

a bay of the same name, and now, as in the time of Nearchus, only affording fish and water. From thence the fleet sailed 300 stadia to the promontory of Tarsias, now Cape Certes or Rás Jerd; and from thence it made 300 stadia to Catæa, a barren rocky island at the extremity of Carmania, which is sacred to Mercury and Venus; probably Kenn or Keïs, an island next in importance to Kishm.¹ Proceeding onward 40 stadia the fleet came to a place upon the Persian shore called Ilas, now Chirðo, opposite to which was the island of Caicandrus, which forms a haven, now the channel inside of Inderábia, or Hinderábí, an island almost without cultivation.² Nearchus next arrived at an inhabited island where he says pearls are found, now Busheab; and 40 stadia from this station the fleet entered a convenient harbour supposed to be that at the western extremity of the same island.³ From thence the fleet sailed to Ochus, a high mountain promontory, probably Rás Nabend, where it found a safe haven inhabited by fishermen, now called the bay of Alsaloo. The fleet rounds Cape Certes, and arrives at the bay of Alsoloo.

Proceeding onward 400 stadia the fleet reached Apostani, a harbour in which they found many ships at anchor, and where there was a village 60 stadia from the shore.⁴ This haven is probably represented by the bay of Congoon, on the western side of Cape Berdistán or Verdistán: the next station, called a noted bay, with many villages at the foot of a mountain,⁵ seems to be that formed between Monsaly island and Rás Monsaly. Thence the fleet passed on about 600 stadia further, and anchored at the mouth of the brook of Areon in the country of Gogana, which most likely is represented by the existing small town of Cogoon. The next station, about 800 stadia from thence, was Sitakus, where the fleet found plenty of corn and other supplies which the king had provided for their use; and being a safe harbour, the ships remained twenty-one days to repair and refit.⁶ This station no doubt is represented by The ships refit at Sitakus, now Abú Shehr.

¹ Vol. V., p. 279, of Royal Geographical Journal; and see above, vol. I., p. 230.

² Lieut. Kempthorne, vol. V., p. 281, of Royal Geographical Journal.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Arrian, Ind., cap. xxxviii.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Sitakus or
Bushire.

the well-known port of Abú Shehr or Bushire,¹ which being the only safe haven on this part of the coast, was on this account chosen for this important object by Alexander himself.

Advancing from thence, the fleet made 750 stadia to Hierates, a place well inhabited, and having a canal called Heratemis, in which the fleet was accommodated;² probably the present Bander Reicht. Sous Poshoon, or Cape Bang, appears to represent the peninsula of Mesanbria, near the river Podargus; and Cool-band-creek seems to be in the vicinity of another station, at about 200 stadia distance, called Taoce, near the mouth of the river Granis; at which there is a palace of the Persian monarch 200 stadia from the coast.³ Two hundred stadia onward, the fleet reached the mouth of the river Ragouis, where it found a safe haven,⁴ possibly one of the two Khórs, a little way eastward of Rás el Tombe; and from thence it made 400 stadia to the mouth of the Brizana river.⁵ From this spot, most likely Bander Delem, by taking advantage of the tide, the fleet anchored at the mouth of the Arosis, which being the largest river met by Nearchus, and having the Persian territories on one side, with those of Susiana on the other, is doubtless represented by the Táb or Indián.⁶

Intricacy of
the voyage on
the coast of
Susiana.

The difficulties previously encountered in navigating the low alluvial coast of Susiana greatly increased from hence, and are made prominent in the narrative of the admiral, who mentions the use of huge posts, and pieces of timber, to guide the vessels through these intricate channels.⁷ We also perceive, and it may also be inferred, that a separate independent government prevailed in this territory, like that of the Sheikh of Chaab at present.⁸

About 500 stadia from the estuary of the Arosis, the fleet anchored at the mouth of a lake called Kataderbís, which was well stored with fish, and had a small island called Margastana lying opposite. The fishing inlet called Khór Músa, and the

¹ See above, vol. I., p. 209.

² Arrian, Ind., cap. xxxix.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See above, vol. I., p. 202.

⁷ Arrian, Ind., cap. xli.

⁸ The Susians live according to their own laws.—Arrian, Ind., cap. xl.; see above, vol. I., p. 202.

island of Derah, as well as the narrow channels, appear to correspond; and the distance on the map, of thirty miles by the windings, is nearly three-fifths of that given by Nearchus, or about the general proportion between the positive and the computed distances of this part of the voyage.

From Kataderbís the fleet advanced through narrow channels in the same direction for 600 stadia, no doubt experiencing the greatest difficulty in keeping clear of the Alie Meïdán bank, and not daring to put into any port for the crews to refresh themselves. Keeping off the shore that night and all the next day, it made 300 stadia, or 900 in all, and from Kataderbís¹ it came to a small village in the Babylonian territories named Diridotis (Teredon); and thus was completed one of the most daring voyages on record. The port at which they had arrived was not unknown, being frequented by the Arabian merchants who transported thither their frankincense and other spices for sale. The distance from the mouth of the river to Babylon was estimated at 3,300 stadia, or 330 miles;² by the Euphrates itself it would be about 354 miles, or nearly 74 more than by the Pallacopas, which is 280 miles, including the distance along the Euphrates from its second or lower head to Hilláh. The fleet, in following the windings of the channel, might be carried much beyond the Shatt el 'Arab, which is easily missed, and thus it might have reached the supposed mouth of the Pallacopas opposite to the island of Boobian. It is probable that the channel westward of the latter was the passage used by the vessels passing from Gerrha to Teredon. The site of the latter city, the supposed work of Nebuchadnezzar,³ is presumed to be at Jebel Sanám, a gigantic mound near the Pallacopas branch of the Euphrates. This spot is about 23 miles S.S.W. of Basrah, 13 or 14 S. by W. of Zobeir, and nearly 18 miles N.W. of the supposed estuary opposite the island of Boobian, near the Khór 'Abd-ullah; but at the time in question the latter may have been near, or even have touched Jebel Sanám.

Termination
of the voyage.

Teredon sup-
posed to be at
Jebel Sanám.

At Diridotis, Nearchus received a messenger bringing news of the approach of Alexander, wherefore the fleet steered some-

¹ Arrian, *Ind.*, cap. xli.

² Ibid.

³ Eusebius, from Abydenus, apud Grotium, lib. III., cap. xvi.

what backward in order that it might sail by the river Pasitigris to meet the army.¹

We are told² that, keeping the country of Susa on their left hand, they passed through the lake by which the Tigris empties itself, and thence 600 stadia onward to a village of the Susians called Agines, which is 500 stadia from Susa.³ Now the latter territory would have been equally on the left, whether Diridotis were situated on the Pallacopas or on the Shatt el 'Arab, and there would have been the same necessity for the fleet "to steer somewhat backward," in order to enter the Pasitigris; whose positive geography, if this river be represented by the river Kárún, will be found to correspond with the movements of the fleet.

The Pasitigris
supposed to be
the Kárún.

The bed of the lake, once formed, according to Polybius, by the Choaspes, Eulæus, and Tigris, may still be traced.⁴ It extended over most part of the country lying between Diridotis and Agines (Ahwáz), and its waters were discharged by the separate channels of the Euphrates, or rather by the Shatt el 'Arab and Kárún. The old bed of the Kárún exists below the site of the lake; and, no doubt, served the fleet in ascending to the latter, whose waters appear to have terminated 600 stadia from Agines,⁵ or about the existing village of Ismá'ili; where, in fact, the ground becomes a little more elevated. Agines itself is stated to be 500 stadia from Susa, and the supposed site of Ahwáz is 42 miles from thence by the air line, and 47 miles along one of the ancient beds of the Shápúr, following its supposed course from Susa till it met the Kárún at Ahwáz.⁶

Former bed of
the Kárún.

On receiving fresh news of the king's approach, which seems to have occurred after ascending the lower part of the Pasitigris, Nearchus continued his voyage to the bridge, newly built for the king's forces to pass towards Susa, where he met part of the army. In obedience to orders, Nearchus⁷ proceeded to wait upon the king at Susa, probably going by land, as the passage of the fleet is not mentioned; but being afterwards at the city,

The fleet
brought up to
Susa.

¹ Arrian, *Ind.*, cap. xlii.

