivy, and thick groves of all sorts of trees,
well stocked with all kinds of wild beasts. The sight of ivy was plea-
sing to the Macedonians, they not having seen any a long time (for
no parts of India produce it, not even those where vines are common),
wherefore they immediately applied themselves to making garlands,
wherewith they crowned their heads, singing, and calling loud upon the
god, not only by the name of Dionysus, but by all his other names.
Alexander there offered sacrifices to Bacchus, and feasted with his
friend; and some authors relate (if their relations deserve credit) that
many Macedonians of the first rank, during the banquet, having their
bows eucircled with ivy, and seized with a sort of enthusiastic raptures,
run about with loud and long continued acclamations of Eoe and
Bacche; but these, and such like stories, I leave for every one to re-
ceive or reject, as he thinks convenient.

CHAP. III.

ERATOSTHENES, the Cyrenian, reports (but I cannot altogether
agree with him therein), that whatever honours were ascribed to that deity
by the Macedonians, and whatever joyful acclamations were made, all
was done for the sake of their King, to put him upon a level with these
gods themselves. He also adds, that the Macedonians found a certain
cave upon a mountain in the country of Paropamisus, which the inha-
bbitants, by tradition (or rather themselves, to carry favour with their
prince), affirmed to be that wherein Prometheus was formerly chained,
and that an eagle usually came thither to prey upon his liver; but at
last, Hercules passing through that country, slew the eagle, and released
him from his imprisonment. He proceeds to tell us that they trans-
ferred Mount Caucasus, in their speeches from Pontus, to the most
easterly parts of the earth, and the country of Paropamisus to India;
and called Paropamisus Caucasus, for no other reason but to enhance
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the glory of Alexander, who had now passed beyond it; and when they accidentally saw some oxen in that part of India, marked with a brand in the form of a club, they immediately concluded, from that circumstance, that Hercules had penetrated thus far. The same author asserts the like stories of Dionysus, which I shall omit, as hardly worth the relating. When Alexander arrived at the river Indus, he found the bridge fully perfected by Hephæstion, and two large vessels, built with thirty oars, besides many more small ones. He also received the presents of Taxiles, the Indian, being two hundred talents of silver, three thousand oxen, above ten thousand sheep, and thirty elephants; seven hundred Indian horses were sent to his assistance by that prince, who also made him a surrenders of his capital, the largest and most populous of all the cities between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes. Alexander there sacrificed to the gods, after the custom of his country, and having exhibited gymnastic and equestrian sports, on the banks of that river, the entrails promised him a safe passage over. The Indus is the largest of all the rivers of Europe or Asia, except the Ganges, which is also in India. It receives its rise from the skirts of Mount Parapamisus or Caucasus, and discharges its water southwards into the Indian Ocean. It has two mouths in a low marshy soil, like those five of the Ister; and it forms the figure of the Greek letter ∆ Delta, by its course through India, as the Nile does in his passage through Egypt, which island is, in the Indian language, called Pattala.

CHAP. IV.

THESE things I have written concerning the river Indus, of the truth of which I have no doubt, for not only Hydaspes and Acesines, but Hydraotes and Hyphasis are Indian rivers, and exceed all the other rivers of Asia in bigness: they are as much less than the Indus as that river is less than the Ganges. Ctesias (if his authority could be depended upon) affirms, that the Indus, where its channel is narrowest, is forty furlongs wide, and where it is broadest about an hundred. Alexander passed over this river with his army about break of day, and entered India; concerning which, I have neither thought it convenient to stuff this history with an account of what laws they are governed by, nor what strange animals the country produces; neither how many kinds of fish, nor of what bigness, either Indus, or Hydaspes, or Ganges, or other rivers of India, nourish; nor shall I make a long detail of the ants which are here said to dig up gold; nor of the griffins which guard it: nor of many other things which are wrote chiefly to amuse, and seem to have little foundation of truth. But let the writers of the Indian affairs suppose never so gross falsehoods upon us, they imagine we will swallow them all, rather than take a journey so far to prove them liars. However, Alexander and his followers found out the falsity of their a-
assertions in abundance of instances; for those parts of India through which he penetrated with his army were destitute of gold, and their diet was no ways delicate. But the inhabitants were strong built, and large limbed, and taller in stature than all the rest of the Asiatics, many of them being little less than five cubits high. Their complexion is more swarthy than any yet known, except the Ethiopians, and their skill in military affairs far surpasses all the inhabitants of Asia besides. Even those warlike Persians, by whose valour Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, deprived the Medes of the empire of Asia, and brought many other nations under subjection, partly by force, and partly by voluntary surrender, are by no means to be compared with these Indians. For the Persians in these times were a poor people; their country was mountainous and uncultivated, and their laws and customs bore some resemblance to the severe Lacedaemonian discipline. And as to the overthrow they at last received in Scythia, I cannot certainly affirm, whether it happened on account of the disadvantage of their station, or any other oversight of Cyrus; or whether those Persians were really inferior in military affairs to the Scythians, by whom they were defeated.

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CHAP. V.

I SHALL treat of the Indian affairs in a particular book, and not only relate every thing deserving of credit, which happened to Alexander and his army, but also to Nearchus, who coasted along the Indian Ocean; and lastly, I shall add the accounts of those remote parts, from Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, two authors of undoubted veracity. I shall also there describe the laws and customs of India, what monstrous animals the country produces, and the whole coast of the sea beyond it, with the utmost accuracy. At present I shall only touch upon those things which were immediately achieved by Alexander and his army. Mount Taurus, which extends itself in length throughout all Asia, has its beginning from Mycale, a hill opposite to the isle of Samos; afterwards dividing Pamphalia and Cilicia, it runs into Armenia, and thence into Media, not far from the confines of the Parthians and Chorasmis, and in the country of Bactria joins to Mount Paropamisus, which the Macedonians, who accompanied Alexander, named Caucasus, with a design (as it is reported) of enhancing their general’s glory, as though he had

* Strabo and Dionysius assure us, that Taurus rises between Lycia and Caria, on the Continent opposite to the isle of Rhodes. Ptolemy, on the coast of Pamphylia, near Phaselis. Meila, at Sides, a village in Pamphylia, over against Cilicia.

† Strabo, in the eleventh book of his geography, p. 771. Ed. Cassub. assures us, "That Alexander’s followers transferred Mount Caucasus out of Scythia into India, which was above thirty thousand stadia (or 3750 English miles) distant from its true situation."
passed beyond that mountain in one continued course of victory. It may perhaps be true, that this mountain may join with the other Caucasus in Scythia, as Taurus does with this, for which reason I have already called it by that name, and shall hereafter continue so to do. This mountain reaches eastward as far as the Indian Ocean. All the most famous rivers in Asia owe their rise to Mount Taurus and Caucasus, and many of them flow northward; some into the Palus Meotis; some into the Hyrcanian Sea; others direct their course southerly, namely, Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Hydaspe, Acesine, Hydaspes, Hyphasis, and all those which discharge their waters into the ocean on this side the Ganges; or which lose themselves by some secret and subterraneous passage, or among the marshes, like the Euphrates.*

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CHAP. VI.

SEEING, therefore, the situation of Asia is such, that Taurus and Caucasus run through it from west to east, it thence happens, that all Asia is divided by these mountains into two parts, one towards the south, the other northwards; moreover, that south part is also separated into four divisions, the chief of which is that of India, according to Eratosthenes and Megasthenes (who assures us, that while he entertained a converse with Sibyrtius, governor of the Arachosii, he frequently visited Sandracottus* King of India), the least is that which Euphrates divides, and which borders upon our sea. The other two lying between the rivers Indus and Euphrates, are scarce worthy to be compared to India, if they were joined together. India is bounded on the east and south sides by the ocean; northwards by Mount Caucasus, even to the confines of Taurus; and westward, even to the ocean, by the river Indus. The greatest part of this country is level and champaign, which is occasioned chiefly, as some suppose, by the rivers there washing down quantities of mud during the time of their overflowings, in the same manner as it happens in other flat countries bordering upon the sea; insomuch, that many of them have borrowed their very names from the rivers which pass through them. As a certain district in Asia is called Campus Hermi, because the river Hermus, rising from Mount Dindymene, flows

* This must undoubtedly be meant of that mighty royal drein, or canal, called Pallocopas, which was cut to carry off the superfusious water of the river Euphrates, for fear it should overflow its banks, and drown the flat countries on each side. It either loses its waters in the marshes of Arabia, or enters the Arabian Gulph by some secret or subterraneous passage. But as to the Euphrates itself, or the main stream, Nearctus, with his whole fleet, entered the mouth thereof, when he sailed up to Babylon, to meet Alexander. See Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 19.

† Strabo called him Sandracottus, though Causabon's edition agrees with Arrian, vid. p. 1035. Some editions of Arrian, Sandracotus, and I am mistaken if Plutarch do not mean the same by his Andracotta, p. 39. edit. Steph.
through it to Smyrna, a city of Æolia, and thence to the sea. Also Campus Caystrι, from the river Cayster; Campus Lydus, from the river Lydus; Campus Caicus, from the river Caicus; Campus Meandri, in Curia, near Miletus, a city of Ionia, and so called from the river Meander. Egypt also, according to Herodotus and Heccateus (unless these accounts of that country belong to any other author besides Heccateus), has been the gift of the river, and which Herodotus in particular proves, inasmuch that the whole country has received its name from the river. For, that this river was anciently called Egyptus, which all nations now call the Nile, the authority of Homer is sufficient to prove, who says, that Menelaus drew up his fleet at the mouth of the river Egyptus. If therefore single rivers, and those none of the largest, have that faculty of fructifying the lower grounds near the sea, through which they pass, by the slime and mud which they bring down from the higher country, I can see no reason why those Indian streams should not do the like, seeing the greatest part of the country is a plain, and the rivers there have their annual inundations. For if Hermus, * and Cayster, and Caicus, and Meander, and all the rivers of Asia, which discharge themselves into the midland sea, were put altogether, they would not be comparable for equality of water to one of those Indian rivers, much less to Indus, to which neither the Egyptian Nile, nor the European Ister, can stand in competition; and all these, and Indus together, would not be equal to the Ganges, which being from its very fountain, a great river receives the waters of fifteen of the largest in Asia, and retains its name till it falls into the sea. This, at present, shall suffice concerning India, and the rest shall be mentioned in our Indian history.

CHAP. VII.

AFTER what manner Alexander made his bridge over the river Indus, neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus (authors of the greatest esteem with me) give any account; nor can I, at this distance of time, affirm for certain, whether it was made with ships fastened together, like that of Xerxes over the Hellespont, and those across the Bosphorus and the Ister by Darius, or whether it was one continued piece of work, resting upon piles, driven into the bottom of the river. To me it seems much more probable to have been composed with vessels, close bound together. Not that I imagine the extraordinary depth of the river would not admit of one of the other sort, but because so great a work could never have been brought to perfection in so short a time. But supposing it to have been built with ships, whether they were fastened to each

* The greatest part of the contents of this chapter may be seen almost word for word in Strabo, lib. xv. p. 1015, &c. whereby it is evident, that Strabo and Arrian copied from the same authors.
other with cables, and so drawn quite across the stream, as Herodotus assures us that of Xerxes was, or in the same manner as the Romans made theirs over the Rhine and Ister, and over the Euphrates and Tigris, as often as necessity required, it is impossible certainly to determine.—However, the manner of laying bridges with ships over large rivers, used by the Romans, is certainly the most safe and expeditious; and as being worthy of notice, I shall here describe it. The vessels appointed for that use are launched into the river, on a signal given, and the violence of the current, as it is reasonable to imagine, hurries them downwards, but that, being overcome by the labour of the rowers, they are brought at last to the place assigned, with their heads turned up the stream.—Then huge wicker baskets filled with stones, and let down from the prows of each of them, keep them steady, notwithstanding the strength of the current. As soon as one of these vessels is thus fixed, they place a second at a convenient distance from her, in the same manner; then they lay large beams from one to the other, which they cover with planks laid across, and this perfects that part of the work. Thus they proceed with all the rest of the vessels, as many as they have occasion to use: and then, at each end, are placed a range of steps joining it to the shore, that horses, and all beasts of burden, may the more safely enter thereupon, and the more easily pass over. And these serve also as a security to the whole, by joining it to the banks on each side. After this manner the work is soon perfected: and notwithstanding the multitude of hands employed on such a fabric, no order nor decorum is wanting for the exhortation of the overseers to some to perform their duty; and their threats to others, for neglect thereof, are no manner of hindrance either to their receiving orders, or the quick execution of the whole work.

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CHAP. VIII.

These sort of bridges were in most request among the old Romans. But after what manner this was laid over the river Indus is hard to determine, seeing none of all those who went upon that expedition make any mention thereof: nevertheless, I cannot forbear thinking it was framed much according to the description here given; or if any will be pleased to give us a better, I shall submit to his judgment. Alexander, having gained the other side, again offered sacrifices to the gods, according to the custom of his country, and marching forwards, arrived at Taxila, a large wealthy city, and the most populous between Indus and Hydaspes. Taxiles, Prince of the place, and the Indian inhabitants thereof, received him in a friendly manner, and he, in return, added as much of the adjacent country to their territories as they requested.—Thither came ambassadors to him from Ambisanes, King of the Indian mountaineers, with his brother, and some of his nobles; as also others from Doxareus, a prince of that country, with presents. Alexander again sacrificed in Taxila, and exhibited sports according to custom;—
and having made Philip, the son of Machetas, governor of the province, and placed a garrison in the city, he left his sick men there for the recovery of their health, and moved on towards the river Hydaspes, because he had received notice that Porus, with all his army, lay encamped on the other side of that river, being fully resolved either to intercept his passage over, or to attack him upon his landing on that side. Alexander, upon this, dispatched Caenus, the son of Polemocrates, back to the river Indus, to cause those vessels, wherewith they passed that river, to be taken in pieces, and conveyed to the Hydaspes. This was accordingly performed, the lesser vessels being divided into two parts, and those of thirty oars into three. The parts were conveyed on carriages to the banks of Hydaspes, and there joined together again, and launched into the river. He, in the mean time, with the forces which he had brought from Taxila, and five thousand Indians, under the command of Taxiles, and the other princes of that country, marched forwards, and encamped upon the banks of that river.

CHAP. IX.

PORUS lay encamped on the opposite side, with his whole army, surrounded by his elephants, who, whithersoever he perceived Alexander's army move, immediately prepared to defend the passage, and detached parties to all the places where he knew the river was fordable, and appointed captains over each, to obstruct the Macedonians, if they should attempt to cross the river. Alexander perceiving this, resolved to divide his army, in the same manner, into several small parties, to distract Porus in his resolutions, and render his efforts fruitless; which being accordingly performed, and the several parties dispatched several ways, some were ordered to lay the country waste in an hostile manner, others to seek out a place where the river might be easily passed over. He also commanded vast stores of corn to be brought into his camp, from all the country on this side of Hydaspes, that Porus might imagine he would remain in his present encampment till the waters of the river fell away in the winter season, for then he might force his way over with his army, in spite of all opposition. His ships being therefore drawn this way and that, and the coverings of his tent stuffed with light buoyant matter, as usual, and the whole bank thoroughly lined with horse and foot, he suffered Porus to take no rest, and rendered him thereby wholly incapable of discerning where the storm would fall, or how best to prepare for the safety of himself and his army. About that time of the year (for it was then near the summer solstice), all the rivers of India are full of water, and consequently muddy and rapid; for heavy and frequent rains then fall throughout all the country, and, besides, the snow upon Mount Caucasus (from whence most of them have their rise) melting with heat, their streams are thereby exceedingly augmented; but the snow again congealing in winter, and the rains ceasing, the rivers become clearer
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and shallower, insomuch that all of them are fordable in some place or other, except the Indus and Ganges, and perhaps one more; however, the Hydaspes may be certainly passed over by fords.

CHAP. X.

ALEXANDER therefore caused a report to be spread abroad, that he would tarry till that time of the year, and then attempt to force his passage over; nevertheless, he caused a strict watch to be kept throughout his camp, to try if by any means he could pass over secretly, and unobserved by the enemy. But he despaired of gaining his ends in that part where Porus lay encamped, as well because of the multitude of his elephants, as of his huge army, well accoutred, and excellently disciplined, which was in readiness to fall upon them the moment they came out of the river; besides which, his horses would not be able to gain the other side without much difficulty, because of the elephants which would meet them, and fright them exceedingly, both with their unusual noise and aspect; and he was in some doubt whether they could possibly be kept upon the hides, and so be conveyed across the river; because the moment they happened to espy the elephants upon the banks before them, they would be seized with fear, and leap into the water. He therefore resolved to endeavour to gain the other side by stealth, and accordingly thus ordered the matter:—His horse being detached to several parts of the bank by night, he ordered loud shouts to be made, an alarm to be sounded, and all things, in appearance, to be prepared for a speedy passage over, upon which a mighty noise was heard from every quarter. Porus, on the opposite side, conveyed his elephants wheresoever he perceived the noise of the Macedonians called him; and Alexander, according to his custom, stood to watch his motions. But when this had continued for several nights, and nothing was attempted, nor any thing happened besides noise, Porus began to desist from his strict observation of the horse; and, growing regardless of their din, moved not from the place of his encampment, only he took care to place guards on the several parts of the bank. Alexander, therefore, as soon as he knew that Porus thought himself sufficiently safe from these nightly excursions, ordered his affairs after this manner:

CHAP. XI.

THERE was a rock fifty seated on the bank of the river, where the channel takes a mighty sweep, stored with trees of various kinds. Over-against this rock, at a small distance, was an island in the river, over-run with woods and uninhabited, and consequently fit for his purpose. Therefore, considering that his horse, as well as his foot, might reach that place in safety, and there lie concealed, he resolved to ferry over.
That rock and island were distant from the body of his camp about one hundred and fifty stadia; he therefore placed guards all along the bank, at such a distance as they could easily perceive each other, and receive and convey commands. He had also ordered great cries to be made, and fires to be lighted up throughout the camp, for many nights together; and even when he designed to pass the river, he did not make preparations secretly in tents, but openly. Having, therefore, left Craterus there, with his own troop of horse, to which those of the Arcoti and Parapamisae were joined, besides the Macedonian phalanx, Alcetas’s and Polyperchon’s forces, and the princes of that country, with the five thousand Indians, he gave him strict orders not to attempt to pass the river before he observed Porus on the other side, either coming against them, or flying from the field. “If Porus (says he) should go out to meet me with part of his army, and leave the other part, with the elephants, in the camp, then do you keep your present station; but if he draws off all his elephants against me, and leaves the rest of his army encamped, then haste over the river with your whole force, for the sight of the elephants alone makes the passage dangerous for horses.”

CHAP. XII.

These commands were given to Craterus; but in the middle space, at about an equal distance between the rock and the main camp, where Craterus lay, he posted Melanger, Attalus, and Gorgias, with the troops of mercenary horse and foot, giving them orders that they should divide their forces, and when they perceived the Indians on the opposite side engaged in battle, immediately ferry over. He, with the auxiliary horse, as also those of Hephaestion, Perdiccas, and Demetrius; the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Scythians; the Dae, equestrian archers, some choice targeeters, the troops of Clitus and Cenus, with the archers and Agrians, marched forwards at some distance from the bank, lest the enemy should discern that he was hastening towards the rock and island, where he designed to ferry over. Then having long before furnished himself with hides, he filled them by night with light matter, and stitched them up close; and a great rain happening to fall that night, was the reason why all their preparations for ferrying over passed undiscovered; the noise of the storm, with the violence of the thunder and lightning, hindered the clashing of their armour, and the voices of the commanding officers from being heard. Many of the vessels, which had been before taken to pieces, were conveyed hither, and put together again in the wood, unperceived by the enemy, and among the rest, those of thirty oars. The winds then being hushed, and the rain ceasing a little before day-light, as many of his foot and horse as both the hides and ships could carry passed secretly over into the island, that they might not be discovered by the guards which Porus had placed upon the bank, before they had passed through the island, and were even ready to ascend the bank itself.
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CHAP. XIII.

ALEXANDER himself followed in a vessel of thirty oars, and with him were Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Lysimachus, three of his body guards, besides Seleucus, one of his favourites, who reigned as King after him, and half of the targeteers; the rest were conveyed over in other vessels of the same burthen. As soon as the army had passed through the island, they approached the bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who rode away with all imaginable expedition, to carry the news to Porus. In the mean while, Alexander, who first ascended the bank, took care to draw up those who ferried over in vessels, and the horse which came with them, and to march before them in order of battle; but, by their want of knowledge of the country, they happened to enter into a dangerous and unsafe place: it was another island, much larger than the former, which seemed otherwise to them, because a small stream disjoined it from the Continent. But it fell out that the rain, the night before, had swelled it so prodigiously, that the horsemen could not find a place to ford over, and were even afraid that this passage might prove as troublesome as the former. However, at last they found a fordable place, and passed through with some difficulty; for the water where the channel was deepest reached up to the breasts of the foot soldiers, and to the necks of the horses. When they had also conquered this, he placed a squadron of horse on the right wing, of the best and choicest he could find, and disposed the equestrian archers to front the whole cavalry: the royal targeteers, under the command of Seleucus, were placed in the foremost rank of foot, and mixed amongst the horse; next to those stood the royal cohort, then the other companies of targeteers, in their several orders, and on each side of the phalanx he posted the darters, archers, and Agrians.

CHAP. XIV.

HIS army thus modelled, he commanded his foot, who were in number about six thousand, to follow him leisurely, and in order; and though he appeared to be superior to his enemies in cavalry, he took only five thousand horse, and with those marched swiftly forwards. Tauro, the captain of his archers, was ordered speedily to join him with his men; for he easily imagined, that if Porus advanced against him with his whole force, he would either be able to defeat them by the strength of his horse, or at least to put them to a stand, till his foot came up. But if the Indians should be seized with a consternation, at his unexpected arrival on that side of the river, and turn their backs, he would be at hand to pursue them, and the greater slaughter there was then made, the less would be their obstinacy in resistance elsewhere. Aristobulus affirms, that Porus's son arrived on the banks of the river with sixty chariots, before Alexander had conveyed his forces out of the greater island, and that he
might easily have obstructed their passage over, if the Indians, his companions, had all of them leaped out of their chariots, and boldly attacked the first they met, as they came out of the water (for they gained the other side with difficulty enough, though none opposed them), but they passed by, and left him to come over unmolested: immediately after which he dispatched his equestrian archers against them, who put them to flight, and slew many of them. Other authors relate, that the Indians, who accompanied Porus's son, attacked Alexander and his body of horse, as soon as they set foot upon the bank; and as he had the greatest part of the forces with him, Alexander himself there received a wound, and his horse Bucephalus, which he exceedingly prized, was slain by Porus's son. But Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, with much more probability, tells the story otherwise: for he writes, that as soon as Porus had information, by his out-guards, that either Alexander himself, or at least part of his army, were passing over the river, he dispatched his son to hinder them, but not with so small a number of chariots as sixty, that being very unreasonable to imagine; for if such a number was sent as scouts, to discover the enemy's strength, they were too many, and too ill accommodated for that purpose; if to obstruct their passage, or attack them, after their arrival on shore, they were too few. But the truth is, Ptolemy assures us, they were no less than two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots; but before they could reach the place, Alexander had passed the ford, and came safe out of the last island.

CHAP. XV.

The same author also tells us, that Alexander, at first, dispatched his equestrian archers against them, but that himself headed the horse, imagining that Porus, with all his forces, were at hand; for the cavalry marched forward in the front, before the rest of the army: but when he had certain intelligence by his spies of the numbers of the Indians, then he attacked them furiously with the horse which were about him, and put them to flight, for they fought not in a complete, firm, and regular body, but by troops. Four hundred of the Indian horse were there slain, and among them Porus's son; and most of their chariots, with their horses, were taken, they being heavy and troublesome in flight, and even in the battle (by reason of the slippery soil of the place) altogether unserviceable. As soon as the horse, who had escaped from this conflict, arrived at their main body, and gave Porus notice that Alexander was already passed over the river with the greatest part of his army, and that his son was slain in battle, he was so much moved, that he knew not what course to take; especially because the forces which were posted over against his grand camp, and commanded by Craterus, were also endeavouring to pass the river. However, at last, he resolved to march against Alexander, and attack the Macedonians, as the strongest body, and at the same time to leave a part of the army, and some elephants,
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behind in the camp, to frighten Craterus's horse as they approached the bank of the river. He therefore, with his whole body of horse, which were about four thousand, and three hundred chariots, with two hundred elephants, and near thirty thousand foot, marched forwards; and when he came to a plain, where the soil was not incommodious, by reason of the slippery clay, but firm and sandy, and every way fit for wheeling his chariots round upon, he resolved there to draw up his army, which he did in the following manner:—First, he placed the elephants in the front, at the distance of one hundred foot from each other, to cover the whole body of foot, and at the same time to strike a terror into Alexander's horse; for he imagined that none, either horse or foot, would be so hardy as to endeavour to penetrate through the spaces between the elephants: the horsemen, he thought, could not, because their horses would be terrified at the sight, and the foot would not dare, because the armed soldiers would be ready to gaff them on each hand, and the elephants to trample them under their feet. The foot possessed the next rank; they were not indeed placed in the same order with the elephants, but so small a way behind, that they seemed to fill up the inter-spaces. At the extremities of each wing he placed elephants, bearing huge wooden towers, wherein were armed men: the foot were defended on each hand by the horse, and the horse by the chariots, which were placed before them.

CHAP. XVI.

PORUS'S army stood ranged thus; but as soon as Alexander saw the Indians drawn up in order of battle, he commanded his horse to halt, till the foot could come up; and even when the body of foot had, by degrees, joined with the rest of the forces, he would not proceed immediately to marshalling them, lest he should expose them, breathless, and weary with a long march, to the fury of the fresh barbarians; but surrounding them with his horse, he gave them time to take breath and recover their spirits: then, viewing the disposition of the enemy's troops, he came to a resolution not to make his first attack in front (where the greatest part of the elephants were posted, and the ranks of foot were much thicker in the intermediate spaces), for the same fears which induced Porus to range that part of the army thus hindered Alexander from attacking them there first. But knowing himself to be much superior to the Indians in horse, he, with the best part of them, moved towards Porus's left wing, resolving to break in upon that quarter; and dispatched Cenus with his own and Demetrius's troops to the right, with orders, that when he perceived the barbarians turn their horses to resist the fury of his attack, he should fall upon their rear. The phalanx of foot he ordered to be led on by Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauro; and commanded them not to engage before they saw the enemy's horse and foot in disorder, by his and Cenus's attacks. But when they came within the
reach of their missive weapons, they should immediately dispatch about a thousand archers against the enemy's left wing, that by the violence of those, and the irritation of the horse, that part of the army might be put into disorder: he, with his auxiliary horse, flew swiftly to the left wing, with a design to engage them warmly, before they could recover themselves from the confusion which his archers must necessarily bring them into.

CHAP. XVII.

THE Indians, perceiving themselves environed on all hands, first led on their horse to resist the attacks of Alexander, when immediately Cæ- nus, with his forces, as he had been ordered, fell upon them in flank, which caused them to divide their forces into two parts, and resolve to lead the best and most numerous of them against Alexander, and face about with the other to meet Cænus; and this served to break the ranks, as well as the courage of the Indians. Alexander, taking this opportunity of their dividing their forces, immediately rushed forwards upon that party designed against him, which were scarce able to sustain the first shock of his horse, before they fled to the elephants, as to a friendly wall for refuge, whose governors stirred up the beasts to trample down the horse; but the Macedonian phalanx galled not only the beasts themselves, but their riders also, with their arrows; and this was a manner of fighting altogether new and unheard-of among the Macedonians: for which way soever the elephants turned, the ranks of foot, however firm, were forced to give way. The Indian horse, now perceiving their foot in the heat of action, rallied again, and attacked Alexander's horse a second time, but were again forced back with loss (because they were far inferior to them, not only in number, but in military discipline), and retreated among the elephants. And now all Alexander's horse being joined together in one body (not by any command of his, but by chance, and a casual event in the battle), wherever they fell upon the Indians, they made dreadful havoc among them. And the beasts being now pent up in a narrow space, and violently enraged, did no less mischief to their own men than the enemy; and as they tossed and moved about, multitudes were trampled to death; besides, the horse being confined among the elephants, a huge slaughter ensued, for many of the governors of the beasts being slain by the archers, and the elephants themselves, partly enraged with their wounds, and partly for want of riders, no longer kept any certain station in the battle, but running forwards, as if madness had seized them, they pushed down, slew, and trampled under foot friends and foes without distinction: only the Macedonians having the advantage of a more free and open space, gave way, and made room for the furious beasts to rush through their ranks, but slew them whenever they attempted to return: but the beasts at last, quite wearied out.
with wounds and toil, were no longer able to push with their usual force, but only made a hideous noise, and moving their fore feet heavily, passed out of the battle. Alexander, having surrounded all the enemy's horse, with his, made a signal for the foot to close their shields fast together, and hasten that way, in a firm body, and by this means the Indian horse, being every way overpowered, were almost all slain. Nor was the fate of their foot much better; for the Macedonians, pressing them vehemently on all sides, made a great destruction among them, and, at last, all of them (except those whom Alexander's horse had hemmed in), perceiving their case desperate, turned their backs and fled.

CHAP. XVIII.

In the mean while, Craterus, and the captains who were with him on the other side of the river, no sooner perceived the victory to incline to the Macedonians than they passed over, and made a dismal slaughter of the Indians in the pursuit; and being fresh soldiers, they succeeded those who had been wearied out in the heat of the battle. Of the Indian foot, little less than twenty thousand fell that day; of their horse about three thousand. All their chariots were hacked to pieces; two of Porus's sons were slain; as was Spitaces, governor of that province, all the managers of their elephants, and their charioteers; and almost all the captains of horse, as well as foot, belonging to Porus. The elephants also, which were not killed, were every one taken. Of Alexander's foot, which consisted at first of six thousand, and gave the first onset, about eighty were lost; of his equestrian archers, ten; of the auxiliary horse, twenty; and of all the rest of the troops of horse, about two hundred. Porus, who behaved himself with the utmost prudence, and acted the part, not only of an experienced general, but of a stout soldier, all that day, seeing the slaughter made among his horse, and some of his elephants lying dead, others without managers, running about, mad with their wounds, and the greatest part of his foot cut off, behaved not like King Darius, who left the field among the very first of his troops, but as long as ever he could see any party of his Indians keep their ground, he fought bravely; and receiving a wound on the right shoulder, which place alone was bare during the action (for his coat of mail being excellent both for strength and workmanship, as it afterwards appeared, easily secured the rest of his body), he turned his elephant out of the battle and fled. Alexander, having observed his gallant and generous behaviour in that day's action, desired, above all things, to have his life saved; and accordingly sent Taxiles, the Indian prince, to him, who, when he overtook him, and came as near as was safe, for fear of his elephant, he requested him to stop his beast (for that all his endeavours to escape were vain), and receive Alexander's commands. Porus seeing it was Taxiles, his old enemy, run against him with his spear, and had perhaps slain him, if he had not im-
mediately turned away his horse, and escaped out of his sight. However, all this was not sufficient to incense Alexander against him; but he sent others, and after them more, among whom was Meroe, an Indian, because he understood that there had been an old friendship between him and Porus. Porus, overcome with Meroe's exhortations, and almost dead with thirst, caused his elephant to kneel down, and then alighted from him; and as soon as he had refreshed himself with a little water, he accompanied Meroe to Alexander.

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CHAP. XIX.

ALEXANDER, being informed of the approach of Porus, advanced a little forwards before his army, and, accompanied by some of his friends, went to meet him, and, stopping his horse, was seized with admiration at his tallness (for he was above five cubits high), as well as at his beauty, and the justness of the proportion of his body; and he was no less amazed to find that he seemed still far from entertaining any humble or servile ideas in his mind, though he was conquered. He considered, besides, that he was a generous man, who had contended with another of equal generosity, and that he was a King who had strove to preserve his dominions from the invasions of another King. Then Alexander, first directing his discourse to him, commanded him to ask what he should do for him? To whom Porus made answer, "That he would use him royally." Alexander, smiling, replied, "That I would do for my own sake; but say what I shall do for thine?"—Porus told him, all his wishes were summed up in his first petition.—Alexander, overjoyed at this answer of his, not only restored him straight to liberty, and the full possession of his former dominions, but also gave him another empire beyond his own, and treated him in so generous and so royal a manner, that he ever after had him his fast friend. Thus concluded the wars of Alexander against Porus and the Indians, beyond the river Hydaspes, in the month Munychion, when Hegemon was Archon of Athens. Then on the very place where the battle had been fought, beyond the river, and where his grand encampment was on this side, he caused two cities to be built: that on the further side he named Nicea, in memory of his victory over the Indians; this he named Bucephalus, to perpetuate the memory of his horse Bucephalus, which died there, not because of any wound he had received, but merely of old age, and excess of heat, for when this happened, he was near thirty years old; he had also endured much fatigue, and undergone many dangers with his master, and would never suffer any, except Alexander himself, to mount him. He was strong, and beautiful in body, and of a generous spirit. The mark by which he was said to have been particularly distinguished, was a head like an ox, from whence he received his name of Bucephalus; or rather, according to others, because he being black, had a white
mark upon his forehead, not unlike those which oxen often bear. When Alexander had once lost this horse in the territories of the Uxii, he caused a proclamation to be issued throughout all the country, that unless they would restore him, he would put them all to the sword, upon which he was immediately restored. So dear was he to Alexander, and so terrible was Alexander to the barbarians.

CHAP. XX.

WHEN Alexander had performed all due honours to those who fell in that battle, and had offered the accustomed sacrifices to the gods for his victory, he exhibited gymnastic and equestrian exercises upon the banks of the river Hydaspes, in the very place where he passed over. He then left Craterus, with some of his forces, there, to finish the cities which he had begun, and to surround them with walls, while himself marched against the Indians, adjacent to Porus's dominions. These were called Glaucanea, by Aristobulus, and by Ptolemy, Glaucae, but which was their right appellation is not very material. Alexander entered their country with part of his auxiliary horse, and some of the choicest out of every company of foot, all his equestrian archers, besides his Agrians and archers, and the whole country was immediately delivered up to him. It contained thirty seven cities, the least of which had not less than five thousand inhabitants, and many of the biggest above ten thousand. There were also a vast number of large villages, some of them little less populous than cities. This whole country he added to the dominions of Porus. After which, having wrought a reconciliation between him and Taxiles, he gave the latter leave to return to his territories. About this time arrived ambassadors from Abissares, acquainting him, that he and his country were at his command. This Abissares, before the battle at the Hydaspes, designed to have joined his forces with Porus against Alexander, but the overthrow of that monarch changed his resolutions; wherefore, to ingratiate himself with Alexander, he then dispatched his brother, and other ambassadors, to him, with a present of money, and forty elephants. Ambassadors were also sent at this time from the Indians, who were governed by laws of their own making; and from another Indian prince whose name was Porus. Alexander immediately ordered Abissares to attend him in person, and threatened, that unless he obeyed, he would lead his army directly into his territories. At this juncture Phrataphernes, governor of Parthia and Hyrcania, with the Thracians committed to his charge, came to Alexander, as also messengers from Sisicottus, ruler of the Assaceni, assuring them, that that nation had slain their governor and revolted: against them he dispatched Philip and Tariyeses, with an army to reduce them to obedience, and afterwards rule the province. He, in the mean time, directed his march towards the river Acesines. Ptolemy, the son of
Lagus, has given us a description of this river, and indeed it is the only one throughout all India he has taken the pains to describe. He tells us, that the current in that part thereof, where Alexander ferried over his army with his hides, and his vessels, was fierce and rapid, and the channel full of large and sharp rocks, which, beating the waters back, and whirling them about, caused vast boilings and eddies; that its breadth was about fifteen furlongs; that those who were placed upon the hides found a safe and easy passage; but many of those who embarked on board the vessels were wrecked, by striking against the rocks, and lost their lives. From the description of this river, it is no hard matter to gather, that those authors err not much, who give us an account of the breadth of the river Indus, namely, that it is forty furlongs where widest, but in the narrowest and deepest parts thereof not above fifteen; and that this is the general breadth all along. I am of opinion, that Alexander chose that part of the river Acesines where the channel was widest, and consequently stillest, for the transportation of his army.

CHAP. XXI.

HAVING thus passed the river, he left Cænus, with his forces, upon the bank, to take care that the rest of the army should pass safe, and also to gather up corn, and other necessaries, from all the neighbouring parts of India, which were under his subjection. He also dismissed Porus, and sent him to his kingdom, with orders to muster up some of the best and most warlike soldiers he could, and some tame elephants (if he had any), and return to him again. He having received intelligence that the other Porus had fled out of his dominions, was resolved to pursue him, with the best and most expeditious troops of his whole army. This Porus, while Alexander waged war with the other, sent ambassadors to him, promising a free surrender of himself and kingdom, rather out of hatred to the other Porus than any good will to Alexander. But when he heard that he was sent back, and knew for certainty that his kingdom was restored to him much enlarged, he left his own territories and fled, not so much for fear of Alexander as of Porus; and took with him all who were fit for war, and all whom he could possibly persuade to accompany him in his flight. Alexander marching against him, came to the Hydraotes, another Indian river, nothing inferior in breadth to the Acesines, but not near so rapid; and took care to post guards in all convenient places, that Cramerus and Cænus, whom he had sent out to forage through all the country, might pass safely to him. Then he dispatched Hephaestion, with part of his army, namely, two squadrons of foot, and his own and Demetrius's troops of horse, as also half the archers, to take possession of the whole country, which that Porus had deserted, and deliver it into the hands of the other Porus, his friend: and if he found any free Indians upon the banks of the river Hydraotes, he should also give them up to
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his governors. In the mean while, he passed the river Hydraotes with less difficulty than he had the Acesines, and marching forwards, some of the inhabitants yielded themselves and country; others took up arms and attempted to oppose him, but were defeated, and many endeavoured to secure themselves by flight, were pursued and reduced to obedience.

CHAP. XXII.

THEN came news to Alexander, that certain free Indians and Cathaeans were resolved to give him battle, if he attempted to lead his army thither, and that they were soliciting all their free neighbours to join with them; as also, that they had chose a city named Sangala, strong by art and nature, where they had fixed their encampment, and were resolved to fight him. The Cathaei were a stout people, well skilled in military affairs, and with them the Oxydrace, and the Malli, two other Indian nations, were confederated. Porus and Abissares, not long before, had joined their forces against these, and called in the aid of many Indian princes besides; but were forced at last to depart, without effecting any thing suitable to such mighty preparations. Alexander no sooner heard this than he immediately directed his march against the Cathaei; and on the day after his departure from the river Hydraotes, came to a city called Pimprama, belonging to a nation of Indians named Adraiste, who forthwith surrendered themselves and country into his hands. The next day he tarried there to refresh his soldiers, and on the third reached Sangala, where he found the Cathaei, and some of their confederates, drawn up before the city, on the side of a hill, neither very high, nor naturally very difficult of access. This hill they had environed with their carriages in a triple range, by which it was fortified as with a triple wall, and their tents were pitched in the middle. Alexander taking a survey of the nature of the place, and the multitude of his enemies, chose a convenient place for his encampment, and then ordered his equestrian archers to advance forward, and gull them with their arrows; but first to surround them, to hinder them from making any excursion upon the Macedonians, before they had prepared themselves for battle, and to strike a terror into those in the camp, before a battle ensued. He then ranged his army in this manner; on the right wing were the horse, and Clitus's forces; next those the targeteers, and then the Agrians: on the left wing, where Perdiccas commanded, were his own troops, and the auxiliary foot; the archers were divided, and placed in both wings. At this very time arrived the troops of foot and horse, which had been posted as guards upon the road: the horse he distributed into both wings, but added the foot to the phalaeus, or main body, to strengthen it; and then with the horse on the right, he advanced to attack the Indian carriages on the left; for the range of their carriages seemed not only much weaker in that part than any other, but the ascent of the hill was also much easier to be gained,
BUT when he perceived that the Indians stirred not out of their entrenchment, nor endeavoured to come to an engagement with the horse, but only climbed up into their carriages, and from thence, as from an eminence, threw their weapons, he judged the horse unfit for such an attack, and therefore alighting immediately from his, he led a battalion of foot against them. They were repulsed from the first range of their carriages, without any great difficulty; but when the Macedonians advanced to the second, they found a much greater resistance; because the carriages not only stood much closer, but the way by which the attack was made was much narrower. However, after a long struggle, they broke and tore away some of the carriages, and having thus laid some part of the range open, rushed through the vacant spaces, every one as they could. The Indians, thus repulsed from the second order, retreated to the third, but not daring to rely upon the strength thereof, fled into the city with all imaginable haste; and having shut up their gates, Alexander, with the foot forces he had with him, as far as they would serve for that purpose, caused them to be besieged; but the wall thereof being of too large a circuit to be environed by such a number, where the line of the foot ended (except the space of a certain lake not far from the walls), he filled up the vacancy with horse, and well knowing that the lake was not of any great depth, he easily conjectured that the Indians, terrified with the loss they had already received, would endeavour to escape out of the city by night; and indeed so it happened; for about the second watch, many of them endeavouring silently to escape, fell in among the horse-guards, by whom the foremost of them were cut off; whereupon those who followed, perceiving the disaster, and that the lake was wholly guarded by the horse, retreated back into the city. Alexander then surrounded the whole town, except that part where the lake prevented it, with a rampart and ditch, and placed a much stronger party of horse to guard the lake, resolving at the same time to draw his engines forwards to batter the walls, had he not received intelligence by some deserters, that the Indians had fixed their resolution that very night to steal out of the city, and escape by way of the lake, where the rampart ended: he thereupon placed Ptolemy, the son Lagus, there, with three thousand archers, all the Agrians, and one troop of archers, and shewed him the very place where the besieged would, in all probability, endeavour to force their way through; giving him orders, that as soon as he perceived them advance, he, with the forces he had, should obstruct their march, and order a trumpeter immediately to sound an alarm; at the hearing of which, all his captains, with their troops, were immediately to hasten to the place whence the sound proceeded; and for his part, he promised he would not be absent, but take his share in the engagement.
CHAP. XXIV.