² *Ibid.*

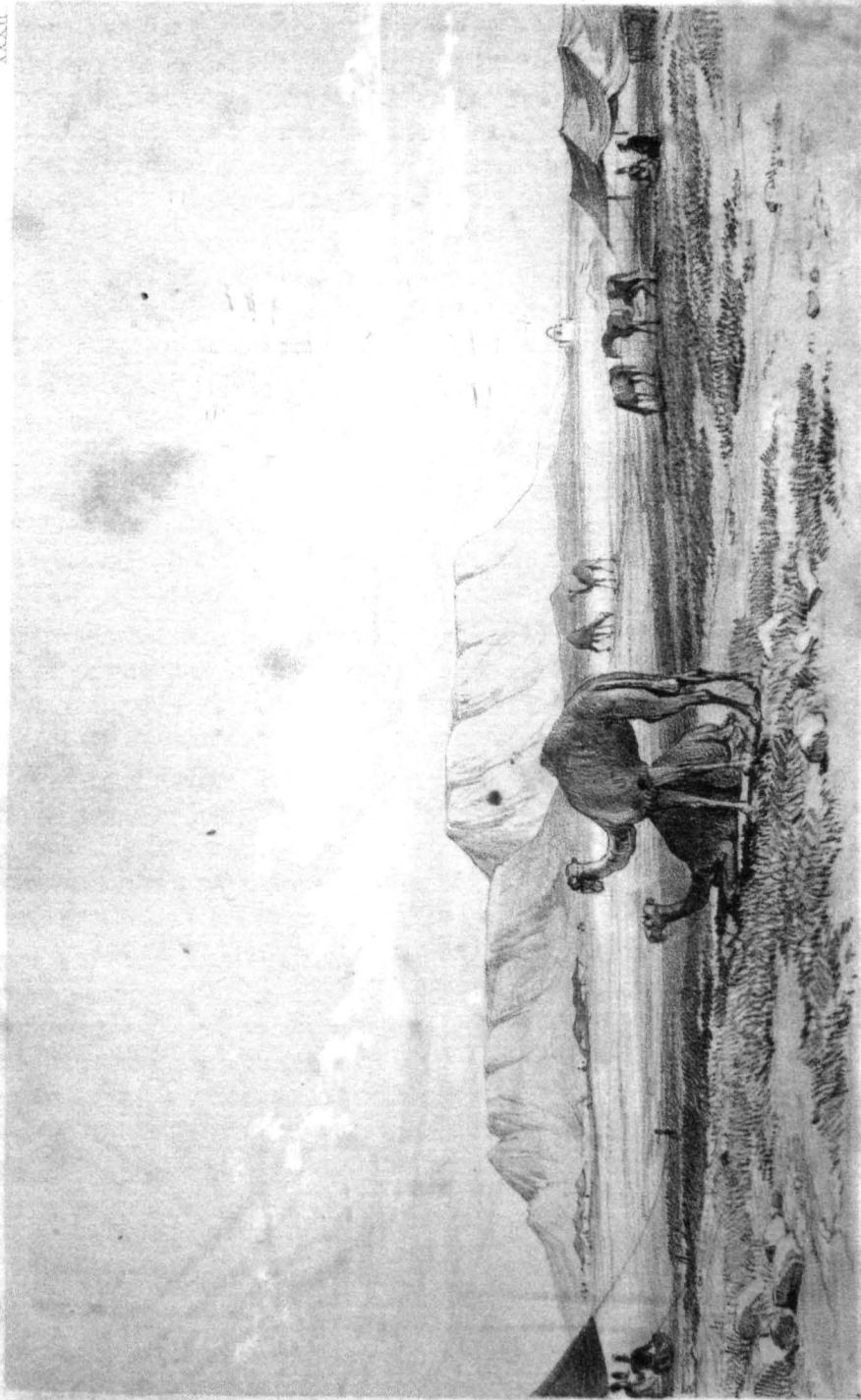
³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Ainsworth's *Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 194. Parker, 1838.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 193; Arrian, *Ind.*, cap. xlii.

⁶ See above, vol. I., pp. 198, 199.

⁷ Arrian, *Exp.*, lib. VII., cap. v., and *Ind.*, cap. xlii.



VIEW OF DES. FROM TEL N.E. SIDE.

Engraved by Capt. James T. A.

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it must have ascended either by the ancient Shápúr or Sháwer river, or else by the canal of the Shatt el Máktúah (cut river), which once connected the rivers Kerkhah and Kárún.¹

The distances given by the admiral in his account of the voyage from the Indus, only approximate in two portions of the coast, and those the shortest, namely, along the Arabitæ and Oritæ. Throughout the rest of the voyage they do not, however, by any means correspond with those determined by maps laid down from the recent surveys. Comparative distances.

Carefully following the sinuosities, the distances are:—

	Geographical Miles.	Stadia.	Nearchus gives
From the Pettee, mouth of the Indus, to Sonméány and the river Arabius	104 to 108, or 1,080	1,080	1,000
From Sonméány to Cape Malín, on the Oritæan coast			
From Cape Malín to Cape Jásk, on the coast of the Ichthyophagi	447 to 449, or 4,490	10,000	10,000
From Cape Jásk to Cape Nabon, the ancient limits of Carmania			
From Cape Nabon to the Indián or Arosis, on coast of Persis	298 to 300, or 3,000	4,400	4,400
From the Arosis to the Pallacopas or coast of Susiana, following the Khórs and passages in and out			
		14,840	22,700

It thus appears that the actual length of the voyage is but about two-thirds of the estimate of Nearchus; and taking this proportion from Cape Malín to the Pallacopas, and allowing ten stadia to the geographical mile, the stations mentioned may in general be traced. Length of the voyage of Nearchus.

It appears that so soon as Nearchus was despatched to complete his great enterprise, Alexander moved westward, where his presence was urgently required to put an end to the misgovernment and irregularities which had sprung up in his absence. The main body was committed, with the elephants, to Hephæstion, with directions to march by the longer but more convenient route along the coast, that is, in a south-south-westerly direction to Láristán, passing, according to tradition, through

¹ See vol. I., pp. 195, 199.

Alexander
visits Pasa-
garda.

Benarooz and Beruz.¹ Alexander, at the head of some infantry, a few bowmen, and the companion cavalry, crossed the hills by a direct line to Pasargada. Finding that the tomb of the great Cyrus (Mader-i-Soleimán)² had been plundered during his absence, of the cups, scimitars, jewels and other valuables, with the exception of the golden coffin, which the robbers had not been able to carry off,³ Alexander left Aristobulus to restore everything to its former state, and build up the door with solid masonry, and proceeded to Persepolis and Pasargada, whose melancholy ruins caused him much regret. Here the misgovernment was speedily remedied by putting Orsines to death for oppression and misconduct; and Peucestas was appointed to succeed to the satrapy, as a reward for his faithful services in defending Alexander's life at the most critical moment among the Malli.⁴

Orsines put to
death for mis-
government.

After a short delay Alexander continued his march, most likely along the route by which he had originally advanced, through the Susian rocks to the bridge over the Kárún or Pasitigris, going from thence to Susa. Here he was speedily joined by Nearchus and Onesicritus, and in all probability by the vessels also, for there is little doubt that their crews were present when sacrifices were offered for the safety of the fleet and army: these were, as usual, accompanied by the exhibition of various kinds of sports, to commemorate the accomplishment of the voyage, and a scarcely less extraordinary march⁵ through the desert.

The fate of Orsines awaited the satrap Abulites and his son, on the accusation of the Susians for plundering their temples and oppressing the people.⁶ Like many other satraps, they had thus acted under the belief that Alexander would not return to have a day of reckoning, and exercise control over those whom he had placed in authority. But Alexander was not only determined to punish the guilty, whether Macedonians or those of other nations, with impartiality, but also to make a strong effort

Alexander
determines
to abolish
national dis-
tinctions.

¹ See vol. I., p. 228.

² Ibid., p. 209.

³ Arrian, *Exp.*, lib. VI., cap. xxx.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Arrian, *Ind.*, cap. xlii., and *Exp.*, lib. VI., cap. xxiii., xxiv.

⁶ Ibid., lib. VI., cap. xxx.

to settle the government of his vast empire. The basis assumed, was at once novel and difficult, being the removal of national distinctions, and of the assumption by the Greeks of superiority over conquered nations. Whilst in Egypt, he formed the project, which he was now about to put in execution, of bringing the people of his vast empire to coalesce as one nation, enjoying equal rights and privileges, though differing in religions, language, and manners; and marriages were to be part of the means of accomplishing this great object. Alexander had already availed himself of the Macedonian custom of taking a wife from another state; and as the Greeks were more than likely to be influenced by his example, he married Barsine or Statira. He disposed of many noble maidens to Hephæstion, Nearchus, Craterus, and others; and about 10,000 of his people appeared to receive their brides at a public wedding, including that of the monarch. This was celebrated in the Persian manner, with five days' festivities; and not only were dowries bestowed upon all, but Alexander took this opportunity of paying the debts of his soldiers, to the amount, it is supposed, of five millions sterling.¹ This was followed by the distribution of honorary crowns, and some changes in the organization of the army; the object of which will presently be seen, and for which the Epigoni, and the levies trained in the Grecian discipline, afforded ample materials.

He marries Statira.

Distributes honorary recompenses.

*The partial use of the Persian language in the army, and the adoption of the Macedonian dress by Asiatics, gave umbrage to the European soldiers; and even the exercise of justice towards barbarians was a serious ground of complaint with the Macedonians. But, as will be seen, Alexander was prepared to meet the discontent which had been for some time ready to break out in the army.

The grand project of opening, or rather extending, the existing commerce with eastern countries, was only second to the projected change by which the conqueror purposed, quietly, to substitute for the Macedonian army a more general organization of troops to be raised amongst the most warlike nations then under his dominion.

Reorganization of the army.

¹ Arrian, *Exp.*, lib. VII., cap. iv., v.

Mounted
archers added
to the army.

The employment of mercenary troops had long prevailed both in Macedonia and Greece, and the extension of this system was in fact adopted by Alexander soon after his career of conquests commenced. The Agema, it will be remembered, did good service at the Issus, as well as in the subsequent struggle at Arbela. To these the mounted archers and other levies were added; for the practice of the principal nations in Asia, the Medes and Persians, had gradually overcome the prejudices entertained in the outset by Alexander against that species of troops. But we are nowhere informed at what period, during the retrograde march from the Hyphasis, the more sweeping change was planned. It has just been seen that it was first developed at Susa, where it was based upon a wide system of intermarriages, when his own union with Statira gave him an additional claim to the throne of Darius.

Proofs that a
trade with
India was
early con-
templated.

The other part of his plan, trade with India, undoubtedly originated at a still earlier period--having been contemplated when the Egyptian Alexandria was ordered to be constructed; and the project itself must have been matured to a certain extent during his stay in Egypt, since, in offering sacrifices to the gods at Cillutas on the Indus, Alexander announced that it was in conformity to directions given him by the oracle of Ammon.¹ This circumstance also demonstrates that a visit to the shores of the eastern ocean had then been contemplated. The prayer offered that his fleet might prosperously make the voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates, Tigris, &c.,² affords another argument; and the desire expressed as he passed through Pasargada and Persepolis to examine the two last rivers,³ completes the chain of circumstances.

Alexander
descends the
Eulæus.

Alexander commenced the intended voyage by going on board the fleet, which lay ready at Susa, with his targeteers, the Agema, and some part of the auxiliary horse: with these he sailed down the river Eulæus, leaving the greater part of his forces to march under Hephestion. When not far from the mouth of this stream, he left those ships which were out of order, and taking the best, he sailed out into the ocean; after-

¹ Arrian, lib. VI., cap. xix.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., lib. VII., cap. i.

wards, having entered the Tigris, he was joined by Hephæstion and the rest of the fleet, which for this purpose passed through a canal (now the *Hafâr*) cut from the river he had descended.¹

A reference to the maps Nos. 10 and 11 will at once show that if the river here mentioned, namely, the *Eulæus*, were represented by the modern *Kerkhah*, into which Alexander might have passed his fleet from Susa, by means of a canal, the stream would at once have carried the vessels into the lower part of the Tigris, without the necessity of entering the latter river from the ocean, and the whole of the equipment would have been ready to ascend the latter stream without the necessity of entering it, as it is stated, through a canal.² These objections do not, however, apply to the *Kárún* Proper, into which it will be seen from the map, that the fleet could have passed by two different channels, namely, either by a canal from Susa into the river *Kerkhah*, and from thence by the *Máktúah* canal into the *Kárún*, or, more directly, along the river *Shápúr*.

The *Eulæus*
probably the
modern
Kárún.

Presuming that it was the latter, Alexander would have been carried along this stream from the walls of Susa into the *Kárún* near Agines; and following this river, then probably known first as the *Eulæus*, and afterwards as the *Pasitigris*, the fleet would pass through the lake, and again into the lower river, or old *Kárún*, which no doubt was the principal stream, although sending a bifurcation westward. Along the latter, Alexander sent the smaller and damaged vessels towards the *Hafâr* canal, and descended, with those which were more efficient, along the greater arm. On reaching the sea through the estuary of the *Kárún* or *Pasitigris*, he turned westward, and ascended the *Shatt el 'Arab* to the western extremity of the *Hafâr*, from whence, being rejoined by the rest of the fleet, he proceeded to the spot where Hephæstion and the rest of the army were encamped. From thence the united forces ascended along the trunk of the Tigris as far as the city of Opis; whose site may be looked for a little below the ruins of Samarra, or in about 34° 5' N. L.: but Arrian gives no particulars of this voyage, except that Alexander commanded all the weirs and other obstructions, which had impeded his ascent, to be removed, and the channel

Opis probably
near the ruins
of Samarra.

¹ Arrian, lib. VII., cap. vii.

² Ibid.

to be cleared.¹ No doubt the bunds or dykes, which at intervals raise the water to a higher level for the purpose of irrigation, are alluded to, and some of these, such as those still to be seen below Opis, on the affluent of the 'Adhím,² and others higher up in the Tigris,³ which run from side to side of the river, might have been mistaken for defensive works; but this could scarcely have been the case with the ordinary irrigating walls, since they overlap and leave a passage in the centre to accommodate boats or rafts; and through these, no doubt, the fleet of Alexander passed on this occasion.

Effects of
removing the
river walls

The removal of these walls would have been favourable to navigation; but in other respects it was detrimental, and particularly so by diminishing the productions of the country, to the increase of which the skill and industry of the Assyrians had been so successfully directed.⁴

Here unfortunately a blank occurs in the narrative of Arrian and other historians respecting the first part of the march from Opis, and even the cause of its being undertaken. It is, however, tolerably clear from the history of Diodorus Siculus, that the movement into Media instead of being homeward, brought things to a crisis by causing a decided outbreak, the whole army mutinously calling out to be discharged, and adding, in derision, that Alexander might enlist another Father Ammon for his future campaigns. Although Alexander could not have been quite unprepared for this conduct, never were his intrepidity and presence of mind so conspicuous as on this trying occasion; for, descending from the tribunal, he rushed into the crowd, followed by those immediately round his person, and seizing thirteen of the ringleaders, he caused them to be executed on the spot.⁵ This being done, Alexander returned to the tribunal, where he made an eloquent address to the troops, then terrified into a state of sullen silence and astonishment. He recounted what they had been, and the glorious conquests of the world which made them what they then were, having himself no other dis-

Thirteen
Macedonians
seized and
executed.

¹ Arrian, lib. VII, cap. vii.

² See above, vol. I, p. 30.

³ Ibid., p. 21.

⁴ Sequel, chap. XIX.

⁵ Compare Arrian, lib. VII., cap. viii., with Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxiv., and Quint. Curt., lib. X., cap. iii.

tion, after leading them over plains and mountains, lands and seas, than the purple robe and diadem: he added, in conclusion, that all were welcome to return, and relate at home, that after sharing in all these glories they had deserted their king, leaving him to the care of the barbarians, whom, with him, they had conquered.