WHEN Alexander had given these orders, Ptolemy gathered all the carriages which they had seized from the enemy, in the late conflict, and placed them across the road, that he might add to the difficulties of their escape, who were to try that way by night. The rampart also which had not been before perfected, or not sufficiently strengthened, was completed that very night by the soldiers. The besieged then, about the fourth watch, according to Alexander's intelligence, setting open the gates towards the lake, endeavoured to escape that way, but could neither be long concealed from the Macedonian guards, nor from Ptolemy, who lay there. The trumpeters hereupon immediately sounded an alarm, and Ptolemy, with his troops ready armed and marshalled, came to oppose them. Besides which, the rampart, and the carriages drawn across, were no small hindrances to their further progress; which unforeseen difficulties they being unable to surmount, were forced to retire back into the city, leaving five hundred of their number slain upon the spot. In the mean while, Porus arrived in the camp, with all the elephants he could procure, and five thousand Indians. And now the engines were got ready, and drawn forwards to the wall; but the Macedonians having thrown down a part of the wall, which was of brick, by undermining it, and scaling-ladders being fixed, they mounted the breach everywhere, and took the city by assault. About seventeen thousand Indians were slain at the sacking of that place; and above seventy thousand taken, besides three hundred chariots, and five hundred horse. Of the Macedonians, not above one hundred were slain during the whole siege; but the number of the wounded was vastly disproportionable to those who fell, for they were no less than one thousand two hundred, among whom were sundry commanders of note, but especially Lysima-chus, one of the body-guards. Alexander, having then buried the dead, according to the custom of his country, dispatched Eumenes, his scribe, with three hundred horse to those two cities which were in confederacy with the Sangalians, to acquaint the citizens that Sangala was taken by storm, but that no harm should happen to them if they would receive a garrison, any more than had to the other free cities of India, which had voluntarily surrendered: but they having received more early notice of the overthrow of Sangala, and being terrified therewith, had abandoned their cities and fled; which Alexander knowing, he pursued hard after them. However, many escaped, because the pursuit was begun late; but those whom old age or infirmities had rendered incapable of shifting for themselves, were gleaned up by the way, and slain, to the number of about five hundred. Then, laying aside all thoughts of continuing the pursuit, he returned to Sangala, and laid it level with the ground; giving the country round it to those free Indians who had voluntarily submitted to him. He then dispatched Porus and his forces to the cities which he had newly gained, to furnish them with garrisons, whilst he
proceeded on his march to the river Hyphasis, with the rest of the army, to reduce those Indians beyond it; for he could not endure to think of putting an end to the war, so long as he could find enemies.

CHAP. XXV.

ALEXANDER had, moreover, heard that the country beyond Hyphasis was rich, and the inhabitants thereof good husbandmen, and excellent soldiers, that they were governed by the nobility, and lived peaceably, their rulers imposing nothing harsh nor unjust upon them; that they had a greater store of elephants than any other part of India; and that the elephants bred there surpassed those of all other countries in strength, as well as stature. This news fired him with a fresh ambition of proceeding forwards; but the spirits of his soldiers began to flag, when they found their King always attempting one toil after another, and plunging himself and them into new hazards, after he had got clear of the old ones. They therefore agreed to hold a secret consultation in the camp, where some who were not so sanguine as the rest contented themselves with deploiring their hard fortune; others protested they would follow their King no farther, even though he should command them. When Alexander came to understand this, for fear a sedition should arise, and to prevent the contagion from spreading farther, and gathering strength, he called a council of his commanding officers, and spoke to this purpose:—"Since I understand, O Macedonians, my fellow-soldiers and companions, that ye are unwilling to undertake difficulties with me, with the same cheerfulness as formerly, I have therefore taken this opportunity of calling you together in council, that I may either persuade you to proceed further, or be persuaded by you to return; for if you neither approve of the labours you have already undergone, nor of me, who have hitherto led you on, I have no need to continue my discourses. But if by these you now possess the Hellespont, both Phrygia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phœnicia, with Egypt, and that part of Libya which the Greeks held: if by these you share the sovereignty of some part of Arabia, Cœle-Syria, Mesopotamia, besides Babylon and Susa; if by these the mighty empires of Persia and Media be brought under subjection, and we have passed through the Caspian Straights, and over Mount Caucasus, and extended our conquests beyond the river Tanais, among the Bactrians, and even to the Hyscanian Sea; if we have driven the Scythians out of their deserts, and caused the river Indus, the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and Hydriotes, to flow through our territories, why should we now delay to extend our conquests yet further, and add the Hyphasis also, and the countries beyond it, to the Macedonian Empire? or can you be afraid that any barbarians, whom we may henceforth meet, should give us an overthrow, when all we have hitherto found have yielded to our power?
home of their own accord; others by being taken in flight; and others still have quite abandoned their countries, and left us peaceably to take possession, which we have either committed to the government of some of our countrymen, or to those who have become our allies and confederates.

CHAP. XXVI.

"I, FOR my part, would propose no other end to the labours of a generous mind than the labours themselves, which certainly lead to glory and honour. But if any among you be solicitous to know where we shall end this war, I answer, that we have but a small part of the grand Continent to pass over, before we shall arrive at the river Ganges, and the eastern ocean, which ocean (for it surrounds the earth) you shall perceive to join with the Hyrcanian Sea. Then, O Macedonians and friends, I will shew you, that the Indian Gulph has a communication with the Persian, and the Hyrcanian Sea with the Indian. We will also fetch a compass in our ships, from the Persian Gulph to Lybias, beyond Hercules’s Pillars; and all Lybias, within those limits, shall be ours; as also all Asia; and by this means the same bounds which God has placed to the earth, will I place to our empire. But if we now return, many great and warlike nations, between the river Hyphasis and the eastern ocean, and many also to the northward, towards the Hyrcanian Sea, bordering upon Scythia, will be left behind unsubdued; for which reason it is much to be feared, that if we should return home, those whom we have reduced, being not yet sufficiently secured, may be incited to revolt, by those we have not visited, and then all our great labours would be in vain; or, at least, we must attempt, by new toils, to secure to ourselves what we had gained by the old ones; wherefore, my dear countrymen and friends, let us push forwards; toils and dangers are the rewards of the bold; a life spent in virtuous actions is pleasant; and death is no ways terrible to them who have secured to themselves an immortal glory. You cannot but know that our progenitor had never arrived at such a pitch of glory, as from a mortal to be a god, or even to be accounted so, if he had loitered away his time at Tyrynthae, at Argos, at Peloponnesus, or Thebes. Neither are the labours of Bacchus (who is a god of a higher rank than Hercules) few or contemptible. But we have penetrated the country far beyond the city Nisa; and the rock Aornus, which defied the force of Hercules, has submitted to our power: proceed therefore to add what remains in Asia to what we have already gained; a small conquest to a mighty one, unless you are already weary, or ashamed of your former glorious exploits. For what great or memorable act had we done in life, if we had, all this while, remained content with our Macedonian territories, uninjured to dangers, and only employed our time in defending our own province, or expelling the Thracians, the Triballi, or the Grecians, who entered our dominions in an hostile manner. If I, your
General, had never shared with you in the toils and dangers you have undergone, but remained lazy and inactive, well might your hearts fail you, because the labours were really yours, and others were to reap the fruits of them: but as my labours have ever been the same with yours, and our dangers have been always equal, so the rewards are equally distributed; for all the countries which we have subdued are yours; you are the governors of them; I have only the bare title, and the greatest part of treasures which we have gained, even the wealth of almost all Asia, is already in your possession. But when Asia is entirely subdued, then, I hope, I shall be able not only to satisfy all your most sanguine hopes, but even to exceed them; and when the war is at an end, those who are inclined to return into their own country I will freely dismiss, or lead them back myself; and those who choose to tarry behind, I will take care that the others shall envy their happiness."

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CHAP. XXVII.

WHEN Alexander had made an end of speaking these, and many other things to the same purpose, a general silence ensued, none daring openly to declare their opinions against that of their King, though they would not consent to the reasonableness of the proposal. And when he again pressed them freely to deliver their minds, if any of them had any thing to say against what he had offered, the same silence still continued, till, at last, Cenius, the son of Polemocrates, took courage, and spoke after this manner:—"Forasmuch, O King, as thou hast already declared thou wilt not compel the Macedonians, but only endeavour, by persuasions, to induce them to march forwards, I here presume not to speak for those of my own rank (who have tasted, in a more than ordinary manner, of thy favours, and have many of us already received the rewards of our labours, and are at all times ready to execute the commands thou art pleased to lay upon us), but for the multitude: neither shall I so much study to deliver such things in my present discourse as may be grateful to the soldiery, as those which may be safe for the present, and honourable to after times. Moreover, my advanced age, as well as the dignity of my post, requires that I should not conceal any thing which might redound to our advantage; and besides, the toils I have undergone, and the dangers I have boldly encountered, without turning my back upon them, exhort me to declare my sentiments freely. And by how much the more, and the greater the exploits have been which were performed by thee, and those who accompanied thee out of their own country, so much the rather do I judge that some measure should be set to our toils and hazards; for thou must needs perceive how great was the multitude of Macedonians and Grecians which set forth with thee in this expedition, and how few of us are now left. The Thessalians, indeed, when war grew grievous to them, and their courage began to abate, thou sufferedst to return home from Bactria; but the
rest of the Grecians are some of them left in the cities which thou hast built, there to remain against their own inclinations. Others, who have run through all dangers with the army, are either fallen in battle, or rendered unserviceable by wounds, or left behind in divers parts of Asia; but the far greatest part of all have perished by diseases. And, lastly, the few which still survive out of so great a multitude, are neither so strong, nor healthy in body, nor so sound and vigorous in mind, as heretofore. All these have a longing desire (such as is imprinted in every one by nature) once more to visit their parents, wives, children, friends, and native soil; and, notwithstanding many of them are raised to honours and authority, and great wealth, by thy especial grace and favour, yet sure they merit at least forgiveness. But thou, I presume, wilt not lead them into fresh dangers against their will, nor make any farther use of those men whose minds are already alienated from military affairs: rather, if it should seem good to thee, return home, visit thy mother, compose the unsettled state of Greece, and bear so many and such eminent victories to thy own country. Then mayest thou set forth upon a new expedition, either against those Indians to the eastward, or, if it shall please thee better, against the Scythians, who border upon the Euxine Sea; or against Carthage, and the parts of Lybia, beyond it. Then shall it be fully in thine own power to lead the army whithersoever thou desirest; and then shall other Macedonians be thy followers, and thou shalt change those old soldiers for young ones; those who are wearied out with war for others fresh and vigorous, to whom war will be no terror, because of the alluring hopes they will have of future rewards. Nay, it is almost impossible to imagine they should not attend thee with the more cheerfulness, when they see those who were the sharers of thy former toils and hazards return home raised to riches from poverty, and to honours from obscurity. However, O King, if any thing can be deemed a more transcendent virtue than the rest, it must be to preserve a due moderation in prosperity. Thou art an Emperor, and, at the head of such an army, what enemy can be terrible to thee? But consider, once for all, that the turns of chance are sudden, and therefore to mortals, however prudent, unavoidable.”

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CHAP. XXVIII.

THUS Cæmus ended his speech, and a general heaviness sat upon the faces of all present; many of them also shed tears, which was a sufficient intimation to Alexander that a further progress in the war was grievous to them, but that a speedy return into their own country would be acceptable. However, he took offence at Cæmus’s freedom of speech, and the silence of all the rest, and so dismissed the assembly: but calling them again the next day, without endeavouring to dissuade his rage, he proceeded that he would proceed on his intended expedition, but would compel no
Macedonian to attend him; for he doubted not but he should find those who would follow him of their own accord. However, they who were resolved to return were at their liberty, and might go tell their friends at home that they left their King in the midst of his enemies. When he had thus said, he retired into his tent, and refused to speak to any of his friends for three whole days, expecting (as it often happens in the army) that some change of mind should have happened among the Macedonians in that time, and that they might have been softened by persuasions; but he perceived the same sullen silence still to reign among them, and understood that they were violently enraged against him, but that their resolutions remained fixed. However, he offered sacrifices for his safe progress, as Ptolemy assures us, but when the entrails shewed omens wholly inauspicious, he called his friends together, especially those who were the most ancient, and the best established in his favour, and declared that, as all things conspired to hinder his further progress, he was determined to return.

CHAP. XXIX.

These words were no sooner caught by the multitude than a mighty shout ensued, as an expression of their exceeding joy; some could not refrain from tears of gladness, others rushed forwards to the royal pavilion, and there wished their King all future success; because he who was invincible to others, had suffered himself to be overcome by them. Then, having divided his army, he ordered twelve altars to be erected, equal in height to so many fortified towers, but far exceeding them in bulk. On these he offered sacrifices to the gods, and gave them thanks for making him thus far victorious, and consecrated those as eternal monuments of his labours. After this he exhibited gymnastic and equestrian exercises, and added all that country, as far as the river Hyphasis, to the dominions of Porus. He then returned to the river Hydraotes, and thence to Acensis, where he found the city, which he had left Hephestion to build, already finished, into which having invited all the neighbouring inhabitants who were willing to reside, and leaving there such of his mercenaries as were unfit for travel, he began to prepare every thing necessary for a voyage to the main ocean. At this juncture Arsaces, governor of the province next to Abissares’s territories, and the brother of Abissares, with many of their friends, came to Alexander, bringing divers rich and valuable gifts, and, among the rest, thirty elephants, as a present from King Abissares, and declared that he himself would have attended in person, but was hindered by sickness, the truth of which being confirmed by messengers dispatched thither by Alexander, he was easily persuaded to allow Abissares to hold his power under him, and joined Arsaces as a co-partner in his government, and, having then fixed the annual tributes they were to pay, he again offered sacri-
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sics upon the banks of the river Acesines, which river having passed over, he came to Hydaspes, where, what parts soever of the two cities, Nicæa and Bucephalia, the violence of the rains had washed away, he took care to see fully repaired by his soldiers, which being finished, he set himself to other affairs relating to the government of that country.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAP. I.

WHEN Alexander had now built and made ready many triremes and biremes, with several vessels for carrying horses, and all other things necessary for conveying his army upon the banks of the Hydaspes, he resolved to sail down that river till he came into the ocean: and whereas he had seen crocodiles in the river Indus, and in no other except the Nile, and beans growing upon the banks of the river Acesines, such as Egypt produces, and had heard that Acesines lost itself in the river Indus, he straightway supposed that he had found out the head of the Nile: for he thought it must rise in that country, and, after having run through the vast deserts, lose its first name; but, coming again into a land well inhabited, it was called Nilus by the Æthiopians and Egyptians dwelling in these parts (in the same manner as Homer calls the Nilus by the name of Ægyptus, within the dominions of Egypt), and thence flowed into the Mediterranean Sea. Wherefore, in a letter which he wrote to his mother Olympias, concerning the country of India, he told her, among other things, that he believed he had found the fountain of the Nile, grounding his conjecture upon the slight and trivial circumstances before mentioned. But when he made a more narrow search into the affair, he was assured by the inhabitants that the river Hydaspes lost its waters in the Acesines, and the Acesines its waters and name in the Indus, which river discharged its stream by two mouths into the ocean, very far from the country of Egypt. He then caused that passage concerning the Nile to be expounded out of his letter, and, having determined to sail down to the ocean by the course aforesaid, he ordered all preparations to be made accordingly. The rowers and steersmen of his vessels were carefully chosen out from among the Phenicians, Cyprians, Carians, and Egyptians, who followed his army, and were fit for that purpose.

CHAP. II.

ABOUT this time Cænus, one of his most intimate friends and faithful companions, departed this life, whose obsequies were celebrated with all the solemnity that the time would allow: then, calling a council of his friends, at which all the ambassadors of the Indian princes were pre-
sent, he constituted Porus King over all the parts of India he had conquered, which was no less than seven nations, containing above two thousand cities. After this he divided his forces in this manner:—the targeters, archers, and Agrians, and some of the horse, he took on board the fleet with him; Craterus was ordered to march along the bank, on the right hand, with part of the horse and foot, and Hephaestion on the left hand with the rest, being the best and greatest part, besides two hundred elephants. They were to make all imaginable haste to the kingdom of Sophus, and Philip, governor of a province beyond the river Indus, adjacent to Bactria was commanded to follow them in three days, with all his forces. The Nysan horse was sent home. Nearchus was appointed admiral over the whole navy, and Onesicritus captain of that single ship where the King was, who, notwithstanding, in his history of Alexander, falsely assumes the title of admiral, when he was, in reality, no more than commander of the royal galley. The number of triremes which composed this navy (according to Ptolemy's account, which I chiefly adhere to) was about eighty; but the whole number of vessels, those employed for horses and others, built then as well as before, amounted to near two thousand.

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CHAP. III.

ALL things being then ready for his intended voyage, the army, about break of day, embarked on board. He, in the mean while, by the direction of his augurs, offered sacrifices to the gods, and to the river Hydaspes, after the custom of his country, and then entering his ship, stood upon the prow, and, pouring a libation out of a golden cup, invoked the Aecesines, as well as the Hydaspes, being informed that that river flowed into the Hydaspes not far from thence, as also the Indus, because both these, when united, fall into that river. And when he had afterwards sacrificed to Hercules and Hammon, and other gods, according to his custom, he immediately ordered a signal to be given, by sound of trumpet, for the ships to move, and they moved accordingly: for it was already agreed at what distance the store-ships should keep from those which carried the horses, and these from the ships of war, lest, if they proceeded without due order, they should be dashed one against another; nor were the best sailors suffered to go out of their ranks, nor the slowest to lag behind. It was wonderful to hear the clashing of the oars of such a mighty number of ships at the same instant, as also the shouts of the rowers, and the commands of their officers, which the banks, often higher than the ships themselves, and the thick woods on each side of the river, so increased by compression and repercussion, that the barbarians, on all hands, were struck with the utmost surprise thereat; and what added to their wonder was, their seeing horses embarked on board a fleet, which was so unusual a sight (for the expedition
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of Bacchus into that country was by land), that they followed the ships a vast way down the river. As many also of the more remote Indians as were in friendship with Alexander, and heard the clashing of the oars, and the shouts of the rowers, came flocking to the banks of the river, and sung songs after their country manner: for the Indians, above all other nations, have delighted in music and dancing ever since the time that Dionysus and his bacchanals were among them.

CHAP. IV.

THE fleet, sailing in the above-mentioned order, arrived, on the third day, at the place where Alexander had ordered Craterus and Hephæstion to encamp on each side of the river, where they tarried two days, to wait for Philip with the rest of the army, whom he forthwith dispatched, with the forces which he brought, to the Acesines, commanding him to lead his troops along the bank of that river. He also, once more, dispatched Craterus and Hephæstion upon a fresh expedition, and marked out the route they were to take. He, in the mean time, prosecuted his voyage down the river Hydaspes, which he never found less than twenty furlongs wide; and wherever he approached the banks and came onshore, the Indians of those places either paid him a voluntary obedience, or were reduced by force of arms. Then he steered directly against the Malli and Oxydracæ, having received intelligence that the inhabitants of these countries were both numerous and war-like, and that they had secured their wives and children in fortified places, with a design to meet him and his forces in the plain, and give him battle; and he made so much the more haste thither, because he hoped to crush them before they could come together in a body, for as yet they were busied in making preparations for war. He therefore moved thence, and on the fifth day came to the place where the Hydaspes flows into the river Acesines; and the banks being close, and the channel narrow, where these two rivers join, the current is, by that means, extremely rapid, and the prodigious eddies, caused by the rebounding waters, make such a loud noise as is heard in places at a vast distance. Those things were told to Alexander and his soldiers by the inhabitants, a long time before they approached them, that their surprize might be the less, notwithstanding which, when they drew near, the rushing noise of the two uniting streams so filled the ears of the rowers, that they laid down their oars, not by any particular order, but because their commanders themselves, astonished at an object so strange and full of horror, ceased to give necessary directions.
CHAP. V.

BUT when they re-assumed their courage, the masters of the ships ordered the rowers to use their utmost strength to get out of these streights, and by the force of their oars break the violence of the waters, lest they should be sucked in, and swallowed up by the eddies. Some vessels, indeed, of a round form, which happened to be thus drawn in, received no other damage, except the extreme fright of the crews they contained, and immediately continued their course; but the long ships, whose sides were not so strong as to endure the force of the contending waves, received much more harm in the conflict, and especially the biremes, whose lower bank of oars was but a little above the surface of the water; for when they were hurried, with a full broadside, in the eddy, and could not lift up their oars, they were broke by the fury of the waves; many of them were shattered in this manner; two were dashed in pieces against each other, and most of the soldiers, which were on board, perished. But when the channel began to open, the stream to run smoother, and the eddies to be less violent, Alexander caused his fleet to steer towards the shore, on the right hand, where was the best shelter, it being a sort of a bay, which a rock made by shooting out into the river: there he gathered his shattered vessels together, and took care of the few who were found alive on board; then having refitted, he ordered Nearchus to proceed in his course to the country of the Malli. He, in the mean while, making an excursion into the territories of the barbarians, who refused to submit to his power, crushed them, that they might not be able to assist the Malli, and then returned to his fleet, where he found Craterus, Hephæston, and Philip, with all their forces. Then having conveyed his elephants and Polysperchon's troops, with the equestrian archers, and Philip, across the river, and given the command of them to Craterus, he sent away Nearchus, his admiral, with orders to sail down the river, to be three days march before the army. The rest of his forces he divided into three parts, ordering Hephæston, with his party, to march five days before him, that if any should fly away at his approach, and betake themselves to the utmost limits of the country for safety, they should fall into the hands of Hephæston. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, with his forces, was ordered to tarry three days behind him, that whoever fled with him, and got behind his army, should be surprized by Ptolemy and his party. He also ordered those, who went before, that when they arrived at the confluence of the rivers Acesines and Hydrosotes, they should wait for his coming, and till Ptolemy and Craterus, with their parties, also arrived.
THEN taking with him the targeteers, archers, Agrians, and Python's troop, which consisted of those called the auxiliary foot, with the equestrian archers, and half the auxiliary horse, he marched through a desert country, against the Malli, and the first day pitched his tents on the banks of a small rivulet, about an hundred furlongs distant from the river Acesines; having there allowed his troops a little time for refreshment and rest, he ordered every one to fill all his vessels with water, which done, he continued his march the remaining part of that day, and all night, and early the next morning arrived at a city, whither many of the Malli had fled for refuge; and this was about four hundred furlongs distant from the Acesines. The Malli, never once imagining that Alexander would attempt to march through such a desolate country, were all unarmed and scattered about the fields, whom therefore, he surprised on a sudden, and slew many before they could prepare for a defence; the rest fled into the city, and shut their gates. Whereupon he immediately surrounded the walls with his horse, for his foot were not yet come up; but when they arrived, he dispatched Perdiccas with his own, and Clitus's horse, besides the Agrians, to hasten to another city of the Malli, into which a great body of Indians had fled for safety; and withal ordered them only to block them up, but by no means attempt to storm the place till he arrived; he warned them, however, to take care that none should escape out of the city, to spread the story of his arrival through the country. He then began to assault the city, whereupon the barbarians forsook the walls, being assured they could not hold the place out any time. However, many were slain in the attack, and many more wounded, and rendered unserviceable, upon which they abandoned the city, and retired into the castle; and that, as being seated upon an eminence difficult of access, they held for some time; but when the Macedonians pressed them on all hands, and Alexander himself pushed on the siege with vigour, the castle was carried by storm, and the barbarians who fled thither, to the number of two thousand, were all slain. Perdiccas marching to the city, which he was commanded to besiege, found it quite dismasted; but when he came to understand that the inhabitants had not been long fled, he immediately resolved to pursue them; and sending his light horse after them, with all imaginable expedition, they overtook a great many, and slew them: the rest betook themselves to the neighbouring marshy places, and thereby saved their lives.
CHAP. VII.

ALEXANDER having allowed his soldiers some time for refreshment and rest, about the first watch of the night set forwards, and marching hard all that night, came to the river Hydrosotes, about daylight, and understanding that some parties of the Mali were just passing the river, he immediately attacked them, and slew many, and having passed the river himself, with his forces, in pursuit of those who had gained the further side, he killed vast numbers of them, and took many prisoners. However, some of them escaped, and betook themselves for safety to a certain town, well fortified, both by art and nature. Alexander waited for the arrival of his foot, and then dispatched Python against them, with his own troop, and two cohorts of horse, who gaining the place at the first assault, took all prisoners, whom they slew not; and soon after returned to the camp. Alexander then led his army against a certain city of the Brachmans, where he heard another body of the Mali had fled. When he arrived there, he drew his forces every where close up to the wall, whereupon the defendants, seeing their walls undermined, and themselves galled with darts from the Macedonians, abandoned the city, and fled to the castle, hoping to defend themselves there; and a few of the Macedonians too rashly attempting to pursue, they turned back upon them, and slew twenty five of them, and beat the rest back. In the mean while Alexander lost no time, but ordered his scaling ladders to be fixed to the castle walls, and the walls to be undermined, which done, when one of the towers fell down, and a part of the adjoining wall was shattered, and afforded an easy entrance, he first mounted the breach himself, and attempted to storm the castle, upon which the Macedonians, ashamed at their backwardness, one after another climbed over the wall. Thus was the castle won; however, some of the Indians seeing the place ready to be taken, set fire to their own houses, and perished in the flames; others were slain in the assault; about five thousand of them fell during the siege of that city; and, so great was their valour, that few came alive into the enemy's hands.

CHAP. VIII.

HAVING tarried one day there, to refresh his army, he then directed his march against others of the same nation, who, he was informed, had abandoned their cities, and retired into the deserts; and taking another day's rest, on the next he commanded Python, and Demetrius, a captain of a troop horse, with the forces they then had, and a party of light armed foot, to return immediately to the river, and if they found any of those who had taken shelter in the adjacent woods, to put them to the sword, if they refused to surrender. This they accordingly performed,
and many Indians were there slain. In the mean while, he led his forces
to the capital city of the Malli, whither he was informed many of the in-
habitants of other cities had fled for their better security. But even
this place was dismantled by the Indians (upon Alexander's approach),
who crossing the river Hydraotis, drew up their forces upon the bank
thereof, which was steep and difficult of ascent, as though they would
have obstructed his passage; which he receiving intelligence of, im-
mediately led his horse to that part of the river where they stood, com-
manding his foot to follow; and when he arrived there, and saw the ene-
my's army posted on the opposite bank, he made no delay, but instantly
entered the river with the troops of horse he brought with him. The
Indians seeing him and his forces now in the middle of the river, re-
tired hastily, yet orderly, from the bank, and were pursued by Alexan-
der; but when they perceived that their pursuers were only a party of
horse, they faced about, and resolved to give him battle, being about
fifty thousand in number. He, seeing the firm and close order of their
army, and considering that he had no foot forces, resolved only to ride
round them, and gait them at a distance, but not to venture a close en-
gagement; but in the mean while the Agrians and archers, and others
of his choicest light armed foot, having passed the river, came to his aid,
and a phalanx of foot appeared at a small distance; whereupon the
Indians, growing deficient of their own strength, betook themselves to
flight, and retired into a certain fortified city, not far off; but Alexan-
der pursuing them, slew many, and the rest being inclosed, he first en-
vironed them with the horse; but when the foot arrived, he pitched his
tents, and besieged them in form. And as the day was now too far spent
to begin an assault, his foot, wearied with a long march, and his horse,
barrassed with a continued pursuit, as well as a difficult passage over the
river, he resolved to give them a little rest the remaining part of the day.

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CHAP. IX.

ON the morrow, having divided his forces, he took the command of
one part of the army himself, and having given the other to Perdiccas,
attacked the walls, and when the defendants were unable to endure the
violence thereof, they fled, and retired into the castle. Alexander, with
his forces, having burst open one of the gates of the city, entered, and
took possession thereof a long time before the rest. Perdiccas and his
party no sooner mounted the walls (for many of them had not yet re-
covered their ladders) than they perceived the city taken, because the
walls were left defenceless. However, the besieged having entered the
castle, and being resolutely bent to hold it, some of the Macedonians
endeavoured to undermine the walls, others to scale them, and accord-
ingly busied themselves in fixing their ladders wherever they could,
with a design to storm the place. But Alexander, not brooking their slow
proceedings, snatched a ladder out of the hands of one of the soldiers,
and applying it to the wall, immediately mounted, having guarded his
body with his shield. Peucetias followed his steps, bearing the consecrated
shield, which Alexander had taken out of the temple of the
Trojan Pallas, and ordered to be borne before him in all his battles:
after him, Leonnatus ascended by the same ladder; and Abreas (one
who received a double stipen, on account of former services) by another.
And now Alexander, having gained the top of the battlements, and fixed
his shield for defence, drove some of the defendants headlong down into
the castle, and slew others with his sword, insomuch, that he cleared
the place where he stood. But the royal targeteers being solicitous for
their King, and endeavouring to ascend in too great numbers, broke the
ladders, and thereby not only fell down themselves, but hindered others
from mounting. Alexander, in the mean time, stood as a mark for
all the Indians who were in the adjacent towers, for none of them durst
venture to come so near him as to fight hand to hand, and those within
the castle also cast their darts at him, but at some distance (for the In-
dians had thrown up a rampart there within the wall where they stood,
and they easily perceived who he was, both by the brightness of his ar-
mour and the greatness of his courage. However, he resolved (rather
than to continue exposed in that station, where nothing was to be done
worthy of notice, to cast himself directly into the castle, imagining that
such an action would strike terror into the besieged, or at least it would
add greatly to his glory, and if he died there, he should gain the admira-
tion and applause of posterity, upon which he immediately leaped
down into the castle, where fixing himself against the wall, some of the
enemy, who rushed forwards upon him, he slew with his sword, and
among the rest the Indian general; others, as they advanced towards
him, he smote with stones, and beat them back; but upon their second,
and nearer approach, he slew them also with his sword, so that the bar-
barians durst now no more attempt to come within his reach, but gather-
ing about him, at some distance, threw their darts, and such other
weapons, at him, as they had, or could find, from that station.

CHAP. X.

PEUCESTAS, Abreas, and Leonnatus, were the only three persons
of the whole Macedonian army who mounted the castle wall before the
ladders broke, and they leaped down on the inside, and valiantly fought
to save their King. Abreas was wounded in the face with an arrow,
and fell down dead. Alexander's breast-plate was pierced through
with an arrow, whereby he received a wound in the breast, which Pto-
lemy says was so dangerous, that, by the vast effusion of blood, his life
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was despaired of: nevertheless, so long as he was hot, he retained his innate courage, and defended himself valiantly; but the blood streaming from him, and his spirits sinking, he was seized with a dizziness in his head, and a chillness throughout his limbs, whereupon he fell forward upon his shield. Pæcumæs then, with the sacred shield of Pallas, stood by the King, and protected him from the enemy's darts on the one side, as did Leonitus on the other; but they were also sore wounded, and Alexander was very near losing his blood and life together. The Macedonians without were in the utmost anxiety how they should ascend the walls, and get to the inside of the castle, fearing lest their King, who had rashly exposed himself, by scaling the walls, and leaping down among the enemy, should be in danger; and their ladders being broke, they used all their skill to contrive other ways to mount: whereupon some of them drove large iron pins into the wall (which was built with brick), and taking hold of those, hoisted themselves up with great difficulty; others mounted upon the shoulders of their companions, and so gained the top; however, he who ascended first leaped down on the other side, and saw the King lying prostrate; and afterwards, others following, with dreadful shouts and lamentations, a sharp battle ensued, they endeavouring, with all their might, to save their King, by covering him with their shields. In the mean while, others having torn off the bars, and forced open a gate between two towers, made way for their companions to enter, and, a part of the wall giving way to the violent shocks of some others, opened a new passage into the castle.

CHAP. XI.

A mighty slaughter of the Indians then ensued, every soul which was found being cut off, and not so much as the women or children spared. The Macedonians then turned their thoughts on their King, whom they bore away upon his shield, not knowing whether he would die or live. Some authors relate, that Critodimus, a physician of Coos, laid open his wound, and drew out the arrow; others, that Perdiccas performed that task, no physician being present, and the case urgent; for Alexander commanded that the wound should be opened, though with a sword, and the dart drawn out of his body: however, he lost abundance of blood in the operation; and when he again fainted away, that very syncope, or swooning fit, which then seized him, stopped the effusion of blood, and saved his life. Many other things are related, concerning this accident, by historians, which, having their first foundation laid in falsehood, have been transmitted by romancers to our times, and are likely to be handed down to posterity, unless an end be put to this way of writing. That this misfortune happened to Alexander among the Oxydracae, is the vulgar notion, which nevertheless was among the Malli, one of the free nations of India. For the city belonged
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to that people, and it was from that people he received the wound. The Mælii indeed designed to have joined their forces with the Oxydracæ, and so to have given him battle; but Alexander’s hasty and unexpected march through the dry and barren waste prevented their union, so that they could not give any assistance to each other. In the same manner, the last battle with Darius (from whence he took his flight, and continued it from place to place, till he was seized by Bessus, and slain upon Alexander’s approach) is as confidently reported to have been fought at Arbela as the preceding one was at Issus, and the first equestrian battle at the river Granicus. The first equestrian battle really happened on the banks of the river Granicus, as did the other at Issus; but Arbela is distant from the field where this last battle was fought six hundred, or at least five hundred furlongs. For both Ptolemy and Aristobulus assure us, that the scene of this last action with Darius was at Gaugamela, upon the river Bumelus. And whereas Gaugamela was only an obscure village, and the sound of its name not grateful to the ear, the glory of that battle has been conferred on Arbela, as the chief city of these parts. But if this battle may be said to have been fought at Arbela, which was really fought at so great a distance from it, why may not the naval action at Salamis be ascribed to the Corinthian Isthmus, or that at Artemesius, in the island of Eubœa, to Ægina or Sunium? But to return; even the names of those who saved Alexander from the enemy’s fury, by covering him with their shields, are diversely given: that Peucetias was one, all authors agree; but not so concerning Leonatus nor Abreas. Again, some writers tell us that Alexander, having received a blow with a club upon his helmet, a mist came over his eyes, and he fell down; but recovering his spirits, and rising again, his breast-plate was pierced with an arrow, and he was wounded; though Ptolemy assures us that he was only wounded in the breast. But the writers of Alexander’s life have grossly erred, who report that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, mounted the ladder to scale the wall, along with Alexander and Peucetias, and that he was one of those who protected the King with his shield, when he lay prostrate; and, on that account, received the name of Soter, or Saviour; for he himself assures us, that he was not present at that siege, but was dispatched, at that time, on an expedition against other Indians elsewhere. This digression I have made, that the writers of history may be more careful in relating the particular circumstances of great actions, and enquire more narrowly into the truth of whatever they deliver to posterity.

CHAP. XII.

WHILE the King lay there, to wait for the healing of his wound, news was carried to the camp (from whence he set out on that expedition) that he was dead; upon which a sudden cry run throughout the camp, as the report spread from one to another: and when they came a
little to themselves, and begun to set bounds to their grief, they were strangely perplexed, and in great doubt who should be chosen to head the army (for many seemed to have equal pretence to that dignity, by their merit, not only in Alexander's opinion, but also in that of the Macedonians) and how they should be led safe into their own country, being surrounded with so many fierce and warlike nations; some whereof, whom they had not yet visited, would, in all probability, fight stoutly for their liberty; and others whom they had would revolt, when they were freed from the fear of Alexander. Besides, when they begun to consider how many vast rivers were between them and their country, which they were no ways able to pass over, they were almost driven to despair; and indeed every thing seemed terrible to them, when they wanted their King: and even when the former accounts were contradicted, and news came of his still being alive, the messenger could hardly find credit, for they had before heard that there were but small hopes of his life: nay, when letters arrived, signifying that he would return to the camp in a short while, the news seemed incredible to many, by reason of the excessive fear which possessed them; for they supposed that the letters had been no more then a contrivance of his body guards, and the generals of his army.

CHAP. XIII.

WHEN Alexander came to the knowledge of this, he began to fear than an insurrection might happen, for which reason, as soon as his health would admit, he ordered himself to be conveyed to the banks of the river Hydraotes, and from thence, down the stream, to the camp, which was near the confluence of the Hydraotes and Aescines, where Hephaestion had the command of the army, and Nearchus of the navy. When the ship, which had the King on board, approached in view of the camp, he ordered the cover of his royal pavilion to be hoisted upon the poop thereof, to be seen by the whole army. But neither yet did many believe him to be alive, but that the ship was bringing his dead body, till at last he drew near the shore, and stretched out his right hand to the multitude. Then a loud shout was raised for joy; some holding up their hands to heaven; others to their King; and many, who despaired of his life, melting into tears, by such a sudden and unexpected joy. And when the targeteers, upon his coming on shore, brought the bed or litter, whereon he had been carried before, he refused it, and ordered his horse to be made ready, which, having mounted, he again received the joyful acclamations of the whole army; the banks and neighbouring woods echoing with the sound. When he approached his tent, he leaped from his horse, and shewed himself also to his army on foot, to give them the greater certainty of his health. Then arose a general emulation among them, and they strove which should approach.
nearest to him, and some were ambitious to touch his hands; others his knees; others aspired no higher than his garments; and some were even satisfied with a sight of him, and with wishing him health and happiness; some brought garlands, and others flowers, such as the country produced; to strew in his way; and when some of his friends reproved him for exposing himself to such dangers for the army, and told him it was not the business of a general, but of a common soldier, Neæchus tells us he took their reproaches ill; and the reason why he was offended at the liberty they used, seems to be, because their reproaches were just, and he was conscious he deserved them. However, his fortitude in battle, and his thirst after glory, hurried him so far, that he could not contain himself, nor keep out of the midst of danger. The same author also assures us, that an ancient Boeotian, whose name he conceals, understanding how much Alexander was offended at his friends’ reproaches, and how he bore a show of anger in his looks, approached his presence, and spoke to him to this effect, in the Boeotian dialect:—“O Alexander, to attempt great actions is the part of an hero;” and at the same time repeated an Iambick verse, the purport whereof is, “He who acts bravely ought also to suffer bravely.” This saying of the old man pleased the King so well, that he, ever after, held him in high esteem.

CHAP. XIV.

ABOUT this time arrived ambassadors from the Malli, which still remained unsubdued, who made him a surrender of the government of their whole nation; then also arrived the prefects of cities, and presidents of the provinces of the Oxydracæ, and with them one hundred and fifty of their chief men, with choice presents, and a free tender of themselves and country into his hands. They, moreover, begged his pardon for coming no sooner, to profess their obedience to him, which, however, they thought themselves not unworthy of, because, like other free nations of India, they had a strong desire of living according to their own laws, which liberty they had enjoyed free and unmolested, from the time that Bacchus conquered India to that day. But if it seemed good to Alexander (for as much as he was said to be the offspring of a god), they were willing to receive a governor from him, to pay the tribute he should impose upon them, as also to give what hostages he should require. Alexander thereupon required them to send a thousand of the chief men of their nation, whom he would either detain, or use as soldiers, till he had conquered the rest of India. Those thousand, chosen out of the best and choicest of their nation, were accordingly sent, and with them five hundred chariots of war, with their charioteers, over and above his demands. Over these people, and those of the Malli, from whom the ambassadors came, Philip was constituted governor; and the King was so pleased with the generosity of the Oxydracæ, that he freely sent back their hostages, and only re-
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... served the chariots. Those affairs thus terminated, and more ships being built and manned, while his wound was healing, he went on board his fleet, with seventeen hundred of the auxiliary horse, and as many light horse as before, besides ten thousand foot, and had not sailed far before he arrived at the confluence of the Hydaspes and Assines; for the Hydaspes flowing into the Assines there, loses its name. Then sailing down the Assines, he came to the place where it falls into the river Indus; for these four large and navigable rivers at last discharge their waters into that, though they do not preserve their several and distinct names till that time, for the Hydaspes, falling into the Assines, loses its name there: the Assines take in the Hydaspes, as also the Hyphasis, and still retains its name, till it falls at last into the Indus; and when the Indus divides itself into two streams, and composes the figure of the Greek letter Δ (Delta) I believe it is not less than an hundred furlongs wide, nay, much more where it forms a lake, the current there being hardly discernible.

CHAP. XV.

At the confluence of the two great rivers, Assines and Indus, Alexander tarried with his fleet, till Perdiccas arrived with the army under his command, having subdued the Abastani, one of the free nations of Judia, in his journey. About this time came divers triremes, and vessels of burthen, which had been built among the Xathiri, a free people of India, who voluntarily surrendered their country. Ambassadors also arrived there from the Osadici, promising obedience, and tender of their liberty. The King then employed himself in settling the limits of Philip's government that way, and bounded it with the meeting of the Assines and Indus, leaving him all the Thracian horse, and as many of other troops as were necessary for the security of his province. He then ordered a city to be built at the confluence of these two rivers, imagining, that by the advantage of such a situation, it would become rich and populous, and there he caused some ships to be built. About this time Oxyartes, the Bactrian, father to Roxane, Alexander's wife, came to him; he received him kindly, and bestowed on him the government of the country of the Parapamisana, Tirystes, their former governor, being displaced for male administration. Then Craterus, with the greatest part of the army, and the elephants, were ferried over the river Indus, and set ashore upon the left bank, because the road on that side seemed much more firm and commodious for the heavy armed soldiers; and, besides, the neighbouring countries were not wholly reduced. He then sailed down the stream to the realm of the Sogdi, where he built another city, and some more shipping, and caused his old ships to be repaired. Then the government of the whole country, from the confluence of the Assines and the Indus to the sea, as also all the sea coast,
he bestowed upon Oxyartes and Python; and having again dispatched Craterus with his forces, through the confines of the Aracoti, and Drangii, he sailed down the river, till he arrived at the kingdom of Musicanus (which, according to the information he had received, was the richest and most populous throughout all India), and was highly offended, because Musicanus neither came forth to meet him, and offer him submission, nor sought his friendship by ambassadors, nor sent him presents according to his expectations, nor so much as condescended to make one single request to him; and so swiftly did he pass down the river, that he entered his territories before he received any notice of his coming. Musicanus, surprised at his sudden visit, immediately went forth to meet him, with all his elephants in his train, and having offered him presents of the highest value, delivered himself and realms into his hands, and acknowledged his crime, which kind of behaviour always weighed much with Alexander, towards the obtaining whatever was requested. Having therefore pardoned his crime, and admired at the wealth and beauty of his kingdom, and capital city, he delivered the government of both again into his hands. But, lest he should attempt any innovation, when he was at a distance, he ordered Craterus to build a castle in the city, and himself tarried there to see it finished; this done, he left a strong garrison therein, because this fort seemed extremely commodious for bridling the neighbouring nations, and keeping them in subjection.

CHAP. XVI.

THEN, with his archers and Agrians, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, he marched against a neighbouring prince named Oxycanus, and invaded his dominions, because he neither came forth to meet him, nor sent ambassadors, with the surrender of himself and country: he took two of his chief cities at the first assault, in one of which the King himself was taken prisoner. Alexander gave the spoils of them to his soldiers, and carried away his elephants; whereupon all the other cities belonging to Oxycanus immediately submitted without blows; so much did the courage and fortune of Alexander prevail against the Indians in those parts. After this, he led his forces against Sambus, whom he had before declared Governor of the Indian mountaineers, but who had fled, when he heard that Musicanus was dismissed in a friendly manner, and had his dominions restored, for he was at enmity with Musicanus. When Alexander approached the capital city of his province, called Sindomana, the gates being set open, the friends and domestics of Sambus came forth to meet him, with presents of money and elephants, assuring him that Sambus did not retire out of his territories, by reason of any sinister designs against him, but for fear of Musicanus, after his enlargement. Having then received the homage of these, he attacked and won a city, which had revolted from him, and
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put to death as many of the Brachmans as fell into his hands, having charged them with being the authors of this rebellion. They bear a great sway among the Indians, for their reputed wisdom, whereas we shall give our sentiments in a separate treatise, relating to the affairs of India.