After thus expressing himself, he hastily retired, and for three days remained secluded in his palace; but not idle, for at the expiration of that time, being still without concessions from the army, he summoned the Persian nobility to the palace, and as the 30,000 Epigoni, and a similar number of other trained Asiatics, all in the prime of life, furnished ample means, he proceeded to execute the plan which had been gradually formed, of dispensing with the services of the Macedonians, and admitting the Asiatics to those common rights which had been hitherto denied by their conquerors. Accordingly he selected for the command of the several bodies of his army, chiefs from the different provinces of Persia, who assumed the rank and distinctions of the Greeks. In addition to the Persians already admitted into the royal companion cavalry, he formed a body of royal companion infantry, and another of noble Persians, who were called *Argyraspides*, from their silver shields. But the most galling circumstance was the renewal of the Persian body-guard called royal kinsmen, who alone, in former times, had the privilege of saluting the king of kings. This produced the most decided effect; for after remaining two days under arms, the troops hurried in a body towards the gates of the palace, and having piled their arms to show the nature of their application, they loudly implored the king to come forth, and declared their readiness to give up the surviving ringleaders. The king's victory being thus complete, a reconciliation followed, with a public banquet for Greeks and Asiatics; and the establishment of a separate force under Asiatic officers, henceforth enabled Alexander to preserve a balance between his old and new subjects, in conformity with the plans which he intended to carry out.

Persian nobles appointed to commands in the army.

The *Argyraspides* formed.

Alexander reconciled to his Macedonian soldiers.

A selection was now made of the Macedonians and others who were incapacitated for active service, more than 10,000 of

whom were sent home under Craterus; this favourite and distinguished veteran being appointed, in order to remove the difficulties caused in the home government by the imperious and ambitious conduct of Olympias.

Unfortunately, the succeeding part of Arrian's history is deficient, and Quintus Curtius equally fails. Diodorus Siculus, however, partly supplies the blank, at least from Susa onward; but we are quite left to conjecture the route by which Alexander proceeded from Opis to that capital. It is clear¹ that the meeting and subsequent despatch of the invalids took place at Opis, whither the vessels had ascended. The circumstance of the fleet being on the spot, and at one of the heads² of the famous Nahrawán, and water communications being the particular object of Alexander, it is not impossible, as already hinted,³ that Alexander, with some of the flotilla which came from the Indus, may have passed along the canal in question into the ancient Choaspes; and this is the more probable, since it is stated that part of the fleet which afterwards assembled at Babylon had been brought thither from the Persian sea by the river Euphrates.⁴

Alexander passes by the Nahrawán into the Choaspes.

Route to Susa.

For some cause or other, his presence having been called for in Media, Alexander marched thither from Susa; taking the casier but longer route, which for some time skirts the southern side of the Zagros, he passed through the villages of Charras and Sittacene in four days to Sambana. At this place, which appears to be represented by the ruins of Samarra, once the capital of Másabadán,⁵ Alexander halted seven days, and in four marches reached Celonæ, a Bœotian colony, which, in the time of the expedition of Xerxes, settled at this place, now Sírwan, or Keilún.⁶ After halting some days, the army resumed its march towards Baghistane (the place of gardens), a very fine country, producing everything required for the

¹ Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. viii. to xi.

² At Káim. See vol. I., pp. 27, 28.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xix.

⁵ Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxxvii., and Major Rawlinson, vol. IX., p. 59 of Royal Geographical Journal.

⁶ Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxxvii., and Geographical Journal, pp. 55, 56.

necessity or pleasure of man.¹ As this place, the well-known *Bísutún*, was passed by Semiramis on her way to Chaone or Kangáwar, it would naturally attract Alexander's attention, who turned a little out of his way for the purpose of visiting it,² taking, probably for convenience, the route by the gates of Zagros, and the high table-land of Kirrind,³ to the city in question.

Visits Baghistane.

From thence he passed into the neighbouring province, which it is said formerly reared 150,000 horses; but Alexander, who spent a month there, found about 60,000 only in these celebrated pastures, which probably are represented by the grazing grounds of Kháwah and Alishtar.⁴ In seven marches from the misnamed Nisæan Plains, Alexander reached the Median Ecbatana, Hamadán, where Hephæstion died, during the gymnastic sports and carousals which usually took place after any considerable undertaking.⁵

Alexander was now about to return to the intended seat of his empire; and in order to alleviate the grief arising from the loss of his friend, writes Plutarch, he undertook an expedition against the Cossæans; and, dividing his army into two corps, notwithstanding the difficulties of their mountainous country and their strongholds, the warlike inhabitants were subjected in forty days, and Ptolemy, the second in command, was left to complete the task, by erecting forts, to deter the people from living, as before, by plundering their neighbours.⁶ The principal seat of this ancient people seems to have been the rock fort of Khorram-ábád, once Diz Siyáh, or Kúh Siyáh, which originated the title of Cossæan.⁷

The principal seat of the Cossæans at Khorram-ábád.

From these mountains, Alexander continued at a slow pace his march to Babylon, and was met on the way thither, as well as subsequently to his arrival, by envoys, whom the fame of his exploits, and apprehension of his power, had brought thither

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxvii.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., and Geographical Journal, vol. IX., pp. 48, 49, and 112; and above, p. 116-118.

⁴ Geo. Journal, vol. ix., pp. 100, 101. ⁵ Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxvi.

⁶ Compare Quint. Curt., lib. X., cap. iv., with Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xv.; Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxix.; Strabo, lib. II., p. 795.

⁷ See vol. I., p. 206, and Royal Geographical Journal, vol. IX., p. 99.

from Africa, Europe, Phœnicia, and almost every other part of the world; and he entered the city to receive them, notwithstanding the adverse warnings and predictions of the Chaldeans,¹ who may have feared that the desolation predicted by Jeremiah would follow his visit.²

Alexander proposes to circumnavigate Arabia and Africa.

In the pride of success, new and enlarged projects of conquest and undertakings by sea were contemplated by Alexander; Africa and the peninsula of Arabia were to be circumnavigated, as well as subjected, and the Caspian Sea explored; new cities were to be built in Europe and in Asia, the former to be peopled with Asiatics and the latter with Europeans; the wandering Arabs were to be brought into order, the river Euphrates to be navigated from Thapsacus, as the Eulæus had been to Susa, and the Tigris to Opis, as well as the canal between those cities; and, finally, a great port was to be formed at the destined capital of the world. The first object was entrusted to Nearchus, the second to Heraclides, who was to construct vessels in order to explore the waters of the Caspian, and ascertain whether, as stated by Herodotus a century before, it really was an inland sea.³ Miccalus was to bring seamen from Phœnicia, as well as vessels from Thapsacus, to animate the promising maritime commerce of Persia, &c., but the remainder, or the fourth part of his new and vast undertakings, he reserved for himself.⁴

Babylon selected as the seat of the empire.

As a central spot between India, Egypt, and the Mediterranean, the capital of Darius Hystaspes was selected as the seat of the intended empire; but as an extended commerce and the improvement of Babylonia were contemplated, a haven was ordered to be constructed at the seat of government, capable of containing 1,000 long galleys, which in the first instance were to be employed in punishing the Arabs, who had not even solicited his friendship, and were contented with their wild independence.

Archias being sent, explored the Arabian coast to Tylos, and

¹ Compare Diod. Sic., lib. XVII., cap. lxx., lxxi., with Quint. Curt., lib. X., cap. iv., Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xv., xvi., and Plutarch, vita Alexander.

² Jeremiah, chap. XXV., v. 12.

³ Lib. I., cap. cciii., cciv.

⁴ Arrian, Exp., lib. VII., cap. xix., xx.

his successor, Androsthenes, is supposed to have made his way round the peninsula to the Red Sea.¹ Alexander himself was employed in the same way nearer home, having in the first instance sailed down the river Euphrates, and then ascending the Pallacopas he entered Arabia, where he built a city, and placed in it those Greeks who were disabled.² A canal was cut to prevent injury from inundations during the floodings at the summer solstice; but being defective in its construction, too great a proportion of water found an exit by this channel at other times of the year.

A city built in Arabia for the disabled Greeks.

After having by personal examination ascertained the cause of the defect, Alexander determined to confer a lasting benefit on the Babylonians by giving them the means of commanding this outlet, and of regulating at pleasure the level of the water in the great river.³

As the original head of the Pallacopas was above Babylon, it probably commenced in a bend where there is a small river called Hawasin, on the right bank, which, no doubt, was in the precincts of the ancient city. Nearly five miles higher, where the river makes, as it approaches Suda island, a sharp bend southward, is the canal called Hindíyeh, going to Mesjid 'Alí and onward, parallel to the Euphrates. As this cut is nearly twenty-three miles below the Kuthah, it clearly corresponds with the separation described by Abú-l-fedá as taking place six farsangs from that river,⁴ running through Kúfah, and from thence into the marshy country below, the ancient Paludes Babyloniæ.

As the first opening had been cut through a light and oozy soil, 10,000 men were usually employed for three months annually, and sometimes ineffectually, to stop this outlet when the water was required in the main channel. The new cut was through firm and rocky ground, probably at the spot above indicated (Hindíyeh), from whence it was carried into the old channel, the former inlet to which was effectually closed. Subsequently, after steering his own galley through the marshes, Alexander caused another head to be cut above them, from the

Defects of the old canal.

¹ Arrian, *Exp.*, lib. VII., cap. xx.

² Quint. Curt., lib. X., cap. iv

³ Arrian, lib. VII., cap. xxi.

⁴ Another copy has seven.—Abú-l-fedá; MS. translation by Mr. Rassam.

river below Babylon to the bed of the Pallacopas, probably near the city which he ordered to be built. At Manawíyah, nine or ten miles above Diwáníyah, there are the remains of a canal, possibly of the one in question, which is adapted to carry the stream clear of the marshes.

A fleet collected by Alexander on the Euphrates.

Of the fleet which Alexander was collecting, some of the vessels were brought, as we have seen, from the river Tigris and Susiana; some were transported from Phœnicia to Thapsacus, in order that they might descend the Euphrates; and the rest were built of cypress wood on the spot.

On returning from the exploratory voyage above mentioned, which probably took place during the floods of the succeeding season after his arrival, Alexander found that a second embassy had arrived at Babylon, with golden crowns, sent as presents from the Grecian republics, and also with large reinforcements from Greece, Lydia, and Caria, to supply those who were lately discharged. Peucestas also arrived with 20,000 Persians, besides a body of Cossæans and Tapurians.¹ The leading object of Alexander's studious care, the formation of the fleet, was now far advanced; and but little was wanting to unite his subjects on the Indus, the Euphrates, and the Nile, by the powerful interests of commerce, when he was cut off in the prime of life, after an unexampled career of glory. A fever, caught in the marshes of Lamlúm, cut short those great projects, which only could have been planned by the vast and capacious mind of this mighty conqueror, who had never known anything like failure in his plans, or a defeat in either a battle or a siege.

He dies of a fever caught in the marshes.

Sources of the Indus.

Some account of the great river which had been navigated by Alexander, and was also one of his chief objects of interest, will not here be out of place. The Indus, or Sindus,² has its springs in two great arms towards the southern borders of Tibet, on the slopes of the great range which, more westward, is known as the Bulút Tágh, or Cloudy Mountains,³ and here as the Himáláya.⁴

The water-shed of this parent range seems to be on the

¹ Arrian., lib. VII., cap. xxiii.

² Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xx.

³ See above, vol. I., p. 161.

⁴ A part of the Caucasus, called Paropamisus.—Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xx.

northern side, and is marked by the two contiguous sacred lakes, Mepang, or Manas Sorowar, and Rawan Rhud; from which mountain basin, or its vicinity, come four noble rivers, viz., in a western direction, the great river Sanpoo, or Brahmapootra; the Gogra, or Ganges, flowing south-east; the Sutlej, running south-westward; and the Indus. Sources of the Indus.

The last, called also the Singzing-kampa or Eckhung-choo river, apparently commences a few miles north-westward of the lake, with which it may have a communication. About seventy miles onward it receives the other branch, the Sing-he-tsiu, The Sing-he-tsiu Chu branch. and continues to flow in the same direction, for about 200 additional miles, to the town of Leh, or Lí. A little beyond this place it receives the Seechoo, or Lingtee, a considerable tributary coming from the south-south-east; and again, about sixty miles onward in the same direction, it receives another river on the opposite side, which flows first southward from the Kará Korum mountains in Tibet; then, by a bold sweep westward, and afterwards southward, it enters the main stream; but little more is known than its bare name, the Shayuk.

About sixty miles onward, the united waters take a western direction for a like distance, and then bend southward as this The Indus passes the Himálaya range. great stream breaks through the Indian Caucasus, or Himálaya. Here, taking the name of the Sinde, it inclines a little to the west, passing Kaspatyrus to Attock; just short of which place it receives the only considerable stream coming from the western side, namely, the Kábul river.¹ When clear of the mountains near Attock, the river, which is of a considerable breadth and contains a great volume of water, washes for about seventy miles the abutments of the Afghán mountains on one side, and the great plain on the other, as far as the village of Maree. Having passed the Salt range near this place, the great river separates for a time into three and sometimes four channels, which, after continuing parallel at a short distance from one another, reunite near the town of Nowakot, in about 32° 10' N. L.

Continuing a southerly course, nearly parallel to the Hala Its course southward. mountains, and having a small part of the great plains inter-

¹ See vol. I., p. 170.

vening on the right side, the Sindus, or Indus, passes Dera Ismael Khán and Kakuree, where it is 1,000 yards broad and twelve feet deep. From thence it flows southward by Leia to Dera Ghazee Khán, and onward to Mittun, just short of which place it is joined by the united waters of the Panj-áb, which give it a south-western direction, after having enriched the large and fertile tract of country bearing that name.¹ The principal of the streams, the Sutlej, or ancient Hesidrus, comes from Lake Rawan Rhud, not far from the source of the parent stream, and after flowing to the west, along the northern slopes of the Himálaya, breaks through this range in a south-westerly direction: it continues to flow through a mountainous country to Hurrekee, where it is joined by the river Beas, the upper part of the celebrated Hyphasis, which flows south-westward from the slopes of the Himálaya to the point of junction.

Joined by the
Hyphasis at
Hurrekee.

After receiving this stream near Hurrekee, the Sutlej continues the previous course, passing a little westward of Ferozepúr, and so on to Fulehpúr, Bhawulpúr, and Ooch. Latterly, however, this stream has been better known as the Ghara than by the previous name of the Sutlej. The Beas, Becah, or Bypasa, no doubt represents the Hyphasis of Alexander, which appears to have had a separate channel to the northward, flowing usually at the distance of about twenty miles, and nearly parallel to the present channel, from the neighbourhood of Hurrekee, till it falls into the present bed. This takes place just before its junction with the Chináb, whose trunk brings thither the united waters of the other three rivers of the Panj-áb. The Chináb, once the Akesines, and the largest of the streams,² appears to have its source in 78° E. L., from whence it flows north-westward along the southern slopes of the Himálaya, till, at Kishtawar, on the borders of Kashmír, it takes a south-western direction, nearly dividing the territory of Lahore as it flows by Jumbo, Vezír-ábád, Jelalpúr, to Lal Kango and Trumoo ferry, where it receives the western river, the Jailum, or Hydaspes. This considerable arm, which, according to Pliny, is the recipient of the other stream,³

Junction of
the Hyphasis
and the
Chináb.

¹ Burnes, vol. III., p. 139, of Royal Geographical Journal.

² Ibid., p. 147.

³ Lib. VI., cap. xx.

appears to be formed by three branches coming through Kashmir, namely, the *Sutí*, which springs north of the *Himálaya*, and the *Pir Panj-áb*, and the *Jailum*, or *Behut*, both of which rise southward of that range. The last passes through Kashmir itself, at some distance westward of which it receives the *Sutí*, and, bending southward, is joined by the *Pir-Panj-áb*, ten or twelve miles short of *Jailum*, and the supposed site of *Bucephala*.¹ From hence, inclining a little westward, the *Behui*, or *Bedusta*, and also the *Jailum*, or *Hydaspes*, flow to the battle-ground of *Nikæa* (near *Jelalpúr*), from whence they run for a time to the south-west, and again southward into the *Chináb*, at the ferry already indicated.

Affluents of
the Chináb.