CHAP. XVII.

WHILE these things were in agitation, news arrived of the revolt of Musicanus; wherefore Python, the son of Agenor, being dispatched with a sufficient force against him, he attacked the cities belonging to him, and demolished some of them, and erected castles and planted garrisons in others, and, having executed his orders, returned to the camp and fleet, carrying Musicanus along with him, in chains. Alexander ordered him to be crucified in his own territories, and with him as many of the Brachmans as had instigated him to a revolt. At this time came the Prince of the Pattalans to meet him, and gave up himself and kingdom into his hands. (This realm the river Indus incloses in the form of the Greek letter Δ (Delta), and it is much larger than the Egyptian province of the same name.) Alexander restored him to his government, commanding him only to provide all necessaries for his army when they arrived there. He then dispatched Craterus, with Attalus’s Meleager’s, and Antigene’s troops, and some of the archers, with such of the auxiliaries, and other Macedonian soldiers, as were unfit for service, with orders that they should pass through the countries of the Archoti and Drangi, into Curnania, and thence into Macedonia, and to him he gave the charge of the elephants. The rest of the army, except those forces which he had on board his fleet, was commanded by Hephaestion: but Python, who led the equestrian archers and Agrians, on the other side of the river, opposite to Hephaestion, was ordered to draw colonies into the cities newly built; and, if the neighbouring Indians attempted any innovation, to reduce them to obedience, and then to meet him and his forces at Pattula. But when he had sailed three days down the river, he received intelligence that the prince of the Pattalans, having gathered together a vast number of his subjects, had abandoned his country, and fled into the deserts, upon which Alexander made the more haste thither; and when he arrived there he found the cities destitute of inhabitants, and even the fields of husbandmen; wherefore, sending some of the lightest-armed troops of his army in pursuit, when they had taken some of them, he dispatched those forwards to the rest, to invite them to return, declaring that they should enjoy the same freedom, both to inhabit their cities, and to till their lands, as heretofore, upon which invitation many of them returned.
CHAP. XVIII.

HE then dispatched Hephaestion to build a fort in the city, and sent several men into the neighbouring country, which was destitute of water, to dig wells, and render it inhabitable; but some of the barbarians assailing them on a sudden, slew a few of them, but were at last put to flight, and having lost many of their numbers, betook themselves to the desert. Alexander having notice of this insult of the barbarians, sent other forces to join with the former, and carry on the work with safety. Near Pattala the river Indus divides itself into two vast branches, both whereof carry the same name to the sea. Here he ordered a haven and convenient docks for ships to be built; and, when all things succeeded to his wish, he resolved to sail down to the ocean by that branch of the river on the right hand; wherefore, sending Leonatus with a thousand horse, and about eight thousand heavy and light-armed foot, through the island Pattala, that they might meet the fleet on the other side, he, with some of his choicest and best sailing ships, namely the biremes and triremes, and some long galleys, began his course down the right branch of the river; but as he had no pilot who was acquainted with the channel (for the Indians thereabout had fled from their habitations), they were reduced to great straits: for the wind blowing vehemently from the ocean the next day, the river swelled, the waves raged, and his ships beat against each other, insomuch that some of them were shattered, and some of his triremes almost wholly dashed in pieces, so that they were, with much difficulty, drawn to the bank, and the men saved, who otherwise had been swallowed up by the waves. Other ships being then built, and some of the nimblest of the light-armed soldiers sent up into the country, at a distance from the river, they took some Indians, whom they used as pilots all along that river; but when they arrived at the place where it is full two hundred furlongs wide, namely, at its mouth, the wind blowing hard from the sea, and the waves rising so high as to hinder them from managing their oars, they again put into a certain bay, which their pilots showed them, for shelter.

CHAP. XIX.

WHILE they continued in that station, an accident happened which astonished them, namely, the ebbing and flowing of the waters, like as in the great ocean, insomuch, that the ships were left upon dry ground, which Alexander and his friends having never perceived before, were so much the more surprised at. But what increased their astonishment was, that the tide returning, a short while after, begun to have the ships up; so that those which stuck in the mud were gently raised, and set on float again, without receiving any damage; but those which lay upon the sand were some of them swept away by the fury of the tide, and dashed
to pieces, and others driven against the bank and destroyed. These losses being, however, repaired, according as the time would allow, Alexander sent two long galleys before the fleet, towards the ocean, to view a certain island, which they called Cillutas, where, his pilots told him, he might go on shore before he entered the main ocean: and when they had assured him that it was a large island, and had commodious harbours, besides plenty of fresh water, he commanded the rest of the fleet to put in there; but he himself, with some choice ships, proceeded further, to try if their passage, out of the mouth of that river into the ocean, was likely to be safe; and having passed about two hundred furlongs from the first island, he came within view of another in the ocean: then returning to the first island in the river, and drawing up his fleet under a promontory, he sacrificed to the gods, as he had received orders from Hammon, and arriving at the other island, in the ocean, the next day, he prepared other victims, and sacrificed to other gods, in a different manner, according to the directions which he said he had received from the oracle of Hammon. Then, having passed the mouths of the river Indus, he launched forth into the vast ocean, to discover (as he pretended) if any land lay beyond that island: but, in my opinion, it was only that he might boast of his sailing in the ocean beyond the Indies. Having there sacrificed some bulls to Neptune, he threw them into the sea, and having poured forth a libation, and offered sacrifices, after giving thanks to the god, he threw the golden goblet, and other vessels, overboard, praying that the fleet, which he now resolved to send under the command of Nearcous, into the Persian Gulph, and thence up the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris, might go safe.

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**CHAP. XX.**

Then returning back to Pattala, he found the castle built, and Python, with his forces there, having executed his orders. Wherefore, giving the charge of building a haven and docks for shipping to Hephastion (for he designed to leave part of his fleet at the city of Pattala, where the Indus divides itself into two streams), he, with the rest, purposed to sail down to the ocean by the other branch of the river, to try whether the passage out to sea was safer or more easy that way. These two mouths of the river Indus are about eighteen hundred furlongs distant from each other, and so much is the extent of the island Pattala along the sea-coast. When he had sailed far down the left branch, and was now near the mouth thereof, he came to a certain lake, formed either by the river spreading wide over a flat country, or by additional streams flowing in from the adjacent parts, and making it appear like a bay in this seas. Abundance of sea-fish are found there, of a much larger size than our seas produce: wherefore steering to a certain creek, which his pilots directed him to, he left Leonnatus there, with many of the soldiers, and all the long galleys, but himself, with some biremes and tri-
mes, passed out at the mouth of the river, and sailed into the ocean also that way, and found that passage much safer and easier than the other. Then going on shore with a party of horse, he travelled three days along the sea-coast to view it, and try if he could find any bays or creeks to secure his fleet from storms. He also ordered many wells to be dug, to supply his navy with water, and, returning to Pattala, dispatched a part of his army to help those who were employed in digging the wells along the coast; and ordered them, when they had finished their work, to return thither. He afterwards took another voyage to the lake, where he commanded another haven to be made, with other places for the safety of ships, and, leaving a garrison there, ordered that four months provision should be got ready, and all other necessaries for the army on board.

CHAP. XXI.

THE season of the year was then unfit for undertaking a voyage, for the Etesian winds reigned, which blow not there, as with us, from the north, but from the south, and come off the vast ocean. Besides, he was informed by those who knew the country, that those seas were safest for navigation from the beginning of winter, which is from the setting of the Pleiades to the winter solstice. For, at that time, while the country is refreshed with great rains, gentle breezes of wind arise, extremely commodious for those who try the sea there, as well with oars as sails. Nearchus, the admiral of this fleet, lay waiting for this opportunity to set sail. But Alexander, departing from Pattala, marched with a sufficient force to the river Arabius. Then, with the half of his targeteers and archers, and some of his troops of auxiliary horse and foot, besides one troop out of every regiment of horse, and all his equestrian archers, he turned towards the ocean, on his left hand, not only that he might cause more wells to be dug for the use of his fleet, which was to sail that way, but that he might make a sudden attempt upon the Oritæ (a nation of India, who had long enjoyed their freedom), because they had made no offers of friendship, either to himself or his army. The rest of the forces he committed to Hephaestion. The Oritæ, who were a free nation, dwelling near the river Arabius, being neither strong enough to encounter him, nor willing to yield themselves subjects to him, no sooner perceived his approach, than they retired to the deserts. Alexander having crossed the river, which was neither wide nor deep, marched through the greatest part of the desert that night, and came into a well-inhabited country betimes next morning. Then ordering his foot forces to follow him at leisure, he passed forward with his horse, which he divided into parties, that they might take up the more space, and thus invaded the territories of the Oritæ. Many of those who took up arms to oppose him were slain, and many were taken prisoners. Then coming to a small river, he there pitched his tents, but when Hephaestion
ARRIVED with the rest of his forces, he penetrated further into the country; and coming to a certain village, which served them instead of a capital city, and was named Rambacie, he was pleased with its situation; and imagining that it would rise to a rich and populous city, if a colony were drawn thither, he committed the case thereof to Hephæstion.

CHAP. XXII.

THEN, with half of his targeteers; and Agrians, equestrian archers, and other troops of horse, he marched to the frontiers of the Gadrosi and Oritoæ, where he was informed there was a narrow pass, which the Gadrosi and Oritoæ had jointly seized, with a design of stopping his progress; and there they were posted advantageously enough; but as soon as they heard that he approached towards them, they abandoned their post, and fled. However, the chiefs of the Oritoæ came to him there, and surrendered themselves and country into his hands. He thereupon commanded them to assemble the people together, and order them to disperse and return home, which if they obeyed, no harm should befall them. And having deputed Apollopheanes, their governor, he commanded Leonatus, one of his body-guards, with his Agrians and archers, and part of the horse and foot forces, to tarry there till the fleet should sail round these coasts, and take care to see the city well peopled, and the governor’s orders obeyed. In the mean while, he, with the rest of the army (for Hephæstian was returned with his forces) marched into the territories of the Gadrosi, the greatest part of his way lying through the desert. In this country, Aristobulus tells us, great numbers of myrrh trees grow, much taller than any that are to be found elsewhere; and that the Phœnicians, who followed Alexander’s army for the sake of merchandise, gathered the gum of that tree (for there was a vast quantity there, the branches being large, and never any gathered from them before) in such prodigious plenty, as therewith to load many beasts of burden. The country also produces roots of spikenard, whereof the Phœnicians gathered good store, and much of it was trampled under foot by the army, so that a prodigious perfume was thereby diffused all round them, the air being filled therewith. Many other sorts of trees are also seen there; the leaves of one kind whereof, he tell us, somewhat resemble those of laurel; these trees grow chiefly in places where the tide flows among them, and where they are again left dry at low water; nevertheless, those which grow in low grounds, whence the sea does not leave them at the lowest ebb, stand uncorrupted by the salt water: they rise to thirty cubits in height, and happened to be then in blossom. Their flower is white, and in shape like a violet, but much excelling it in sweetness. There grows also a thorn there, as the same author assures us, which produces shoots, or stems, with prickles so strong and so thick set, that if a horseman
should happen to be entangled therewith, he would sooner be pulled off from his horse than freed from the stem: these thorns are said to catch fast hold of the down of hares as they endeavour to pass through, insomuch, that they are taken as birds are with bird-lime, or fish with hooks. However, these thorns are easily cut down, and being afterwards sawed in pieces, much juice issues from them, which is far richer than that of the fig-tree, in the spring time, though much more acid.

CHAP. XXIII.

THENENCE Alexander travelled through the country of the Gadrosi, by a road very dangerous, and destitute of all the necessaries of life: but above all, his forces were ready to die with thirst, on which account they were obliged to march most by night, and they were at a great distance from the sea. However, he determined to draw them down towards the sea coast, to try if he could find any haven or creek, and also to provide some necessaries for his fleet; for which reason, he ordered pits or wells to be dug, markets to be appointed, and creeks sought for; but the whole coast of the Gadrosi was entirely waste and uncultivated; nevertheless, he dispatched Thoas, the son of Mandrodrus, with a small party of horse towards the sea, to try if he could possibly find any creek or fresh water, or any thing necessary for the fleet. But when he returned he brought word, that he found some fishermen upon the coast, who lived in small huts, whose walls were composed of sea-shells piled upon each other, and the roofs of fish-bones, the back-bones serving instead of rafters; he also added, that they had but little water, and what they had was dug out of the sand, and very brackish: and when, after a long journey, he came into a part of the same country, somewhat better inhabited and more fruitful, he gathered up as much corn as he could, and having sealed it with his signet, ordered some horse-loads thereof to be carried to the sea-coast, for the use of the fleet; but whilst he retired into a little cottage on the shore, the soldiers (regardless of the strict charge he had laid upon them, and afterwards, those appointed to guard it) breaking the seals, made use of it; dividing it among those of their own company who were most pinched with hunger, which at that time was so grievous among them, that rather than they should suffer certain death, they chose the more remote and uncertain one of dying for disobeying the King’s orders. However, Alexander hearing the story, and understanding the necessity which obliged them to act in that manner, freely pardoned them. Then passing through all the country, and gathering as much as could be procured, he ordered Cretheus, the son of Callianatus, to convey it to the sea-coast for the use of the army on board, He moreover commanded the natives to bring him as much corn as they could, ready ground; as also a quantity of dates and cattle from
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the higher parts of the country, and assured them that he would satisfy them for their trouble. He likewise sent Telephus, one of his friends, to procure necessaries elsewhere, though he could afford him but a scanty allowance of ground corn for his journey.

CHAP. XXIV.

HE himself then marched forward to Pura, the capital city of the Gadrosi, where he arrived the sixtieth day after his departure from the country of the Oritte. Many of the writers of Alexander's life tell us, that all the hardships which his army endured in his expedition through Asia were not to be compared with those they underwent in that march; and Nearchus assures us, that though he could not possibly be ignorant of the difficulties they must struggle with, in such a country, yet, nevertheless, he was resolved to go forward. He tells us, the inhabitants informed him that no general was ever able to conduct an army safe through these deserts; that Semiramis entering them, with great numbers of men, in her flight from India, carried no more than twenty through, out of her whole army; and that Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, who also attempted to invade India, but miscarried, lost the greatest part of his forces in those dangerous wastes, himself and seven of his followers only escaping; that these stories being told to Alexander, were so far from damping his resolutions, that he was thereupon the rather excited to attempt to conduct his army through these parts, where both Cyrus and Semiramis had failed of success, to shew that no country was unpassable by such soldiers, led on by such a general. For these reasons, as also that he might be near the sea-coast, to provide necessaries for his fleet, he chose to return that way. However, the heats were so vehement, and their want of water so much, that many of his men, and most of their beasts of burthen, died; some by being smothered in the deep scorching sands, but the greatest part of thirst; for they found many little tumili, or hillocks of sand, which they were obliged to ascend, and where no firm footing could be had, but they sunk deep into it, as they would into clay, or new-fallen snow, and their horses and mules were no less harassed, and wearied out, by the excessive heats and intolerable fatigues of such a march, than the men. The great distance of their resting-places was one occasion of the army's hardship, for their want of water caused them oftentimes to continue their march much further than otherwise they would. If, after they had travelled all night, they happened to find some water in the morning, their miseries were a little abated; but if they found none, and proceeded thus the next day, then the length of the march, with the excessive heats, and raging thirst they endured, dispatched many of them.
CHAP. XXV.

THE soldiers then began to slay many beasts of burthen for their own use; for when provisions failed, they consulted together, and killed both horses and mules, and eat their flesh, and afterwards excused themselves, by pretending that they died of heat or thirst, and there was none who took the pains to enquire thoroughly into the affair: even Alexander himself, it is said, was not ignorant of it; but as their necessities pleaded in their behalf, he deemed it prudent rather to conceal his knowledge thereof, than to seem to authorize it, by suffering the guilty persons to escape punishment. And now to such straits were they reduced, that neither the sick, nor those who were weary with travel, could be drawn any further, partly for want of beasts, and partly for want of carriages, which the soldiers themselves, because they could not easily drag them through the sands, broke in pieces. Many also broke their waggons before they begun this march, through fear that they should be forced to leave the shorter and nearer path, and take that which was further about, only because it was more convenient for carriages. On this account many were left behind, some by reason of sickness, some of heat and weariness, and others of thirst; and none took care either to restore them to health again, or to help them forwards; for the army moved apace, and the whole was so much in danger, that they were obliged to neglect the care of particular persons. If any chanced to fall asleep, by reason of the vast fatigues of a hard night’s march, when they awaked, if they had strength, they followed the army by the track of their footsteps, though few of them ever came up with it, the far greatest part sinking into the sands, like sailors into the ocean, and so perishing. Another accident also happened, which equally affected man and beast; for the Gadorian country, like the Indies, is subject to rains, while the Etesian winds blow; but these rains fall not in the plains, but among the mountains, where the clouds, not reaching their tops, are, as it were, pent up by the winds, and dissolved into showers. When the army, therefore, encamped near a small brook, for the sake of the water, the same, about the second watch of the night (being swelled with sudden rains, which none of them perceived) poured down such a dreadful inundation, that many women and children, who followed the camp, with the royal furniture, and the baggage mules which were left alive, were swept away. Nay, so furious was the deluge, that the soldiers were hardly able to save themselves, many of them losing their arms, and some few their lives: many also, who had long endured the utmost extremities of heat and thirst, finding plenty of water at their first coming here, drank to excess, and died. And hence it was that Alexander would never, after that time, suffer them to encamp near a torrent, but at the distance of twenty furlongs, at least, to hinder his men from rushing too violently forwards, and drinking too
large draughts, to their own destruction. He also took care that those who came first should not run into the water with their feet, and thereby render it unwholesome to the rest of the army.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILE the army laboured under the most dreadful inconveniences of heat and thirst in this desert, Alexander performed one gallant act, which I can by no means pass over in silence, though some authors affirm it was not done here, but in the deserts of Paropamisus. As the forces continued their march through these sands, which reflected the burning rays of the sun upon them, it was necessary that they should send out parties daily to seek for water; the King, though ready to faint away with thirst, marched on foot, at the head of his troops, that his officers and soldiers (as is usual in such cases) might the more patiently endure those hardships which their General shared in common with them. In the mean while some light-armed soldiers, who were dispatched to search for water, found a small quantity, not far from the army, in the channel of a brook, almost dried up, but it was very muddy. However, they drew it up, and bringing it in a shield, presented it to the King, as a choice gift. He received it, and returning due thanks to those who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground, in presence of the army. This action of his encouraged the soldiers, as much as if every man had drank a share of that water which he refused to taste; and his extraordinary self-denial is no less praise-worthy than the noble example he shewed of a wise and consummate General. Another accident happened here, which, if it had not been speedily remedied, might have occasioned the loss of the whole army; for the sands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the surface reduced to a level, their guides themselves were at a loss how to conduct the army any further, for no sign of any track appeared to point out the path, nor was there so much as a tree, nor a shrub, nor any certain hillock, to be seen to direct them; besides, they were unacquainted with the manner of observing the motions of the sun by day, and the stars by night, to regulate their march, as mariners at sea do their course by the two Bears; the Phenicians by the Lesser, but most other nations by the Greater. In this difficulty, Alexander was forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himself, with a few choice horse, went before to point out the road, but their horses, quite spent with heat, were most of them left behind, inasmuch that only he, with five of his followers; passed through the sands to the sea-shore safe on horseback. However, on their arrival there, they dug near the coast, and found plenty of water, sweet and clear; whereupon he ordered the army thither, and, after that, travelled seven days along the sea-coast, and always
found plenty of water. Then his guides assuring him they knew the way again, they left the sea, and led the army into the inland parts again.

CHAP. XXVII.

As soon as Alexander arrived at the capital city of the Gadrosi, he allowed his soldiers some rest. He then deposed Apollonius, because he had taken no care to observe what was ordered him, and Thoas was deputed to govern in his stead; but he dying soon after, Sibyrius was appointed to succeed him. He was first made Governor of Carmania, but that being given to Tiepolenus, the son of Pythophanes, he was promoted to the government of the Arachotti and Gadrosi. And now the King was upon his march for Carmania, when he received news that Philip (whom he had constituted his Lieutenant in India) was basely murdered by the mercenary soldiers, but that the murderers were most of them seized, and put to death by the Macedonians, who were Philip's guards, partly in the fact, and partly afterwards. He then dispatched orders to Eudemus and Tachis, by letters, that they should take care of the administration of affairs in that province for a while, till he could send a deputy thither. When he entered Carmania, Craterus came to him, with the rest of his forces, and the elephants, and brought Ordones with him, whom he seized, because he had attempted to revolt. At the same time arrived Stasenor, governor of the Arii and Drangae, and Pharsimenes, the son of Phrataphernes, Governor of Parthia and Hyrcania. Cleander also, with Sitalces and Heracon, captains of the forces which were left with Parmenio in Media, waited upon him there, with a great part of the army under their command. Cleander and Sitalces were accused by the Medians, as well as by the army, of spoiling their temples, removing their ancient ornaments, and committing many other acts of avarice, lust, and cruelty, among them, and the crimes laid to their charge being fully proved against them, they were ordered to be put to death, that other Governors, or Presidents, or Lieutenants, who should succeed them, might be deterred from treading in their footsteps, for fear of meeting with their punishment; and such exemplary pieces of justice was one great means of continuing the nations under Alexander's command firm in their allegiance, whether they were subdued by force of arms, or yielded voluntarily, notwithstanding they were so many, and lay so remote from another, for he would never suffer any governor of a province to injure the people committed to his care. Heracon, at that time, baffled his accusers; but being soon after seized by the Susians, and accused of demolishing a temple of theirs, he also suffered death. Stasenor and Phrataphernes brought vast numbers of camels and beasts of burthen to the King; for when they heard that he had led his army through the country of the Gadrosi, they easily imagined he would meet
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with all the inconveniences and hardships imaginable, for which reason they brought him that supply; and, indeed, both they and the beasts arrived very seasonably. He then divided the beasts and camelis partly among the governors, and partly among the troops, centuries, and cohorts, as their number would allow, or the other occasions required.

CHAP. XXVIII.

SOME authors tell us (but with no great probability of truth) that Alexander, lying extended with his friends, upon two chariots chained together, and having their ears entertained with the most delicious music, led his army through Carmania, the soldiers following him with dances and garlands, and that the Carmanians prepared all things for so pompous a procession through their territories. They also add, that this was done in emulation of the ancient Bacchanals of Dionysius; for the story goes, that Bacchus having conquered Asia, passed through the greatest part of Asia in this manner, and, on that account, obtained the name of Triumphus; and that warlike pomp or processions have, ever since that time, been called triumphs. But as neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus, nor any grave and judicious author has mentioned this, let it suffice that it is not here told as any ways credible; for Aristobulus gives us a quite different account of the matter, namely, that Alexander, having got safe into Carmania, gave thanks, and offered sacrifices to the gods for his victories in India, and the preservation of his army in the country of the Gadrosi, and tells us, that he also exhibited gymnic and musical sports, as usual. He then appointed Peucetias to be one of his body-guards, for he designed to bestow the government of Persia upon him, and honoured him with this, in the mean time, as a testimony of his favour, for his eminent service among the Malli. The number of his body-guards were then seven: Leonatus, the son of Antaeus; Hephhestion, the son of Amyntor; Lysimachus, the son of Agathocles; Aristonous, the son of Pisaeus; these were Pelleans: Pergicus, the son of Onontes the Orestian; and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Python, the son of Crates, Eorceans; but an eighth was then added, namely, Peucetias, who saved Alexander's life, by defending him with his shield. About this time Nearchus, Commander in-Chief, or Admiral of the royal navy, having sailed along the coast of the Orizce, Gadrosi, and Ichthyophagi, arrived at the habitable part of the Carmanian shore, and coming to the King, related whatever had happened to him, and what he saw worthy of observation in that voyage through the foreign ocean. Hereupon he was immediately sent back to the fleet, with orders to sail to the Susian shores, and the mouth of the Tigris. But how he performed this voyage from the river Indus to the Persian Gulf, and the mouth of the Tigris, I shall relate in a
separate tract, from Nearchus himself, whose Greek journal thereof is still extant, and shall annex it to this history, if life allows me time and opportunity to finish it. Alexander then dispatched away Hephaestion, with the greatest part of his army, and the elephants and beasts of burden, along the sea-coast, from Carmania into Persia, because, as he was to make that journey in the winter season, the sea-coast of that country was not only the mildest, but the fleet abounded in all things necessary for the army on board.

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CHAP. XXIX.

HE then, with his best and most expeditious light-armed foot, his auxiliary horse, and some part of his archers, marched towards Pasargade, a city in Persia, having before sent Stasanor back to his own province. When he arrived on the confines of Persia, he found not Phraeocrates, his Lieutenant, executing his office (for he died while Alexander was employed in his Indian wars), but Orinaxes acted in his stead; not by any especial order, but because he deemed it not unworthy of Alexander that a Persian should undertake the administration, since none besides were at that time capable of managing it. Atropates, Governor of Media, came to meet the King there, and brought with him Baryxaxes the Mede (who had put the royal tiara upon his head, and presumed to style himself King of Media and Persia) and with him all his adherents, who had endeavoured to revolt, whom Alexander caused to be put to death. He was strangely disturbed in mind, when he came to understand what havoc had been made of the tomb of Cyrus, which Aristobulus tells us he found rifled and broke in pieces. This tomb was placed in the royal gardens at Pasargade, and round it was planted a grove of all kind of trees: the place also was well watered, and the surface of the earth all round clothed with a beautiful verdure. The basis thereof consisted of one large stone of a quadrangular form. Above was a small edifice, with an arched roof of stone, and a door or entrance so very narrow, that the slenderest man could scarce pass through. Within this edifice was the golden coffin, wherein the body of Cyrus was preserved, as also the bed, whose supporters were of massive gold, curiously wrought; the covering thereof was of Babylonian tapestry, the carpets underneath of the finest wrought purple: the cloak and other royal robes were of Babylonian, but his drawers of Median workmanship. Their colour was chiefly purple, but some of them were of various dyes. The chain round his neck, his bracelets, his ear-rings, and his sword, were all of gold, adorned with precious stones. A costly table was also placed there, and a bed, whereon lay the coffin which contained the King's body. There was also within the enclosure, near the ascent to the tomb, a small house built for the Magi, who had the keeping of the tomb: that charge was confirmed on them by Cambyses, the son of
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Cyrus, and descended from the fathers to their children. They had a sheep allowed every day for their maintenance, with a certain quantity of wine and flour; and a horse was sent them once every month to sacrifice to Cyrus. The inscription, which was wrote in the Persian language, was to this purpose: "O mortal, I am Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, founder of the Persian monarchy, and sovereign of Asia, grudge me not therefore this monument."

CHAP. XXX.

ALEXANDER had had a vast ambition of seeing this monument, from the moment he became lord of the Persian monarchy, but at his coming there he found all gone, except the bed and coffin; nay, they had not even spared the royal body, for the cover of the coffin was torn off and taken away, and the body cast forth: they had attempted also to carry off the coffin, and had accordingly battered and bruised it much, by endeavouring to break it in pieces, for the more easy conveyance; but not being able to compass their designs, they were forced to leave it. Aristobulus assures us, that he was appointed by Alexander to see this monument restored, that the parts of the royal body which still remained should be again laid in the coffin, and a new cover be made, that whatever was broke should be made whole. That the bed should be adorned with crowns, and other ornaments, like those which had been taken away, the same both as to number, form, and value; and that the entrance into the little edifice should be walled up with stone, and the royal signet applied thereto. After this, Alexander seized the magi, and examined them strictly concerning the authors of this villany, but they would neither confess any thing of themselves, nor others; and there being no proof against them, they were acquitted. He then returned to the royal palace of the Persian monarchs, which he had before laid in ashes, which act of his I can neither commend, nor did he himself approve it, at his return. Then many crimes were brought against Orsines, who had assumed the administration of affairs in Persia, after the decease of Phraorastes the governor; as his spoiling their temples, defacing the royal monuments, and putting many of the Persians unjustly to death, whereupon he was ordered to be crucified. After this Peucetas, one of his body-guards (for his singular merit in many instances, but especially for preserving his life among the Mali, with the hazard of his own) was made governor of Persia. He was a man who conformed himself to the customs of that nation; and, in order to endear himself to them the more, no sooner entered upon his government than he arrayed himself in the Median habit, learned the Persian language, and was the only one among the Macedonians who shewed an exact conformity to them in all respects; and this demeanour of his not
only gained him Alexander’s applause, but the Persians gladly received
him, because he seemed to prefer their habits and manners to those of
his own country.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

WHILE Alexander tarried at Pasargadæ and Peræopolis, he began
to entertain a strange desire of sailing down the Euphrates and Tigris
into the Persian sea, and of observing their mouths, in the same
manner as he had already observed those of the river Indus. Some
authors tell us, he also designed to sail along the Arabian and Ætho-
pian coast, as also to Libya and Numidia, and beyond Mount Atlas,
even to Gades and our sea; and that when he had subdued Africa,
and reduced Carthage, he imagined he might justly be styled King of
the World, when the Persian and Median monarchs, who held but a
small and inconsiderable part, entitled themselves Lords of Asia.
Others say, that his ambition prompted him to sail through the Euxine
Sea, against the Scythians, dwelling near the Palus Maeotis; and others,
than he proposed to coast round Sicily, by the promontory Iapygium;
for then it was that the Roman name began to spread far and wide, and
gave him much umbrage. Thus are authors divided in their opinions
concerning his ambitious designs. As for my part, I can neither tell
for certain what he designed, nor care much to proceed to guess-work;
only this I think I may affirm, that he entertained no mean nor trifling
ideas, and that what part of the earth soever he had proceeded to con-
querr, he would never have been satisfied, even though he had joined
Europe to Asia, and the British islands to Europe, but would always
have been roving after some places more remote from human knowl-
edge; and if he could have found no other foe to have encountered,
his own mind would have kept him in a continual state of warfare.
And on this account, I cannot forbear giving a due praise to some of
the Indian sages, who, as they were walking in the meads, where they
were wont to meditate, being seized and carried before him and his
army, only stamped upon the ground with their feet; and when the
King, by his interpreter, enquired the reason thereof, he received an
answer to this effect:—“ Every man, O Alexander, possesses as much
earth as we now tread upon; and thou art a man no way different from
others, but in making a greater stir, in being more restless, and in
creating more trouble, both to thyself and others, by roving so far
from thy native soil; but in a short time thou shalt die, and then shalt
thou possess no more space than will serve thy body for burial.”
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CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDER praised the reflections of these sages, and owned their observations to be just; yet, nevertheless, he ceased not to act contrary to their advice. He is also said to have admired Diogenes the Cynick, whom he found on the Corinthian isthmus, basking himself in the sun; and when he (with a band of targeteers and auxiliary foot, his attendants) drew near, and asked him if he wanted anything? the Cynick answered, Nothing; but only that he and his train would retire a little out of his sun-shine. By both these instances we may plainly perceive, that Alexander shewed no aversion to the wise admonitions of philosophers, only his insatiable thirst of glory hurried him away after other pursuits. When he arrived at the city Taxila, and saw that sect of Indians who went naked, he was surprized at their extraordinary patience in enduring hardships, and desirous that one of their number would accompany him: but the eldest and most venerable among them, Dandanus by name, whose dictates the rest obeyed, made answer, "That he would neither accompany him himself, nor suffer any of his followers so to do: that he was Jove's son as well as Alexander: that he wanted nothing from him, being content with what he already enjoyed. And also added, that he and his soldiers, who had roved over so many lands and seas, seemed to have no real benefit thereby, nor to fix any bounds to their excessive toils; he said he had nothing to request which was in another's power to bestow, and should be no ways concerned, if what he already had should be taken from him; for the climate of that country would always afford fruits in their seasons sufficient for his sustenance; and whenever he died, he should, without reluctance, part with his body as a disagreeable companion." When Alexander heard this, he would not force him to follow him, but he prevailed upon Calanus, one of their number, whom Megasthenes, for that reason, condemns of inconstancy, and the rest of the sages accused of folly, for leaving the felicity which they thought themselves possessed of, and acknowledging any other god except the Supreme Being.

CHAPTER III.

THESE things I have thought fit to record concerning Calanus, because he deserves a place in this history; for when he afterwards came to be sick in Persia, as he had never been in his own country, he could not endure to confine himself to the rules and diet prescribed to infirm people, but rather chose to address the King, telling him, that he should esteem it a singular happiness to die in the state wherein he was before he came to feel any disorder, which might force him to change his ancient way of living. The King, at first, strenuously
opposed his request, but finding him to be inflexible (and that if one sort of death was denied him he would seek another, ordered a pile to be built, according to his desire, and committed the oversight of the affair to Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. Some add, that all preparations for that solemnity of horses and men, as well armed as unarmed, were made by Alexander himself, and that some were appointed to strew divers sorts of perfumes and aromatics upon the pile; others to bring vessels of gold and silver, and royal apparel; and, because his indisposition was such as hindered him from walking, a horse was ordered him, but finding himself incapable to mount on horseback, he chose to be carried in a litter, crowned and adorned after the Indian manner, while he sung hymns, in his own language, to the gods of his country. The horse which he should have mounted (being of the Nessean breed) he bestowed upon Lysimachus, who had been one of his hearers, and was an admirer of his wisdom; but the cups, and costly furniture of all sorts, which the King had given to adorn the pile, he ordered to be distributed among several then present. Afterwards, ascending the pile, he lay down decently therupon, in sight of the whole army. The King, indeed, deemed it improper for him to be there in person, because he was his friend; but, to all who were there, it was an amazing sight to see the body lie still in the midst of the flames, without the least motion. As soon as they who were deputed for that purpose had lighted the pile, Nearchus tells us the trumpets began to sound (for so the King had ordered), and the whole army gave a shout, as when they join battle with an enemy. The elephants also made a dreadful and warlike noise, to grace the funeral of Calanus. These, and such like things, grave authors have asserted concerning this sage; and this is an example of no mean import to those who study mankind, to shew how firm and unalterable the mind of man is, when custom or education has taken full possession thereof.

CHAP. IV.

ALEXANDER, after this, dispatched Atropates away to his government, and himself marched to Susa, where Abulites and his son Oxathres, being accused of male-administration in the affairs of that province, were seized and put to death. Many horrid crimes were indeed committed by those who were deputed to govern the conquered countries; such as spoiling temples, defacing sepulchres, and putting innocent men to death: for the King’s expedition against India seemed an attempt which would take up much time; and it was not indeed probable that he would ever return safe, where there were so many warlike nations, stored with elephants, to subdue, and so many vast rivers to pass over. The straits to which the army was reduced among the Gadrosi had also reached the ears of the Governor of this province; and these considerations put together made him lay aside all thoughts of ever being called
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... to account for his barbarous rapine and injustice: and, indeed, the King was now much readier to give credit to accusations than formerly, and inflicted the severest punishments upon the slightest offenders, because he imagined that they had greater and more flagrant mischiefs in their heads. After this he proceeded to the celebration of his own and his friend's nuptials, at Susa. He himself took to wife Barsine, the eldest daughter of Darius, and, besides her, another named Parystis, the youngest daughter of Ochus; for he had, before that time, married Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes, the Bactrian. Drypetis, another of Darius's daughters, he bestowed upon Hephaestion; for he was resolved that Hephaestion's children should be joined in affinity with his own. Amastrine, the daughter of Oxyartes, brother to Darius, he gave to Craterus; the daughter of Atropates, Governor of Media, to Perdiccas; the daughters of Artabazus to Ptolemy, one of his body guards, and Eumenes, his secretary; to the first Artacamas, and to the last Artonia. To Nearchus he gave the daughter of Barsine and Mentor; to Seleucus the daughter of Spitaunaeus, the Bactrian; and on the rest of his friends he bestowed the daughters of the most illustrious Medes and Persians in marriage, to the number of eighty. Their nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner, seats being placed for those who were to be married, according to their several ranks, and a royal entertainment prepared. After this the brides were ushered in, and placed by their bridegrooms, who, giving them their right hands, received them with a kiss. The King himself begun the ceremony, and their marriage rites were solemnized together. This act of Alexander was a popular one, and served to endear him to both parties: he bestowed dowries on all of them. The names of the rest of the Macedonians, who had married Asiatic wives, he commanded to be recorded, for their whole number amounted to above ten thousand, on all of whom, nevertheless, he bestowed gifts, according to their several ranks or stations in the army.

CHAP. V.

AND that he might omit nothing which could any ways contribute to render him popular, he took up a resolution to enquire what debts his whole army had contracted, and discharged them all out of his own coffers. But when he issued out an order that every one who owed any thing should give in his name and the sum, few were willing to comply therewith, fearing that he used this as an artifice to find out which of them could not live within the bounds of his own stipend. However, when he came to understand that many neglected to obey his commands, and that every one concealed his reasons for so doing, as well as the debts he had contracted, he only reproved their distrust of his royal bounty, by assuring them, that a King ought always to be sincere to his subjects, and that they should not presume to bring theverity of his intentions in question. Hereupon tables were placed regularly throughout the camp, with
money upon them, and officers deputed to distribute it, he ordering the full debts of all to be paid to their creditors, without so much as recording the debtors' names. They then plainly perceived the sincerity of his intentions towards them, and he laid no less an obligation upon them by not enquiring their names, than by discharging their debts. This extraordinary munificence bestowed on the army is said to have taken twenty thousand talents. He moreover bestowed other gifts upon particular persons, according to their dignity, or the rank they had acquired in the army. To those who had done some gallant action he gave crowns of gold; the first of these was presented to Peucetas, who saved his life among the Malli; the second to Leonnatus, who had his share in that act, and had encountered many dangers among the Indians; had gained him a victory over the Oirat, and, returning with his forces into the camp, quelled an insurrection there, and done many brave actions besides. The third was given to Nearchus, for conveying his fleet safe from the Indian to the Persian coast; for he was then present in Susa. The fourth was bestowed on Onesicritus, governor of the royal galley; and others were then distributed to Hephaestion, and the rest of his bodyguards.

CHAP. VI.

ABOUT this time the governors of the new cities which he had built, and some of the provinces which he had subdued, came to him, and brought with them thirty thousand young men, all of the same age, all using the Macedonian arms, and skilled in their military discipline; and those he nominated his Epigoni, or successors. However, his old Macedonian soldiers were much displeased at the arrival of these, imagining that the King contrived all possible means to rid himself of his countrymen. They were also dissatisfied by seeing him appear in Median robes; and the solemnization of the marriage rites before-mentioned, after the Persian manner, not only disgusted many, but even some of those who had been so married, how much soever they thought themselves honoured before by the King's presence, and marriage among them. They murmured much at Peucetas, Governor of Persia, because in his speech, as well as habit, he wholly persianized; and not a little at Alexander himself, because he seemed pleased with such affectation of the barbarian language and customs. They also took it heavily that Bactrians, Sogdians, Arachoti, Zarangi, Arians, Parthians, and Persians, were everywhere encouraged, and admitted into the auxiliary troops, if they were found to excel others, either in birth, beauty, or valour; and were no less disturbed that a fifth regiment of horse was added, which, though it consisted not wholly of barbarians, yet, upon an augmentation of the whole body of horse, many barbarians were introduced; and that Cophos, the son of Artabazus; Hydarnes and Artiboles, the sons of Mithridates; Pharamenes and Sinines, sons of Phrataphernes, the governor
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of Parthia and Hyrcania; Itanes, the son of Oxyartes, and brother to Roxane, Alexander’s wife; besides Ægobares, and his brother Mithrobas, were advanced into the Macedonian Agema; and that Hydaspes, a Bactrian, was appointed their captain; as also because Macedonian spears were allowed them instead of the darts in use among barbarians. These were all so many occasions of discontent to his old soldiers, who from thence concluded that he was about to degenerate into the customs of the barbarians, and would, on that account, not only slight and despise those of his own country, but his countrymen themselves.

CHAP. VII.

THEN he committed the best part of his foot forces to Hephaestion’s care, to conduct them to the Persian Gulf; while he, going on board his fleet, which lay ready at Susa, with his targeteers, and Agema, and some part of his auxiliary horse, sailed down the river Euæus to the sea. And when he was now not far from the mouth thereof, leaving there those ships which were shattered, and out of order, he, with the best of them, sailed out to the ocean, and then entered the mouth of the river Tigris, the rest of the fleet passing through a canal, drawn from thence to the Tigris; for of the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates, which enclose Assyria, and give it the name of Mesopotamia, the channel of the Tigris lying much lower, receives the water of the latter by many trenches; and several streams also falling into its own bosom, it becomes a great river, before it glides into the Persian Gulf; insomuch, that it is every where impassable by a ford; for it spreads not out in breadth, so as to diminish its depth, the lands on both sides much higher than the water; and it is not dispersed through other channels, nor conveyed into other rivers, but takes them into itself. But the Euphrates glides along a much higher channel, and is, in many places, of equal height with the lands on each side, so that several streams are cut from it; some constant ones which supply the inhabitants with water; others only occasional, when the neighbouring countries happen to be parched up with drought (for rains seldom fall in these parts); whence it happens that the Euphrates, at its entrance into the ocean, is but a small river, and easily fordable. Alexander first sailed down the river Euæus to the sea, and thence along the Persian Gulf, and up the Tigris to his camp, where Hephaestion, with the forces under his command, waited his arrival.—Thence steering his course to Opis, a city on that river, he commanded all the wears, and other impediments which he met with, to be pulled up, and the channel to be cleared. These wears were put down by the Persians, who were unskilled in maritime affairs, to render the navigation of that river so difficult, as to hinder any enemy’s fleet from invading them that way. However, Alexander looked upon them as the contrivance of cowards, and, as they were little hindrance to him, knowing they would be of no use, he ordered them to be entirely cleared away, and the river laid open.
CHAP. VIII.