Preserving the latter name, the trunk takes a south-westerly course for nearly sixty miles, till it meets the last of the so-called five rivers a little below *Biralee*. This stream, the ancient *Hydraotes*, and now the *Ravi*, appears to rise on the borders of the district of *Lahoul*. It flows westward to *Chumba*, where it takes a south-west course by *Noorpúr*, *Lahore*, and onward, by an exceedingly tortuous course, to the point of junction already mentioned. Preserving the name of the central branch, it flows south-westward, passing near *Multan*, and, having afterwards received the *Ghara*, the *Chináb* takes the name of the *Panj-nud*, till this appellation, as well as its waters, are lost in those of the *Indus*.

Meets the
Hydraotes
near Biralee.

With the accession of the *Panj-áb* tributaries, the *Indus* presents a great body of water as it flows onward, its breadth often exceeding 1,000 yards,² with a depth of fifteen feet and upwards; and it forms several islands in its south-western course from *Mittun* to the bend at *Duturna*, below *Bukkur* and *Ravi*. Below these towns, and near to *Larkhanu*, the bifurcation of the *Narra* takes place; the branch continues at first nearly parallel to the great stream, both afterwards inclining more westward, and again southward, and they reunite at *Sehwan*, once *Sindomana*,³ below *Lake Manchur*,

Magnitude of
the Indus after
receiving the
rivers of the
Panj-áb.

¹ Pliny, lib. VI., cap. xx.

² Memoir on the *Indus*, by Sir Alexander Burnes, vol. III., p. 135, of *Royal Geographical Journal*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

The Indus
flows near
Haider-abad.

after forming a succession of islands on the main stream, which is frequently three-quarters of a mile broad, with a current of about two miles and a half per hour.¹ Here the Indus takes a south-easterly direction as far as Sallarah, from whence it flows southward, passing near the western side of Haider-ábád, and on to Banna, but sending previously the Felelí branch through the former city, and thence south-south-eastwards by Kótrí to the sea at the Kóré mouth. Banna may be considered as the apex of the existing delta, one side being formed by the Pinyarí or Goongroo river, which runs south-south-eastward by Maghribi to its estuary, called the Sír; and the other is the main river, which during its onward course sends out five branches on the western, and a short one, namely, the Malk, near its termination, on its eastern side. One of the former, which is now usually dry, runs westward from T'hat'hah (Tattah) till it meets the Garah river, which flows from that place to the vicinity of Karáchee. The next, called the Bagár, is sent out a little below T'hat'hah, and it has a south-western course till it falls into the sea by six mouths, which are open, and more or less navigable, during the season of floods. These, taking them from west to east, are the Pítí, now almost closed, the Dub'hu, the Khan, the Pintiyání, the Juwah, and the Richel; the third is the Títíyah, which quits the trunk thirty-five miles from the sea, and runs south-eastward, with a channel of thirty yards wide, and a stream about two feet deep only, in the dry season. It terminates in the Richel river, below the villages of Kóterí and Béman-Jo-poro. The fourth is the Hajámari, or, as it is called, the upper part of the Sýahan river, which is the most winding and intricate, yet presenting more facilities for navigation than any of the other branches. It quits the parent stream about twenty-two miles direct distance from the sea, and makes a tortuous course to Bander Vikkar, or Bári Górá, which, although a miserable place, has considerable trade. It subsequently makes a winding course, as before, in the general direction of west-south-west, to its funnel-shaped estuary, which is twenty miles from thence. There are only

It enters the
sea by six
mouths.

¹ *Memoir on the Indus*, by Sir Alexander Burnes, vol. III., p. 132, of Royal Geographical Journal.

seven and a half feet water on the bar at high tide, but nowhere within it, is there less than twelve feet as far as Vikkar.

The fifth river is the K'hédíwári, which diverges sixteen miles below the preceding branch, and reaches the sea after an irregular west-south-western course. The entrance of the K'hédíwári is formed by a channel of four miles long, and from 600 to 800 yards broad, with a depth of sixteen or eighteen feet at high tide; and about three miles within the bar it receives the Ad'hiyári, coming from the parent stream, over which it has, in consequence, some advantages. Reverting to the latter, after sending out the Bagár, it flows south-south-westward to its estuary, the Kúkéwári mouth, which is about fifty-five miles from thence by the stream and forty-eight in a direct line. It takes the name of Wanyam below Hajámarí, and that of Manijá as it approaches the estuary. At present there is but one entrance, which varies from 1,100 yards to one mile and a half wide, with two channels, the preferable of which is 500 yards broad at the outer, and 130 yards wide at the interior side: it has a depth of from twelve feet to three fathoms and a half, and a current in the dry season of less than three miles and a half per hour, which is increased to seven miles and one-tenth at the maximum during the freshes. The Hajámarí and the K'hédíwári are, however, the only other mouths which may be entered during the dry season.

But at no very distant period, the mass of the waters of the Indus appear to have passed along the Bagár channel, from which four beds, now dry, appear to have carried a portion of the stream south-eastward across what is the existing main channel, and onward to the sea, discharging at the Warí, the Kajah, the Rúdah, and the Khaī mouths. Besides these alterations, the fact of extensive changes having occurred is placed beyond doubt by a large vessel, the Fateh Jang, once carrying forty guns, being found near the village of 'Alí-ábád,¹ besides the embedded hull of a gun-brig near Sikkar;² both

The K'hédíwári.

The Manijá branch.

Changes which have taken place at the mouth of the Indus.

¹ Vol. VIII., p. 348. of Royal Geographical Journal.

² Ibid., vol. X., p. 530.

being at some distance from any of the existing arms. But a great and rapid river, bringing down three cubic inches of alluvium to a cubic foot of water, on a flat open coast,¹ is sufficient to account for these remarkable alterations, and for the circumscribed width of the present delta. The 1,000 stadia mentioned by Arrian,² if taken from the higher ground near the Pítí mouth, would reach to the coast of Kach'h in about 69° E. L., from whence it is a like distance to Haider-ábád; possibly, therefore, the apex of the Delta and the port of Pattala may have been somewhere near that city.

Rise, and decrease of the Indus.

The Indus begins to rise, and increases gradually, from the 23rd of March, but is subject to a slight decrease occasionally up to July, during which month, and the early part of the following, there is no decrease; and on the 7th of August it is at the highest, the maximum total rise being 15 feet 2·8 inches. During the rest of the month, and most of the following, the fall is tolerably regular, with an increase occasionally, till the 22nd, when there is a second maximum rise of 13 feet 11·5 inches; after which it is on the decrease, with a good deal of regularity, to the 23rd of March.

Times of approaching the delta from the sea.

The delta of the Indus is exposed to gales in February, but it may be approached occasionally till the middle of March, or even towards the end of April,³ and of late, by steamers, up to June, but with much difficulty, being then flooded for some miles inward at high tide. About 100 vessels are profitably employed in fishing on this coast, but almost entirely from the beginning of October to the middle of March, during which period there is neither difficulty nor danger on the coast of Sinde.⁴ Land and sea breezes prevail alternately, at this period, with cold weather; and the tides are everywhere extremely irregular.⁵

¹ The Indus conveys to the sea annually 10,503,587,000 cubic feet of mud.—Commander Carless, vol. VIII., p. 356, of Royal Geographical Journal.

² Lib. VI., cap. xx.

³ Commander Carless, vol. VIII., pp. 331, 332, of Royal Geographical Journal.

⁴ During the months of June, July, August, and part of September, the communication between Bombay and Sinde may be said to be cut off.

⁵ Commander Carless, vol. VIII., p. 331, of Royal Geographical Journal.

The boat in use, called a dúndí, is well adapted for the navigation of the river and the transport of goods. The shape is peculiar, being without a keel, flat-bottomed; and both the bow and stern, which are perfectly flat, rise from the water at an angle of about 30°, to suit the shelving banks of the river. It is rigged with a square sail aft, and a lateen sail forward, and is steered by means of a large triangular rudder, hung over the slanting stern: the largest are eighty feet long, and carry sixty tons, drawing only four feet water. For want of better materials, the boats of the Indus are formed of innumerable small pieces of wood, fastened by bamboo pegs, and they are consequently liable to accidents; but any great deviation from the principle of their construction would not be an improvement.¹ Between Bukkur and Mittun, the boat most in use, called a zohruy, is built of the talce tree, of an oblong square shape, flat-bottomed, and rounded at the extremities. Some exceed eighty feet in length and twenty in width, with only one mast.²

Construction
of the boats on
the Indus.

Ever since the time of Alexander, this great stream and its tributaries have been navigated by the above kind of flat boat, in one of which the late enterprising Burnes ascended at the favourable season to Lahore, a distance of nearly 950 miles, in sixty days.³

The ordinary trade is carried on at a moderate rate, namely, twelve or thirteen shillings for 15 cwt., from Bander-Vikkar to Shikárpúr. The distance is about 390 miles, chiefly through a delta, which, owing to the changes constantly taking place at its estuary, is beset with difficulties. But the river has now become known by the careful surveys of Commander Carless and Lieutenant Wood, of the Indian Navy; and, following the steps of the late Sir Alexander Burnes, a steamer has ascended as high as Vezír-ábád, on the Chináb, a distance of about 1,000 miles; while, on another occasion, the Meanee steamer reached Ferozepúr, on the Sutlej, and more recently

Trade on the
Indus.

¹ Commander Carless, vol. VIII., p. 355, of Royal Geographical Journal.

² Sir A. Burnes, vol. III., p. 135, of Royal Geographical Journal.

³ Vol. III., p. 113, of Royal Geographical Journal.

Manner of
conveying
troops to
Haider-ábád.

the capital (Lahore): troops, also, are constantly conveyed by steamers to reinforce or relieve our stations near Haider-ábád. This is sometimes effected by crossing the bar with one of the river steamers to meet the larger one outside, but more generally by marching from Karáchee to the lower part of the Bagár, there to embark. But this difficulty, and also the passage of the bars, might be avoided, by cutting a canal from Karáchee to some part of the trunk of the Indus: this would require but a moderate amount of labour, and would greatly facilitate our growing commerce on the river.

Adverting to what has been said on page 252, a careful computation of the routes of the army has given the following approximative tables of the

MARCHES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

	Miles	Miles.
<i>European Routes.</i>		
Pella to Widdin, below Lom, on the Danube	300	
Back again to Pella	300	
From Pella to Thebes	180	
From Thebes to Dia	175	
From Dia to the Hellespont	325	
Total		1,280
<i>Routes in Lesser Asia.</i>		
From the Hellespont to the Granicus	52	
The Granicus to Ilium	75	
Ilium to Sardis	139	
Sardis to Ephesus	56	
Ephesus to Halicarnassus	80	
Halicarnassus to Alindæ and Makri	122	
Makri to Xanthus and Telmissus	140	
Telmissus to Mount Climax	64	
Mount Climax to Salagassus	67	
Salagassus to Celæne	43	
Celæne to Yerma, probably Gordium	133	
Gordium to Ancyra	49	
Ancyra (high route) to the Camp of Cyrus	198	
The Camp of Cyrus to Tarsus	199	
Tarsus into Rugged Cilicia and back	165	
Tarsus to Myriandros and back to the Issus	120	
Total		1,602
Carried forward	2,882.

	Miles.	Miles.
Brought forward	2,882
<i>Routes in Syria.</i>		
From the Issus by Aradus to Tyre	273	
Tyre to Jaffa	86	
Jaffa to Jerusalem	32	
Jerusalem to Gaza	53	
Gaza to Pelusium	136	
Total		580
<i>Routes in Africa.</i>		
Pelusium to Memphis	125	
Memphis to the Sea	146	
The Sea to Parætonius	145	
Parætonius to the Temple of Ammon	172	
Ammon to Memphis	334	
Total		922
<i>Routes through Syria and Mesopotamia.</i>		
Memphis to Pelusium and Gaza	261	
Gaza to Tyre	134	
Tyre to Aradus	122	
Aradus to Antioch	120	
Antioch to Thapsacus	140	
Thapsacus to Hama, Mârdîn, and Eski Mûsul	280	
Eski Mûsul to Arbela	85	
Arbela to the Tigris, at the Great Zâb	52	
The Great Zâb to Opis	130	
Opis to Babylon	88	
Babylon to Susa	230	
Total		1,642
<i>Persian Routes.</i>		
Susa to the Pasitigris	45	
The Pasitigris, north-eastward to Mâl-Amir	87	
The Uxian city to Kal'eh Sefid	188	
Kal'eh Sefid to Persepolis	84	
Persepolis to Ecbatana (Hamadân)	480	
Hamadân, by Rhagæ, to the Caspian Gates	286	
The Caspian Gates to Hecatompylos	215	
Hecatompylos to Zadracarta	115	
During the campaign of the Mardi and Reten	375	
Thence to Zadracarta	115	
Zadracarta to Susia in Aria	550	
Susia in Aria to Herat	130	
Herat to Prophthasia (now Peshawarun)	192	
Peshawarun to U'lân Robât, or Shahri-Zohâk	460	
U'lân Robât to Kâbul	198	
Kâbul to Bêghram	35	
Total		3,555
Carried forward	9,581

	Miles.	Miles.
Brought forward	9,581
<i>Routes in Bactriana.</i>		
Beghrum to Inderab	110	
Inderab, or Drepsa, to Bálkh, Bactra or Zariaspa	216	
Zariaspa to Karshi, or Nautaka	204	
Nautaka to Maracanda, or Samarkand	115	
Samarkand to the River Jaxartes	166	
March into the Fergána district	140	
Second campaign to Gaza, Cyropolis, and Eschata	250	
Eschata to Polytimetus River and Zariaspa	450	
Zariaspa to Maracanda and Nautaka	312	
Nautaka to Kurghan-Tippa	245	
Kurghan-Tippa to Merw-el-Rud	310	
Merw-el-Rud to the Rock of Oxyartes	380	
The Rock of Oxyartes to Zariaspa	580	
Zariaspa to Beghrum	326	
Total		3,804
<i>Routes West and East of the Indus.</i>		
Beghrum to Kábul and Attock	375	
Attock to Taxila	45	
Taxila to the Hydaspes	55	
The Hydaspes to the Hydraotes	125	
The Hydraotes to Sakala and the Hyphasis	86	
The Hyphasis, back to the Hydaspes	180	
The Hydaspes to the confluence of the Akesines	250	
The Akesines to the Malli, and back to the Hydraotes	210	
Descent of the Hydraotes and Indus	860	
Total		2,186
<i>Routes in I'rán.</i>		
From the Indus to Susa	1,250	
Susa to the Sea	219	
The Sea to Opis	590	
Opis to Susa	308	
Susa to Bághistán	280	
Bághistán to Hamadán	110	
40 days' campaign against the Cossæans	360	
Hamadán to Babylon	340	
Total		3,457
	..	19,028

CHAPTER XII.

THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER, FROM 323 B.C. TO 246 B.C.

State of the Empire at the time of Alexander's Death.—Threatened Hostilities.—Arrangements for the Succession.—The various Governors retain their situations.—Roxana puts Statira and her Sister to Death.—Eumenes enters Cappadocia.—Death of Perdiccas.—Defeat and Blockade of Eumenes.—Invasion of Phœnicia, and March towards Babylonia.—The Army of Eumenes escapes from an Inundation, and enters Susiana.—Eurydice and Philip put to Death by Olympias.—Campaigns in Susiana.—March through the Cossæan Mountains.—Campaign in Media.—Drawn Battle, and Death of Eumenes.—Antigonus settles the minor Governments.—Combinations against, and Preparations of Antigonus.—Antigonus marches into Asia Minor.—Demetrius Defeated near Gaza.—The Nabatheans, and Expeditions of Antigonus against Petra.—Roxana and her son Alexander murdered by Cassander.—Barsine, Hercules, and Olympias put to Death.—Antigonus and the other successors of Alexander assume regal titles.—Expeditions of Antigonus and Demetrius: they proceed against Egypt, and are repulsed.—Demetrius besieges Rhodes, and fails in repeated Attacks.—Sieges of Fortresses in ancient and modern times.—Seleucus extends his Empire into India.—His Treaty with Sandrocottus, and March into Asia Minor.—Forces assembled under Seleucus and Antigonus near Ipsus.—Result of the Battle.—Subdivision of Alexander's Empire into four great Kingdoms.—Demetrius is taken, and dies in Captivity.—Death and Character of Seleucus.—Accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus.—Prosperity of Egypt under this Monarch.