WHEN he arrived at Opis, he called his forces together, and issued out a declaration, that "all of them, who by age, infirmity, or loss of limbs, found themselves unable to undergo the fatigues of war, should be freely discharged, and at full liberty to return home. But whoever were inclined to stay with him should taste so largely of his royal bounty, as to become the envy of those who tarried at home, and excite other Macedonians freely to share their toils and dangers with them." This declaration was made by Alexander, with a design to please the Macedonians, but it had a contrary effect; for they interpreting it, as if they were despised, or deemed useless in any further warlike enterprise, were vehemently enraged, and took that discourse as levelled against them, which was designed for the army in general. Howbeit, upon this occasion, all their former complaints were renewed, namely, his compliance with the Persians in their habit; his allowing the Macedonian habit to be worn by youths who were barbarians, and stiling them their successors, and his admission of strange horse into the auxiliary forces; wherefore they were no longer able to contain themselves, but all of them intreated to be absolved from their military oath. Nay, some proceeded so far as to insult him, by telling him that he and his father Hammon might, for the future, join their forces, and wage war against their enemies. Alexander no sooner heard these words (for he was now much more subject to wrath than heretofore) but leaping instantly from his seat where his captains surrounded him, he commanded the chief of those, who endeavoured to excite the multitude to sedition, to be seized, and pointed with his hand to his targeteers, to shew them whom they should seize. These were thirteen in number, all of whom he commanded immediately to be put to death; whereas, while the rest stood amazed, and kept silence, he again mounted his tribunal, and spoke to this effect.

CHAP. IX.

"FAR be it from me, O my Macedonians, to endeavour to divert you from your desires of returning home (you having a free liberty to go whenever you think convenient), but I will that you understand before your departure, how much you are changed from what once you were. And first to begin, as I ought, with my father Philip: he received you into his protection a poor, wandering, and unsettled people; many of you clothed with skins, and feeding small flocks of sheep upon the mountains, which yet you could not keep without continual skirmishes with the Illyrians, Triballi, and Thracians, your neighbours, in which you were often unsuccessful. For shepherds coats of skins my father arrayed you in the choicest garments; from the barren mountains he led you down into the fruitful plains, and instructed you in military discipline, so that you had no more occasion to place your safety in rough
and inaccessible mountains, but in your own valour. He gave you cities to dwell in, and excellent laws and statutes to be governed by. He gained you also the sovereignty over those barbarians, who, afore-time, continually harrassed and insulted you, and from a state of slavery made you free. He added a great part of Thrace to Macedonia, and by reducing the towns upon the sea-coast, set open the gate to commerce. He it was that subdued the Thessalians, who were formerly so terrible to you, and made them your servants; and having overcome the Phocæans, opened a wide and convenient entrance for you into Greece, instead of one narrow and difficult. The Athenians and Thebans, who had joined in confederacy against you, he so humbled (myself being present to assist him), that whereas we were, before that time, tributaries to the former, and slaves to the latter, on the contrary, now, both these cities are under our protection. He entered Peloponnesus, and composing matters there, was constituted general of all the Grecian forces in the intended expedition against the Persians, and thereby acquired not only glory to himself, but also to the Macedonian name and nation. Those were my father's bounties to you: great ones indeed if considered by themselves, but small if compared with mine. For when I succeeded to my father's kingdom, I found some golden and silver cups indeed, but scarce sixty talents in his treasury, though I was charged with a debt of his of five hundred. However, not discouraged by this, I contracted a fresh debt of eight hundred talents. I marched out of Macedonias, which was scarce able to sustain you, and led you safe over the Hellespont, though the Persians then held the sovereignty of the sea. Then having beaten Darius's generals in battle, I thereby added Ionias, Eolia, both Phrygias and Lydia, to the Macedonian empire. I afterwards took Miletus by assault, and received the voluntary homage of many other people and nations, who submitted themselves, and consented to become tributaries. The treasures of Egypt and Cyrene, which we obtained without blows, helped to fill your coffers; Cœle-Syria, Palaestina, and Mesopotamia, are in your possession. Babylon, Bactria, and Susa, are in your power. The wealth of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the riches of India, and the ocean, is yours. You are constituted deputies of provinces. You are made captains, princes, and generals of armies. What, I beseech you, have I reserved to myself, for all the toils I have undergone, except this purple robe and diadem? I have with-held nothing from you; neither can any mortal shew a treasure in my custody, besides what is either yours, or preserved for your use. I have no private desires to gratify, that I should hoard up wealth on that account, for I observe the same diet with yourselves, and I am satisfied with the same portion of rest. Nay, I have been contented with coarser food than many among you, who live deliciously; and I have often watched for you, that you might sleep in ease and safety.
CHAP. X.

"SOME may perhaps insinuate, that all these were acquired by your own toils and dangers, in which I, your general, bore no part, but who dares affirm, that he has run greater hazards for me than I have for him? See which of you has received wounds; let him open his bosom and shew the scars, and I will shew mine, for there is none of the forepart of my body free; nor is there any kind of weapon which is either thrust forward by hand, or darted, the marks whereof are not plainly to be traced upon this breast of mine; for I have been wounded with swords in close fight, and with darts and arrows at a distance. Besides, I have been beat to the ground by stones from the enemy's engines; and notwithstanding I have suffered so much for your sakes, by stones and clubs, and swords, and missive weapons, yet have I led you victorious through all lands, over all seas, rivers, hills, and plain countries. I solemnized your nuptials with my own, that your children might claim affinity with mine. The debts of my whole army I freely discharged, without examining too strictly how they were contracted; and notwithstanding the vast stipends you then received, you made no small advantage of the plunder of such cities as you took by storm. Add to this, that I bestowed crowns of gold on many of you, as eternal monuments of your valour, and my esteem for you; and whoever chanced to fall in battle, valiantly fighting, he, over and above the glory which he then acquired by death, was usually honoured by a sumptuous monument—Nay, brazen statues are erected, as testimonies of the valour of some of them in Macedonia, and honours decreed their parents, with a full immunity from all public taxes and impositions; for none of you, fighting under my banner, had ever any occasion to turn his back upon an enemy. And now I had determined to release such of you who are unable any longer to endure the fatigues of war, and send you home so laden with honours and rewards, that your countrymen and fellow-citizens should deem you, above measure, fortunate and happy. But since ye are all of one mind, and since the same notion of returning has possessed all of you, go all, and report at home that your King Alexander, who had subdued the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sacae; who had tamed the Uxii, Aracoti, and Drange; who had reduced the Parthians, Chorasmians, and Hyrcanians, and penetrated as far as the Caspian Sea; who had forced his way over Mount Caucasus, and through the Caspian straights; who had passed the rivers Oxus and Tanais, and Indus (which last was never passed before, unless by Bacchus), who had ferried over the rivers Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hydreactes, and had also led you beyond the Hyphasis—if you had not refused to follow him; who entered the ocean by both the mouths of the river Indus, and afterwards marching through the barren and sandy country of the Gadrosi (where none ever carried an army safe before), subdued the Carmanians and Ortius; who lastly, having conveyed his fleet from the coasts of India to the Caspian sea, brought you safe and victorious to Susa. Tell your
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countrymen, I say, that after all these great and glorious acts, done for you, you have forsaken him, departed from him, and left him in the hands, and under the care of the barbarians, whom he had conquered. When you shall have told all these things, your glory among men, and the notion of your piety towards the gods, will receive a mighty improvement."

CHAP. XI.

HAVING thus spoke, he leaped suddenly from his seat, and retiring into the palace, neither put on his royal robes, nor admitted any of his friends to see him that day nor the next; and on the third, having called the Persian nobility round him, he distributed the command of the several troops among them, and as many of them as he had made his relations he suffered to kiss him. But the Macedonians, moved with their King's speech, stood before the tribunal, like people astonished, and kept a profound silence; nor did one of their number offer to accompany the King when he retired to his palace, except his friends and body guards, who surrounded him. However, many stood still before the tribunal, and refused to depart, though they neither knew what they should do nor say there. But when they came to understand what he had bestowed upon the Medes and Persians, namely, the several commands of the army, and that the barbarians were distributed into several ranks and orders; that the Persian Agema was to be called by a Macedonian name; and the troops of auxiliary foot, and others, to be made up of Persians; that the targeteers, and all the royal cohort of horse, were to consist of Persians, and that the regiment of Persians was to be nominated the royal regiment, they were no longer able to contain themselves, but running straight in a body to the palace, laid down their arms before the gate, as a sign of submission and repentance: then standing without, they begged to be admitted into the King's presence, promising that they would deliver up the authors of the late tumult, and those who had stirred them to sedition; and withal protesting, that they would never stir from his gate day nor night, unless they could move him to take compassion upon them. When Alexander came to understand this, he immediately came forth to them, and perceiving them humble and dejected, was so much moved with their sorrow and lamentation that he wept, and stood some time, as though he would have spoke, but they remained in the same suppliant posture. However, at last, Callines, belonging to the auxiliary troop of horse, a man of much esteem, as well for his age as the command he bore, spoke to this effect: "Thy Macedonians, O King, are grieved and discontented, because thou hast made some of the Persians thy relations, honoured them with the title of thy kindred, and suffered them to kiss thee, when, at the same time, they are excluded." Then Alexander interrupting him, replied—"I now make you all my kindred, and shall henceforth stile you so." With that Callines stepped forwards and kissed him, and such
others as pleased followed his example; whereupon they again took up their arms, and, with shouts of joy, and songs, returned to the camp.—After this he sacrificed to the gods, according to the custom of his country, and prepared a royal banquet, which he graced with his presence, where the Macedonians were placed nearest his person; next these the Persians, and then those of all other nations, according to their dignity, or the post they held in the army. Then the King, and all his guests, drank out of the same cup; the Grecian Augurs, as well as the Persian Magi, pronouncing their decrees, wishing prosperity to the King and the army, and praying for eternal concord and unanimity between the Macedonians and Persians, for the common benefit of both nations.—Nine thousand guests are said to have been present at this entertainment, who all drank out of the same cup, and all joined in the same songs, for the peace and safety of the army.

CHAP. XII.

THEN such of the Macedonians as were unable to follow the army, by reason of age, or loss of limbs, were freely discharged, to the number of about ten thousand, who were not only paid their full stipends, according to the time they had served, but each had a talent given him over and above what was his due, to defray the expenses of his journey. Those among them who had married Asiatic wives, and had children by them, were ordered to leave their sons behind, lest they should be the cause of a sedition in Macedonia, if both the sons and the mothers were sent together. However, he took care to instruct them in the Macedonian manners, and to teach them their military discipline, that so, when they arrived at manhood, he might bring them home, and deliver them, thus accomplished, to their parents. These uncertain and precarious things he promised them at their departure; but he added one sure and undoubted mark of his good will towards them, by appointing Craterus (whom he found ever faithful to him, and whom he loved as his life) to be their captain, to conduct them safe into their own country: wherefore, wishing them all health and happiness, and weeping to behold them weep, he dismissed them, ordering Craterus, when he had finished his task of conducting them safe home, to take upon him the government of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, and preside over the liberties of Greece. He moreover ordered Antipater to come to him, and bring with him other Macedonians, young and vigorous, instead of those who were dismissed. He dispatched Polysperchon away with Craterus, and gave him the next command under him, for fear any accident should happen to Craterus by the way (he being somewhat indisposed at his setting forward), and they should be destitute of a leader. There was then a report, secretly whispered about by those, who the more they endeavor to conceal the King's affairs, the more they desired to divulge them, and wickedly perverted whatever carried a face of truth to ill pur-
poses; I say, there was a report, that Alexander, overcome with the calumnies wherewith his mother had loaded Antipater, was willing to remove him from Macedonia. But perhaps this call of Antipater was not designed for his disgrace; but rather to prevent any mischief arising from their quarrels, which he might not be able to compose. Many letters had been carried to the King, wherein Antipater accused Olympias of arrogancy, cruelty, and meddling with what did not become the mother of Alexander; insomuch, that the King is said to have complained that he was forced to pay her very dear for the ten months she carried him in her womb. Olympias, on the other hand, exclaimed against Antipater as insolent, by reason of the command he bore, and the people's obedience to him; that he began to be altogether unmindful from whence he received his authority, and judged himself fit for the sovereignty over Macedonia and all Greece, where he ought only to act as deputy. Thus was the King continually wearied out with these complaints, insomuch, that at last he began to incline to the opinion of those who were for disgracing Antipater, as one who was more to be feared than the other, if the reports were just. However he, neither by word nor action, gave the least intimation that his affections were any ways estranged from Antipater.

This is the only chasm throughout Arrian's whole work. Gronovius tells us, he was in hopes to have filled it up out of an excellent manuscript, which he had from the Duke of Tuscany's library, but was disappointed. He is of opinion, that is has been a leaf torn out of all the manuscript copies. As for my part, I own I am not able to give any satisfactory reason why there is a chasm, but I will do as much as lies in my power to satisfy the deficiency.—From Opis, upon the river Tigria, where the sedition happened, Alexander marched with his army to Charrae (See Diodorus, lib. xviii. pag. 576), where he encamped; then having passed through Sittacene, in four days, he came to Sambane, where he rested seven. Then, in three days, he arrived at Celace, which place Xerxes had peopled with a colony of Bactrians, who still retain some remains of their native language. Thence he proceeded to Bagisthenes, a country fruitful, and abounding in all things pleasant and profitable for life. About this time happened a grievous quarrel between Hephæstion and Eumenes, as Plutarch acquaints us, in vita Eumenes; for Eumenes's servants, having taken possession of an inn for their master's use, Hephæstion turned them out, to make room for Evius, a musician; whereas Eumenes, enraged, went with Mentor to Alexander, and upbraided him aloud, telling him, that the only way to be regarded was to throw away their arms, and turn fiddlers or tragedians. Alexander, at first, took their part, and chid Hephæstion, but soon after changed his mind, and was angry with Eumenes, accounting the freedom he had taken rather as an affront to himself than a reflection on Hephæstion. Some time after this, another dispute happened between them, concerning some present from Alexander, and a great deal of ill language passed between them; but the King, who was then present, laying his commands on them, they were reconciled, at least outwardly, and Eumenes continued in favour till Hephæstion's death. As soon as Alexander had undertaken his expedition into India, Harpalus, who was made treasurer in Babylon (hoping he would never return), gave himself up to all manner of luxury and excess. He made a practice of ravishing women, and committing all sorts of uncleanness with the barbarians, whereby he wasted the royal treasures. He ordered vast quantities of fish to be brought him,
HEPHAESTION, dreading this discourse, was, much against his own will, reconciled to Eumenes. In this march, Alexander is said to have viewed the field wherein the King's horses used to graze, which Herodotus calls Nisæum, and the horses Nisæans; he also adds, that in former times, one hundred and fifty thousand were wont to feed there; but the King, at his coming there, found not above fifty thousand, for most of the rest had been stolen away. Here Atropates, governor of Media, presented him with a hundred women, said to be Amazons, attired like horsemen, only they bore axes instead of spears, and demi-lunar targets instead of shields. Some add, that their right breasts were less than their left, and that they were exposed to view in battle. Alexander separated them from his army, that they might not be liable to any insult, either from the Macedonians or barbarians, but ordered that the Queen should be told that he would embrace her, for the sake of having children by her. But as neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus, nor any other credible author, relates this story, I shall not endeavour to impose it upon my reader for truth, and the less, because I am of opinion that the race of Amazons was extinct long before that time; for Xenophon, who flourished some ages before, and mentions the Colchi, and the Phaæti, and other barbarians, through whose country the Greeks marched to or from Trapezun (and where they must have fallen in amongst these Amazons, if any of their race had then existed) makes no mention of them. However, I am of opinion, there must have been such a people, because they are celebrated by so many, and such famous authors; for Hercules is said to have been sent against them, and to have brought the girdle of their Queen Hippolyte, into Greece. The Athenians also, under the as far off as the Red Sea, and was so prodigal in the expenses of his household, that all declared it was shameful, and none gave him a good character. He sent for a courtesan from Athens, named Pythonice, whom he maintained like a princess while she lived, and for whom, after her death, he erected a most magnificent monument at Athens. He then sent for another out of Attica, called Glycera, with whom he lived voluptuously and profusely. But, that he might secure to himself a place of refuge if any ill fortune should happen, he made it his chief business to oblige the Athenians. And therefore, when Alexander returned from his Indian expedition, and had put many of the governors of provinces to death, for mal-administration, Harpalus fearing the same punishment, took five thousand talents of silver, and raised six thousand mercenary soldiers, and, leaving Asia, set sail for Attica. But perceiving none forward to come in to him, he left his soldiers at Tenaræ, in Laconia, and, taking part of the treasure with him, fled to Athens for protection: But Antipater and Olympia, sending letters, which demanded he should be delivered up, he withdrew from thence, and fled to his soldiers at Tenaræ; thence he sailed to Crete, where he was murdered by Thymbros, whom he looked upon as his friend. Thus have I gathered what I could from Diodorus and Plutarch, to fill up this chasm; but the cause of the army's sudden march to Ecbatana, and Alexander's speech to Hephaestion, on account of his quarrel with Eumenes, must remain unknown, till some perfect copy of Arrian happily discloses them to the world.
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

command of Theseus, repulsed these viragoes, when they attempted to invade Europe; and this battle of theirs against those Amazons is delineated by Cimon the Athenian, with the same art and accuracy as those of the Persians. Herodotus frequently takes notice of those women; and indeed, all the writers of the Athenian history have, in especial manner, celebrated the battle with the Amazons. However, if Atropates brought any equestrian viragoes to Alexander, they must certainly have sprung from some other race of barbarian women, who rode on horseback, and were armed and habited in the same manner as the ancient Amazons.

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CHAP. XIV.

WHEN Alexander arrived at Ecbatana, he offered sacrifice to the gods for good success, according to his custom; he also exhibited gymnastic and musical sports, and made a royal entertainment for his friends. About this time Hephaestion was taken violently ill, and it was on the seventh day of his sickness when the boys exercised themselves at wrestling. But when the King received news of his declining state, he left off his sports, and hastened towards him with all speed; but before he could reach the place he was dead. Sundry authors have given an account of Alexander's grief upon this occasion, very different from each other; but in this they all agree, that he was seized with immoderate sorrow; but after what manner he testified it to the world, is a matter of great dispute among them, some giving their opinion one way, some another, according as they are inclined by passion or prejudice, either for Alexander or Hephaestion. They who have wrote the most indecent accounts seem to have imagined, that whatever the King said or did, to show his excessive concern for the death of one whom he so dearly loved, ought to redound to his praise. Others are rather inclined to condemn such immoderate grief, as unbecoming any monarch, and much more Alexander. Some tell us, that he lay almost a whole day, lamenting over the dead body of his friend, and refused to depart from him, till he was forced away by his friends. Others lengthen out the time of his lamenting over him to a whole day and night. Others again affirm, that he ordered Glauicas, his physician, to be crucified, because of the potion which he had indiscreetly administered to him; while others tell us, that when Glauicas saw that Hephaestion would not refrain from drinking an unreasonable quantity of wine, he refused to take any further care of him. That Alexander should lie prostrate upon the dead body of so dear a friend, and tear his hair, and show other signs of grief, I neither deem improbable nor indecent, they being done after the example of Achilles, whom he imitated from his youth. Some authors tell us, that he caused the body of Hephaestion to be put into a chariot, and that he would be charioteer himself; but this is not credible. Others say, he caused the temple of Æsculapius, in Ecbatana, to be demolished, which was
a barbarous action, not at all suited to the character of Alexander, and, indeed, much rather resembling that of Xerxes, a known desipier, and reviler of the gods, who is reported to have thrown setters, out of revenge, into the Hellespont. However, what is related by some authors seems not improbable, namely, that when Alexander was upon his march towards Babylon, many ambassadors from the Grecian states met him, among whom were some from Epidaurus, whose requests, when he had granted, he sent an offering to be hung up in the temple of Esculapius, notwithstanding, as he said, that god had not shewed himself at all favourable, in not saving the life of a friend, whom he loved as his own spirit. Many assure us that he ordered sacrifices to be offered to him as to a hero; and some add, that he sent to Hammon’s temple, to consult the oracle there, whether he should not sacrifice to him as a god, but Jupiter denied that liberty. However, all authors agree, that the King neither tasted food, nor changed his apparel, for three whole days after Hephaestion’s death, but lay all that while either lamenting, or silently endeavou ring to conceal his grief, and that he commanded sumptuous obsequies to be performed at Babylon, at the expense of ten thousand talents (some say much more), and ordered a strict and public mourning to be observed throughout all the barbarian countries. Many of Alexander’s friends, that they might divert that excess of grief into which he had then fallen, are said to have devoted themselves and their armour to Hephaestion, and that Eumenes, whom we mentioned to have had a grudge against him, a short while before, was the first proposer of it. This office, however, he performed to him when dead, lest the King should have entertained a suspicion that he had rejoiced at his death. Alexander gave strict orders that none should be appointed captain over the auxiliary horse in his place, lest his name should be forgotten in the cohort, but that it should always be named Hephaestion’s cohort, and that the banner which he had chosen should be continued to be carried before them, as well in their several marches as in battle. He moreover exhibited gymnic and musical sports, much more sumptuous and magnificent than any of his former, as well for the multitude of the combatants, as the greatness of the prizes contended for. Three thousand combatants are said to have been reserved for this solemnity, who, shortly after, performed their exercises at his tomb.

CHAP. XV.

THE mourning had now continued a long time, and the King was just beginning to receive some comfort, his friends having laboured much for that purpose, when he was induced to undertake an expedition against the Cossceans, a warlike nation, bordering upon the Uxians. Their country is mountainous, and their towns not fortified; for when they perceive their land invaded by a strong army, they immediately betake themselves to the tops of their mountains (either in a body or a
separate parties, as it happens), where no enemy can approach; and, when the invaders of their country are retired, they return to their habitations, and take up their former trade of plundering and robbing their neighbours, by which means they support themselves. Alexander, however, notwithstanding it was winter, drove them from their holds, and subdued them; for neither the rigour of the season, nor the difficulties they met with, could either discourage him or Ptolemy, who commanded a part of his army; for they forced them from all their retreats, and found no place inaccessible, nor any country impassable, where true valour directed them. When Alexander returned thence to Babylon, ambassadors from Libya met him, who congratulated him, and bestowed a crown upon him, for the great victories he had gained in Asia. From Italy the Brettii, Leucani, and Tyrrheni, sent ambassadors upon the same account, as the Carthaginians are said also to have done. Ambassadors likewise came to him from the Ethiopians, and European Scythians, as also from the Celte and Iberians, all requesting his friendship; the name of which last people, and their manner of dress, were then first made known to the Greeks and Macedonians. Some ambassadors are said to have come to prevail upon him to decide the differences between them and their neighbours; and then it was that Alexander seemed, both to himself and those about him, to have the sovereignty, as well of the earth as sea. Aristus and Asclepiades, two writers of Alexander’s actions, tell us, that the Romans then sent ambassadors to him, and he, having given them audience, and made a nice observation of their habit, diligence, and generosity, and fully learned the customs and manners of their nation, begun, from that time, to foresee the future greatness of the Roman empire. But this last I give as neither certain, nor altogether improbable; for no writer of the Roman affairs makes the least mention of any such embassy; neither do the two chief authors whom I most rely upon, namely, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, take any notice of it in their histories of Alexander’s actions: and, indeed, it seems very improbable that the Roman republic, which was at that time free, should send an embassy to a foreign prince, at so vast a distance from their territories, especially when they could have no fears to urge them, nor any hopes of profit to induce them thereto, and when, it is well known, they bore a mortal hatred both to the name and office of Kings, as the usurpers of the liberties of the people.

CHAP. XVI.

ALEXANDER after this dispatched Heraclides, the son of Argæus, with his ship-carpenters, into Hyrcania, to cut down wood from the mountains there, to build him a number of long ships, some open, and others with decks, according to the Grecian manner of building: for he had a strong inclination to have a full knowledge what communication
that sea, called the Hyrcanian, had with any other; and whether it had an intercourse with the Euxine Sea, or with the Eastern Ocean, beyond India, in the same manner as the Persian and Red Seas were found to be but gulps belonging to the ocean: for the bounds of the Caspian, or Hyrcanian Sea, were not yet known, though many warlike nations bordered upon it, and many great and navigable rivers discharged their waters into it: for, from Bactria, the Oxus, the greatest river of Asia (those of India excepted), flows into it, and from Scythia, the Oxartes; and many are of opinion that the Araxes, which passes through Armenia, discharges itself into this sea. These are great rivers, into which several lesser ones pour their waters; besides, there are many small streams which run directly into the sea: these are already known; but those on the other side, where the Nomads Scythians dwell, are altogether unknown. When Alexander had passed the river Tigris with his army, pursuing his way to Babylon, he was met by the Chaldean Soothsayers, who, calling him apart from his friends, intreated him not to proceed on his journey to Babylon, telling him, they were assured, from the oracle of Belus, that his entrance into the city, at that time, would be attended with ill consequences to him. He then answered them with a verse out of Euripides—

"He is the best diviner who guesses rightest."

However, they replied, "At least, O King, do not turn thy face westward, nor enter the city that way with the army, but fetch a compass round, and come in with thy face towards the east."—This he was resolved to comply with; but the difficulty of the road, which was both watery and marshy, forced him to change that resolution, either chance or destiny pushing him upon that way, which was to prove fatal to him. But perhaps it was much more eligible for him to be taken off in the very height of his glory and happiness, while he was yet beloved and revered by his own soldiers, than to have survived his successes, and have afterwards experienced a different scene of affairs: and for this reason, in all probability, it was, that Solon warned Cræsus to look towards the end of a long life, and pronounce none happy before he was divested of mortality. The death of Hephæston seems to have contributed much to that of Alexander; for, in my opinion, he had rather have gone before him than have borne the loss of him, in the same manner as Achilles had rather have died in the room of his friend Patroclus, than have been left behind, to revenge his death upon his enemies.

CHAP. XVII.

HE had, moreover, a suspicion that the Chaldeans endeavoured to deter him from entering Babylon at that time, not so much by the advice of the oracle, as for their own private interest: for the temple of
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Belus is situate in the heart of that city, a most magnificent and stupendous fabric, built with bricks, and cemented together with a bituminous substance, instead of mortar. This, with all the rest of the Babylonian temples, was subverted by Xerxes, at his return from his Grecian expedition: whereupon Alexander determined to repair it; or, as some say, rebuild it upon the old foundations; for which reason he had ordered the Babylonians to clear away the rubbish, for he designed to build it in a more august and stately manner than before: but whereas they had made a much less progress in the work than he expected, during his absence, he had some thoughts of employing his whole army about it. Much land had been consecrated and set apart by the Assyrian monarchs for the god Belus, and much gold had been offered to him. From these the temple was formerly rebuilt, and sacrifices to the god provided; but while the temple lay in ruins, and the annual revenues belonging thereto were appropriated to no particular use, Alexander had given them to the Chaldeans; for which reason he began to suspect that they designed to hinder him from entering into Babylon, for fear that, in a short time, the temple should be built, and they stripped of such ample revenues. However, Aristobulus assures us that the King was willing to follow the advice of the Chaldeans, and take a journey round, to enter the city with his face towards the east, and accordingly, on the first day, encamped with his army, not far from the Euphrates; but the day after, having the river on his right hand, and marching along the bank for that purpose, he found the design impracticable, for the ground thereabouts was all an impassable morass; wherefore, partly by his own will, and partly against it, he disobeyed the oracle's advice.

CHAP. XVIII.

ARISTOBULUS tells us a strange story which happened to one of Alexander's friends, in this manner:—When Apollodorus the Amphipolitan (one of the King's friends who had been deputed to preside over the army, which was left for the security of the province, Mæseus being then governor), met him at his return from India, and perceived how severely he had treated several governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother, Pythagoras, one of those augurs who gave answers by inspecting the entrails of beasts, and consulted him about his own safety. Pythagoras asked him, in answer to his letter, of whom he principally stood in fear, that he might divine accordingly; and when he replied, that he chiefly dreaded Alexander and Hephaestion, the augur first searched the entrails for Hephaestion, and when he saw the laps, or fillets of the liver wanting, he wrote a letter, and sent it sealed to his brother, Apollodorus, then at Ecbatana, wherein he assured him, he needed not stand in fear of Hephaestion, for he would shortly be taken off by death. And Aristobulus tells us, that Apollodorus
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received this letter the day before Hephæstion's decease. Then Pythagoras again consulting for Alexander, and finding the fillets of the liver wanting there too, wrote to the same purpose a second time to Apollodorus. He never so much as endeavoured to conceal the matter, but freely communicated the whole story to the King, as a testimony of his sincere good will towards him, and entreated him to beware of the danger which threatened. Alexander hereupon commended him for his fidelity, and when he entered into Babylon, he demanded of Pythagoras by what means he was informed of those things which he had written to his brother concerning him; and being answered, that the livers of the sacrifices offered for that purpose were defective; he again inquired what that portended; to which the augur replied, some great mischief. However, the King was so far from being offended at him, that he respected him the more, for relating the whole matter to him simply and sincerely. Aristobulus tells us, he received this story from Pythagoras's own mouth; who also, afterwards, inspected the entrails for Perdiccas and Antigonus, and gave the same responses, and the events happened accordingly; for Perdiccas was slain making war against Ptolemy, and Antigonus lost his life in a battle against Seleucus, and Lysimachus, at the river Ipsiús. A strange story is also related concerning Calauna, the sage, to this effect:—When he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death he kissed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except Alexander; and when he drew near the King, for that end, he refused to kiss and take his leave of him then; but told him he would find him again at Babylon, and do it there. These words were not at all regarded at that time by those who heard them; but the decease of Alexander afterwards, at Babylon, brought them fresh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death.

CHAP. XIX.

WHEN Alexander was on his way to Babylon, he was met by several ambassadors from Greece, but on what particular account they were sent is not certain; though, in my opinion, they might be dispatched by the Grecians to crown him with garlands, and congratulate him for the victories he had gained, as well over other nations as the Indian; and to manifest the public joy for his safe return out of India. But whatever their business was, it is most certain he received them kindly, and sent them safe home highly honoured: and whatever statues of famous men, or images of gods, or other things set apart for divine worship, Xerxes had carried away, and deposited, either at Babylon, or Pasargadae, or Susa, or any other city of Asia, he delivered them to those ambassadors, to be transported back to Greece; by which means the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton came to be restored; as also the image of Diana of Cercina. He had, moreover, a navy of
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ships at Babylon, as Aristobulus tells us, which were partly brought from the Persian sea, by the river Euphrates, and partly from Phœnicia: those which arrived from Phœnicia were two quinqueremes, three quadriremes, twelve triremes, and thirty galleys of thirty oars a-piece: these were taken to pieces in Phœnicia, and thence conveyed over-land to Thapsacus, upon the river Euphrates, where being again joined, they were carried down the river to Babylon. The same author also tells us, that Alexander had ordered cypress trees to be cut in that province for building several other ships, they growing there in great plenty; but forasmuch as other naval stores were wanting, which these parts afforded not, he was supplied with them by the purple-fishers and other sea-faring men belonging to Phœnicia and the coast thereabouts. He then dug a deep and capacious bason for a haven, at Babylon, capable of containing a thousand sail of long galleys, and built houses for all manner of naval stores adjoining thereto. He also dispatched Miccalus of Clazomene, with five hundred talents, into Phœnicia and Syria, to hire or procure as many sailors as he could, because he designed to fix colonies all along the shores of the Persian Gulph and the neighbouring islands, for he was of opinion that that coast might, in time, become as rich and populous as the Phœnician coast. He made these extraordinary preparations for fitting out a fleet, on a pretence of making war against the Arabians, a populous nation, because they had neither sent ambassadors to him, requesting his friendship, as all others thereabouts had done, nor made him any presents, nor paid him homage; but my opinion is, it was only his ungovernable ambition which urged him to that attempt, which no acquisitions, howsoeuer extensive, were capable of satisfying.

CHAP. XX.

SOME authors tell us that he designed to invade the Arabians, because they worshipped only two gods, namely, Cælum and Bacchus. Cælum, or the firmament, because it was visible, and contained within its concave the stars, but especially the sun, which is of vast and universal benefit to mankind; and Bacchus, for the fame of his expedition into India. Wherefore Alexander deemed himself not unworthy to be worshipped by them as a third god, because his great actions were no ways inferior to those of Bacchus; and he resolved, after he had conquered the Arabians, to have restored them their ancient liberties, as he had done to the Indians. The fruitfulness of the country was no small temptation to its invader; for he had been informed that Cassia grew there, in the marshy grounds, and that myrrh and frankincense were gathered from the trees; that cinnamon was the produce of a shrub; and that their meadows, without any human art, brought forth plenty of spikenard. The extent of the country, according to his in-
formation, along the sea-coast, was not less than India, and that many
island lay not far off; as also, that there were sundry creeks, and other
places there fit for the reception of a navy, and divers convenient places
to build cities in, which in time might become rich and populous.
Two islands were particularly reported to lie in the sea, over against
the mouths of the Euphrates; one whereof was not above one hundred
and twenty furlongs distant from the mouths of that river, and the sea-
shore. This was the lesser of the two, covered with thick woods, and
had a temple therein, dedicated to Diana. The inhabitants had
their dwellings round the temple. The report goes, that harts, and
goats, and other animals, strayed in the woods there unmolested, because
it was deemed sacrilegious to take them on any other account than to
offer in sacrifice to the goddess. This island, as Aristobulus tells us,
Alexander ordered to be called Icarus, from one of that name in the
Ægean Sea, wherein Icarus, the son of Daedalus, is said to have
fallen, and have been drowned, when he disobeyed his father’s orders,
and attempted to fly into the upper regions of the air with wings, which
were only cemented together with wax; but the event was, the sun
melted the wax, and he fell into the sea, which was afterwards called by
his name, as also a small island not far off. The other island is about
one day and night’s sail distant from the mouths of the Euphrates, and
named Tylus. It is very large and spacious, and not mountainous nor
woody, but produces plenty of several sorts of fruits, pleasant and
agreeable to the taste. These accounts were delivered to Alexander by
Archias, who was dispatched in a ship with thirty oars, on purpose to
discover the navigation of those seas; and when he had arrived at the
island Tylus, durst proceed no further. However, Androstenes being
sent afterwards with another ship of the same sort, discovered a great
part of the Arabian coast. But Hieron of Soli far exceeded all who
went before him, upon the discovery of that shore; for he, with a
galley of thirty oars, was commanded to sail round the whole Arabian
Chersonese, until he arrived at the gulph bordering upon Egypt, and
the city of heroes. But neither durst he venture so far as he ought,
though he sailed almost round the country of Arabia. For returning
back, he informed the King that the Chersonese was of a vast extent,
little less than that of India; and that the promontory or utmost point
of land thereof stretched itself far out into the ocean. But this was
little more than those who came from India with Nearchus had seen be-
fore, as they turned into the Persian Gulph, and were hardly held from
attempting further discovery, Onesicritus, captain of the royal galley;
having a strong desire to proceed that way. But Nearchus, the ad-
miral, assures us that he restrained them, because their orders extended
no further than only to give a good account of the coast along the Per-
sian Gulph. He was not sent out by Alexander to beat the sea, nor to
find how far the ocean stretched itself, but to get knowledge of the
country adjacent to the sea, to find out who were the inhabitants, what
ports or creeks for shipping they had, and what plenty of fresh water;
what were their customs and manners; what part of the country produced good, and what part bad fruits; and these orders he had observed for the safety of the army on board his fleet. And he assured them that it was unlikely they should ever return safe, if they steered their course beyond the deserts of Arabia, and that very consideration is said to have deterred Hieron afterwards from proceeding further.

CHAP. XXI.

In the mean time, while they were busied in preparing triremes, and digging the basin at Babylon, Alexander sailed down the Euphrates to the canal called Pallacopas, which is distant from Babylon about eight hundred furlongs. Now Pallacopas is no river arising from fountains, but a canal drawn from the Euphrates. For that river having its rise among the mountains of Armenia, during the whole winter season, is easily confined in its own channel, its waters being then low, because the rains turn to snow; but in the spring, and especially about the summer solstice, the snows melt, and it swells to a prodigious height, and overflowing all its banks, waters the Assyrian fields on each side, and would certainly drown the whole country unless it discharged a vast quantity of its waters through Pallacopas into the lakes and marshes, and thence along the confines of Arabia into a fenny country; whence, through sundry secret and subterraneous passages, it finds a way to the sea. When the snows are melted, and the stock of water thence arising exhausted, which usually happens about the setting of the Pleiades, the Euphrates begins to contract itself; yet, nevertheless, still the greatest part of the stream runs through the Pallacopas into the marshy countries, and thence into the sea. Unless, therefore, the mouth of this canal, called Pallacopas, were dammed up, and the stream of the river diverted into its proper channel, Euphrates would be so exhausted of its water, as not to afford enough to overflow the Assyrian fields on each side, Wherefore the governor of Babylon had, at a vast expense, and with immense labour, obstructed that out-let of the river, which was the more difficult to perform, because the ground thereabouts was light and oozy, and afforded the water an easy passage through, insomuch that ten thousand men were employed three whole months before they could finish the work. Alexander coming to the knowledge of this, was resolved to do something for the benefit of the Assyrians; whereupon he determined to dam up that huge flux of water out of the Euphrates into Pallacopas, in a much more effectual manner than they had already done; and when he had gone about thirty furlongs from the mouth of the canal, he found the earth rocky, which, if he proceeded to cut through, and continued it to the ancient channel of Pallacopas, the firmness of the earth would not only hinder the water from soaking through and wasting, but also its out-let, at the
time of the overflow, would be rendered much more easy and commodious. On this account Alexander sailed down the river Euphrates to the mouth of Pallacopas, and by that canal into the Arabian territories, where, finding a situation suited to this purpose, he built a city, which he environed with a wall, and therein planted a colony of Greek mercenaries, either such as freely consented to settle there, or such as by reason of age or infirmities, were rendered unserviceable in war.

CHAP. XXII.

HE then despising the advice of the Chaldeans, because no mischief had befallen him in that city, as their oracles predicted (for he had continued in Babylon for some time, and gone out again, and no accident happened), being full himself, resolved to run all hazards, and determined to sail back through the marshes, having the city on his left hand. And when some of his gallies, by reason of the ignorance of their commanders, had lost their way, among the numerous windings of the river in those fenny places, he sent them skilful pilots to direct them, and bring the whole navy together. Many of the ancient monuments of the kings of Assyria are said to be placed among those marshes, and as Alexander proceeded in his voyage, being governor of his own galley himself, a high wind chanced to rise, which forced the royal tiara, and the fillet which encircled it, off from his head. The tiara, as being the most ponderous, fell into the water, and was irrecoverably lost, but the fillet being carried away by the wind, was caught by a certain reed, growing out of one of the royal monuments, on which account it was deemed an unlucky presage. A sailor then swam thither, and took the fillet off from the reed, and fearing the water might injure it, if he kept it in his hand, he placed it upon his head, and brought it to the King. Many of the writers of Alexander’s life tell us that he had a talent of silver bestowed upon him for his diligence, and was immediately afterwards put to death; the Chaldeans advising the King, that he who had so insolently encircled his temples with the royal diadem ought not to escape with life. However, Aristobulus, whom I much rather listen to, informs us, that he first received a talent for the hazard he had run, and was afterwards ordered to be whipt for his inadvertency, in placing the fillet upon his head; he also assures us, that he was a Phoenician. Some authors relate this story of Seleucus, and affirm that the prodigy signified Alexander’s death, and Seleucus’s advancement to a great part of the empire. He, indeed, of all those who succeeded Alexander, not only received the largest share of sovereignty, but had the most capacious soul, and was possessed of a greater part of the royal treasure than any of the rest.
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

CHAP. XXIII.

WHEN Alexander had arrived at Babylon, he found Peucetias returned from Persia, with twenty thousand Persians, and a great number of Cosseans and Taparians, two fierce and warlike nations, bordering upon Persia. Philoxenus also arrived with an army out of Caria; Meander with another, out of Lydia, and Meindas with some troops of horse. At this time came ambassadors from Greece, who approached him with crowns upon their heads, and presented him with crowns of gold, their design being to offer him divine worship. This happened not long before his decease. Then, having extolled the Persians, for paying an exact obedience to Peucetias, and Peucetias for his wise and mild administration of the Persian affairs, he ranked them all among his Macedonian troops, but in such a manner as that the decurio, or person who presided over every company, should be a Macedonian, as also the semi-decurio, so called from the wages he received, being less than a decurio, but more than the common soldiers. Next were twelve Persians, and, last of all, a Macedonian decurio, so that every company contained four Macedonians, three of whom received more stipend than the rest, and the fourth presided over them. The Macedonians were armed with their own country weapons; the Persians partly with arrows, and partly with darts. In the mean time the King took much pleasure in seeing his fleet exercise their oars, and there was a great emulation between the triremes and quadrireme galleys in the river, and crowns were distributed among the victors, as well to the rowers as to the commanders. Then returned those whom he had dispatched to the oracle of Hammon, to enquire what honours he might pay to Hephæston, who assured him Hammon's answer was, That he might sacrifice to him as to a hero: which answer pleasing him, he offered sacrifices to him accordingly. He then wrote a letter to Cleomenes, a wicked man, who had done much mischief to Egypt. As to his care for the preservation of the memory of his kindness and good will to Hephæston, after his death, I cannot think it culpable, but some passages in the same letter scarce admit of an excuse: for, in the first place (writing to Cleomenes), he commands him to build a temple to Hephæston, in Alexandria, in Egypt, and another in the island Pharos, wherein was a tower, famous both for height and workmanship, which also he ordered to be called after Hephæston's name. He moreover commanded that all writings concerning bargains among merchants should be inscribed with his name. These things are only thus far amiss, because he made so much ado about things of small moment. But the contents of the last part of that letter admits of no apology. "If I," says he, "at my arrival in Egypt, find that thou hast built these temples and altars to Hephæston according to my orders, I will not only pardon all the crimes thou hast already committed, but shall hereafter pass by whatever crimes thou

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shall commit."—Such a licence as this, to a cruel man, who had the command over many countries, from so great a King as Alexander, will by no means bear the least extenuation.

CHAP. XXIV.

BUT now the time of Alexander's death drew near, whereof Aristobulus gives us this as a particular omen; that while he was distributing the forces which Peucestas had brought out of Persia, and Philoxenus and Memander from the sea-coast, among the Macedonian troops, as it already mentioned, he began to be thirsty, and, departing from his throne, left the seat empty. On each side of the throne were couches, with supporters of silver, for his friends, who then went to accompany the King. In the mean while a certain obscure fellow (some say a captive, who had the privilege of going without fetters), seeing the royal throne, and the couches on each side, empty, passed through the middle of the eunuchs, and, ascending the throne, placed himself therein: the eunuchs then (not daring to drag him down from thence, because the Persian laws forbade them) began to tear their garments, and beat their breasts and faces, as if some great mischief had been thereby foreboded. When Alexander heard the story, he ordered the man who had ascended his throne to be examined, to try if any had advised him to so rash an action; but he only answered, that he did it out of a certain levity of mind, which then took him; whereupon the augurs judged the omen to be much more unlucky. A few days after this, when he offered the accustomed sacrifices for the success of his affairs, and had added some new ones, by the advice of his soothsayers, he feasted his friends, and continued the banquet till late at night. He is also said to have given the flesh of the sacrificed beasts to his army, and ordered wine to be distributed among them, according to their numbers, in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to have retired from the banquet to his bed-chamber, but was met on his way by Medius, one of his friends, at that time in high favour, who intreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the sports and entertainment there would not displease him.

CHAP. XXV.

THE royal table gives us an account that he eat and drank with Medius, and then retired to rest; and when he awaked, and had washed and refreshed himself, he again supped with Medius, and drank till late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had washed, he ate a little and lay down there, because he had some symptoms of a fever. Afterwards he was carried in a chair to the temple, and there sacrificed after
ALEXANDER'S EXPEDITION.

his usual manner; and this he repeated several days; and when the sacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpose for him till the evening. In the mean while he issued out orders to the captains of his troops to make ready for a march in four days' time, and even nominated those who should travel on foot; but those that were to go on board the fleet with him were to prepare themselves against the fifth day. After this he was carried to the river, and, being put on board one of his galleys, was conveyed to some pleasant gardens on the other side, where, after he had washed, he went to rest. The next day he again bathed, and performed his accustomed sacrifices, which done, he entered his chamber, and held discourse with Medius, having given orders to his officers to attend him in the morning. He then supped moderately, and, being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. However, the next morning he again washed and sacrificed, and ordered Nearchus, and the rest of his captains, to prepare for sailing the third day. The next day he washed and sacrificed as before, but his fever still continued; notwithstanding which he again called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage, and having bathed, his fever increased towards the evening. The next day he was carried into a house adjacent to the bath, where he performed his usual sacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following he was, with great difficulty, carried to sacrifice; however, he still continued to renew his orders, and, notwithstanding he grew manifestly worse, could not be restrained from sacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and the inferior ones to wait at the gates; and, growing still worse, he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace; and his chief officers approaching near, to pay their attendance, he made signs that he knew them, but was not able to speak, nor pronounce any thing articulate, and thus he remained all that night. The day following his fever still increased, and all that night, and the next day continued strong and violent.

CHAP. XXVI.

AND now his soldiers expressed a great desire to see their King; some doubting whether he was alive, others plainly affirming he was dead, but that his death was concealed by his body-guards: and to such a height at last did their grief drive them, that many of them forced their way through the guards, and entered the royal apartment. But though the King perceived them, his speech had left him; however, with much difficulty, he lifted up his head, and, looking upon them, stretched forth his hand to each of them. The same royal diary also informs us, that Python, Attalus, Demophon, Pancrates, Cleonanes, Memidas, and So-
leucus, tarried all night in the temple of Serapis; and having asked that
god whether it would not be better for Alexander to be brought into his
temple, to be restored to health by him, were answered by the oracle
that he should not be brought, for it was best for him to continue where
he was. This answer was brought back to Alexander by his friends,
and in a short while after, as if the oracle had pronounced that the best,
his deaths. Ptolemy and Aristobulus, in their accounts of these trans-
actions, differ not much from the royal diary. However, some authors
add, that being asked by his friends to whom he would bequeath his em-
pire, he replied, "To the strongest."—Others assert that he told them
he foresaw with what vast slaughter and effusion of blood his kingdoms
would perform his obsequies.

CHAP. XXVII.

I MUST not here forget to take notice, that many other particulars
have been related by authors concerning Alexander's death; as that he
died of poison, sent him by Antipater, and made up by Aristotle, he
fearing him, because he had already put Callisthenes to death: they
add, that this poison was conveyed thither by Cassander, the son of
Antipater, in the hoof of a mule, and given to the King by Jollas, Cas-
sander's younger brother. This Jollas was one of the King's cup-
bearers, and had received a reproof from him a little while before.
Others add, that Medius, having a vast esteem for Jollas, was privy to
the villany against his sovereign, for which reason he detained him thus
drinking; and immediately after he had swallowed the fatal cup, he
felt pains so acute and grievous, that he was forced to retire from the
banquet. One author, in particular, has not blushed to add, that when
he begun to despair of recovery, he was willing to have been conveyed
privily to the Euphrates, to have cast himself therein, that so, being
snatched suddenly from human eyes, he might have given posterity the
greater assurance, that, as he came from a race of gods, he was returned
to the gods; but Roxane, his wife, understanding his resolutions, hin-
dered him; and when she began to bewail her state, and to shed tears,
she told her she envied him the glory of his divine origin. These stories I
have thus recorded, rather that I might not seem to be ignorant that
such reports were blazed abroad, than that I imagined them worthy of
the least credit.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ALEXANDER died in the hundred and fortieth olympiad, as
Aristobulus informs us, when Hegesias was Archon at Athens,
after he had lived thirty two years and eight months, and reigned
twelve years and eight months. His body was beautiful and well
proportioned; his mind brisk and active; his courage wonderful.—
He was strong enough to undergo hardships, and willing to meet
dangers, ever ambitious of glory, and a strict observer of religious
duties. As to those pleasures which regarded the body, he shewed him-
self indifferent; as to the desires of the mind, invariable. In his coun-
sels he was sharp-sighted and cunning, and pierced deep into doubtful
matters, by the force of his natural sagacity. In marshalling, arming,
and governing an army, he was thoroughly skilled; and famous for ex-
citing his soldiers with courage, and animating them with hopes of
success, as also in dispelling their private fears by his own example of
magnanimity. He always entered upon desperate attempts with the
utmost resolution and vigour, and was ever diligent in taking any ad-
vantage of his enemy's delay, and falling upon them unawares. He was
a most strict observer of his treaties; notwithstanding which, he was
never taken at a disadvantage, by any craft or perfidy of his enemies.
He was sparing in his expenses for his own private pleasures, but, in the
distribution of his bounty to his friends, liberal and magnificent.

CHAP. XXIX.

If any thing can be laid to Alexander's charge, as committed in the
heat and violence of wrath, or if he may be said to have imitated the
barbarian pride a little too much, and born himself too haughtily, I
cannot think them such vast crimes; and especially when one calmly
considers his great years, and uninterrupted series of success, it will
appear no great wonder if court sycophants, who always flatter princes
to their detriment, sometimes led him away. But this must be said
in his behalf, that all antiquity has not produced an example of such
sincere repentance in a King as he has shewed us. For the greatest
part of men, though they be never so conscious of their own crimes,
imagine they can cover them from the knowledge of others, by setting
them up for virtues; but, in my opinion, the only means of mollifying
a crime is, a free acknowledgment thereof, and the giving manifest
signs of penitence: for whoever has received an injury, is willing to
think himself less grieved if the aggressor confesses his guilt, and he
has some hopes that he will never suffer by him again when he sees him
so sincerely concerned for what is past. I cannot condemn Alexander
for endeavouring to draw his subjects into the belief of his divine
original, nor be induced to believe it any great crime, because it is very
reasonable to imagine he intended no more by it than merely to procure
the greater authority among his soldiers. Neither was he less famous
than Minos, or Æacus, or Rhadamathus, who all of them challenged
kindred with Jove; and none of the ancients condemned them for it;
nor were his glorious actions any way inferior to those of Theseus, or
Ione, though the former claimed Neptune, and the latter Apollo, for
his father. His assuming and wearing the Persian habit seems to
have been done with a political view, that he might appear not altogether to despise the barbarians, and that he might also have some curb to the arrogance and insolence of his Macedonians. And for this cause I am of opinion, he placed the Persian Melophori among his Macedonian troops and squadrons of horse, and allowed them the same share of honour. Long banquets and deep drinking, Aristobulus assuages us, were none of his delights; neither did he prepare entertainments for the sake of the wine (which he did not greatly love, and seldom drank much of) but to keep up a mutual amity among his friends.

CHAP. XXX.

WHOEVER therefore attempts to condemn or calumniate Alexander, does not so much ground his accusation upon those acts of his which really deserve reproof, but gathers all his actions as into one huge mass, and forms his judgment thereupon: but let any man consider seriously who he was, what success he always had, and to what a pitch of glory he arrived; who, without controversy, reigned King of both continents, and whose name has spread through all parts of the habitable world, and he will easily conclude, that in comparison of his great and laudable acts, his vices and failings are few and trifling, and which, in so prodigious a run of prosperity, if they could be avoided (considering his repentance and abhorrence of them afterwards), may easily be overlooked, and are not of weight sufficient to cast a shade upon his reign. For I am persuaded there was no nation, city, nor people then in being, whether his name did not reach; for which reason, whatever origin he might boast of, or claim to himself, there seems to me to have been some divine hand presiding both over his birth and actions, insomuch, that no mortal upon earth either excelled or equalled him; and this seems to have been signified by the presages at his death, the apparitions seen by sundry people in dreams as well as waking; the honours so near divine, which were decreed him; and, lastly, the responses of oracles pronounced in honour of him, to the Macedonian nation, so long after his decease. And though I take the freedom, in this history of his actions, sometimes to censure him, yet I cannot but own myself an admirer of them altogether: I have, however, fixed a mark of reproach upon some of them, as well for the sake of truth as the public benefit, upon which account, by the assistance of Providence, I undertook this work.

END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.
ARRIANS INDIAN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

THE countries which lie westward from the river Indus, as far as the river Cophenes, are inhabited by the Astaceni and the Assaceni, two Indian nations. Some authors write, that those Indians are inferior to the others, beyond the river Indus; not only in the bulk of their bodies, but in courage; and that they are not altogether so swarthly. They were formerly subject to the Assyrians, then to the Medes; but when the Median empire was translated to the Persians, they paid tribute to Cyrus, the son Cambyses. The Nysaeans are not a nation of Indians, but derive their origin from those Greeks, whom Bacchus formerly carried into India, when such of them as were worn out by age, or otherwise rendered unserviceable, were left there as a colony; perhaps he also invited such of the neighbouring inhabitants as would help to people his new-built city, which he named Nyssa, and the adjacent country Nysaea; but the mountain, upon whose skirts the city is built, he called Meros (or the thigh), in allusion to his being concealed in Jupiter's thigh, after the death of his mother Semele. These are the fictions of poets; and all the writers of fabulous history, as well Greeks as barbarians, have delivered the same story. Among the Assaceni is Massaca, a great city, the capital of that nation; another of the cities is Peucelas, very large and populous, seated not far from the river Indus. They hold all the country on the west side of the Indus, as far as the river Cophenes.

CHAP. II.

THE country eastward from the river Indus is what I call properly India, and the inhabitants thereof Indians. India is bounded on the north by mount Taurus; which mountain retains the same name, even in that country: it rises on the sea coast, near Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and extends itself in one continued ridge, as far as the oriental ocean, running quite through all Asia. In some parts, nevertheless, it is called by other names; for in one country it is named Parapsamisus; in another Emusus; in a third Emaus; and it is very probable it has many more, in the various territories through which it passes. The Macedonian soldiers, who accompanied Alexander in his expedition, called it Caucasus; whereas Caucasus is a mountain of Scythia, widely distant from this; but their reason was, that they might boast that Alexander had passed over mount Caucasus. The river Indus terminates
ARRIAN'S INDIAN HISTORY.

India westward, as far as the ocean, into which it discharges its water by two vast mouths, not near each other like the five mouths of the Ister, but rather like those of the Nile, which form the Egyptian Delta. This river also forms a Delta by its two mouths, no way inferior to that of Egypt, which, in the Indian language, is called Pattala. Towards the south this country is bounded by the ocean, which also shuts up the eastern parts thereof. The southern bounds thereof, with Pattala, and the mouths of the river Indus, were thoroughly viewed by Alexander and his soldiers, as well Macedonians as Greeks. But the eastern limits, or those beyond the river Hyphasis, neither Alexander, nor any of his followers, ever saw. And few authors have given us an account of what nations or people inhabit the countries as far as the river Ganges, where the mouths of that river lie, and where Palimbothra, the chief city of the Indians upon the Ganges, is situated.

CHAP. III.

ERATOSTHENES, the Cyrenæan, a grave author, who has written concerning the situation and circuit of India, seems to have excelled all the rest. He tells us that India, from mount Taurus, whence the river Indus has its rise, to the mouths of that river, and the ocean, is thirteen thousand stadia. Another side, namely, from the same mountain to the eastern ocean, he reckons scarce equal to the former; but as a huge tract of land runs out four thousand stadia into the sea, it may be reckoned sixteen thousand stadia that way; and this he calls the breadth of India. The length thereof, from the westernmost part to the city Palimbothra, he tells us he has measured, along the road called the King's road, and that it contains ten thousand stadia; how far it reaches further is not well known. However, the common received opinion of the Indians is, that with the promontory, which stretches itself far into the sea, it may contain ten thousand more; so that its whole length may be deemed twenty thousand stadia. Ctesias of Cnidos affirms, that India is equal in bigness to all the rest of Asia; but he is mistaken: Onesicritus reckons it to contain a third part of Asia. Nearchus asserts that the plain country belonging thereto extends in length to four months journey. Magasthenes makes that side of India, from west to east, the breadth, which other authors call the length; and tells us that where it is narrowest it is sixteen thousand stadia broad; and from north to south its least length is twenty-two thousand and three hundred stadia. There are as many rivers in India as in all Asia besides; the chief of which are the Ganges and Indus, from whence the country receives its name; either of these are bigger than the Nile and Ister, if they were both joined in one stream: nay, even the Aescines, in my opinion, exceeds the Nile and Ister in bigness, when it has received the Hydaspen, Hydorotes, and Hyphasis, into its channel, just before it falls into the Indus, for there its
breadth is thirty stadia. Many other rivers which, perhaps, may be larger than these, but unknown to us, may flow through this country.

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CHAP. IV.

NOTHING certain is related concerning this country beyond the river Hyphasis, for Alexander penetrated no further. Of the two great rivers of India, the Ganges and the Indus; Megasthenes assures us that the first is by far the largest, and so do all those who make mention of it; for it arises great from its very fountains, and receives many vast rivers, namely, Cainas, Erannobous, Cossonus, Sonus, Sittocatis, and Solomatis; all these are navigable; and besides these, Conadclates, Sambus, Magones, Agorania, and Omalis. The Cemenesasses, a vast river, and Cacuthis, and Andomatis, discharge their streams therein from Mandiadime, a country in India. The Amystis falls therein near the city Catadupa; the Oxymagis among the Pazale, and the Erinenses among the Matte, both Indian nations: Megasthenes reckons none of those rivers less than the Maeander, where it is navigable. The Ganges, even where it is narrowest, is one hundred stadia in breadth; and in many places, where the current is slow, and the lands flat on each side, you can scarce see from shore to shore. These rivers discharge their waters into the Indus: the Hydaspes among the Cambiatholi, which receiving the Hyphasis among the Astrobi; the Saranges among the Meeci, and the Neudras among the Attaceni, falls into the Acesines. The Hydaspes receiving the river Sinarus among the Arispi, falls also into the river Acesines, in the country of the Oxydras. Tutapus, a great river, falls into the same, insomuch, that the Acesines, vastly increased with all these, and still retaining its name, loses that and its waters at once, by falling into the Indus among the Malli. The Cophs having received the rivers Malamanthus, Soastus, and Garmess, discharges its waters into the Indus, in the country of Pescelaitis. Beyond this, the river Ptenenus and Sappurus fall into it, at no great distance from each other. The Soanms also deriving its course from the mountainous parts of Sabissa, flows singly into it. And as most of these, according to Megasthenes testimony, are navigable rivers, it is no wonder that the Ister, or Nile, if their streams were joined, are no ways comparable to the Indus or Ganges. For we know of no particular river which runs into the Nile, but we are sure that many large canals are drawn from it, through the country of Egypt. As to the Ister, it rises from a small fountain, and though afterwards it receives many rivers into its bosom, yet neither their number nor bigness are by any means equal to those mighty Indian rivers which flow into the Indus and Ganges. Some of them are, indeed, navigable, but very few: of those I have seen the Henus and Saus; the first falls into it in the confines of the Norici and Rhatti, and the last among the Peconae, at a place called Tauranus. Some more
navigable rivers besides these two may perhaps fall into the Ister; but I am persuaded they are neither many nor considerable.

CHAP. V.

WHOEVER will enquire into the reason of the multitude, and vastness of the Indian rivers, is at full liberty to pursue that theme as far as he pleases. As for me, it is sufficient that I copy what I have received from others concerning them. Megasthenes gives us the names of many other rivers, which empty themselves into the Southern and Oriental Ocean, without mixing their streams with the Indus or Ganges, to the number of fifty eight, all navigable. But even Megasthenes himself seems to me not to have travelled over much of India, though a great deal more than any of Alexander's followers. He tells us he was at the court of Sandracottus, a mighty King of India, and of Porus, another much greater, and more powerful than Sandracottus. He also assures us, that the Indians neither waged war with other nations, nor any other nations with them; and that Sesostris, the Egyptian monarch, having subdued a great part of Asia, and carried his victorious army almost to Europe, retired and went back, without attempting any thing against India. That Indathyris, a king of Scythia, making an eruption out of his own territories, overruled almost all Asia, and conquered Egypt, but declined making war against India. Semiramis, the valiant Queen of Assyria, indeed, designed to have led a gallant army against them, but death prevented her. So that none but Alexander had undertaken an expedition against those countries. It is true, there is a tradition that Bucchus conquered India, and that Hercules penetrated that far, which is still more uncertain. Concerning Bucchus's expedition, the city Nyssa, and the mountain Meros, are no slight monuments, and ivy growing there, and in no place in all India besides. The inhabitants also go forth to war, with drums beating, and cymbals playing before them, and wear mottled garments, after the manner of the Bacchanals. But there are not many monuments of Hercules, for the story of the rock Aornus, which Hercules could not win, and Alexander took by storm, seems to be little more than a fiction of the Macedonians to magnify their General; for they called Mount Farapaminus by the name of Caucassus, though it has no affinity therewith; and a certain cave, which they found in the side thereof, they denominated the cave of Prometheus, the son of Titan, and affirmed that it was the same wherein he was bound, and punished, for his stealing fire from heaven. They saw an Indian nation called Sibæ, whose usual clothing was the skins of beasts, who, for that reason, they said, were a colony left there by Hercules; and because they were armed with clubs, and marked their oaken with a club to distinguish them, they concluded that this was done in commemoration of the club of Hercules. If any imagine
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those stories deserve credit, he must conclude, that this was not the Theban, nor the Tyrian, nor the Egyptian Hercules, but some great king whose dominions lay not far distant from India.

CHAP. VI.

BUT to insist no more on these stories. Whatever accounts authors have pretended to give us of countries beyond the Hyphasis, they seem to me somewhat fabulous; but what Alexander's followers have written concerning those on this side of that river deserves a little more credit. Megasthenes tells us of a certain river of India named Silas, which flows from a fountain of the same name, and communicates its name also to the country through which it passes, the water whereof has this property, that it bears nothing upon its surface, nor can any thing, how light soever, swim or float thereon, but all things sink down to the bottom. He also adds, that this water is much thinner, and more apt to rise in vapours, than any other. The same author assures us, that India is subject to vast rains, during the summer season, especially those parts near the mountains, Parapamisus, Emodus, and Himaus; and that many great and turbulent streams proceed from thence. The flat country is also often overflowed by rains in summer, inasmuch that the river Acesines, having at that season laid all the adjacent plains under water, Alexander's army were forced to decamp from its banks, and pitch their tents at a great distance. However, from this we may give a guess at the like nature and properties in the Nile, it being very probable that vast rains fall in the mountainous country of Ethiopia in the summer season, and that the Nile swelled, and grown muddy with these rains, overflowed its banks, and lays the flat country of Egypt under water. An annual inundation may thus happen, though no snows were to fall in the hot country of Ethiopia, nor no Etesian winds to blow in the summer, and hinder the flux of his waters into the sea. That rains fall in Ethiopia as well as in India. I can see no reason to doubt, seeing in all other respects India so much resembles it. Its rivers, like the Egyptian Nile, breed crocodiles, and some of them all sorts of fish found in the Nile, except the river Horse; and if Onesicritus may be believed, even that too. The natives of India and Ethiopia are not much different in their features or complexion. The southern Indians, like the Ethiopians, have black faces, and black hair, but are not so flat-nosed, nor so curl-pated as the Ethiopians. The northern Indians bear a greater resemblance in form and feature to the Egyptians.
THE whole country of India is divided into one hundred and twenty two several nations, according to Megasthenes. I own the Indians are very numerous, and they may have a vast number of separate governments among them; but how he came to be so very exact in his calculation exceeds my understanding, seeing he could not travel over much of the country, because many of the separate states thereof maintain no commerce with each other. The Indians were anciently like the Scythians, a wandering race of mortals, who tilled no lands, and hated to be confined to any particular place; they neither built towns nor houses, nor temples for religious worship, but cloathed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and eat the bark, or rhind of certain trees, called in their language tales, and there grows a tuft of something upon the tops of them as upon palm-trees, resembling balls of cotton. They also fed upon the raw flesh of such beasts as they caught, before Bacchus entered their country. But when he had made a conquest thereof, he built them cities, gave them laws, and shewed them the use of wine, as he had done the Greeks; he also brought them corn, and taught them agriculture; so that either Triptolemus, when he was dispatched by Ceres to plant corn throughout the earth, reached not thus far, or some one of the name of Bacchus arrived in India before him, and distributed corn among the inhabitants. Bacchus first taught them to yoke their oxen to the plow, and brought many of them from their former unsettled life to practise husbandry. He also taught them military discipline, and the worship of the gods (not forgetting to put himself into the number), which he ordered them to perform with drums and cymbals. He introduced the satyric dance among them, which the Greeks call Cardaca. They suffer their hair to grow in honour of Bacchus. They wear the mitre, and use ointments; and even to the time of Alexander’s entrance among them, they used drums and cymbals to excite their soldiers to battle.

WHEN Bacchus had fully settled his affairs there, and was about to leave the country, he appointed Spartembas, one of his friends, who was versed in the mysteries of government, as well as religion, to rule over India. He dying, the kingdom devolved on his son Budyas. Spartembas is said to have reigned fifty two years, but his son Budyas not above twenty, and then to have left his kingdom to his son Cradevas; and so, for many ages, the succession is said to have passed from father to son; and if at any time a father happened to die without children, they then chose one of approved valour, from among themselves.
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be his successor. The Hercules, who is reported to have penetrated so far, the Indians tell us, was a native of their country. He is particularly worshipped by the Suraseni, who have two great cities belonging to them, namely, Methoras and Clisoboras, and the navigable river Iobares passes through their territories. This Hercules, as Megasthenes asserts, and the Indians themselves assure us, used the same habit with the Theban Hercules. He took many wives, and begot a great number of sons, though but one daughter, whom he named Pandæa, and caused the whole province wherein she was born, and over which she afterwards ruled, to receive its name from her. Her father Hercules is said to have put her in possession of five hundred elephants, besides an army of four thousand horse and about one hundred and thirty thousand foot. Other Indians tell this story of Hercules, namely, that when he had travelled through all the earth, and purged it of every vice, he found a pearl in the sea, such as the merchants of this day buy up in India at a great price, and bring us; and such as the Greeks heretofore, and the better sort of Romans, at this time purchase at a vast expence. Hercules was so strangely taken with the lustre of this pearl, that he commanded such to be sought for throughout all the coasts of India, wherewith to adorn his daughter. Megasthenes writes, that the shell wherein this pearl is generated and enclosed is taken in netts, and that a vast number of other shells surround it, like a swarm of bees, because they have their King or Queen as bees have; if at any time their King happens to be taken by fishermen, they all suffer themselves to be taken with him; but if their King escapes, the rest are not easily inclosed. The Indians suffer the meat, or flesh, contained between these shells, to putrify, but preserve the pearls for their use. Some of these pearls are so much esteemed by the Indians, as to be valued at three times their weight in gold, though gold is also the produce of their country.

CHAP. IX.

IN these realms, over which the daughter of Hercules ruled, the women are deemed marriagable at seven years of age; but the men not till they arrive at the age of forty; and on this they have the following story, namely, that this daughter being born to Hercules, when he was advanced in years, and imagined himself not far from his end; and he, not able to find a spouse worthy of such a wife, took her to wife himself, she being then seven years of age, that so by a race between them, he might supply the throne of India with monarchs. Hercules rendered her marriagable at these years, for that purpose, and from that time annexed it as a peculiar privilege to the whole realm, over which his daughter bore sway, that all their females should be marriagable at that age. My opinion of the story is, that if Hercules was capable of having an affair of this kind with his daughter, and was able to get children, he must not be so near his end as they would have us to imagine; for if these stories
of theirs, concerning the early maturity of their females, deserve any
credit, they seem to bear some analogy with what is reported of their
men, namely, that the longest lived among them scarcely exceed forty
years of age. Now, the sooner death seizes them, the sooner they must
grow old of course; and if they wax grey early, they must be in their
prime proportionally; so that by this rule, men of thirty years of age
may be said to be arrived to hoaryness; and at twenty to be past their
strength; but at fifteen, or thereabouts, to be in their prime; and ac-
cording to this way of reasoning, their females might be marriageable in
their seventh year; for the same author assures us, that all sorts of fruits
come sooner to maturity, and die sooner there than elsewhere. From
Bacchus to Sandracottus, the Indians reckon one hundred and fifty three
monarchs, who reigned during the space of six thousand and forty two
years, in all which time they had only the liberty of being governed by
their own laws twice; first for about three hundred years, and after that,
about one hundred and twenty. They reckon Bacchus to have lived at
least fifteen ages before Hercules, and that none besides ever entered
their territories in an hostile manner, not even Cyrus, the son of Cam-
byses, though he waged war against the Scythians, and performed many
noble acts in other countries. However, they own that Alexander in-
vaded them, and conquered all wherever he came, and had certainly
overrun their whole country, if his army had not refused to march fur-
ther. As for the Indian kings, none of them ever lead an army out of
India, to attempt the conquest of any other country, lest they should
be deemed guilty of injustice.

CHAP. X.

The Indians allow no monuments to be reared in honour of their
deceased, esteeming their virtues sufficient to perpetuate their memory;
for which reason they make odes, and sing songs in praise of them.
Their cities are so numerous, as not to be easily reckoned. Those
which are situate near the sea, or any river, are built with wood; for no
buildings of brick would last long there, not only because of the vio-
lence of the rains, but also of the rivers, which overflowing their
banks, cause an annual inundation over all the flat country. But the
cities which are seated on any eminence are frequently built
with brick and mortar. The capital city of India is Palimbohra, in the
confines of the Prasii, near the confluence of the two great rivers Erann-
obboas and Ganges. Erannoboaas is reckoned the third river through-
out all India, and is inferior to none but the Indus and Ganges, into
the last of which it discharges it waters. Magasthenes assures us, that
the length of this city is eighty furlongs; the breadth fifteen; that it is
surrounded with a ditch which takes up six acres of ground, and is
thirty cubits deep; that the walls are adorned with five hundred and se-
venty towers, and sixty four gates. All the Indias are free, they har-
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ing no slaves among them, and in this they resemble the Lacedæmonians, among whom the Helots only are slaves, and perform servile offices, but the Indians are neither slaves themselves, nor suffer any others to be slaves in their country. They are chiefly distinguished into seven ranks or classes among themselves, one of which is their sophists, or wise men; these are much inferior to all the rest in numbers, but vastly superior to them in honour and dignity.

CHAP. XI.

THEY are never required to do any bodily labour; nor do they contribute any thing out of their gains towards the support of the public; nor, indeed, to be brief, have they any manner of occasion to work at all, their only business being to offer sacrifices for the public welfare: and if any person sacrifices privately, some of these sophists is employed to shew him the way and manner thereof, otherwise they imagine the gods would not accept his sacrifice. They are, moreover, the only diviners throughout all India; neither are any suffered to practise the art of divination except themselves. They usually make their predictions concerning the seasons of the year, and if any public calamity approach they are to foretell it. They never meddle with private affairs, either because they think that the art of divination extends not to inferior things, or, perhaps, because they deem it beneath their art to stoop to trifles. Whoever among them errs three times, by giving out false predictions, no corporeal punishment is inflicted on him, only he is ever after doomed to silence. And none dares presume to consult any sophist on whom such a sentence has once passed.

These sages go naked: in winter they bask in the sun-shine, but during the summer, while the sun is hot, they retire to the meadows and marshy places, where they lie under the covert of trees, some of which are of such excessive bigness, that Nearchus assures us, one tree will over-shadow at least five acres of ground, and screen an army of ten thousand soldiers from the sun-beams. They feed on ripe fruits and rhinds of trees at certain seasons of the year, which are both pleasant to the taste, and afford good nourishment, as dates, figs, and many others. The second class of men among the Indians is their husbandmen, of whom they have great numbers; these neither bear arms nor ever go out to war upon any emergency of state whatsoever; they only till the ground and pay tribute to the King, and some free cities. Moreover, if any intestine war happens to break forth among the Indians, it is deemed a heinous crime either to seize the husbandmen or to spoil their harvest. All the rest wage war against each other, and kill and slay as they think convenient, while they live quietly and peaceably among them, and employ themselves at their rural affairs, either in their fields or vineyards. The third class of Indians is their shepherds, whose
employment is either to feed sheep or oxen; these neither dwell in cities
nor villages, but live here and there upon the mountains, and pay an
annual tribute out of their flocks; they also spend some of their time
in catching birds and hunting wild beasts.

- CHAP. XII.

The fourth class of men among the Indians is their artificers and
tradesmen; these pay a tribute out of their gains, except such as are
employed to make weapons for war, for they are paid by the public:
of this sort are all ship-carpenters and sailors who sail upon their rivers.
The fifth class among them is their soldiers; they are more numerous
than any of the rest, except the husbandmen, and live free and jovial
lives. They wholly bend their minds to military affairs. Others prepare
them arms, provide them horses, and wait upon them in the camp.
They have also those who tend upon their horses, clean their arms,
govern their elephants, and drive their military chariots. During the
time of war they are obliged to serve their country in the camp, but in
times of peace they live merrily and pleasantly, and have as much
stipend allowed them from the public as is sufficient to maintain them,
and all their dependants. The sixth class is their supervisors or inquisi-
tors: these inquire into all transactions as well in the cities as in the
fields, and give an account thereof to their Kings, if they live under a
regal government, or to their chief magistrate, if in a free city. They
may not be guilty of falsehood, and, indeed, none of the Indians were
ever accused of that crime. The seventh and last rank among them is
composed of those who are appointed to consult about public affairs;
and these are either ministers of state under some King, or have the
administration of affairs of some free city chiefly devolved upon them.
These are few in number, but in wisdom and justice they are said to
exceed the rest. Out of this class are chosen the magistrates of cities,
and presidents of provinces, their legislators, generals of armies, com-
manders of fleets, and all the overseers of rural affairs. It is deemed
unlawful for any of these ranks or orders of men to marry a wife out of
his own class; for example, a husbandman may not marry the daughter
of an artificer, and so of the rest. None among them are suffered to
exercise two distinct trades, nor to leave off one, and take up another;
that is, he may not leave off husbandry, and turn shepherd, nor leave
off keeping sheep, and become an artificer. Only a sophist is allowed
to exercise what employment he pleases, but then their lives are not
easy, but vastly laborious,
CHAPTER XIII.

THE Indians hunt all sorts of wild beasts in the same manner as the Greeks, only their hunting the elephant is as much different from any of their other sports as the beast itself is from others. The hunters first of all chase out a plain and open space, large enough wherein to draw up an army, this they surround with a ditch five cubits in breadth and four in depth; the earth which they throw out of the ditch they pile up on each bank thereof in form of a rampart, and it serves instead of a wall to defend them: then, on the outward bank of the ditch, they dig caves for themselves instead of houses, leaving small holes in the sides, as well for the admission of light, as that through them they may see when the elephants approach, and enter the place which they have inclosed; and that they may entice them the sooner thither, they place three or four tame female elephants within the inclosure: one passage is only left, by a bridge laid over the ditch, which they cover with green turf, lest their craft should be discovered by the wild beasts. The hunters, in the mean time, lie close in the little caves they have dug for themselves. The wild elephants stir not out of the forests by day-light, but as soon as night comes on they wander out by droves in search for food, and follow the stoutest and most courageous among them as their captain, in the same manner as cows or oxen are seen to follow a bull. When they come nigh the inclosed place they hear the noise of the female elephants, and discerning them by the scent, immediately fly towards them, and going round the banks of the ditch, arrive at the bridge, and enter the inclosure. The hunters no sooner see them entered, than they haste from their caverns, or hiding-places, and some of them take away the bridge, others going to all the neighbouring villages, tell the inhabitants that the wild elephants are inclosed; whereupon the peasants immediately mount their best and tamest elephants, and haste thither; however, they do not venture to engage in fight against the wild ones till they have been for some time pinched with hunger and thirst; but when they perceive them grown weak and languid, they again lay down the bridge and enter the inclosure. At their first entrance a sharp encounter usually happens between the tame and the wild elephants, but after awhile, the wild ones, half dead with hunger and thirst before, are overcome. Then the governors of the tame ones, alighting upon the ground, bind a rope round their legs, and order their tame ones to beat them till they be so weary as to lie down; then they bind a cord round their neck, and climb upon them as they lie on the ground. And that they may learn to endure all sorts of usage afterwards, without offering to resist, they cut their necks round about with a sharp knife or dagger, and tie the rope fast into the wound, by which means the pain grows so excessive, that they can neither turn their heads towards one side nor the other. But if they still remain ungovernable, the cord is moved too,
and from the wound, and the pain vastly increased. Thus, at last, owning themselves overpowered, they suffer themselves to be led whithersoever their masters, with the same ones, please.

CHAP. XIV.

If any happen to come into the inclosed ground, either too young, or otherwise unfit for service, they are suffered to depart, and return to the woods unmolested: the rest, as soon as taken and overpowered, are led into the villages, and fed at first with grass and green corn; but if, by reason of pain, or excessive weariness, they continue sullen, and refuse to eat, the Indians who attend them cheer them up with soup, and encourage them with the sound of drums and cymbals; for if any beast may be said to be intelligent, surely the elephant is; for some of them, when their governors have been killed in battle, have borne them away to burial upon their trunks, through the midst of their enemies. Others, when their masters have been dismounted, and thrown upon the ground, have defended them from their enemies; and some have endangered their own lives to save those of their governors. I have heard a story of one in particular, who, having in a rage slain his keeper, was afterwards so much grieved, that he pined away with hunger. I myself have seen an elephant beat upon a cymbal, whilst several others danced to his music: two cymbals were hung between his fore legs, and one tied to his proboscis, or trunk: he then striking the cymbal, which was tied to his trunk, against the others between his fore legs, alternately, the rest of the elephants moved round him, as in a dance, and lifted up or bowed their bodies as fitly and justly as the measure and reason of the sound seemed to require, or as he who played upon the instruments directed. The female elephant couples with the male in the spring, in the same manner as the cow or mare; at which time certain veins, near her temples, are said to burst, and smell strong. She carries her young sixteen months, or at most eighteen, and brings forth one at a time, like a mare, which she suckles till it is seven or eight years old. Some elephants are said to live two hundred years, though most of them are cut off by diseases before they come to that age; but if they die by mere old age, it is usually about these years. Cows’ milk is used as a speedy remedy for the soreness of their eyes; and red wine, taken inwardly, is good for the rest of their distempers. The Indians cure their wounds with hogs’ flesh broiled, and rubbed upon the place.

CHAP. XV.

The natives of India esteem the tiger a much fiercer beast than the elephant. Nearchus tells us he saw the skin of one, but never the beast itself; but the inhabitants assured him that they were of the size of a
large full-grown horse, and of such strength and swiftness as to exceed all other wild beasts in both. When they attack the elephant, they leap furiously upon his head, and easily strangle him. Those which we saw, and call by the name of tigers, are no other than a kind of speckled wolves, only they are much larger than the ordinary sort. The same author tells us a story of the ants of that country, though he owns he never saw any of the Indian breed; however, he viewed several of their skins, which were brought by the Macedonian soldiers into Alexander's camp; and Megasthenes assures us, that what is commonly reported and written concerning those ants is undoubted truth, namely, that they dig gold out of the earth, not for the sake of the metal, but in preparing holes wherein to shelter themselves under ground; for they throw the earth up in the same manner as the small ants in our countries, only in much greater quantity; for these Indian ants are bigger than our foxes, and, by making their burrows of a depth proportionable to their bulk, they throw up the earth wherein the ore is contained, from which the Indians extract pure gold. This story of the ants Megasthenes only gives us upon the credit of others; and, as I can advance nothing of certainty concerning them, I shall say no more about them. Nearchus tells us of parrots bred in India as a great rarity there, and takes much pains to describe the several qualities of that bird, particularly his imitating men's words; but as I have seen many of those myself, and know them to be common enough, I shall forbear speaking of them as a rarity; neither shall I add any thing of the vast size of their apes there, their exceeding beauty, or the manner of taking them: these are all too well known to bear a description; and nothing, except an account of their beauty, can be now worth relating. The same author assures us, that speckled snakes are found there of a wonderful size and swiftness, and that Python, the son of Antigones, took one sixteen cubits long, though the natives told him they had many in their country much larger. The Grecian physicians found no remedy against the bite of these snakes; but the Indians cured those who happened to fall under that misfortune; for which reason, Nearchus tells us, Alexander having lost all the most skilful Indians about his person, caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp, that whoever was bit by one of these snakes should forthwith repair to the royal pavilion for cure. These physicians also cure other diseases; but as they have a very temperate clime, the inhabitants are not subject to many. However, if any among them feel themselves much indisposed, they apply themselves to their sophists, who, by wonderful, and even more than human means, cure whatever will admit of it.

CHAP. XVI.

THE Indians wear linen garments, the substance whereof they are made growing upon trees, which I have already described; and this is
indeed flax, or rather something much whiter and finer than flax, if the swarthiness of their bodies deceive us not, and make us believe it is whiter than it is. They wear shirts of the same, which reach down to the middle of their legs, and veils which cover their head, and a great part of their shoulders. The richer sort of Indians wear ear-rings of ivory, but as for the common people, they are not allowed to wear any. Nearchus informs us that the Indians daub their beards with several sorts of colours, insomuch that some of them appear white, others black, some red, some purple, and others green. Those who are of any considerable account among them have umbrellas carried over their heads in summer. Their shoes are made of white leather, curiously stitched together, and those who desire to appear tall have their soles thick, and made up of several colours. Their soldiery are not all armed in the same manner: their foot soldiers usually carry a bow of the same length with the bearer, which they lay on the ground, and place their left foot thereon, to bend it, by which means they draw the string far back. Their arrows are little less than three cubits long, and go with such a force, that no shield or breast-plate, nor any piece of armours, is so firm as to withstand them. Upon their left arm they wear something resembling the peltse, made up of raw hides, a little narrower than their bodies, but very near as long. Some of them use darts instead of arrows. All wear swords of a vast breadth, though scarce exceeding three cubits in length. Those, when they engage in close fight (which is very seldom, especially among one another), they grasp with both their hands, that the blow may be the stronger. Their horsemen carry each two darts, short and narrow, like small spits; their peltse, or shields, are less than those of the foot soldiers. They have neither saddles nor bridges for their horses, like those the Greeks or Celts make use of; but, instead of bridles, they bind a piece of raw bullock's hide round the lower part of their horses' jaws, to the inner part of which the meaner sort fix spikes of brass or iron, not very sharp; but the richer ones have theirs of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is a piece of iron like a dart, to which the reins are fastened. When therefore they draw the reins, the bit stops the horse, and the short spikes thereunto fixed make him subservient to the rider's will.

CHAP. XVII.

The Indians are most commonly tall, slender, well proportioned, and much lighter and nimbler than most other nations. They ride chiefly on camels, horses, or asses, and only the richer sorts are mounted on elephants. It is esteemed the highest honour among them to ride upon an elephant; the next, to be carried in a chariot, drawn by four horses; the third, to be mounted on the back of a camel; but to be seen on horseback is so common, as rather to be deemed a disgrace. The women among them, however chaste, and who will suffer them-
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selves to be deflowered for no other gift, will easily condescend, when an elephant is promised as the purchase. Neither is it deemed a whit disgraceful for a woman to prostitute her body to any one for the sake of an elephant; on the contrary, the women think it an honour to have their beauty valued at so high a rate. They marry without either giving or receiving any portion; but as many of their young women as they deemed marriagable are brought forth by their parents, into a public place, where he who wins the prize at wrestling, boxing, or running, or any other proposed exercise, chuses her for a wife who pleases him best. Many of the Indians employ themselves in husbandry, and eat bread, especially those who inhabit the plains. The mountaineers live mostly upon the flesh which they get by hunting. These things I thought convenient to write, concerning the manners and customs of the Indians, wherein I have chiefly followed Nearchus and Megasthenes, two famous and well-approved authors; for as it was not my chief design exactly to describe their laws or institutes in this work, but rather how Alexander's fleet was conveyed thence into Persia, I shall, from this time, be silent upon that subject.

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CHAP. XVIII.

ALEXANDER having now made ready a fleet on the banks of the river Hydaspes, manned it with all the Phcenicians, Cyprians, and Egyptians which he found in his camp, chusing the sailors and rowers out of such as he knew to be expert in sea affairs. There were also in his army great numbers of islanders, well versed in these matters, as well as Ionians, and those bordering upon the Hellespont: he therefore constituted these captains of his ships, viz. Hephæstion, the son of Amyntor; Leonnatus, the son of Eunus; Lysimachus, the son of Agathocles; Asclepiodorus, the son of Timander; Archon, the son of Clinias; Demonicus, the son of Athenæus; Archias, the son of Anaxidotus; Ophelias, the son of Silenus: these were Pellanæ. From Amphipolis, Nearchus, the Cretan, the son of Androtimus, author of the account of the voyage; Lampedon, the son of Larischus; Androtheneus, the son of Calistratus. From Orestis, Craterus, the son of Alexander; and Perdiccas, the son of Orestes. From Eordæum, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus; and Aristoæus, the son of Piseæus. From Pydus, Metron, the son of Epæcarus, and Nicharchides, the son of Simus; besides Attalus, the son of Andromenes, the Stymphæan, and Peuceata, the son of Alexæander, the Mieæan; Pithou, the son of Cræsea, the Alcomenean; Leonnatus, the son of Antipater, the Ægeæan; Pantauchus, the son of Nicolæus, the Aloræus; and Myllæus, the son of Zoilus, the Berœæan: these were Macedonæ. Medius, the son of Orynychæus, of Larisæ; Eumenæus, the son of Hieronymus, of Cardia; Critobulus, the son of Plato, of Cous; Thoæus, the son of Menodorus, and Mææander, the son of Mædrogenes, of Magnææum; Andron, the son of Cæbeæus, of Teia: these were
 Greeks, Nicocles, the son of Pusocrates, of Soli; and Nithadon, the son of Pythagoras, of Salamis: these were Cretans. One Persian was made captain of a trireme (Magnes, the son of Pharnachus); Onesicritus, of Astyphales, was governor of the royal galley. Evagoras, the son of Eucleon, the Corinthian, secretary to the whole fleet. Nearchus, the son of Androtimus, was admiral, or commander-in-chief. This Nearchus was by birth a Cretan, but dwelt at Amphipolis, a city seated on the banks of the river Strymon. All things thus in readiness, Alexander offered sacrifices to the gods of his country, and to such others as the augurs directed him; as also to Neptune and Amphitrite, the Nereids, and the ocean, to the river Hydaspes, from whence he set sail to Acesines, into which the Hydaspes flows, and to the river Indus, into which they both discharge their waters. He also exhibited solemn exercises of music and wrestling, and distributed the flesh of the victims throughout his whole army, according to their troops and squadrons.

CHAP. XIX.

ALL things being then prepared for a voyage, he ordered Craterus to march with some of his forces, as well horse as foot, on one bank of the river Hydaspes, whilst Hæphæston, with the far greater part, besides two hundred elephants, marched on the other bank over against them. He himself led those called the targeteers, and all the archers, and auxiliary horse, to the number of about eight thousand. He moreover commanded Craterus and Hæphæston to march before the fleet, and wait for its arrival at the place appointed. He also dispatched Philip, whom he had made governor over that country, to the river Acesines, with some of the forces under his command. For he had now an army of one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, reckoning those whom he hired from the maritime places. Soon after arrived those officers whom he had sent on board to raise recruits, and brought a vast number of barbarians out of all the nations round them, armed with various sorts of weapons. He, in the mean time, sailing down the Hydaspes, proceeded to the place where that river falls into the Acesines. His fleet was composed of about eight hundred vessels of all sorts, some of which were long ships, or ships built on purpose for war. Some ships of burthen for carrying provisions for the army, and others for carrying horses. But how this fleet passed down these rivers, how many nations they subdued in that passage, what danger Alexander exposed himself to among the Malli, and how he was wounded, and preserved from death there by Penecestas and Leonnatus, are particulars already fully related in the foregoing work, which I have written in the Attick dialect. It only remains, therefore, that I here give an account how Nearchus, after he had got clear of both the mouths of the river Indus, sailed through the ocean, as far as the Persian Gulph, which some call the Red Sea.
CHAP. XX.

NEARCHUS assures us, that Alexander had a vast ambition of sailing all through the sea from India to Persia, but was deterred by the length and danger of the voyage; and besides, he was afraid that his fleet, falling upon some desert shore, or putting into some dangerous creek, might be lost, and the army on board perish for want of provisions, which would be a vast blot upon his former actions, and serve to sully all the glory of his other exploits. However, after a while, the prodigious desire he entertained of attempting something surprisingly great and uncommon, overcame these scruples. His next doubt was, where to find one able and willing to execute this project, and to allay the fears of those who were to undertake this tedious voyage, and thought themselves neglected, and exposed to manifest and unnecessary danger.—Nearchus tells us, that Alexander communicated his thoughts to him, and asked his advice whom he should chuse admiral of this expedition; and when several were proposed, and some refused the command, for fear of miscarrying therein, some out of downright cowardice, and others out of a longing desire they had to return home, the King upbraided them one after another, with an account of the favours he had already bestowed upon them. At last, when none were found hardy enough for so dangerous a task, Nearchus promised to undertake it, and addressed himself to his sovereign in words to this purpose:—‘O King, will undertake the charge of the fleet, and (if God prosper my endeavours) will convey both the ships and soldiers on board safe into Persia, if the sea along these coasts be navigable, or if any human art or industry can accomplish it.” Alexander, at first, seemed to deny his request, professing himself unwilling to expose any of his friends to such vast toils, and manifest hazards; but when he still continued his suit, and urged it strongly, Alexander began to commend his ready and cheerful resolution, and immediately constituted him admiral over the fleet; whereupon the soldiers appointed for that expedition, as well as the sailors, were much encouraged, because they imagined that the King would never have sent Nearchus rashly and unadvisedly into the face of danger. Besides, the magnificent preparations which were made, the costly ornaments which were laid out upon the navy, the complaisance of the captains towards the common sailors, and the vast stores laid in for the voyage, infused new life into them all, and raised those who before despaired of safety to a fresh degree of hope. Besides, it was no small encouragement to them that Alexander himself had sailed out of both the mouths of the river Indus into the ocean, and not only offered sacrifices to Neptune, and the rest of the marine deities, for the safety of the voyage, but had also thrown several things of great value into the sea. The uninterrupted series of his good fortune contributed not a little to establish their opinion of this undertaking, because nothing which he had ever attempted hitherto had failed of success.
CHAP. XXI.

As soon, therefore, as the Etesian, or anniversary winds ceased (which, on these coasts, blow from the sea towards the land the whole summer, and thereby render navigation impracticable during that time) they began their voyage on the 20th day of the month Boedromion, the 11th year of Alexander's reign, according to the Macedonian and Asiatic computation, when Cephisodorus was Archon of Athens. Before they set sail, Nearchus offered sacrifices to Jupiter the Preserver, and exhibited gymnastic entertainments; and on the first day they sailed down the river Indus to a certain large canal or river, called Stura, about one hundred stadia distant from their first station, where they tarried two days. On the third day they again moved forwards, and came to another river, called Caunens, about thirty stadia distant from the former; there the water tasted brackish, like that of the ocean; for the tide flowing up beyond this place, mixes with the river water, which retains its taste, even after the tide is returned. Thence proceeding on their voyage twenty stadia further, they arrived at Coreinis, still in the river, whence they had not sailed far before they beheld the mouth of the river, where was a dangerous rock; besides the waves beat violently upon the shore, and the shore itself was rugged and unsafe. But having dug a canal of about five stadia in length, where the earth was easiest to remove, as soon as the tide began to rise, they got their whole fleet safe through that passage into the ocean. Having sailed thence about one hundred and fifty stadia, they came to a sandy island, called Crocule, where they tarried one day. The continent adjacent to this is inhabited by the Arabi, an Indian nation, whom I have already mentioned in the foregoing work, and given an account that the country receives its name from the river Arabius, which flowing along the confines, divides their territories from the Oritza. From Crocule they proceeded on their voyage, having the mountain Irus on their right hand, and a low flat island on their left, which extending almost to the Continent, makes a narrow passage. Having gone through this, they came to a safe haven, which, because it was both large and commodious, Nearchus ordered to be named the port of Alexander. Opposite the mouth of this haven, at the distance of two stadia, is an island called Bibacta, though the adjacent country be named Sangada. This island is so seated, as of its own nature to form a haven. Here the winds grew very boisterous, and blew directly in upon the shore a long time together, for which reason Nearchus landed his men; but fearing that some of the barbarian nations should make a descent, and attack their camp, he caused a wall of stone to be run round it, and tarried there four and twenty days; during which time, he tells us, his men caught fish, which they called sea-mice, and oysters of a strange and surprising bigness, in comparison to those in our seas; and that all the water thereabouts was brackish.
CHAPTER XXII.

WHEN the wind was abated, they again put to sea, and having sailed about sixty stadia further, came to a sandy coast, before which was a certain desolate island, named Domas; which, by its situation, formed a haven, but as the water upon the coast was all brackish, they travelled about twenty stadia up a level country, where they found water sweet and pleasant; and sailing all the next day, in the evening they came to a country called Saranga, about three hundred stadia from their former station, where they went on shore, and found good water about eight stadia from their landing-place. Thence they renewed their voyage, and arrived at Sacala, a country wholly uninhabited; whence they passed between two rocks so near each other, that the blades of their oars touched them on both sides at once. When they had sailed three hundred stadia, they came to Morontobara, where is a large, spacious, safe, and commodious haven, but the entrance into it is narrow and rocky. This the natives called the Woman's Haven, from a certain woman who first reigned in that place. Having passed the rocks with some difficulty, they came into the open sea again, and continuing their voyage, left a certain island on their left hand, which is so near joining to the main land, that the channel which separates them seems to have been cut through. That day they sailed about seventy stadia. The shore all along the continent was full of thick woods, and the island opposite thereto was also woody. About break of day they departed thence, and passed through the above-mentioned channel by the help of the tide, and after a course of one hundred and twenty stadia, arrived at the mouth of the river Arabius, where they found a large and safe harbour, but no fresh water, because the tide flows a great way up the river, and makes it brackish; wherefore, passing about forty stadia up the river, they came to a lake, the water of which being sweet, they took what they wanted and returned. The island opposite to this haven is high land, and uncultivated, but found it are vast quantities of oysters, and all kinds of fish, which makes it be frequented by fishermen. Thus far the country of the Arabii extends itself, being the last part of India that way, for the Oritte inhabit the other side of the river.

CHAPTER XXIII.

LEAVING the mouth of the river Arabius, and sailing along the coast of the country of the Oritte about two hundred furlongs, they arrived at the island Pagala, where they lay, for the place afforded good anchorage, and while the ships rode there, the sailors went ashore for water; and then departing as soon as it was light, the next morning they sailed four hundred and thirty stadia, and arrived at Cabana in
the evening, designed to have drawn the fleet close into the shore, but because it was rocky and unsafe, they were forced to lie off at sea. Here a violent storm arising, bore hard upon the ships which were exposed to the open sea, by which two long ships and one small bark were lost, but the men saved themselves by swimming, for it was not far from land. Leaving that place about midnight, after they had gained two hundred stadia, they arrived at Coca, where the sailors rested themselves upon the shore, while the ships rode at anchor in the sea. Nearehus, considering that his men had long endured the hardships and fatigues of the sea, was willing to give them a little refreshment upon the land, and lest they should be exposed to the insults of enemies, he ran a trench round the place of their encampment. Here Leonnatus, whom Alexander had dispatched against the Oritte, overthrew them and their confederates in a great battle, six thousand of their soldiers being slain in the field, besides all their officers. Of Leonnatus’s party, about fifteen horse and a few foot fell that day, besides Appolophonas, Governor of Gadroasia. But these things are already related in the former history. Leonnatus had a crown of gold placed on his head by Alexander, among other Macedonian generals, on account of this victory. Here Alexander procured corn for the sustenance of his army. Nearehus and his men were ten days employed in bringing sufficient stores on board the fleet, and in refitting the ships which had been shattered by storms. Such of his men as were sluggish, and could not brook the fatigues of the sea, were sent to Leonnatus, instead of which, he received a supply of such of Leonnatus’s soldiers as were unwilling to travel further by land.

THENCE with a fair wind, they sailed about five hundred stadia, till they came to a certain river called Tomerus, at whose entrance into the ocean was a lake near the shore. The inhabitants of these parts, who dwelt in small huts, no sooner beheld the fleet approaching towards them, but (as if surprised at the strangeness of the sight) they immediately gathered together upon the shore, as though they would have hindered the soldiers from landing. They had spears of six cubits long, but their points were not of iron, but wood sharpened, and hardened in the fire, so as to be able to do good execution; and their number was about six hundred. As soon as Nearehus perceived that they were drawn up in order of battle, he commanded his ships to move towards the shore, so that their darts and arrows from on board might reach the enemy, for the thick spears of the barbarians seemed to be contrived on purpose for close fight, but were not much to be feared at a small distance. Then such of his soldiers as were expert in swimming, and light-armed, he ordered to swim on shore, and gave strict charge, that as soon as they touched the ground, they should wait...
in the water for their companions, and not pretend to cast a dart before they had drawn up their whole body in three ranks, and that then they should make their attack with a great shout, and all the fury imaginable. The swimmers accordingly, upon a signal given, threw themselves into the sea, and presently reached the shore; then drawing up, according to their instructions, and raising a shout, they attacked the barbarians with their utmost force, and, at the same time, those on board the fleet answering their shout, galled them with darts, and other missive weapons, from their engines. The barbarians, surprised at the glaring of their armour, and the suddenness of the shock, by sea as well as land, being themselves but indifferently armed, immediately fled. Many of them were slain in their flight, and many taken; the rest fled to the mountains. Those who were taken were found to be hairy all over their bodies, as well as their heads, and to have nails sharp and long like the paws of wild beasts. Those nails served them instead of iron instruments; with them they killed their fish, with them they cut all sorts of soft wood, and made use of sharp stones for those which were harder; for they had no iron among them; and the skins of wild beasts, or those of the larger sort of fish, served them for cloathing.

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CHAP. XXV.

HERE Nearcclus ordered the ships to be drawn on shore, and those which were damaged to be repaired, and proceeding forwards again on their voyage, the sixth day they sailed six hundred stadia, and arrived at the utmost limits of the country of the Orites, which the inhabitants call Malana. The Orites, who inhabit the inland parts, are clad in the same manner as the Indians, and use the same weapons; but their language and customs are different. The length of this whole voyage from the mouth of the river Indus, along the coasts of the Aesbaii, is a thousand stadia; and the length of the coast of the Orites amounts to one thousand and six hundred stadia. Nearcclus assures us, that during his voyage along the coast of India (for no part of India extends beyond the Orites) the shadows fall not the same way, as in other parts; for when they sailed far into the ocean towards the south, there the shadows near noon-day declined southward; and when the sun was upon the meridian, they had no shadows at all; the stars also which were used to appear high above the horizon either appeared not at all, or came but just in sight, and he observed many of them there to rise and set, which had always before been visible. These accounts of his are by no means improbable; for in Syene, a city of Egypt, at the time of the summer solstice, is a certain well, where the sun at noon shines down to the bottom. In Meroe also, at the same season of the year, the inhabitants have no shadows. It is therefore highly reasonable that those parts of India which lie farthest south should have the same phenomena as those
parts of Egypt, especially along the Indian ocean to the southward of the Continent; but of these by the bye.

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CHAP. XXVI.

AFTER the Orice, the first country which presents itself along the coast is that of the Gadrosii, which Alexander and his army found so much difficulty in marching through, and where they sustained more loss, and laboured more under inconveniences than in all their expedition besides; but of this I have treated already. Beyond the Gadrosii dwell those people called the Ichtyophagi, or fish-eaters, whose coasts they passed along; and when they had sailed the first day about six hundred stadia, they arrived at Bagisara, where was a haven fit for the reception of a fleet, and a village named Pasira, about sixty stadia distant from the shore. The next day, departing sooner than ordinary, they sailed round a certain rock, or promontory, high and rugged, and stretching out far into the sea; where, digging wells, they found water enough, but it was brackish; and that night the fleet lay at an anchor, for they durst not approach the shore, it being rocky. The day after, having gained two hundred stadia, they came to Colta; whence, departing by day-light, after they had sailed six hundred stadia further, they arrived at Calamsa, a village near the shore, where they refreshed themselves, and where they found some dates and green figs. There was an island about an hundred stadia distant from the shore, called Curnine, where Nearchus received gifts, and hospitable entertainment by the villagers; their presents were cattle and fish. The flesh of their cattle was fishy, not much unlike to sea-fowl, for they feed altogether upon fish, there being no grass upon the island. The next day, passing two hundred stadia further, they put to shore, and found a village about thirty stadia up the country, called Cysea, though the name of the coast be Carbis. Here they found certain small boats, belonging to some poor fishermen, who fled, as soon as they perceived the fleet approach towards them. But there was no corn there, and the army on board began now to be in want of that: however, they caught some goats, and having brought them on board, departed. Thence, sailing round a certain high rocky promontory, which reaches one hundred and fifty stadia into the sea, they came to a safe haven, where dwelt many fishermen, and where was plenty of fresh water; the name of it was Mosarna.

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CHAP. XXVII.

HERE, Nearchus tells us, he took in a pilot, to direct them how to steer their course along these coasts, whose name was Hydruces, a...
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dromian, who promised him to conduct the fleet safe to Carmania. All this shore from hence, to the Gulph of Persia, is less difficult to be passed, though much more famous in story than those he had passed already. The fleet therefore, moving from Mosara by night, sailed seven hundred and fifty stadia, and arrived on the coast of Balomus, and thence four hundred more, to a village called Barma, where are many palm-trees, and gardens stored with myrtles, and various sorts of flowers, whereof the inhabitants made garlands. Here they first found fruit-trees, and men somewhat less savage than any they had met with since the beginning of their voyage. Thence, passing two hundred stadia, they came to Dendrobos, where their fleet lay at anchor some time; but moving thence, about midnight, they gained the haven of Cophanta, about four hundred stadia further. Here many fishermen resided, who made use of small slighe boats, and rowed not with oars, over the side, according to the Grecian manner, but with paddles, which they thrust into the water as diggers do their spades into the earth. Here they found plenty of fresh water, exceeding good and pleasant. And departing from thence about the first watch of the night, they came to Cyiza, after they had sailed eight hundred stadia, and finding the coast rocky and barren, they cast their anchors, and refreshed themselves on board. Thence, passing five hundred stadia further, they arrived at a small town seated upon a hill, not far from the shore. Nearchus, imagining that the country thereabouts produced corn, told Archias, the son of Anaxidotus, the Pellaean, that the town must be surprised and taken, for the townsman would not furnish them with corn, unless they were forced; and to take it openly by assault they were not able, because it would endure a siege, and they wanted an immediate supply. He guessed that it produced corn, from the thick and tall stalks which he saw at a distance, not far from the shore. This advice receiving his approbation, he fitted out some of his ships upon this secret expedition, and gave the charge thereof to Archias, whilst himself sailed forward with no more than one ship, to take a view of the place.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

THEY approached the town in a friendly manner, and were kindly received by the inhabitants, who presented them with broiled tunny-fish (for they were the last of the Icthyophagi, and did not eat raw fish, like the rest of that nation), besides dates, and other ripe fruits. These Nearchus received, but told them he would willingly view their town, which they also agreed to; but when he had entered the gates, he left two archers to guard them, whilst himself, with two more, besides an interpreter, mounting the wall, on that side next the fleet, made a signal to Archias, as they had before agreed between themselves. Archias no sooner perceived the signal, than he immediately drew the fleet nearer,
and the Macedonians leaped into the sea, to swim ashore; whereas the barbarians being astonished, flew to their arms: but Nearchus caused proclamation to make, by his interpreter, that if they would furnish the army on board with corn, their town should not suffer any damage. They denied, at first, that they had any, and pressed forwards to the walls, but were easily repulsed by Nearchus’s archers, who galled them with darts, from an advanced station. And when they perceived that the town was now in their enemy’s hands, and in danger of being sacked, they addressed themselves to Nearchus in an humble manner, beseeching him to accept of what corn they had for his use, but to spare the town. Nearchus ordered Archias to seize the gates, and take possession of the wall, while he dispatched others through the place, to see if they dealt faithfully with him, and shewed them all the stores of corn they had. The townspeople accordingly showed them much meal made of fish dried, and ground to powder; but little of wheat or barley; for they made use of that powder of dried fish for bread, and of wheat-bread for meat. When they had shewed them all their stock, they took what they had occasion for, and departed thence to a rock or island called Bagia, which the inhabitants look upon as sacred to the sun.

CHAP. XXIX.

THENCE, sailing about midnight, they proceeded a thousand stadia further, to Talmena, a haven safe and commodious; and thence sailing four hundred furlongs, they arrived at Canasia, a city in ruins, where they found a well ready dug, and some palm-trees overshadowing it, the tenderest parts of the tops whereof they shred small, and eat; for they now begun to be in great want of bread. They therefore hoisted their sails again, and sailed all that night, and the next day, along a barren coast, and then cast anchor, Nearchus being afraid to suffer them to land, for fear they should take that opportunity of leaving their ships, because they begun to despair of safety by sea. Thence departing, they proceeded to Canates, about seven hundred and fifty stadia distant; and sailing thence, because it was a flat shore, and every where separated by small ditches, or rills of water, they came to Træsi, a country about eight hundred stadia farther. There were some small and poor villages near the coast, but the inhabitants fled. However they found a little corn and palm-fruit, and seized upon seven camels, which were left behind; these they immediately killed, and eat their flesh. Thence continuing their voyage about day-light, they advanced to Dagesira, three hundred stadia further; which place a certain wandering colony then possessed; whence departing, they sailed that whole night and the next day, without casting anchor or taking any rest on shore; and having proceeded thus one thousand and one hundred stadia, they passed the utmost limits of the country of the Ichyophagi, being still reduced to great straits for want of provisions; besides, they durst not venture to
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put their ships to the shore, because it was rocky, for which reason they were forced to cast anchor in the open sea. The whole length of the coast of this country of the Icthyophagi, as they computed it by this voyage, is ten thousand stadia. The inhabitants received that appellation from their living upon fish. Some of them are professed fishermen, though few have boats for that purpose, or understand much how to catch fish artfully; for they get the greatest quantity of theirs when the tide leaves the shore. Some of them, indeed, make nets, of two stadia in length, and make use of the inner rhind of palm-trees, which they twist together as we do hemp; but when the tide falls away, and the sea leaves their shores, they find vast plenty of fish in the small gilllets, or hollow places, where the shore is not quite flat, which they catch in nets and keep for their use. Some of these are small, and others larger; the small ones they take out of their nets, and immediately eat them raw; the larger and tougher sort they lay in the sun to roast, and afterwards rub them to powder, and make bread thereof, and some mix this powder and the flour of wheat together. Their cattle have much the same diet as their masters; for that country is wholly barren, and yields no sort of grass. Vast store of crabs and oysters, and all sorts of shell-fish, are found on these coasts; and the country naturally produces olive-trees, from whence they extract oil. But those who inhabit the most desolate parts, which produce neither trees nor fruits, live wholly upon fish. Few sow any corn; and even those who do, eat the bread instead of meat, and fish instead of bread. They build their houses in this manner: the richer sort among them gather up the bones of whales, or such other large fish as they find cast upon the shore, and use the smaller bones for rafters, and those of a larger size for door-posts; but the people of inferior rank build with the ribs and back-bones of other fish.

CHAP. XXX.

WHALES of a vast bulk are often seen in these foreign seas; and many other sorts of fish are bred there, much larger than any in ours. Nearchus tells us, that in their voyage near Cyziza, he saw the water, one morning, forced upwards in a violent manner, and rising aloft from the sea, as if hoisted up by a whirl-wind, and when the mariners were surprised at the strangeness of the sight, and enquired of the pilots what could be the cause thereof, they were answered that fish sporting in the sea spouted forth the waters to that vast height, whereupon they were seized with so much fear, that they suffered the oars to fall out of their hands. However, the admiral encouraged them, and ordered them, whenever they perceived any of those monstrous fish approach, to direct the beaks of their ships exactly towards them, as if they were to engage an enemy in a sea-fight, as also to row stonily, and to make as great a noise as they could, as well with their voices as their oars. The mariners, thus instructed, recovered from their fright, and, upon a signal given, pleyed their oars manfully; and when they came near the fish,
not only shouted as loud as possible, but sounded their trumpets, and beat the sea vehemently with their oars; whereupon the whales, who were now just under the beaks of their ships, terrified with the strangeness of the sound, sunk down to the bottom of the deep, and rising again at some distance, began to spout forth the water as before. Then the sailors rejoiced exceedingly at their unexpected deliverance, and, with one voice, applauded the wisdom and courage of their admiral. Some of those whales are left ashore on different parts of that coast (when the tide falls away), and entangled in the shallows; others are thrown ashore by the violence of storms, and when their bodies are consumed, and the fish all washed away, the bones of the skeleton serve the inhabitants instead of timber, wherewith to build their houses. The ribs and larger bones they chuse for beams and rafters, the lesser for boards for covering; the jaw-bones for door-posts; for many of these whales grow to the length of an hundred cubits.

CHAP. XXXI.

NEARCHUS having now passed the country of the Icthyophagi, was told that there was a barren island in that sea, about an hundred stadia distant from the Continent, called Nusala, sacred to the sun, and not to be approached by any mortal; or if any body be so imprudent as to venture on shore there, he immediately disappears, and is seen no more. Whereupon he dispatched one small galley, manned with Egyptian mariners, who, having entered the island, vanished out of sight; and his commanders reported that the sailors, having rashly ventured to land, were suddenly hurried away. However, he afterwards sent a ship of thirty oars, to coast round the island (but ordered them not to attempt to land); and all the way as they sailed along the shore thereof, to call upon the pilot of the ship by name, or any other of the most noted mariners. But when none durst undertake the voyage, he tells us he attempted it himself, and forced some mariners, even against their will, to attend him on board: but when they came to make a descent, they found all that story relating to the island vain and fictitious. However, he assures us he heard another story concerning it, namely, that one of the Nereids had chosen it for her place of residence, and that she was wont to have carnal knowledge of all the men, who, by any accident, were forced on shore there; and afterwards she changed them into fish, and sent them into the sea: whereupon the sun, being enraged against her, commanded her to depart out of the island; but she beseeching him to free her from her innate rage of lust, he not only granted her request, but also, that whomsoever her enchantments had metamorphosed into fish, should re-assume their former shapes, and become men again; and from these men, thus reduced, he tells us, proceeded the nation of the Icthyophagi, which continued till Alexander's time. As for my part, I cannot forbear wondering that Nearchus should so far abuse his natural wisdom, and known sagacity, to suffer himself to be imposed
BEYOND the Icthyophagi, in the inland parts, dwell the Gadrosii, in a barren and sandy country, where Alexander and his army suffered intolerable hardships, as is already mentioned in the foregoing work. After Nearchus, with the fleet under his command, had passed the coasts of the Icthyophagi, they came to Carmania, and anchored their ships in the sea, because the shore there was rocky and dangerous. Thence they stretched their course not so near the west as before, but rather between the south and west. Carmania is a country much more fertile, both in corn and fruits, than either those of the Icthyophagi or Orites, and much better stored with grass and fresh water. When they arrived at Badia, a well cultivated place of Carmania, they found plenty of fruit-trees of most kinds, except olives, as also grand store of vines and corn. Thence proceeding eight hundred stadia, they touched upon a shore wholly waste: from this place they saw a vast promontory, stretched out a vast way into the ocean, which seemed about a day's sail distant from them. Those who understood the situation of the country affirmed that this promontory belonged to Arabia, and was called Maceta, and that cinnamon, and other fragrant spices, were conveyed thence to the Assyrians. From this shore, where the fleet lay at anchor, and the promontory which they then saw before them (according to Nearchus's opinion, to which I readily assent), the Gulph of Persia, which some call the Red Sea, has its beginning. When Onesicritus viewed this promontory, he gave orders that the fleet should steer directly thither; but Nearchus opposed him, and declared, That Onesicritus must have a shallow memory, if he did not remember for what purpose the fleet was ordered to pass those seas. He then assured him, that the above-mentioned voyage was not undertaken because the King was unable to convey the whole army safe home by land, but because he had fixed the resolution of viewing the situation of all shores, havens and islands; of searching the bottom of all gulphs and creeks, and having an account given him of all maritime places, and which countries were fruitful, and which barren and uninhabited; and that therefore they ought not entirely to pervert the whole design, when they were now well near the end of their voyage, especially seeing they wanted no necessaries to prosecute it: he was afraid, as that promontory stretched itself so much to the southward, that, by sailing round the point, they might fall upon some sandy, barren, and sun-burnt region."—Nearchus's judgment prevailed, and this seasonable advice of
his seems to me to have preserved the fleet; for all the country adjacent to that promontory is said to be wild and uncultivated, and wholly destitute of fresh water.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE fleet moving thence, and passing along shore the space of seven hundred stadia, came to another coast, called Neoptana, and leaving that place about day-break, and sailing an hundred stadia further; they arrived at a town called Hamozis, at the mouth of the river Amaenis, in a country pleasant and agreeable, and abounding in every thing except olives. Here, going on shore, they gladly refreshed themselves, after so many and hard labours, and joyfully reflected on the various accidents they had encountered during the whole voyage. They there called to mind their great distresses among the Ichyophagi; their touching upon desert and uninhabited coasts; their falling in among nations savage and inhospitable, while they laboured under the most dreadful circumstances of hunger and thirst. In the mean while, some of them rowing further than ordinary into the country, at a distance from their companions, as their own fancies directed them, found there a certain person, whose cloak, and all other habiliments, were perfectly shaped after the Grecian manner, and who also spoke Greek, at the sight of whom they could not refrain tears of joy, so strange and unexpected a thing it was for them, after the fatigues of so long a voyage, to see one of their own countrymen, and hear their own language spoke. They then asked him who he was, and how he came thither? He replied, that he was a Grecian, who had wandered from Alexander's camp, and that the King and his whole army were not far distant. He was thereupon conducted to Nearchus, with all the acclamations of joy imaginable, and told him that the army lay encamped about five days journey from that place. He also proposed to bring the governor of that province to Nearchus, and performed it accordingly. He consulted with him how he should go to the King by land, which done, they went on board the fleet together. Early the next morning he ordered the fleet to be drawn on shore, partly to repair whatever was broke or shattered during the voyage, and partly because he determined to leave most of his forces there; wherefore he took care to run a double rampart and ditch round, to secure them, and make a deep ditch from the bank of the river to that part of the shore where the whole navy lay.

CHAP. XXXIV.

IN the mean time, while Nearchus was busy in making preparations for his journey, the governor of that province, knowing how solicitous the King was for the safety of his fleet, imagined he should be
ARRIAN'S INDIAN HISTORY.

royally rewarded if he carried the first news that the army was safe, and
Nearchus on his way thither; wherefore, taking the nearest road, he
came to Alexander, and told him the story. The King, though he
gave no credit to his intelligence, was nevertheless rejoiced at the news:
but when several days passed from the time when he received the first
notice thereof, he began to suspect the truth of what had been told him;
and when several messengers had been dispatched, one after another, to
convey Nearchus thither; and some, when they had gone a little way,
returned, without being able to give any account of him; and others,
who had gone further, but found him not, returned not at all; then the
King ordered the man, who had thus augmented his sorrow by an un-
seasonable joy, to be taken into custody, as the author of a false
rumour; and he then began to shew, by his countenance, the excessive
grief which he had harboured in his breast. In the mean while, others
who were dispatched, with horses and chariots, to seek and bring up
Nearchus, met him and Archias on their way, with no more than five or
six attendants. At the first sight they knew neither of them, they were
so much altered, and looked so different from what they had formerly
done. The hair of their heads, and their beards, hung down in a neg-
lected manner; their faces were weather-beaten, swarthy, and sun-
burnt, and their bodies emaciated with much watching and hard labour.
When Nearchus and his companions asked them the way to Alexander's
camp, they gave them directions, and marched straight forwards; but
Archias, imagining on what errand they were sent, turned to Nearchus,
and told him that those men, taking the same way by which they came,
he verily thought were dispatched on purpose to seek them; that he did
not wonder they knew them not, they being so vastly changed, as well in
face as habit; "but," says he, "let us make ourselves known to them,
and enquire the reason of their journey this way."—This advice pleasing
Nearchus, they asked them whither they intended to travel; and re-
ceived answer, That they were sent to search for Nearchus, and the
army on board the fleet; to whom he immediately replied, "I am
Nearchus, and this man is Archias; be ye therefore our guides to the
camp, and we will satisfy the King concerning the safety of both."

CHAP. XXXV.

TAKING them therefore into their chariots, they returned towards
the camp; some of the company, notwithstanding, having an ambition
to carry the first news, hastened and told the King that Nearchus
approached in person, and with him Archias, and five more of their com-
panions; but as to the army, he had heard nothing concerning it, and
therefore could give no account of it. From this news Alexander
therefore, that Nearchus and Archias were, by some extraordinary
providence, happily preserved, but that the whole army on board was lost; and therefore his joy for their preservation could hardly balance the grief he endured for the supposed loss of the fleet. However, the messenger had scarce made an end of speaking, when Nearchus and Archias arrived, whom Alexander could hardly know, they were so rough and weather-beaten, and their cloaths in such a tattered condition. And this mean appearance of theirs served to confirm him in the opinion he had conceived of the disaster happened to the fleet, and heightened his grief on that occasion. Wherefore, taking Nearchus by the right hand, and leading him apart from among his friends and guards, he wept for a long time; but at last, restraining his tears,—"Forasmuch as you, Nearchus and Archias (says he) are returned safe and unhurt, I bear the loss of the whole fleet with patience; but resolve me by what misfortune the navy and army on board came to perish."—Then Nearchus, perceiving the cause of his grief, replied, "O King, your navy and army are both safe, and we are come as messengers of their happy arrival."—The King no sooner heard these words, but tears of joy succeeded those of sorrow, because his fleet was preserved so contrary to his expectations. He then enquired of Nearchus where they were in harbour, who assured him they were at the mouth of the river Anamis, and drawn on shore to be repaired. The King then swore by the Grecian Jove, and the Libyan Hammon, that the preservation of his fleet was more acceptable to him than the conquest of Asia, and that the grief he should have endured for the loss of that would have overbalanced all his joy for the acquisition of the other.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE governor of the province, who had been taken into custody, on suspicion of false intelligence, beholding Nearchus, fell at his feet, and cried out, "I am he who brought the King the first news of your safe arrival, and see how I am received."—Then, at Nearchus's request, he was set at liberty. Alexander then offered sacrifices to Jupiter, the Preserver, Hercules, and Apollo Alexicacus (or the Preventer of Misfortunes); to Neptune, and the other sea-gods, for the preservation of his navy. He also exhibited sports, of music and wrestling, himself leading on the shew. Nearchus was honoured with the chief place there, and had flowers and garlands strewn before him by all the army; which done, the King spoke to him to this effect:—"I will henceforth no more expose thee, O Nearchus, to fresh toils and hazards, but will depute some other to convey the fleet to Susa." To whom Nearchus replied, "I desire, and am in duty bound to obey my sovereign in all things; but if you will shew me any favour, let me obtain this my earnest request, to preside over the fleet and army on board, till they be safe at Susa; and, as I have with great danger and hazards brought
them thus far, let not another reap the glory of my toils, and finish what is now easy and delightful." Whilst he was thus speaking, Alexander ordered him to take heart, for his request was granted, and so dismissed him, with a slender guard, to his ships, because they were not to pass through an enemy's country. However, this journey of Nearchus back to the sea-shore was not without danger; for the barbarians having gathered vast forces together, had already assaulted and taken the strong holds in Carmania; their governor had finished what was ordered him by Alexander; and Tlepolemus, who was deputed to succeed him, had not yet got so firm possession by reducing the natives, but that two or three different parties of them attacked Nearchus and his companions, all in one day; wherefore making what haste they could, they, with much trouble and difficulty, at last arrived safe at the sea-shore. There Nearchus offered sacrifices to Jupiter, the Preserver, and ordered gymnic exercises to be solemnly exhibited.

CHAP. XXXVII.

ALL religious duties being then fully performed, they left that port, and set sail, and passing by a small island, rocky and barren, arrived at another, larger, and well-inhabited, about three hundred stadia distant from the place whence they sailed. The barren island was called Organe, but that where they landed Caracta. It produced plenty of vines, palm-trees, and corn, and was full eight hundred stadia in length. The governor thereof, Maranes by name, freely offered Nearchus his service, both as a companion and pilot, in his voyage to Susa. In this island, the sepulchre of the first monarch thereof is said still to remain, and that his name was Erythrus, and from him the sea was called Mare Erythreum. Thence they sailed about two hundred stadia further, and arrived at another port in the same island; and thence they had the prospect of another island, about forty stadia distant, which was said to be sacred to Neptune, and inaccessible. They departed thence, early in the morning, but were attacked so furiously by a sudden storm, that three of their ships were forced among the shallows, and the rest, with much difficulty, escaped from that rocky shore, and got safe into deep water. However, those ships which were forced on shore were again drawn off when the storm ceased, and the next day joined the rest of the fleet. Thence they proceeded all together four hundred stadia farther, to another island, three hundred stadia from the main land, where they harboured. Thence moving, early in the morning, and leaving a small desert island, called Pylon, on the left hand, they arrived at Sid todone, a small town destitute of all necessaries, but fish, and fresh water, and therefore necessity makes them to be Ichthyophagi, or fish eaters, because they live in a country wholly uncultivated. Departing thence, they sailed three hundred stadia, to Tarsias, a promontory,
which, runs far out into the sea; and thence three hundred more to Carea, an island barren and rocky, which is said to be sacred to Mercury and Venus. Into this island sheep and goats are yearly conveyed by the inhabitants of the adjacent parts, as offerings to the god and goddess thereof, all which the length of time, and the barrenness of the place, carry off, though the supplies be as constant as the consumption.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

THUS far Carmania extends, but stretching further, enters upon the territories of Persia. The length of the voyage, along the coast of Carmania, is three thousand seven hundred stadia. The Carmanians live after the Persian manner, as being their next neighbours. They use the same arms, and observe the same martial discipline. The fleet sailed from thence four hundred stadia, and came to a certain place called Illas, upon the Persian shore, opposite to which is an island named Calcaudrus, which forms the haven. The next morning they arrived at an inhabited island, wherein, as in the Indian Ocean, Nearchus assures us, pearls were found. Having passed the utmost point of this island, which was forty stadia further, they there found a convenient station for the fleet. Thence they sailed to Ochus, a high mountain or promontory, where they found a haven safe from storms, and a place inhabited by fishermen. Steering four hundred and fifty stadia further, they arrived at Apostani, where they found many ships at anchor, and where was a village about sixty stadia from the shore. Thence renewing their voyage by night, and having gained four hundred stadia, they came into a noted bay, where were many villages, and where they lay at anchor near the foot of a mountain. The country thereabouts produces palms, and other fruit-bearing trees, as good, and in as great plenty as Greece. Thence they passed on about six hundred stadia further, and arrived at Gogana, a country well inhabited; they anchored the fleet at the mouth of a certain small brook, or river, called Areon, a station dangerous enough, the entrance thereto being extremely narrow, and almost choked up with sand. Thence they proceeded to the mouth of another river, named Sitacus, about eight hundred stadia further, where they found a safe station. The whole voyage along the Persian coast was among rocks and shallows, and the shore itself was low marshy ground. There Nearchus found plenty of corn, which the King had purposely conveyed thither for the sustenance of the army on board. There they tarried twenty-one days, and not only drew all their crazy and weather-beaten ships on shore, and repaired them, but refitted some, which were at first sight judged incapable of proceeding further.
CHAP. XXXIX.

THEN again putting forwards, they arrived at Hieratis, a place well inhabited, about seven hundred and fifty stadia distant from their former station, where they drew their fleet up into a canal, called Heratemis, and departing thence early the next morning, came to the mouth of a river called Podargus. This country, which is a peninsula, and called Mesambria, they found stored with gardens, and in them fruit-bearing trees of all kinds. Thence sailing about two hundred stadia, they arrived at Taoco, near the mouth of the river Granis. About two hundred stadia up this river, in the inland parts, is a palace of the Persian monarchs. During this voyage, Nearchus assures us he saw a whale which had been cast ashore, and that some of his sailors measured the length thereof, which amounted to fifty cubits; his skin was rough and scaly, and full a cubit in thickness, and many oysters and several kinds of shell fish, with much sea-weed stuck to him, as to a rock. Many dolphins were seen not far off, much larger than those which our seas produce. Thence passing forwards about two hundred stadia, they arrived at the mouth of the river Ragonis, where was a safe haven; and four hundred stadia still further, they came to the mouth of another river called Brizana, where they had a station unsafe, because of the numerous rocks and shelves thereabouts; while the tide flowed in, they rode well enough, but when the ebb came on, they stuck fast among the shallows. However, the next tide they sailed thence, and anchored at the mouth of the river Arosis, which Nearchus tells us is the largest of all those which he had observed during his whole voyage in the foreign ocean.

CHAP. XL.

THE Persian territories extend to this river, and no further, those of Susa beginning on the other side. The Susians live according to their own laws. Those further up the midland country are called Uxii, whom we have branded with thievish in the foregoing work. The whole coast of Persia is four thousand and four hundred stadia in length. The extent of the Persian dominions may be aptly divided into three parts, according to the situation. The southern part, bordering upon the Red Sea, is sandy and barren, and parched with heat. The middle part, lying more northerly, under a temperate climate, abounds in corn and grass, has many fair, well-watered, and spacious meads, and sun-dried vineyards, stored with all sorts of fruit-bearing trees, except olives. Their gardens are pleasant and delightful; their rivers and streams cool and limpid, and plentifully stored with all sorts of water-fowl. It has also vast pastures fit for feeding horses and other cattle, and spacious
woodlands for hunting. The third and northernmost division of this country is cold and barren, and often covered with snow. Nearchus tells us, that certain ambassadors came from the coasts of the Euxine Sea, by a very short way, to meet Alexander in Persia, and when he was surprised at the quickness of their journey, they demonstrated to him the shortness of the road. That the Uxii border upon the Susians, has been declared already; as also the Mardi, who are thieves, upon the Persians, and the Cossæans upon the Medes. All these nations Alexander overrun in the winter season, when they deemed themselves secure, by the depth of their snows, and the badness of their roads. He also built cities among them, that they might no longer wonder about without any settled places of residence, but be husbandmen and feeders of cattle; and having each a property of their own to defend, might, hereafter, abstain from encroaching upon their neighbours. Thence the fleet entered upon the country of Sasa; and from this place Nearchus tells us he cannot give such a certain account of all occurrences relating to the voyage as before, except the several ports they entered, and the distance they sailed. All the tract of sea along that coast is shallow water, and rocky, so that no haven can be gained without some danger. They therefore took care, while they lay at the mouth of that river, on the confines of Persia, to take in a supply of fresh water for five days, their pilots having assured them that none was to be found along that coast.

CHAP. XLII.

ABOUT five hundred stadia distant from their former station they cast anchor at the mouth of a certain lake, called Cataderbis, well stored with fish, a small island named Margastana lying opposite to it. Departing thence, the next morning, they sailed through some shallows, the channel being so narrow as not to admit of two ships to sail abreast. Huge posts, or pieces of timber, are fixed here and there to point out the way, in the same manner as those sea-marks upon the isthmus between the island Leucadia and Accarnania, to guide mariners in their course, and prevent their falling in among the shallows. These Leucadian shallows are between sands, so that the vessels which happen to fall among them are easily hoisted off by the returning tide. But this is a deep, stiff clay, on each hand; so that ships sticking there are never to be removed by any human artifice, for long poles thrust into it avail nothing, nor can the sailors venture out of their vessels to recover their poles thus thrust down into the clayey bottoms, because it yields to their weight, and sucks them up to their arm-pits. Thus they sailed six hundred stadia with the greatest difficulty, not daring to put into any port to refresh themselves. All night they kept off from the shore, and all the next day, till the evening, when they had gained
nine hundred stadia, and now approached the mouth of the river Euphrates, and came to a small village in the Babylonian territories, named Diridotis, to which place the Arabian merchants bring frankincense, and all other spices, the produce of their country, to dispose of. From the mouth of this river, up to Babylon, Nearchus reckons it to be three thousand three hundred stadia.

CHAP. XLII.

HERE they received a messenger, who brought them an account of Alexander’s march to Susa; wherefore steering their course somewhat backward, they designed to sail by the river Pasitigris, to meet him: wherefore, passing along the coast, and keeping the country of Susa on their left hand, they passed through the lake, by which the Tigris empties itself. This river has its rise in Armenia, and flowing by Ninus, once a rich and populous city, gives the name of Mesopotamia to the country lying betwixt it and Euphrates. From this lake to the river itself is six hundred stadia, where is a village of the Susians, called Aginis, five hundred stadia distant from Susa. The whole length of the Susian coast, to the mouth of the Pasitigris, is two thousand stadia. Thence they sailed up the river Pasitigris, through a rich and populous country, one hundred and fifty stadia, and there tarried, expecting the return of those whom Nearchus had sent to inquire where the King lay encamped. In the mean time, he offered sacrifices to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for the preservation of his fleet, and exhibited sports, the whole army shewing extraordinary signs of joy. When news of Alexander’s approach arrived, they again sailed up the stream to a bridge newly built, over which the King was to pass his forces, in their march to Susa. Here the two armies joined. Alexander then offered sacrifices, as well for the safety of the naval army as the land forces, and exhibited various kinds of sports. And wherever Nearchus directed his steps, his way was strewn with flowers and garlands. After this, the King bestowed a crown of gold upon him, for the preservation of the navy, and another upon Leonnatus, for the victory which he had gained over the Orites, and other barbarous nations. And thus was the army conveyed safe through the ocean, from the mouth of the river Indus to Alexander.

CHAP. LXIII.

THE country which lies to the right hand of the Red Sea, beyond the Babylonian territories, belongs chiefly to Arabia, part of which borders upon the Phænician and Syro-Palestine sea; but towards the west, and the Mediterranean, Egypt is adjacent to Arabia. The gulf,
which runs into the land from the ocean, as far as Egypt, manifestly
shews the possibility of sailing from Babylon thither. But no mortal
ever yet durst sail to those parts, by reason of the vast heat of the sun,
and the desert shores, unless he steered his course by the middle of the
channel; for those remains of Cambyses's army, who escaped safe from
Egypt to Susa, and those who were dispatched by Ptolemy, the son of
Lagus, to Seleucus Nicanor into Babylonia, travelled over a certain
isthmus of Arabia eight whole days, in a desert country wholly destitute
of water; but this they performed upon camels, who carried water upon
their backs, and they marched by night; for they were not able to stir
abroad by day, by reason of the burning heat of the sun. A country,
therefore, lying to the southwards of that isthmus, where the Arabian
Gulph joins the Red Sea, must certainly be uninhabitable, when that
which lies much more to the northward is desert, and wholly covered
with sand. However, some venturing upon a voyage from that part of
the Arabian Gulph towards Egypt, when they had coasted round the
greatest part of Arabia, in hopes to reach the Persian or Susian shores;
begun to be in want of water, and therefore sailed back again. Those
also whom Alexander dispatched from Babylon, to search the remotest
parts of those countries to the right hand of the Red Sea, saw indeed
some islands, and now and then ventured to land on the Continent; but
the further side of that promontory, which Nearchus assures us he saw,
opposite to the coast of Carmania, none ever could yet reach, by a sea
voyage. And truly I am inclined to believe, if that part of the ocean
had been navigable, or those coasts to have been come at, Alexander's
ambition would not have left them undiscovered. Hanno, the Lybian,
in a voyage which he undertook from Carthage into the ocean, beyond
Hercules's Pillar, leaving Africa on the left hand, continued his course
for five and thirty days towards the east; but when he begun to steer
southward, he fell into great straits for want of water, besides the scorch-
ing heats, like showers of fire darting upon the ocean, forced him to re-
turn. However, Cyrene, a city of Libya, is an exception to this rule;
for notwithstanding it is seated in the midst of vast deserts, yet the coun-
try round it is pleasant, fruitful, and well watered, abounding in shady
woods and grassy fields, and producing all sorts of fruits and cattle, as
far as the place where the sylphium grows, but all beyond is wholly de-
sert, and overwhelmed with sand.

THE END OF THE INDIAN HISTORY.
APPENDIX.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE,
AND CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER AFTER HIS DEATH.

The reason why Arrian has made no mention of the division of Alexander's empire by his captains after his death, in the History of Alexander's Expedition, was, because he wrote ten Books upon that very subject, which the injury of Time has deprived us of; the loss of which Praenestius exceedingly laments. However, Photius, in his Bibliothec. lib. 98. has obliged us with a short abridgment thereof; which, though it be not perhaps an hundred part of the whole work, yet it is much more full and exact than any other upon the same subject. I have therefore here presented my readers with a translation of Arrian's account, from Photius's Abridgment.

The same author (Arrian) wrote an account of the transactions after Alexander's decease in ten Books, wherein he comprehends the sedition of the army, and the choice made of Ariodamus (whom Philine, a Thessalian woman, bore to Philip, the father of Alexander) to be their monarch, on condition, that the young Alexander, which Roxane should bear, might reign with him. This was assented to, and accordingly complied with as soon as the child was born; whereupon they again proclaimed Ariodamus by the name of Philip. However, the infantry disagreed with the cavalry. The chief of the captains of horse, and those who swayed the rest, were Perdiccas, the son of Oronetes, and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus; the next, Lysimachus, the son of Agathocles; Aristone, the son of Pisius; Pithon, the son of Craesus; Seleucus, the son of Antiochus; and Eumenes, the Cardian; and Meleager commanded the foot forces. Several offers of accommodation were made by both parties, and at last the infantry, who had already made choice of a King, came to an agreement with the captains of the cavalry, that Antipater should be constituted general of the forces in Europe; Craterus, protector of Ariodamus's kingdom; Perdiccas, commander of the troops which Hephaestion had (which was indeed to commit the affairs of the whole empire, and its safety, into his hands), and Meleager was to act as his deputy, or assistant. Whereupon Perdiccas afterwards making a feint of viewing the army, seized the chief authors of the sedition, and (as if King Ariodamus had ordered it, even before his face) put them to death. This struck a terror into the rest, and soon after he slew Meleager also. Hereupon Perdiccas fell under the suspicion of all the rest, and he began to be as jealous of them. However, he proceeded to nominate them to the governments of provinces, in the same manner as if Ariodamus had commanded him; accordingly, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, was by him deputed to preside over Egypt and Lybia, with that part of Arabia adjacent to Egypt; and Cleomenes, who had been constituted governor of Egypt by Alexander, was made Ptolemy's deputy. That part of Syria which lay under this district was bestowed upon Laomedon. Philotas was made prefect of Cilicia, and Pitbon of Media. Eumenes, the Cardian, received Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, with all the country along the Euxine Sea, as far as Træpesus, a colony of the Sinopeans. Pamphylia, and Lycia, with the Greater Phrygia, were
THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

given to Antigonus; Caria to Cassander, Lydia to Menander. That part of Phrygia which runs along the Hellespont, to Leonnatus. Callas had obtained that province of Alexander himself before, and it was afterwards committed to Demæchus. Thus was Asia distributed among them at that time.

In Europe, Thrace, with the Chersonese, and all the kingdoms adjacent to Thrace, as far as Salmynæus, a city upon the Euxine Sea, were given to Lysimachus; but the countries beyond Thrace, namely, the Illyrians, Thraciæ and Aegrians, as also Macedonians and Epirus, as far as the Cenomanian mountains, with all Greece, were assigned to Craterus and Antipater. Many provinces remained as Alexander had left them, under their own rulers, and for that reason were not comprehended in this division. Meanwhile, Roxane brought forth a son, whom the soldiers immediately declared King; and, indeed, all was full of sedition from the time of Alexander's decease; for Antipater waged war with the Athenians, and the rest of Greece, whose forces Leosthenes commanded: at first he was reduced to great straits; however, afterwards, he gained the victory, but with the loss of Leonnatus, who brought him succours. Lysimachus engaged too rashly against Scuthæ, the Thracian, but as his numbers were small they were worsted, though they behaved themselves gallantly. Perdiccas made war against Arianor, King of Cappadocia, (because he refused to receive the commands of Eumenes, who was appointed their governor), and having overcome him in two battles, and taken him prisoner, he hanged him, and restored Eumenes to his government. Craterus having led some auxiliary forces to assist Antipater against Greece, was the cause of that victory over the Grecians, for which reason they received the commands of either of them, and obeyed their orders without scruple. These particulars are contained in the first five Books.

In his sixth Book, he acquaints us how Demosthenes and Hyperides, Athenians, with Arianor, the Marathonian, and Hiramomus, the brother of Demetrius, the Phalaris, fled, and arrived first at Æginæ, where, while they continued, the Athenians condemned them to death, at the request of Demades; and Antipater took care to have the decree put in execution. Then he relates how Archias, the Thurian, who put them to death, died himself in the utmost indignity and infamy, and how Demades was shortly after conveyed into Macedon; and slain by Cassander, his son being first stabbed in his father's arms. Cassander alleged, that this Demades had formerly injured his father, when he wrote to Perdiccas to save the Grecian states, who were only bound together by an old rotten thread, meaning thereby to expose Antipater: that Dinarchus, the Corinthian, was the discover of these things, and Demades, who had been formerly guilty of avarice, as well as treason, and treachery of all sorts, received the due reward of his works. He also assures us, that Thibro, the Lacedæmonian, slew Harpalus (who, while Alexander was yet alive, had stolen his treasures, and fled away to Athens), and having seized all the money he had then left, escaped first to Cydæon, a city of Cætæ, and afterwards, with six thousand men under his command, passed over to Cyrene, where he was encountered by the Cyrenians and Barcan exiles, and where, after divers skirmishes, and many ambushes, having sometimes the better, and sometimes the worse, he was, at last, seized in his flight by some Lybian waggoners, and conveyed to Epicydes, the Olynthian, at Tuscæa; which city Ophellas, a Macedonian, who had been sent to assist the Cyrenians by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, had committed to his care. Wherupon the Tuscæaners, by Ophellas's permission, scourged Thibro first, and then sent him away to be hung up upon a cross at the port of Cyrene. However, when the Cyrenians still persisted in their rebellion, Ptolemy himself approached at last, and having pacified all the troubles there, returned home again.

Perdiccas designing treachery against Antigonus, cited him to appear, but he being apprized of the mischief, refused to obey the summons, and hence arose
AFTER ALEXANDER'S DEATH.

Enmity between them. About this time Jullas and Archias came to Perdiccas; from Macedonia, having brought Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, to him, for his wife. Olympias also, the mother of Alexander the Great, sent to him, to take her daughter Cleopatra. Eumenes, the Cardian, persuaded him to accept of Cleopatra, but by the advice of his brother Alcetas, he was rather inclined to marry Nicæa, which he accordingly did. A few days after which happened the murder of Cynane, whom Perdiccas, and his brother Alcetas, caused to be put to death.

This Cynane was a daughter of Philip, King of Macedon, by his wife Eurydice, and wife to that Amyntas which Alexander had put to death immediately before he undertook his expedition into Asia. That same Amyntas was the son of Perdiccas, Philip's brother, and consis-german to Alexander. Now Cynane had brought her daughter Adea (who afterwards assumed the name of Eurydice) with a design of marrying her to Aridæus (which was afterwards performed, Perdiccas himself being active in the affair), that by that means an insurrection, which was then raised in Macedonia, on account of Cynane's death, might be appeased, but it produced a quite contrary effect. In the mean while, Antigonus fled into Macedonia, to Antipater and Craterus, and not only laid open the whole story of the treachery which Perdiccas had intended against him, but protested that he designed the same mischief against them all. He also proceeded to paint forth the murder of Cynane in such dismal colours, that he induced them to declare war against Perdiccas.

Aridæus, who had the body of Alexander in his custody, conveyed it, in spite of Perdiccas, from Babylon through Damascus, to Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, into Egypt; and though he was attacked several times upon the road by Polemon, one of Perdiccas's friends, yet he came safe; at last, to his journey's end.

In the mean while, Eumenes brought presents from Perdiccas to Cleopatra, who was then at Sardis; for Perdiccas was resolved to put away Nicæa, and marry Cleopatra in her stead; which resolution of his was no sooner known (for Menander, the governor of Lydia, signified it to Antigonus, and he gave notice thereof to Antipater and Craterus) but they were the more instigated to prosecute the war against him. Whereupon Antipater and Craterus moved forward to the Chersonese, where they passed the Hellespont, having deceived the guards by messengers sent on purpose. They also dispatched ambassadors to Eumenes and Neoptolemus, who were of Perdiccas's party, with whom Neoptolemus agreed, but Eumenes refused his assent.

Hence Neoptolemus fell under the suspicion of Eumenes, so that they waged war with each other, and a battle ensuing, Eumenes was victor; whereupon Neoptolemus, with a few followers, fled to Antipater and Craterus, whom he brought so far upon, that Craterus consented to join his forces with his, in a war against Eumenes; and accordingly a sharp battle was soon after fought. Eumenes used all his endeavours before this fight, that his men should not know that Craterus fought against him, for fear lest the fame of his great actions should either induce them to desert their present camp, and go over to him, or, if they tarried, should damp their valour. However, his extraordinary caution had its desired effect, for here he was also victor. Neoptolemus fell by Eumenes's own hand in this action: he was a stout soldier, and a brave commander. And Craterus (notwithstanding he fought courageously against all who opposed him, and advanced boldly on purpose to make himself known) was slain by some Paphlagonian soldiers, before he was known, though he had thrown off his head-piece to shew his face. However, the infantry escaped out of the battle, and returned safe to Antipater, which accident lessened his fear, and gave him fresh courage.

Perdiccas taking his rout from Damascus, with a design of making war against Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, advanced into Egypt, with the captains, and the forces under his command, where he laid many crimes to Ptolemy's charge, but he cleared
himself so well before the multitude, of all that was objected against him, that his accusation appeared ill-grounded and unjust. However, Perdiccas was resolved to prosecute the war, though his troops were averse to it. Here he was resisted, and having used those two severity, whom he perceived insensible to go over to Ptolemy, and behooved himself more haughtily than became him, as a general in his camp, he was slain by his own cavalry, during the heat of the battle. Perdiccas was no sooner taken off, than Ptolemy passed the Nile, and presented the captains with various gifts, and complimented and embraced not only them, but the other Macedonian nobility, in a familiar and friendly manner: yes, he showed an open grief for the hard fate of the very friends of Perdiccas; and when some of the Macedonians showed themselves fearful, he used all his arts and endeavours to dissipate their fears, by which means his praise was in every body's mouth, not only then, but ever after.

Then, in a full convention, Pithon and Aricleus were declared, for the present, commanders-in-chief of the forces, instead of Perdiccas, and about fifty of the adherents of Eumenes and Aretas condemned on account of Crateus's death, while the Macedonians were engaged in battle against each other. Antigonus was, about this time, called out of Cyprus, and Antipater ordered to hasten to the Kings. But while they delayed their coming, Eurydice would not suffer Pithon nor Aricleus to act any thing without her consent; this they bore patiently for some time, but at last assured him plainly that she had no business to concern herself with the affairs of state, for they would take the administration upon themselves, till Antigonus and Antipater arrived. When they came, the chief authority was committed to Antipater.

The army then requiring the military stipends which had been promised them by Alexander, Antipater (as he was unable to satisfy them) assured them their requests were justly grounded, and as he was not willing to incur their displeasure, he would use his utmost endeavours that the royal treasury, as well as other places where riches were concealed, should be searched to satisfy them. However, this speech of his was so ill relished by the army, that when Eurydice also began to listen to accusations against him, the soldiery were in a rage, and an insurrection ensued. Whereupon she made an oration against him, which Asclepiodorus, the scribe, took care to record, and Attalus also joined with her, insomuch, that Antipater barely escaped with life, and had certainly been slain, had not Antigonus and Seleucus, whose aid he had requested, taken his part among the enraged multitude; and the saving his life had like to have cost them theirs. However, Antipater having thus escaped death, hastened to his own army, where he called the chief commanders of the horse before him, who obeyed his summons, and the insurrection being just quelled, they reinstated him in his former post, and committed the chief management of affairs into his hands.

Then, and there, he made a new division of Asia, wherein he partly confirmed the former, and partly annulled it, according as the exigency of affairs required. For, in the first place, Elytem with Lybia, and all the vast waste beyond it, and whatever else had been acquired to the westward, he assigned to Ptolemy. Syria to Lysimachus, the Mitylenean; Cilicia to Phoebus, for he held it before. Among the higher provinces, Mesopotamia and Arabia were bestowed on Amphimachus, the king's brother. Babylonia on Seleucus. The prefecture of all the province of Susa on Antigonus, who was captain of the Macedonian Argiraspide, and had first opposed Perdiccas. Penecones was confirmed in his government of Persia; Teleboan in Cappadocia, and Pithon in that of Media, as far as the Caspian straights. Philip in Parthin; Stasander in that of the Arii and Dacae; Stasander the S Rican, over Bactria and Sogdia; and Sybereus over the Arachotia. The country of the Parasmians was bestowed upon Ogyares, the father of Roxane, and the skirts of India, adjacent to mount Parfamis, on Pithon, the son of Agenor.
countries beyond that, those on the river Indus, with the city Patala (the capital of that part of India) were assigned to Porsa. Those upon the Hydaspes to Taxiles, the Indian; for it was deemed no easy matter to dispose of those who had been confirmed in their territories by Alexander himself, their power was grown so strong. Of the countries to the northward of mount Taurus, Cappadocia was assigned to Nicara; the Greater Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, as before, to Antigonus; Caria to Asander; Lydia to Citius; and Phrygia, along the Hellespont, to Arisutes. Antigones was deputed collector of the tribute in the province of Susa, and three thousand of those Macedonians, who were the most ready to mutiny, appointed to attend him. Moreover, he nominated Autolycus, the son of Agathocles; Amyntas, the son of Alexander, and brother of Pausanias; Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy; and Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, the guards to surround the King's person. To his son Cassander he gave the command of the horse; to Antigonus, those troops which had before been assigned to Perdiccas, and the care and custody of the King's persons, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes: which done, Antipater himself departed home, much applauded by all for his wise and prudent management; and this concludes the ninth book.

His tenth gives us an account how Eumenes, having received intelligence of what had befallen Perdiccas, and that he was declared an enemy by the Macedonians, made all the necessary preparations for a war; and how Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, on that very account, had fled to him for shelter; and Attalus, who had been one of the ringleaders of the revolt from Antipater, came and joined with these exiles; so that they at length raised an army of about ten thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, with which forces they first invaded Cinyus, Cannus, and Rhodes; but the Rhodians, under the command of Demetar, the admiral of their fleet, repulsed them. He then informs us that Antipater, when he marched to Sardis, was on the very point of coming to blows with Eumenes. But Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, by her intrigues, wrought upon Eumenes to depart out of the city; for she was afraid that the common people in Macedonia should imagine that she was the occasion of a battle between them, if any should happen. Howbeit, when Antipater arrived, he threatened her, and loaded her with many reproaches for her friendship and familiarity with Eumenes and Perdiccas. He then adds that she defended herself bravely, and beyond what could be expected from one of her sex, and not only answered his objections against her, but laid a fresh number of crimes to his charge. However, at last, they parted perfectly reconciled. Then he acquaints us how Eumenes, having made a sudden eruption into his enemy's country, took much spoil, with a vast quantity of silver, wherewith he exceedingly enriched his followers; as also how he dispatched messengers to Alcetas and his friends, to draw all their forces together, that they might thereby be enabled to make head against the common enemy. But they having contrary sentiments, refused to come into his measures. He adds, that Antipater durst not yet pretend to engage with Eumenes, but dispatched Asander to fight with Attalus and Alcetas. Their forces were nearly equal, but Asander was obliged to retire with loss. That Cassander had hitherto been at difference with Antigonus; but upon the injunction of his father Antipater, he laid aside all former grudges. How Cassander, meeting his father afterwards in Phrygia, advised him not to keep at too great distance from the Kings, and especially to have a watchful eye upon Antigonus. But he, by his well-timed prudence, his courtly complaisance, and other virtues, entirely took away all suspicion of guilt; whereupon Antipater, being perfectly appeased, and wholly reconciled to him, committed those forces which he had conveyed into Asia, consisting of eight thousand five hundred Macedonian foot, and the same number of foreign horse, to his charge; as also half the elephants (which was seventy), to enable him to push on the war against Eumenes; and thus, he assures us, Antigonus begun the war. Antipater then taking with him the two Kings, and
the rest of the forces, made a feint, as though he would have passed over into Ma-
cedonia, but the army again mutinied, and demanded their arrears; whereupon
Antipater promised that when he came to Abydus, he would take care to satisfy
them, by paying them the whole, or, at least, the greatest part thereof. They were
enjoyed with these fair promises, and marched forward quietly to Abydus; from
whence he, with the two Kings, having deceived his soldiers, passed over the Hel-
lespont by night, to Lysimachus; and the army passed it the next day, being
pretty quiet for the present, as to the payment of their arrears. And thus ends his
tenth Book.

Phoebus then adds a fine character of Arrian and his writings, which I have in-
serted in the preface, and for that reason shall not repeat it here.
RADERUS'S TABLES

OF THE

DIVISION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE AMONG HIS FOLLOWERS

AFTER HIS DEATH.

The authors who have treated upon this subject are Diodorus Siculus, in his eighteenth book; Dexippus, and Arrian, in Photius; Justin at the close of his third book; and Orosius in the last chapter of his third book. We have also the prophecies of Daniel, and some particulars towards the beginning of the Maccabees. These we have placed in tables, that every thing may appear more plain and evident. This method Andreas Schottus first took, and published tables in his translation of Photius; and what he has omitted we shall add, beginning with Arrian; next proceeding to those of Q. Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Dexippus, Justin, Orosius, &c.

The Division of the Provinces of Alexander's Empire, by Perdicas, according to Arrian in Portius, lib. xcii.

When the infantry and cavalry came to an agreement, Arideus was declared king, by the name of Philip, and Alexander, the son of Roxane, his co-partner in the empire.

Antipater was appointed general of the army in Europe.

Craterus, protector of Arideus's kingdom.

Perdiccas, captain-general of the forces in the room of Hephaestion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ptolemy, the son of Lagus</th>
<th>Egypt, Libya, and the parts of Arabia contiguous to Egypt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ulcomesius</td>
<td>As deputy to Ptolemy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leomederus</td>
<td>Syria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philotas</td>
<td>Cilicia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip, the son of Crates</td>
<td>Media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eumenes, the Cappadocian</td>
<td>Cappadocia, Paphlabon, and the countries along the Euxine Sea, as far as Trapezus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigonus</td>
<td>Phrygia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassander</td>
<td>Caria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander</td>
<td>Lydia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aegeusius</td>
<td>Phrygia along the Hellespont.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And thus was Asia divided among them.

IN EUROPE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lysimachus</th>
<th>Thrace, the Chersonese, and all the countries adjacent to Thrace, as far as Salmydessus upon the Euxine Sea.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Craterus and Antipater</td>
<td>All the countries beyond Thrace, with the Illyrians, Triballi, and Agrians; as also Macedonia and Epirus, as far as the Ceraunian mountains, and all Greece.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The other Division of the Provinces, by Antipater, from Arrian, lib. ix. in Photius.

Ptolemy
Laomedon
Philoxenus
Amphilochus
Seleucus
Antigonus
Peucetes
Tlepolemus
Pithon, the son of Crates
Philip
Stasander
Sybritius
Oxartes, father to Roxane
Pithon, the son of Agenor
Porus, the Indian
Taxiles, the Indian
Nicanor
Antigonus
Asander
Citius
Aridaeus

Autolycus, the son of Agathocles.
Amyntas, the son of Alexander,
and brother of Peucetes,
Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy,
Alexander, the son of Polysperchon,
Cassander, the son of Antipater
Atigonus

Went as the condition Governor of
Was appointed the King's body-guards.
The command of the horse.
The command of the forces in the room of Perdiccas, and the King's guards.
The supreme command.

The supreme command.
Egypt, with all the countries of Africa, which were subdued.
Syrin and Phoenicia.
Cilicia.
Lycia, Pamphylia, and the Greater Phrygia.
Cari.
Lydia.

Pithon, Lydias, and the Lesser, upon the Hallespont.
Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, as far as Tarsus.
Media.
Thrace, with the Poetic nations adjacent thereto.
The chief command of the forces which attended the King.

The Partition of the Provinces according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. xlviii. p. 237.
The Macedonians, says he, having chosen Meleager their General, advanced against those who opposed their measures; and when the King's guards marched out of Babylus, and made preparations to attack them, they who were the most popular among both parties persuaded them to come to an accommodation. And accordingly they chose Aridaeus, the son of Philip (who also assumed the name of Philip), their King; and Perdiccas (on whom Alexander had bestowed his ring at his death) administrator of the kingdom; and ordered Alexander's chief friends and captains to take upon them the Government of provinces, and yield obedience.
to the King and Perdiccas. He (Perdiccas) having obtained the supreme power, called a council of the chief officers, and distributed the empire as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aridus was King.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Ptolemy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Antigonus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Paphlagonia with Cappadocia, and the
| neighbouring countries. |
| Media.           |
| Antigonus.       |
| Pamphylia, Lycia, and the Greater Phrygia. |
| Cassander.       |
| Caria.           |
| Leontatus.       |
| Lydia.           |
| Phrygia upon the Hellespont. |
| To Lysimachus.   |
| To Antipater.    |
| Thrace, with the adjacent nations, as far as the sea. |
| Macedonia, with the neighbouring countries. |

To the rest of the officers he distributed the other provinces in Asia; and first,

| To Oxyartes, father-in-law to Alexander. |
| To Sybarisius. |
| To Stephanus, the Solian. |
| To Philip, the Pretor. |
| To Pharnaces. |
| To Tlepolemus. |
| To Atropas. |
| To Archon. |
| To Arcesilas. |
| To Seleucus. |
| Caucasus, and the Parapamisaps. |
| Arachosia and Gedrosia. |
| Aria and Drangiana. |
| Bactria and Sogdiana. |
| Parthia and Hyrcania. |
| Persia. |
| Carmannia. |
| Media. |
| Babylon. |
| Mesopotamia. |
| The command of the royal cavalry, which Hephæstion had first, and Perdiccas afterwards. |
| Each their own kingdoms, as restored and augmented by Alexander. |

The King kept Perdiccas with him, and constituted him Captain of the guards, and the forces which attended him.

The Division of the Macedonian Empire by Perdiccas, according to Dexippus, in Photius, lib. 82.

| Ptolemy.     |
| Cleomenes.   |
| Laomedon, the Mitylenean. |
| Philotas.    |
| Phition.     |
| Eumenes.     |
| Antigonus.   |
| Asander.     |
| Menander.    |
| Leonatus.    |
| Egypt, with Lybia, and all the countries beyond Egypt, westward. |
| The Viceregency, or Deanship under Ptolemy. |
| Syria.       |
| Cilicia.     |
| Media.       |
| Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and all the countries along the Euxine Sea, as far as Tarames. |
| Pamphylia and Cilicia, as far as Phrygia. |
| Caria.       |
| Lydia.       |
| Phrygia, along the Hellespont. |
| Lysimachus.  |
| Antipater.   |
| Craterus.    |
| Perdīccas.   |
| Porus.       |
| Thrace, and the Chersonese. |
| All the Macedonians, Greeks, Illyrians, Triballi, Agrians, and all Epirots. |
| The office of Guardian and Governor to the King. |
| The chief command of the forces, in the room of Hephæstion. |
| The countries between the Indus and the Hydaspes. |
### The Division of the Empire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The rest of India.</th>
<th>Egypt, Africa, and part of Arabia.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The nations adjacent to India, except the Parapamisians.</td>
<td>Syria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The inhabitants near Mount Caucasus, next to India.</td>
<td>Cilicia, and Illyricum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Archaios and Gadeiri.</td>
<td>Media the Greater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sogdians.</td>
<td>Media the Less.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hecatemia.</td>
<td>Susiana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cernusia.</td>
<td>Phrygia the Greater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia.</td>
<td>Lyca and Pamphylia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of the Sogdians.</td>
<td>Cappadocia and Pamphagia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babylonia.</td>
<td>The chief command of the forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia.</td>
<td>The command of the King's guards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The countries between the rivers Indus and Hydaspe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The colonies settled in India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The borders on Mount Caucasus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Dracae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Argeum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Bactrians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Sogdians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Parthians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hyrcanian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Armenians.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>The Perse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Bact-horians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Pelasgi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mesopotamia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The Partition of the Macedonian Provinces, according to Justin, lib. xiii.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ptolemy</th>
<th>Egypt, with part of Africa and Arabia.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laomedon, the Mitylenes</td>
<td>Syria, bordering thereupon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philotas and his son</td>
<td>Cilicia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atropatus</td>
<td>The Illyrians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas</td>
<td>Media the Greater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scythus</td>
<td>Media the Less.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigonus, the son of Philip</td>
<td>Susiana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearchus</td>
<td>Phrygia the Greater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassander</td>
<td>Lyca and Pamphylia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menander</td>
<td>Cappadocia and Pamphagia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonnatus</td>
<td>The chief command of the forces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lysimachus</td>
<td>The command of the King's guards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eumenes</td>
<td>The countries between the rivers Indus and Hydaspe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seleucus, the son of Antiochus</td>
<td>The colonies settled in India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassander, the son of Antipater</td>
<td>The borders on Mount Caucasus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>Egypt, Africa, and part of Arabia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

Alexander, says he, in twelve years brought the trembling world under submission, by dint of the sword; and his princes, for the space of fourteen years more, harassed it like ravenous whelps, tearing in pieces the prey, which had been seized by the mighty lion; and their covetousness of the spoil causing them to quarrell, they mangled and devoured each other. Then he proceeds to the distribution, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ptolemy</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Philotas</td>
<td>Cilicia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philo</td>
<td>The Illyrians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atropatus</td>
<td>Media the Greater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The father-in-law of Perdiccas</td>
<td>Media the Less.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scythus</td>
<td>Susiana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigonus, the son of Philip</td>
<td>Phrygia the Greater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nearchus</td>
<td>Lyca and Pamphylia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassander</td>
<td>Cappadocia and Pamphagia.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AFTER ALEXANDER'S DEATH.

The governors of the further Bactria and India continued in their provinces as Alexander had left them.

**The first book of the Maccabees expresses no certain number, only in cap. 1. v. 8, 9, it is said,—And his servants obtained dominion, every one in his place; and after his death, they all placed crowns upon their heads, as did their sons after them; and evils were multiplied upon the earth.**

Daniel the Prophet tells us in his eighth chapter, that the kingdom of the King of the Greeks was divided into four divisions; and still more fully in the same chapter, v. 21, 22. The ram which thou sawest with two horns is the King of Media and Persia, and the he-goat is the King of Greece. The great horn between his eyes is the first King, and forasmuch as when that was broke, four rose up for it; four Kings shall rise up out of that nation, but not in his power. Which place, St. Jerome, and from him N. Serafinus, Cornelius de Lapidis, and others after them, expound of the four chief Kings and their kingdoms, viz. of Antigonus in Asia, Philip of Arianus, in Macedonia; Seleucus, in Syria, and Ptolemy, in Egypt. However, St. Jerome seems to have borrowed this from Josephus, putting Arianus for Chusaeus, his successor, and omitting Lysimachus.
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ALL THE AUTHORS
WHO HAVE TOUCHED UPON THE
HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

As the collating of authors, and comparing them with themselves, and with one another, gives vast lights to history, I have thought it not altogether amiss to add here an account of all the authors who have treated upon this subject. I have only given the bare names of those who have been printed, and are common; but I have added the age, writings, and countries of the rest, as fully and clearly as my intended brevity would give me leave.

The first who attempted any thing of this nature was Johannes Lociensis, one of the commentators upon Curtius; but when he afterwards heard that the learned Gerhard Johann Vossius, in his account of the Greek and Latin historians, was upon a work of the same kind, he either left off his design, or, at least, refused to publish his collection: for this he tells us himself, in his annotations to Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 5. 31. The reader may see the full account, of which this is only an extract, in Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. l. cap. 10. and cap. 24. Some are also added from Reinesius’s epistle to Hoffman, pag. 311. and others elsewhere.

Abrahamus Aben Phareg. Musul. Raderus, in the fourth chapter of his essay, assures us, that he compiled an history of Alexander the Great, in Arabic, a manuscript copy whereof is extant in the Bavarian library.

Achmetes Nollis, or Meinana Achmetes (which is the wise or learned Achmet), wrote a book of the acts of Alexander, in rhyming verse, and published it under the name of Emar Suleiman, who rewarded him handsomely for his pains. See Leonclavius his Musulm. history, towards the conclusion of the tenth book. This may, perhaps, be the Turk mentioned towards the close of this account.

Adu, his chronicle.

Adrian, the Emperor, wrote an Alexanderid. See Stephan. in Astrex and Senea.

Elian in his various history.

Esopus. Iliopius quotes a manuscript under this name (which has never been published), in his animadversions upon the epistles of Symmachus, lib. iv. epist. 32. Julius Valerius translated it into Latin, of which afterwards. This is thought to be the fabulous history which is commonly known.

Agatharesides Cnidian, wrote a body of history, the thirty-fifth book whereof Athenæus cites, lib. xii. cap. 6. He also compiled an history of Asia, which treated chiefly of Alexander’s exploits there, the eighth book of which is cited by Athenæus, lib. iv. cap. 14.; and an history of Europe, the twenty-eighth book of which is mentioned by the same author, lib. iv. cap. 19. He is also taken notice of by Elian, in his history of animals, v. 27. and 16. 27.; and by Lucian in Macrobis. Pintarch in his parallels, cap. 2. has transcribed a passage from the second book of the Persian history, wrote by Agatharesides Samius; but I can see no reason to imagine him the same person with Agatharesides Cnidian, as Gesner has done in his Bibliothec. Phocinus, in his Bibliothec. has assured us, that this was a Cnidian, and by profession a teacher of grammar, as also clerk to Heracleides, and scholar to Cicero; that he lived after the Mithridatic war, when the Roman affairs were in a flourishing condition, the aforesaid passage, cited by Athenæus, lib. xii. 16. abundantly shews; for of them I understand his words towards the conclusion of the fiftieth chapter of his excerpts; and that he lived before Trajan is certain, for he is
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quoted by Plutarch, in his Symposium. Quest. 9. He wrote the history of Asia, in ten books, and that of Europe in forty-nine, according to Photius; as also five books concerning the Red Sea, and whatever related to it, when he was grown to years. He is moreover said to have left behind him an abridgement of his account of the Red Sea, and five books concerning the Troglydites; besides an epitome of Lyde, wrote by Antimachus, and an extract of the writings of those who had treated concerning winds; with a brief account of his conversation among his friends and familiars. Photius gives us an extraordinary character of him, and makes him equal with Thucydides, and, in some cases, his superior. He himself owned, that, though he spoke in the Attic dialect, yet that of Camara (a city in Crete) was more familiar to him. See Photius, in his Exerpts, Cod. 30. for some account of him is to be met with in Photius, Cod. 250.

Ages. He wrote the acts of Alexander in verse, as may be easily gathered from Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 5. 8. Arrian also takes notice of him, lib. iv. cap. 9.

Alexander, his epistles; some of them were extant a long time; for Pliny quotes them in his sixth book, and Plutarch in his seventeenth chapter. However, those which still remain, written to Aristotle, concerning the situation of India, with some others, are accounted spurious.

Alexander, his history. See Julius Valerius.

Alexander the Great is mentioned at length by Strabo.

Amyntianus. He wrote a treatise in praise of Alexander, which he dedicated to Marcus Antonius, the Emperor; wherein he boasted that his style should equal the other's exploits; but he was found at last to be no more than a vain empty pretender; for his work was weak and trifling, and far inferior to many who went before him, even in the eloquence. This account Photius gives in his Biblioth. c. 181. One Amyntianus, who wrote a treatise on elephants, is cited by the Interpreter of Findar; but whether he be the same with ours, I am not certain.

Anaximenes Lamprocænus. He wrote the ancient acts of the Grecians, as also of Philip and his son Alexander. His country honoured him with an olympic statue, because he appeared Alexander when he was incensed against their city, and threatened to ruin it. See Pausan, lib. 6. who adds, that he also wrote a history full of invectives against the Athenians, Lacedæmonians, and Thracians, and published it under the feigned name of Theopompos, to turn their enmity upon his enemy. The verses upon Alexander, which were ascribed to Anaximenes, Pausanias has assured us, were none of his. Dionysius, in his histories and poems, that he wrote histories and poems, that he attempted to treat of arts, and pleat causes, but was weak in every thing, and unskilled in the art of persuasion. Athanasius, lib. xii. cites a work of his, intitled, The Changes of Kings, and lib. vi. cap. 4. another called, The Grounds of History. See Josephus against Apollon, lib. i. pag. 1051. D. and Scaliger's additions to Eusebius, num. MDCXII. Some imagine him the author of that fabulous history which is commonly known, Vincent Bellave, v. 39. Suidas calls him the son of Aristocrates, the scholar of Diogenes the cynic, and Zoilus the detractor of Homer, and preceptor to Alexander, whom he accompanied in his expedition. Plutarch also cites him in the third chapter of his first oration, concerning the fortune of Alexander.

Andronicus. That he was one of the writers of Alexander's acts, we are assured by Plutarch in Aristide.

Androstenes Theasius sailed with Nearchus, and is reported to have published something relating to this history, Strabo, lib. xvi. His Indian Parapopus is cited by Athenæus, lib. ii. cap. 13.

Angelus Cospus Bononiensis, translated the life of Alexander, written by one Johannes, a monk, into Latin. This small life is prefixed to the edition of Curtius, published at Basle by Henricus Petrus, anno 1545.
Anticlidus is cited by Pliny, lib. iv. cap. 19. 30. and his seventy-eighth book of
reversions by Athenaeus, x. 3. who adds that he was an Athenian, lib. x. cap. 4. and
he quotes him in his expositions, lib. xi. cap. 6. That he wrote an history of Alex-
ander, is evident from Plutarch, in his life of Alexander. Suidas also takes notice
of his treatise concerning reversions; and Clemens Alexandrinus, in his ad mores
of the Gentiles. His history of Alexander is likewise quoted by Euphros Volat-
terranus.

Antidamus Herculopolis. His history of Alexander the Great; as also his
tratises on morality are cited by Fulgentius, in his exposition of ancient discourses,
whence we may learn that he wrote in Latin.

Antigones is mentioned by Plutarch, among the writers of Alexander’s history,
and Volterrannus takes notice of him on the same account, though perhaps he borrow-
it from Plutarch. One of that name is also cited by Pliny in his sixth book.

Antisthenes. Volterrannus assures us, that he wrote an account of Alexander’s life
and actions. He seems to be that Rhodian whom Laertius mentions in his life of
Antisthenes, the philosopher. He is taken notice of by Pliny, lib. xxxvi. 19. in his
discourse of chalisks; which subject Antisthenes might well touch upon, in his ac-
count of Egypt, conquered by Alexander.

Antinous, archbishop of Florence, copied the fables concerning Alexander from
Julius Valerius.

Appian Alexandrinus, a Greek, who was surnamed Platonites, wrote with won-
derful ease and eloquence. He was the author of a treatise in praise of Alexander,
as Gellius informs us, lib. vi. 2. Tiberius Caeasar surnamed him the Cymbal of the
World; but he sought rather to have called him the Trumpet of Public Fame.

Pliny, in the preface to his natural history, N. 36. tells us, that in the reign of Calig
Caeasar, his works were spread through all Greece. And Seneca, epist. 83. n. 36.
In Nom. Homeri, assures us it was adopted by all cities. His fourth book of the
history of Egypt is mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, in the first book of his
Stronomatia; who also takes notice of his treatise against the Jews, which Josephus
refuted in two books. That he was a grammarian by profession, and a philosopher,
is evident from Pliny, lib. xxx. cap. 8. 7. who saw him; and assures us, in the fifth
chapter of the same book, that he was surnamed Platonites. However, he men-
tions him elsewhere, in his Magics especially; as also Athenaeus, in lib. vii. cap. 18.
concerning the luxury of Apicius; and again in his treatise concerning the Latin
tongue, lib. xvi. cap. 8. He also wrote histories of all nations, and a comment on
Homer. Seneca seems to reproach him for his too earnest application to writing;
and by reason of the numerous works which he published, Suidas tells us he was
named the Drachy.

Archelaus, a chorographer, who described all the countries through which Alex-
ander travelled. Vid. Laert. in Archelaus.

Aristobulus, the son of Aristobulus the Cassandræan. Arrian professes, in the
preface to his history, that he chiefly chooses to copy from him, because he was a
constant companion to Alexander, by whom he was ordered to oversee the repairs of
Cyrus’s tomb, as Arrian acquaints us, lib. vi. cap. 30. They who confound him
with Aristobulus the Jew are in an error, for Athenæus, lib. xi. cap. 6. and lib. vi.
22. Lucian, in Macrobius, and others, assure us he was a Cassandræan. Plutarch
makes frequent use of his authority, as in Demosth. cap. 32; and the same doc-
strabo. Alexander threw a book of his into the Hydaspes, wherein was an account
of the famous single combat between him and Porus, as Lucian assures us in his
tratise de Conscrribendi Historia. See Vossius de hist. Græc. 1. 19. Sipiter. in
dedic. Belli Pannonici.

Aristoxenus. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, takes notice of his compen-
tates; but whether they treated much of Alexander may be questioned from Athe-
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Sureus, lib. xiv. 9 for these seem only to have been some miscellaneous tracts. However Suidas has left it upon record that he wrote books of all sorts to the number of 454.

Aristus Salamisius. He is cited by Athenæus, lib. x. cap. 10. That he was much later than Alexander's time is evident from Strabo, lib. xv. and that he wrote an account of Alexander's acts we are assured from Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 15.

Arrian the Nicomedian.

Arriana Epopæus wrote an Alexandreid, or poem upon Alexander, in twenty-four books, according to Suidas.

Asclepiades. He is mentioned among the writers of this history by Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 15.

Athenæus.

Borton. The surveyor of Alexander's marches published a work entitled, The several stations of Alexander during his expedition, as Athenæus assures lib. x. 12. He is also cited by Pliny lib. vi 17. who nevertheless calls him Biton.

Bizarus, Peter, in his Persian history.

Callinius Syrus, mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Aristides.

Calliathenes was carried abroad by Alexander himself, on purpose to write his history, Justin, lib. xiii. 6, 7. and afterwards put to death, Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 14.

Plutarch, Curtius, lib. viii. s. 31. &c. Radercus assures us that the report of the excellency of Calliathenes history, which is said to be still extant, is groundless; and that he easily found it out from the letters of Duceus, whom he requested to transcribe him a little part thereof by way of specimen. And indeed, from the very beginning of that spurious Calliathenes, which Duceus transmitted to him, it appears to be a fabulous history; but we shall add more of this when we come to discourse of Julius Valerius. We have Cicero's judgment upon the stile of Calliathenes, in his epistle to his brother Quintus, 11, 12.

Capellus, in his sacred and prophan history from Adam to Augustus Cæsar.

Carytius Pergamæus wrote a book of historical commentaries, wherein he treated of Alexander's acts, as is evident from several passages which Athenæus has quoted from him, lib. x. 9. lib. xii. 15. lib. xiii. 8. lib. xv. 8.

Cedrenus. His work is still extant.

Cephaloeon, whom Photius, lib. 68. calls the oppressor of his country. He wrote nine books, on which he bestowed the names of the muses, towards the conclusion of which he treated upon the affairs of Alexander, as is evident from the fore-mentioned passage of Photius, as also from another in the same author, lib. 141. Suidas assures us that he flourished in the time of Adrian the Emperor.

Chares Isangelus. He is mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Alexander; whether the next is the same I know not.

Chares Mitylenæus, he is also cited by Plutarch in his life of Alexander, and by Athenæus, lib. viii. 2. lib. xii. 2. and lib. iii. 13. His seventh book of the history of Alexander is cited by the same author, lib. xii. 2. lib. xiii. 4. See also Gellius, lib. v. 9.

Charon. Three historians of this name are mentioned by Suidas, all which, it is probable, wrote histories of Alexander, unless perhaps the first, named Lampseanus, be excepted because of his age. However, he lived long after the reign of the first Darius, as is manifest from several passages quoted from him by Athenæus. The Olympian inscriptions assure us he lived in the time of Xerxes.

Charinus. He was one of Alexander's followers, and wrote his achievements in verse; for Horace epist. lib. ii. epist. 1. says,

How pleas'd with Charinus was Philip's son,
When for war, ill-contriv'd, romantic praise,
He freely gave him the substantial gold.

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Curtius tells us he was a wretched poetaster, lib. viii. cap. 5, 8. The story of the bargain between Alexander and him is well known (viz.,) that he should have a piece of gold, as a reward, for every good verse, and a box on the ear for every bad one. The verses which contain the epitaph of Sardinaepalus, and are preserved by Athenæus, lib. xii. 7. seem to have been of his composing. Vid. Scaliger: ad Euseb. Num. MDXXXIV.

Clearchus Soliensis. He was a scholar of Aristotle, and, among other things, wrote books of lives, wherein he presented the world with that of Darius, who was overthrown by Alexander, as we are assured by Athenæus, lib. xii. cap. 9.

Clemens. We have no account of him but from Apuleius, who was his cotemporary; for thus he says, lib. 1. Florid. "All those acts of Alexander, my friend Clemens has illustrated in his shining verse, for he is the politest, as well as the most learned, of all the poets."

Cleo, the Sicilian, is mentioned by Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 5. as one of Alexander's chief flatterers; from whence we may gather that he was one of those who wrote verses in praise of him. Stephanus tells us in Apis of one Cleo, a Syracusan who wrote an account of havens, but whether he was the same or not, is uncertain.

Clitarchus. Quintilian, lib. x. 1. approves his wit, but questions his veracity. His history of Alexander, of whom he was a follower, is cited by Plutarch in his life of Alexander. Pliny, lib. vi. 13, 6. Etiam, in his history of animals, lib. xii. 2, 22, 23, 25. He is also often quoted by Athenæus and Strabo. Some imagine that Curtius translated his history into Latin, because he commends him, lib. ix. cap. 5, 21. But that very passage ought to teach them better things, for there he mentions not Clitarchus alone, but Timagenes with him, and is so far from translating them, that he accuses them of too much credulity.

Claverius, in his historical epitome.

Constantinus Manasses.

Cornelius Nepos. He is said to have translated one of Alexander's epistles, concerning the situation of India, &c. into Latin. Whether he be the same who wrote an account of Alexander's exploits, and is mentioned by the author of Histor. Miscell. lib. xii. 19. I know not.

Craterus. He was one of Alexander's generals, and is said to have wrote his history. Plutarch, in his life of Aristides, cap. 15. makes mention of Craterus, undoubtedly from his books concerning battles, as he is cited by Stephanus in his account of cities, who, notwithstanding he was a Macedonian, may be a different person from ours, whom Eumenes in Suidas commends exceedingly. However, ours wrote some accounts concerning Alexander, in an epitome to his mother Aristo- patra, which Strabo takes notice of in his fifteenth book.

Daimachus. His Indian history is cited by Athenæus, lib. ix. cap. 11. Strabo, in his eleventh book, calls him an excessive lying author, so far as he was sent to Allteschades the Indian. He left commentaries of his journey behind him.

Dexippus. He is quoted by Cedrenus in his historical compendium. A short abstract of him is to be found at the beginning of Eusebius's chronicle. Eusebius, at the conclusion of Porphyry, tells us, that he lived in the times of Galienus, and some succeeding Emperors, and wrote a history of those times; as also that he was excellently well skilled in logic, and the liberal arts.

Dicerarchus. He seems to have touched upon the story of Alexander the Great, in the books which he wrote concerning the lives of the Grecians, cited by Athenæus, lib. viii. 1. He was a Sicilian of the city of Messana, and an heir of Aristotle, according to Suidas. Pliny often mentions his first books of geometrical writings with honour, and assures us he was a learned man, and appointed to survey some mountains by the royal mandate. Africanus, in his account of the Egyptian monarchs, annexed to Scaliger's edition of Eusebius, quotes a passage from his first book.
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Diocleianus Prænæus, among other things, is said by Suidas to have left behind him eight books concerning the virtues of Alexander. See more of him in Phoebus his Bibliothec.

Diodorus Siculus.

Diodorus Erythraeus wrote commentaries of Alexander, as may be gathered from Athenæus, lib. x. 9.

Diogenes Babylonicus. That he wrote an account of Alexander is evident, from Quintilian, i. 1, 8. and Clement. Alexander, lib. i. Strom. So that they who will have him to have been preceptor to Antipater must, of necessity, mean Antipater the younger.

Diogenes is joined with Batto by Pliny, lib. vi. 17.

Dionysius was dispatched into India by Ptolemy Philadelphus, as Pliny assures us, lib. vi. 17. and, while he tarried there with the Kings of that country, he gave an account of the customs and policy of the nations there, which he could not do without making mention of the acts of Alexander, and his exploits in those parts.

Dionysius Athensiænsis. That he is reckoned among the writers of Alexander's history, may be learned from Athenæus, lib. x. 10.

Dorotheus Aesclapiostes. Athenæus cites his histories of Alexander, lib. vii. 9.

Dressus, in his Millenaries.

Duris Simonius wrote upon various subjects, among which were accounts of the Macedonian affairs relating to Alexander. He is often quoted by Athenæus and Plutarch in their discourses concerning Alexander.

Epiphanius Olybnius wrote an account of the obsequies of Alexander and Hephaestion, as is manifest from Athenæus, lib. x. 9. and lib. xii. 9. There is another historian of the same name mentioned by Suidas.

Eratosthenes Cyrenæus. Arrian, lib. v. cap. 3. tells us, he does not entirely agree with him in one particular, though presently after he calls him a grave and judicious author. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, makes mention of him frequently, and so do many more, but especially Strabo. But here we only propose to shew those passages in authors which declare him to have wrote concerning the acts of Alexander.

Eumenes Cardianus. He was one of Alexander's captains, as is evident from Arrian. Plutarch wrote his life, as did Emilinus Probus, or Cornelius Nepos. Athenæus, lib. x. 9. quotes his commentaries of Alexander's actions. Suidas confounds him strangely with Eumenes, surnamed Pergamonæus, and says an account of Alexander was wrote by each of them. This name is to be rectified in Elinus's various history, lib. iii. cap. 22.; for the particulars related there are also to be found in Plutarch, and were undoubtedly taken from the commentaries of Eumenes.

Euæbius Chronographus. Euæbius, another of the same name. See Julius Valerius.

Aelius Apollinaris, in his treatise of military stratagemæ.

Gestaerius Belga. He wrote the acts of Alexander, in ten books, in heroic verse, which are published. Guiliæmus Britom commends him exceedingly in the preface to his Philippid.

Glycas in his annals.

Harpocrate. Why Raderus placed him in the catalogue of the writers 

Alexander's acts I cannot imagine.
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Hartliebus Boius translated the history of Julius Valerius into the German language, as Raderus informs us.

Heccatirus Eretriensis. He is reckoned among the writers of this history by Plutarch. It is not improbable but that he may be the same with Hecataeus Aeliterus, who wrote concerning Sparta; for that he was an historian, and one of Alexander's followers, we are assured by Josephus, in his first book against Appion. See Vossius de Hist. Græcia, lib. i. cap. 10.

Hegesander. That he wrote many passages concerning Alexander, especially in his commentaries, is plain from those places where Athenæus has mentioned him.

Hegesias Magnes. Some fragments of his history of Alexander, as is most probable, are to be found in Dionysius Halicarnassensis, de Structura Oratiois, and in Agatharsides his Extracts in Photius: they are produced in both these authors as examples of a dull and dry composition. Cicero, in his Brutus, cap. 33. and in his treatise de Oratore, cap. 67, pronounces him a foolish author; and Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, gives him the character of an empty execlamer.

Helmyon sung Alexander's exploits in verse, and Alexander, as a punishment upon him, for attempting a task so much beyond his abilities, caused him to be cooked up in a cage, where he died. Thus Raderus. See also Cyraldus de Poes. Dial. 3. and Suidas in Chorius.

Heracleides is quoted by Plutarch, in his life of Alexander; and I imagine him to be that Alexandrian who, as Laertius witnesses, wrote an account of the succession of their Kings. There was also another of the same name, a Cumesan by birth, who wrote an history of the Persian affairs, and is cited by Athenæus. However, I am not able to gather from that author whether he lived before Alexander or after.

Hermippus. Plutarch mentions him in his life of Alexander.

Hieronymus Cardianus. See Vossius de Hist. Grec. lib. i. cap. 11. from Suidas; but I have some doubt of him.

Hister, who may perhaps be the Istrus of Volaterran, is said by Suidas to have wrote much. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, reckons him among the writers of this history.

Historia Miscellanea, lib. xii. cap. 19.


Idomenes seems to be mentioned as one of the writers of the Alexandrine History, by Pintarch in his Life of Demosthenes, cap. 39.

Joannes Antiochus wrote an history from Adam, wherein he made mention of Alexander, as is evident from the Extracts of Constantine, which Henry Valesius a few years ago made public.

Joannes Monochus. Cassius Rhodiginus attributes a great deal to him, and commands him exceedingly. His work is prefixed to the Basil edition of Curtius, which was published in the year 1545; Angelus Cosmus of Bononia being the Latin translator thereof.

Josephus.

Julian the Emperor, in his Caesar.

Julius Valerius wrote a Latin history of Alexander, full of romance, which is by some ascribed to Macro, and by others to Callisthenes. And from hence, as from a plentiful store-house, Antonius, Vincentius, Uspengensis, and others, have drawn their whole stock of fables. However, C. Barthius seems to have placed some value upon his work, as appears from this passage in lib. xi. cap. 10. Adversar. 44 Many such things (says he) are to be found in that learned monk, who wrote a life of Alexander, some ages since, stuffed full of prodigious lies; which, however, was formerly had in such esteem, that his authority was held good even by writers of merit. Such a one was Sylvestre Gyraldus in England, not above four ages ago, and yet he made no scruple to quote his romance as a judicious historian. Whether
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this remarkable history was ever published, I know not. We ourselves have a manuscript copy thereof, but scarce think it valuable enough to deserve a place in our library. He is the same author whom Franciscus Juretus, in the 54th epistle of his first book to Symmachus, calls by the name of Eospus, and says, Julius Valerius was only the translator. As for my part, I can neither believe it to have been the work of a Greek nor Roman author, because the author, whoever he was, has shewed himself so very ignorant in both languages. Thus far Barthius. It was translated into the German tongue, and printed at Strasburgh in the year 1486. He is cited by Salmantius in his notes to Solinus, pag. 1095, and called an ancient writer, who published a romantic history of Alexander.

Justin.

Lazius, in his History of Greece.
Lucan, in his Pharnalia.
Lucian, in his Dialogues.
Lycus. See Stephanus.
Lyceus, Sausius. That the acts of Alexander took up a part of his commentaries, we may guess from Athenæus, lib. x. cap. 9.

Maresys, the son of Periander. Athenæus, lib. xiv. 7, cites his History of the Macedonian affairs; and so does Plutarch in his Life of Demosthenes. He wrote ten books, beginning at the first King of Macedonia, and ending with Alexander's march into Syria. He also wrote a Treatise of the Education of Alexander; for he had his education with him. He was a Pelasian by birth, and brother to Antigonus, who was afterwards a king, as Suidas informs us. Pliny, in his twelfth and thirteenth books, only calls him a Macedonian. He was an admiral of the fleet under Demetrius, as Diodorus assures us, lib. xx. 51. See Vossus de Hist. Grec. lib. i. cap. 10.

Matthias, Theatrum Historicorum.
Megastræneus. Arrian, lib. v. cap. 5, calls him a well-approved author, and often quotes him, especially in his Indian History; and Diodorus does the same in his History of Animals. He tarried some time with two of the Indian Kings, and took an account of their customs and manners, as Pliny informs us, lib. vi. cap. 17. He was dispatched to Sandracottus, King of India, and left a journal of his travels behind him, which Strabo, lib. xi. tells us, is full of fables. He also wrote politics, which are often taken notice of by Athenæus.

Menachinus Sicyonius wrote an History of Alexander the Great, according to Suidas and Valerianus.

Monobiblos Alexandrinorum. Nicephorus, the ecclesiastical historian, lib. x. 26, assures us that these Alexandrians contained the life of Alexander.

Nearchus. He accompanied Alexander in his expeditions; was one of his captains; and wrote a history of his acts. Suidas tells us he styled himself falsely the admiral of Alexander's navy, when he was, in reality, no more than captain of one ship. But Suidas himself is in an error, and has fathered the story upon a wrong person, for it was Onesicritus. Philostratus, in his Life of Apollonius, lib. iii. calls him admiral of the fleet; and so does Arrian in his Indian History, cap. 18, and elsewhere. Strabo, lib. ii. accuses him with romancing much in his history. And so does Arrian too in his Indian History.

Nestor. Stephanus at the word Ustaspe, cites his Alexandriad.

Nicomèr wrote an account of Alexander's acts; as Varro tells us in his fourth book of Divine Subjects, who is quoted by Lactantius, lib. i. cap. 6, and from him Sabellicus has taken it, Ennead. 2. lib. iii. as also. Lud. Vives upon St. Augustine de Civit. Dei. lib. xviii. cap. 97.
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ALL THE AUTHORS

Nicolaus. A fragment of his concerning Alexander is to be found in Athenaeus, lib. xii. 9.

Nymphias Herakleitos wrote a treatise of Alexander and his successors. Suidas. His ninth book, which contained an account of the Ptolemies, is mentioned by Athenaeus in his History of Animals, lib. xvii. 6.

Olympiodoros. Their description. This Scaliger published with his edition of Eusebius.

Onesicritus is cited by Pliny, lib. vi. 29. 9. He wrote an account of the birth and pedigree of Alexander, according to Laertius. Strabo, in his eleventh book, and more particularly in his fifteenth, takes him with numerous instances of falsehood; so that you may much more truly style him director of all the fabulous and incredible stories concerning Alexander, than admiral of the royal navy. And, indeed, to confess the truth, though all the friends and followers of Alexander, who wrote any memoirs on that subject, wrote strange things instead of true ones, yet at the cooking up a monstrous story he surpassed them all. This, in all probability, was he to whom Alexander, when he offered him his history, is reported to have said, "He wished he could have the liberty to return to life for a while, after he was dead, that he might know how that history was received in the world." However, we are sure this is he who, Plutarch says, was reading a story concerning the Amazonos (out of the fourth book of his history) to King Lysimachus, some years after Alexander's decease, whereat the King fell a laughing, and asked how such a thing could happen, and he know nothing of it, though he was present. See the notes on Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 13.

Orosius.

Orthogoras. That he sailed along with Onesicritus, is very probable, from Athenaeus in his History of Animals, lib. xvii. 6. He also wrote nine books of the Indian affairs, which the same author cites in the same work, lib. xvi. 35. As also Philostratus in his Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus, lib. iii.

Otto Frisingensis.

Patroclus. He is mentioned by Strabo, lib. ii. and says, that all the friends and followers of Alexander in his expedition had only a transient kind of a view of things; but Alexander himself took especial care to understand every thing thoroughly, because the descriptions of countries were alway delivered to him by the most expert persons. He says this account was given him by Xenocrates the treasurer.

Petavius, Dionysius in his chronology.

Pezelius. His Speculum Historiae.

Phnanes, as quoted by Clement, lib. i. Stromat. takes notice of Alexander's expedition into Asia. I therefore imagine him to be the scholar of Aristotle, mentioned by Suidas.

Philippus Caledonensis. Philippus Isagogeus. This and the former are mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Alexander.

Philon Thebanus is also taken notice of by the same author in the same work. Phylarchus. I had scarce reckoned him among the writers of this history, had not Raderus introduced him; for I can find nothing which he has ever written to rank him among this class. Athenaeus indeed, lib. vi. 88. quotes a passage out of his sixth book, which relates to Alexander; but then it is certain that was one of the books which treated concerning Phryrus and the latter kings. Philostratus.

Pindaros. His verses upon Alexander are cited by Dionysius in his Rhetorica, page 179. From whence Raderus concludes, that this Pindar was later than Alex...
OF THE ALEXANDRINE HISTORY.

Suidas also takes notice of it. However, I much rather believe, that the verses cited by Dionysius were written by Pindar; the elder to Alexander, King of Macedon; and not our Alexander the Great, but another, namely, his great-grandfather; for which reason no Pindar has any right to a place in this catalogue. And what Dio Chrysostom has written in his second oration, and Test. Chil. x. 39, confirm the truth of this assertion.

Plutarch.

Polyæus.

Sclavcos Larssæus. The eighth book of his history is cited by Athenæus, lib. xii. p. One Polyæus is also mentioned by Strabo, lib. xvi, whom I imagine to be the same person.

Polyæus. He is taken notice of by Plutarch in his life of Alexander.


Pomæus Mytilænsæus. He is also reckoned among those writers, by Voltaire, and others, from Suidas, who says he lived under Tiberius, and was highly honoured and esteemed by him.

Præxagoræs. Photius mentions him, lib. lixii.

Ptolemæus, who reigned in Egypt after Alexander's decease. Arrian assures us, he chiefly copies from him. Curtius also mentions him, lib. ix. cap. 5, 21. And Plutarch in his life of Alexander; and this I chose to take notice of, because Gesner in his Bibliotheca has committed an error in imagining this Ptolemy and the Anticlinæ in Plutarch to have been one and the same person. Athenæus commends his memoirs exceedingly.

Rhicæus.

Sabellius.

Secliger, in Eusebianæ.

Seleucus. He was one of Alexander's captains, and, unless my memory fails me, we have some account of his memoirs of Alexander in Diodorus.

Seneca.

Sigonius. In his treatise of the Athenian years.

Suidas. Of the four empires, with the continuation.

Solinus.

Sopater wrote twelve books of excerpts of various sorts of learning; in the tenth whereof, as Potius informs us, Cod. cxii. the acts of Alexander are recorded.

Soterius Asites, an heroic poet, wrote an Alexandrian, that is, the story of Alexander the Great, after he had taken Thebes, and other places. Suidas.

Sotion. He is mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Alexander.

Strabo. He not only interspersed much of Alexander's life, here and there, among his geography, but also wrote a particular history thereof, as he himself informs us almost at the beginning of Book 11. of his geography.

Strattis Olympiius wrote Alexander's commentaries, in five books, as also an account of his death. Suidas.

Suidas.

Tarick Mïrcond, in his Persian history.

Tezeira, Petrus Lusitanus mentions him in his itinerary concerning the Persian kings.

Timagenes. He is cited by Curtius, lib. ix. 5, 21. See an account of him in Quintilian Institut. lib. x. 1.

Turç. A certain Turk translated Alexander's exploits into their language, by the express command of Selymus the first. This Botcrus testifies in his policy of
A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ALL THE AUTHORS, &c.

Illustrious men, lib. ix. cap. 9. As also Tubero, lib. x. towards the conclusion of the memoirs of his own times. See Achmet.

Varro. Raderus informs us that he wrote a small epitome of Alexander's history.

Vincentius Bellowacenatis, in his Speculum.

Volaterranus, Raphael.

Usher, archbishop, in his annals.

Uspergenais Abbas.

Zenobia. She was a queen of the East, and claims a place here from the testimony of Trebellius Pollion, in his account of the thirty tyrants, cap. 18. He says she was so expert in the history of Alexander, and that of the eastern nations, that she is said to have written an abstract of them.

Zonaras. See Johannes Monachus.

Zosimus.

Thus I have given, at least, the names of most of the authors who have touched upon this story. What additions I have made to the former catalogue may be easily perceived by any of my readers who will take the pains to compare mine with that prefixed to the best editions of Curtius. Howbeit, I have still to add some of our noted English authors who have touched upon that subject, namely, Sir Walter Raleigh and Dr. Prideaux, whose works are well received in the world, and whom I have not so much as named, nor quoted any thing from them, because I was willing to avoid censure as much as possible. I have collected my remarks from the same authors whence they had their works; and if we any where differ considerably, it is not unlikely but one or more of us may be in error. However, this I shall say, in behalf of my two ingenious countrymen, that as they had large and extensive works upon their hands, it was impossible they should be altogether exact in every minute particular. We have some other English writers, who have wrote particularly upon this story, but they are neither many in number, nor their writings worth notice.
### A Brief Chronological Table of All the Most Remarkable Occurrences During the Reign of Alexander the Great, According to the Greek and Roman Accounts of Time, Extracted Chiefly from Arrian.

| Years before | Memorable Actions and Events | Years after
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#### BOOK I.

| 336 | PHILIP, King of Macedon slain Aug. 18, according to Scaliger; September 12, according to Ptolemy; and September 24, according to Usher in his annals, p. 147. His son Alexander succeeding him, marches into Peloponnesus, where he was declared Generalissimo of Greece against the Persians, by all but the Lacedemonians. Returning into Macedonia, he hastens early the next Spring through Thrace against the Triballi and Illyrians, whom he overcomes, as also the Gete beyond the river Ister; whereupon the Triballi, Celts, and other nations, sue for peace, and obtained it. This done, Alexander marched against Ciusus, dispatched Langanus to quell the Autarians, and having beat Ciusus's army, forces him to fly for refuge among the Taulantii. The revolt of the Thebans, its occasion. Alexander's expeditious march to Thebes, and encampment against it. Perdiccas attacks the city without orders. The city taken, sacked, and demolished, October 4. The Arcadians, Eleans, and Etolians, pardoned. The Athenians send an embassy to him. He demands that nine of their orators should be delivered up, but at last receives them into favour, on account of their banishing Charidemus. |
| 334 | The King then returns into Macedonia; constitutes Antipater Viceroy of Greece; leads his forces along the sea coast, and in twenty days arrives at Sestus, where his whole army pass over to Abydos. He then sacrifices to Proteus, at Eleus; embarks there and crosses the Hellespont; takes down a suit of armour from the temple of Pallas, and hangs up their own in their stead; sacrifices to Priamus; crowns the tomb of Achilles; several cities surrendered to him; he marches forward to the river Granicus; and on May 20, attacks the Persians; gains the victory over them, and rewards his Macedonians who fell with statues of brass, and in commemoration thereof sends three hundred suits of Persian armour to Athens, to be hung up in the temple of Minerva there. Dascilium taken; Sardes delivered up, and a temple erected to Jupiter Olympius, in the castle. Ephesus abandoned by Amyntas the governor, and seized by Alexander, who sacrifices to Diana there. Milicus besieged and taken. Alexander sends the fleet home; enters Caria; besieges Halicarnassus; attempts Myndus with success; returns to Halicarnassus, which the Persian garrison having set fire to, retired to two castles. The city demolished. Alexander then restores the Government of Caria to Ada. Sends the new married soldiers home, to spend the winter with their wives; dispatches Parmenio with a party into Phrygia; enters Lycia; causes Alexander, the son of Aeoprus, to be seized for treasonable practices; passes into Pamphylia; takes Aspendus, marches into Pisidia; seizes on Sides and other cities; enters Phrygia; takes Salamis; has Celene delivered to him, and sends letters to Parmenio to meet him with his forces at Gordium. |

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BOOK II.

MEMMON, the Rhodian, Darius's admiral, designing to remove the seat of war into Greece, seizes on Chios, and several cities in the island Lesbos, but dies at the siege of Mitylene. Pharnabazus and Autophradates succeed him. Mitylene surrendered to them. Thymondas receives the command of the Greek auxiliaries. Tenedos yielded to the Persians. Protæs overcomes Diæmes the Persian at sea, who escapes, with great difficulty, to the fleet. Alexander enters Gordium, where the new-married soldiers, whom he had sent home to winter with their wives, met him; as also Parmeno with his party. Thither the Athenians send ambassadors, to request the release of their citizens, which had been taken prisoners at the battle of Granicus, but without effect. He then unites the fatal knot; has Phægonia delivered to him; subdues Cappadocia; passes through the Straits; enters Cilicia; hastens forward to Tarsus, which had been abandoned by the Governor; bathes himself in the river Cydnus, and contracts a sudden sickness, which put him in great danger of his life, till Philip the Acarnanian cured him. Then, having dispatched Parmeno to take possession of the straits which lead into Syria, he marches to Anchialus, seizes Soli, subdues the Cilician mountaineers, and receives intelligence that Oronotobates, the Persian General, who held the castle of Halicarnassus, Myndus, Caunus, Theran, and Callipolis, was overthrown by Ptolemy and Asander. Arrives at Megaraus; passes on to Malii, where he receives advice that Darius, with his whole army, lay at Sochos. Darius having taken Issus, puts the Macedonian garrison to the sword, and hastens to the river Pinarus. Alexander enters the straits of Issus. The disposition of both armies. The battle of Issus, where Alexander obtained a great victory, the mother, wife, and children of Darius being taken prisoners, himself hardly escaping. This battle was fought in the month which the Greeks call Maimacteron, whose first day answered to our October 26th, according to Usher, pag. 163.

Darius thence hastens to Thapsacus, where he crosses the Euphrates, while Alexander marches forward into Syria; has Aradius delivered to him; receives Darius's embassy and letters, and answers them haughtily; has news brought him that Parmeno had seized all the royal treasures at Damascus; dismisses the Greek ambassadors whom he had taken prisoners; takes Tybus and Sydon; is met by the Tyrians, who deny him entrance into their city, whenupon he resolves to besiege it. He begins a rampart to join it to the Continent, which is destroyed by the citizens, but rebuilt, and the city besieged by sea and land. Gerostratus, King of Aradius, and Eusebus, King of Babylus, desert the Persian interest, and join their fleet with Alexander's. Tyre is taken, after a long siege, in the month Hectomeloon, the first day of which, Usher, pag. 167, says, answers to our July 26th.

Darius sends other ambassadors with letters to Alexander, but the conditions are refused. Gaza besieged, and, after two months, taken by storm, the inhabitants sold, and a new colony planted therein.

BOOK III.

ALEXANDER arrives in Egypt the seventh day after his departure from Gaza, and is received in a friendly manner at Pelusium; which having garrisoned, he marches first to Aeliopolis, and thence to Memphis, where having sacrificed, he sails down the river to Canopus, and between the lake Maras and the sea lays the foundations of Alexandria. Here he receives news that Tenedos and Chios had thrown off the Persian yoke, and Pharnabazus and Aristonicus were taken prisoners, but that Pharnabazus had found means to make his escape; as also, that Mity.
### Memorable Actions and Events

#### Year 331
Alexander, having received advice that Darius had retired into Media, directs his march thither; subdues the Parnaces; enters Media, and arrives at Ecbatana, where he sends home the Thessalian cavalry; thence moves to Rhages, and thence to Parthia; enters the Caspian Straights, where hearing that Darius was taken into custody, and that Bessus had assumed the style and title of emperor, he marches with the utmost expedition after him; Darius, cruelly wounded by Satibazanes and Barzanes, dies before Alexander could come up, and the murderers make their escape; the death of Darius happened in the month Hecatombeon, a full year after Alexander had passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, and just two years after the destruction of Tyre; Nabaszanes, Phraatasparges, Artobaus, and others, surrender themselves; Alexander arrives at Zadacortz; subdues the Mardi; takes the Lacedemonian ambassadors; marches against the Arii, and thence resolves to pursue Bessus into Bactria, but is hindered by the treacherous revolt of Satibazanes; he marches against the Drungas, Phillotus accused of treasonable practices against his sovereign: he slain; and messengers dispatched into Media, to put his father Parmenio to death; Amyntas and his brothers seized and acquitted; Alexander divides the royal cohort into two commands; marches into the country of the Agriaspes; seizes Demetrius one of his body-guards. Moves on towards Bactria; reduces the Drungas, Arachoti, and Indians bordering upon them, and constitutes Menou their governor; Eribyius encounters Satibazanes, and slays him; Bessus lays all the country near Mount Parapamisus waste, and passing the river Oxus, burns his boats. However, Alexander having reduced Bactria, and left Artaebazus, the Persian, their governor, advances with his army to the river Oxus, and passes it; Bessus is seized by his own party, and delivered up to Alexander, who orders him to be whipped, and sent into Media, to receive judgment there; Alexander marches thence to Marsanda, and thence to the river Taurus, or Olympus, where, advancing against the natives, he was wounded in the leg; however, he routs them, and returns victorious.
### A Chronological Table

#### Memorables Actions and Events

**BOOK IV.**

ALEXANDER having received an embassy from the Abian Scythians, and another from the European (or those beyond the river Oxyntes), choses a place for building a city near the Tanais, but is diverted from his purpose by a revolt of the barbarians. He invests and takes seven of their cities; dispatches forces against Spitamenes; builds the city he had proposed; denounces war against the Scythians; sacrifices for his safe passage over the river; his augur threatens him with ill success; however, he passes safe over it, and vanquishes his enemies, who then send another embassy to excuse their revolt. Spitamenes repulsed by the Macedonian garrison, in the castle of Maracanda, and pursued by Pharamses. The Macedonian beaten by the Scythians. Alexander marches to the relief of the castle of Maracanda, again besieged by Spitamenes. The siege raised. He passes on to Zariape, where Barzaentes and others are delivered up to him. He assumes the Median habit; sacrifices to the Dioscuri; is offended at Clitus, and slays him; repents of his folly, when too late; sacrifices to Bacchus is comforted by Anaxarchus. Callisthenes’s liberty of speech and arrogance. Alexander requires adoration. Callisthenes not suffered to kiss him. The conspiracy of the Macedonian youths against their sovereign; Epimenes revells it. The youths seized, confess their guilt, and are stoned. Callisthenes’s death. The King of Scythia proffers his daughter in marriage to Alexander. The King of the Chorasmian received into friendship. Alexander invades Sogdia. Spitamenes designs to lay siege to Zariape. Aristonicus, and many Macedonians, slain. Their deaths revenged by Craterus. Arrobanes uses for a discharge from his office, by reason of his advanced age. Amyntas, the son of Nicolai, appointed to succeed him. Spitamenes, surrounded by enemies, endeavours to force his way out, by attacking Genuus. A great battle ensues: the Macedonians victors. Spitamenes’s head sent by the barbarians as a present to Alexander, who then lay in winter-quarters at Nautaca. The King marches to the Sogdian rock, and resolves to besiege it. Promises a reward to any who dare scale it. The rock surrendered. Alexander marries Roxane. Oxartes, the father of Roxane, visits him, and is honourably received. The rock of Chorizae assaulted and surrendered. Chorizae kindly used by Alexander, and restored to all his government. His life danger to the army. The King marches into Bactria. Oxartes taken; Ausanse slain. From Bactria, the spring being now half spent, he undertakes an expedition into India, and, having passed over Mount Caucasus in ten days, visits the city which he had built before among the Parapamisians: appoints Tyriues their governor; marches to Nicaea, and thence to the river Copheus, where he is met by Taxiles and other princes, whose territories lay beyond the river Indus. He then moves against the Aspil, Thrani, and Arasci, and at the siege of one of their cities receives a wound in the shoulder, but takes the city, and demolishes it; has Andreas surrendered to him; arrives at the river Euphrasia. Ptolemy kills the Indian general. The barbarians routed. Alexander marches against the Assaceni; lays siege to Massaga, their capital city; is wounded; the city surrendered, on condition that the mercenary Indians should be set free. They are all put to the sword. Bazin and Ora surrendered; Aorhas viewed; Peucetotis taken. The King arrives at Embolima, and draws his forces towards the rock Aorhas. Ptolemy gains the top thereof; Alexander joins him with his forces; the rock delivered up. He then directs his march against the Assaceni, and arrives at the river Indus.
BOOK V.

ALEXANDER advances to Nysa; is met by deputies from the citizens, and harassed by Acphilis. He views Mount Meros, and sacrifices to Bacchus; passes the river Indus, over a bridge laid by Perdiccas and Hephæastus; arrives at Taxila; is honourably received by Taxiles, the prince of that country; receives an embassy from King Abissar auxiliary; marches forwards to the river Hyphasis, where Porus lay encamped on the further bank. Porus deceived by the noises in his camp. Alexander, having found a place in the river, makes ready to pass over; is favoured in his passage by a dreadful storm; for the guards were retired from the shore. Porus sends his son, with a small party, to encounter them; but his party is worsted, and his son is slain. The disposition of both armies. The elephants in Porus's army being wounded, do much mischief to friends as well as foes. Alexander gains the victory; Porus taken prisoner; is generously used; has his kingdom restored him, and much more. This battle was fought in the month which the Greeks call Myuchion, which Usber, p. 196. makes to quadrate with our May; and Arrian assures us it was towards the summer solstice. Alexander builds a city on each bank of the river; one where he gained the battle, the other where his horse Bucephalus died. He then marches against the Glaucites, and had their whole country delivered into his hands, which he bestowed on Porus. Taxiles reconciled to Porus, and sent home. Alexander passes on towards the river Acesines, which having passed, he dismisses Porus, and sends him to his own kingdom. He then marches after another Porus, who had fled out of his territories, and arrives at the river Hydrates, which he passes; and hearing that the Catheans, and other free nations, were making preparations to meet him in arms, he hastens towards them; arrives at Sangala; defeats his enemy, and forces their entrenchment; then besieges their city, surrounds it with a rampart, and at last takes and demolishes it. He then proceeds to the river Hyphasis, where his soldiers begin to mutiny, which he endeavours to quell by fine words. Cænus makes a speech in answer to that of Alexander, who being enraged thereat, retires into his tent; but at last fixes the utmost bounds of his expedition; then returning, he repasses the Hydrates, and comes to the Acesines, where he receives Arses and the ambassadors of Abissar auxiliary; then passing the Acesines, he arrives at the Hyphasis, and repairs as much of the two new-built cities as had been damaged by an inundation of that river.

BOOK VI.

ALEXANDER makes ready his fleet, and determines to visit the ocean; supposes he has found out the head of Nilus; Cænus dies; Porus made king over all the Indian nations he had yet conquered. The fleet ordered; he sacrifices to the gods of the rivers; the voyage begun about the time of the rise of the Acesines, which Pliny fixes to the fourth of November. Craterus and Hephæastus march along each bank, till they arrive at the confluence of the Hyphasis and Acesines, where the fleet is much shattered. The damage repaired; Alexander gives fresh orders, and sails towards the Malli, whom he overcomes, and takes their city; another taken by Python; a city of the Bactrians stormed; many of the Malli slain in the woods; others betake themselves to fortified places. Alexander besieges their capital city, and takes it; the garrison retire to the castle; he scales the wall therewith a ladder; is grievously wounded; the Macedonians breaking in, the castle is taken, and all therein put to the sword. The king's wound dressed, and a report of his death being spread about, he hastens to the Hydrates, and is joyfully received.
ceived by his soldiers. The Malli and Oxydracae surrender their country into his hands, the government of which he committed to Philip. He then arrives at the confluence of the Hydrometus and Aegeus, and sailing down the Aegeus, comes to fall into the river Indus. The Abashtan subdued; the Osandil surrender themselves and country into his hands; about this time Oxyraries came to him, on whom he conferred the government of the Parapamisana, Tarry teas their former governor being deposed for mal-administration; he then sails down the river Indus, to the territories of the Sogd, where he builds a city, and repairs his navy, and having made Oxyraries and Python governors of all the country, from the mouth of the river Aegeus to the sea, as also the sea-coast, and sent Craterus with part of his forces through the countries of the Arachot and Drangae; he arrives with the rest at the kingdom of Musicana, who yields himself, and is reinstated in his dominions; he then invades the territories of Oxyraries, and was two of his cities, in one of which the King himself was taken prisoner; Sindemans, the capital of King Sambus, delivered up; Musicana, attempting to revolt, is seized and crucified, and with him all the Brachmans who had instigated him thereto; Alexander then arrives at Pattala, about the rise of the Dog-star, and not long after the setting of the Pleiades, when he had been near ten months sailing down the rivers Hydaspes, Aegeus, and Indus; this Usher tells was towards the conclusion of our July; the King of Pattala received into friendship, and restored to his government; Craterus dispatched with part of the forces through Arachosia and Drangana, and ordered to meet him in Caramia; the Pattalians revolted; Hephæstion ordered to build a castle in their capital city; Alexander, desirous to sail down to the ocean, falls into great danger for want of skilful pilots, and is much embarrassed by the tide; arrives at the island Cilcutas, and from thence sails out at the mouth of the river Indus, to the sea, and returning to Pattala, sails down another branch of the same river, to the sea; views the coasts; then ordering Nearchus to wait for a convenient time to set sail to the mouths of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris (which he did on the twentieth day of the month Bocdromion, which answers to our 1st of October); he (Alexander) departs with his forces from Pattala, and arrives at the river Arabius; invades the territory of the Ortae; plants a colony in Bambacia; the Ortae surrender themselves; he then marches forward into the country of the Gades, where his army struggled with innumerable hardships, but at last he arrived at Pura, the capital city; the reasons which induced him to lead his army through such a barren country; an account of the miseries which his army underwent in their march through the desert; 12 Reg. Thass succeeds Apollonius and Sibbyrion Thass, in the government of that country; the King on his way to Caramia, when he received news that Philip, whom he had deputed governor over part of India, was slain; whereupon he orders Eudamus and Tarakes to take care of the administration of affairs till he should depute a successor; Ordines brought prisoner to Alexander by Craterus; Clerander and Situlce put to death for divers crimes; Heracles escapes punishment at that time, but afterwards suffers at Susa; Alexander sacrifices to the gods for the preservation of his army; Nearchus relates what he had observed in his voyage, and is ordered to proceed to Susa; the King having dispatched Hephæstion before into Persia, marches to Pasargadae; Oxzines having undetaken the government of Persia, after the death of Phraasorites, is continued by Alexander; Baryxas, who had set himself up for King of Media and Persia, brought to him by Atropates, governor of Media, he and his associates put to death; the sepulchre of Cyrus described; it had been broke open and plundered, but the King ordered it to be repaired; the care thereof committed to Aristobulus; the Magi, who were the keepers thereof, examined concerning the robbery, but acquitted; Oxzines convicted of sundry crimes, and put to death; Penseetas deputed to succeed him.
### A Chronological Table

#### Memorable Actions and Events

**BOOK VII.**

Alexander's vast designs; his mind insatiable; he is reproved by the Indian sages as he had been before by Diogenes, the Cynic; he has no ambition of carrying one of the Indian Gymnosophists along with him; Dandamis opposes him; Callanus consents to accompany him; an account of his burning himself alive afterwards in Persia; Atropates sent back to his government; Abalites, with his son Oxathres, put to death, at the King's return to Susa; the nuptials of Alexander, and his friends royally solemnized after the Persian manner; the number of those who espoused barbarian women; he discharges all the debts contracted by his whole army; bestows crowns of gold on Peucetias, Leonnatus, and others, as rewards for signal services; receives thirty thousand youths, which gave great disgust to his old soldiers; other causes of their complaints; the King sails down the river Eulius into the Persian Gulf, and thence entering the Tigris, passes up to his camp, from whence he marches to Opis, where he dismisses part of his forces, whereupon the rest mutiny, and demand a release; the King, grievously enraged, halts thirteen of the ringleaders of this sedition away to immediate execution, and upbraids the rest in a speech, with the extraordinary obligations they lay under to his father Philip and himself; he then causes all the officers round his person to be supplied by Persians; this so humbles the Macedonians, that they come in a suppliant manner, and stand before the gates of his palace, and at last obtain the favour to be called the King's kindred as well as the Persians; part of the forces sent home under the conduct of Craterus; Craterus, deputed governor of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, instead of Antipater, who was ordered to raise recruits, and attend Alexander in Asia; about this time Harpalus, having wasted the royal treasure, plundered the treasury of six thousand talents, and made his escape to Athens, and thence sailed into Crete, where he was seized and slain by one of his followers; sundry quarrels between Hephaestion and Eumenes; they are reconciled; the army then marches towards Ecbatana; arrives at the Nyaezian fields; warlike women presented to the King by Atropates, who were reported to be Amazons; Alexander arrives at Ecbatana with his forces; Hephaestion dies; whereat the King grieves immediately; he invades the Ctesians, and subdues them; is met by the ambassadors of sundry nations, in his way to Babylon; the Romans none of the number; dispatches Pheraiodes with divers ship-carpenters, into Hyrcania, to cut down wood for shipping there; is dissuaded by the Chaldeans from entering into Babylon, but suspecting their interest to be their own, he rejects it; Pythagoras, a noted augur, is said to have foretold the death of Hephaestion, and also of Alexander; Calanus had foretold the King's death before; Alexander, at his entrance into Babylon, gives the Greek ambassadors a kind reception, and dismisses them; prepares to set out a fleet against the Arabians; makes a haven at Babylon; the Arabians worshipped Celum and Bacchus, and Alexander resolves to wage war against them, to oblige them to worship him too; dispatches Archas, and then Androsthenes, and last of all Hieron of Soli, to sail round their coast, and bring him an account thereof, but they all return without effecting their purpose; he sails down the Euphrates to Palaeopas, eight hundred stadia from Babylon; whence he proceeded into Arabia, where having built a city, he peopled it with a colony of Greeks; at his return the royal tiara was blown off his head into the water, but taken up and presented to him again by an expert swimmer; he returns to Babylon; finds his forces augmented; exercises his sean;

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| the 28th of the same month, or May 20th, according to Usher; though Aristobulus places his death on May 24; Eusebius on May 18; and Petavius on July 19; if we take Usher's account, who is the last of these chronologers (and seems to me to be the most exact), Alexander reigned twelve years and eight months, according to Arrian's account; divers opinions concerning the cause of his death; his extraordinary endowments; his vices; why he began to affect his divine original, and changed his Macedonian habit; why he delighted so much in entertainments.

THE END.