THE voyage of Nearchus, and especially the preceding campaigns of Alexander, had made eastern Persia and the adjoining countries practically known to the Greeks; but the knowledge thus acquired of these regions would have speedily passed away, had it not been preserved by the subsequent wars: it was at the same time turned to account by the commercial relations which in consequence sprang up. The protracted contests for dominion which followed the untimely death of Alexander must, however, claim immediate notice, since they

A knowledge of Asia derived from Alexander's campaigns,

and the wars of his successors.

took place in the kingdoms lying between the Nile and the Indus, which had submitted to the power of the conqueror.

Alexander appears to have anticipated these fearful struggles, for in bequeathing his colossal empire to him who should prove the bravest, he added,* that his generals, in fighting one with another, would offer ample funeral sacrifices to his manes.¹

Threatened
hostilities.

Scarcely had a reign of unparalleled conquests terminated with these words, when Perdicas, to whom the king had confided his signet, commenced operations at the head of the cavalry, by surrounding the phalanx, which was then under Meleager, in Babylon.

Joint regal
power
arranged.

Bloodshed, however, was for the moment averted by the prudent efforts of Eumenes, the late king's secretary; and as no individual could expect support from his competitors for power, all agreed to the proposal that Aridæus, the natural brother of Alexander, should share the regal office jointly with the expected son of Roxana; an infirmity of mind to which the former was subject, and the prospective infancy of the latter, having united all suffrages in their favour. It was at the same time decided that a magnificent procession should convey Alexander's remains into Africa,² and that Taxiles and the other Asiatic chiefs should retain their satrapies, as part of the intended empire;³ while its western portions were severally to continue under Ptolemy, Antigonus, Eumenes, and others. It was also determined neither to construct the pyramidal monument to Philip, nor the six splendid temples which were to have been raised, nor even the thousand long ships which had been intended to command the shores of the Mediterranean; and thus the ample funds which had been expressly left by Alexander for these purposes, became available for other objects. With the decision to make these changes regarding the intentions of the late king, the momentary unanimity of his captains terminated.

Roxana puts
her rivals to
death, and
gives birth to
a son.

Roxana, shortly after endeavouring to secure the regal succession by putting to death Statira and Drypetis, the daughters of Darius, gave birth to a son, in whose name, jointly with that

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. i.

² Ibid., cap. ii.

³ Ibid.

of Aridaeus, now called Philip, the government was nominally carried on; the real power, however, was exercised by Roxana, assisted by Perdiccas.

After quelling an insurrection in Greece, and another in Thrace, Perdiccas turned his attention towards Cappadocia; when, the strongholds of Isaura and Laranda being taken, and Ariarathes, the king, crucified by his orders, he entrusted the government of that kingdom to Eumenes. Leaving him to prosecute the war, Perdiccas proceeded to invade Egypt, now become a consolidated kingdom. Eumenes, in the mean time, being appointed generalissimo of Caria, Lycia, and Cappadocia, had organized an army, with which, in the first instance, he defeated and killed Craterus, and ten days later he gained a more signal battle over Neoptolemus.

Eumenes conducts the war in Cappadocia.

But these successes were not sufficient to turn the scale in favour of his chief, Perdiccas, whose unjust attack upon Ptolemy, in Egypt, terminated in his defeat, after which he was put to death by his own troops. Antipater, who was now chosen sole protector of the kingdom, with sovereign power, proceeded to make the following allotment of the provinces, the details of which are calculated to show the vastness of the empire.

Invasion of Egypt, and murder of Perdiccas.

Ptolemy retained Egypt, and Laomedon Syria; Philoxenus had Cilicia; Amphimachus obtained Mesopotamia and Arbilitis; Babylon fell to Seleucus, the commander of the troops called companions; and Susiana to Antigonus.² With regard to the eastern portion of the empire, Peucestas received Persia; Tlepolemus, Carmania; Stasander, Aria and Drangia; Philip, Parthia; Stasanor, Bactria and Sogdia; Syburtius, Aracosia; Oxyartes had the region of Paropamisus, while Pithon had Media and the tract eastward from thence to India, in which region Porus and Taxiles retained their former possessions. In Western Asia, Nicanor received Cappadocia; Phrygia Major, and the tracts near the coast, were given to Antigonus, Caria to Cassander, Lydia to Clitus, Lesser

Antipater distributes the provinces of the new empire.

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. xl., compared with Plutarch, in vita Eumen.

² Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. xiii.

Phrygia to Aridæus. Cassander was appointed general of the horse, and the command of the household troops was given to Antigonus, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes, who, on account of his fidelity, was now reputed a public enemy.¹ The latter lost no time in preparing to defend himself; and Antigonus immediately marched into Cappadocia, where he gained a decided and well-contested victory over Eumenes. Defeated, but not discouraged, the latter retreated into Phrygia, where he defended the castle of Nora² so successfully, that Antigonus, although at the head of 60,000 infantry and 19,000 cavalry, was glad to grant him very favourable terms. The faithful Eumenes now received the appointment of commander of the king's forces in Asia,³ and immediately commenced extensive preparations for the coming campaign. By unremitting exertions he collected about 15,000 men; and hoping to maintain the royal cause, he hastened to take the bold step of commencing operations on the side of Phœnicia, which was at the moment invaded by Ptolemy; but finding himself deprived of the expected support of the king's fleet, in consequence of its recent defeat on that coast, and having besides to contend with the forces of Antigonus, who had followed him thither, he placed the river Euphrates between his troops and those of his antagonist, and then took post at the neighbouring city of Carrhæ.

The inactive season was employed in preparations for the approaching campaign; and amongst other appeals to the supposed adherents of the royal cause, embassies were sent to the satrap of Media, and to Seleucus, the governor of Babylonia.

Early in the spring, in consequence of the equivocal answer of the latter, Eumenes marched against him at the head of 20,000 men, hoping to seize the treasures of Susa, and at the same time to receive reinforcements from the upper satrapies. With these objects in view, he appears to have advanced along the Tigris, till he encamped on its banks at about 300 stadia from Babylon. The distance here given⁴ nearly corresponds with that between the city and the Tigris at the bifurcation of

Antigonus de-
feats Eumenes
in Cappadocia.

B. C. 318.

Eumenes
assumes the
offensive in
Phœnicia.

B. C. 317.

Eumenes
marches along
the Tigris,
and encamps
near the Hæl.

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XVIII., cap. xiii.
Ibid., cap. xvii.

² Ibid., cap. xvi.

³ Ibid., lib. XIX., cap. iv.

the Háï, near which he, no doubt, intended to cross the principal stream.

Whilst collecting boats for this purpose, it appears that Seleucus cut a dyke, probably that of the canal in question which crosses this part of Mesopotamia. The country was in consequence so rapidly inundated, that it was only by occupying some elevated ground, and by the speedy use of boats at the same time, that Eumenes saved his troops from destruction, and gained the left bank, leaving his baggage behind.¹ The latter was, however, recovered the next day, when Eumenes found means to restore the dyke and drain the water. Seleucus, finding that his stratagem had failed, was glad to make a truce, and his opponent immediately occupied Susiana, dividing his army into three corps, to facilitate the means of obtaining supplies,² whilst he awaited the expected reinforcements from the upper provinces.

Perilous situation of Eumenes' army.

Antigonus still hoped by a rapid march to recover what had been lost by the skill and boldness of his adversary; but arriving too late, he employed the winter season, which had now arrived, in concerting measures with Seleucus and Pithon for another campaign.³

Whilst thus occupied, events occurred elsewhere which were well calculated to hasten, if they did not give rise to, those bloody contests which ere long convulsed the empire from one extremity to the other.

At the instance of Polysperchon, Olympias returned from Epirus, her place of banishment, to Macedonia, and having obtained possession of Philip, as well as of her rival Eurydice, she treated the captives with the greatest rigour, and afterwards caused them to be put to death: thus terminated the nominal reign of Philip, after a period of six years and a half.⁴

Olympias puts Philip and Eurydice to death.

B. C. 317.

One barrier to his ambition being thus removed, Antigonus, the self-appointed regent, moved early in the spring towards Babylonia, taking his whole force, including the contingents of Seleucus and Pithon. Having crossed the Tigris in boats,⁵ he

Antigonus enters Babylonia.

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. iv.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., cap. vi.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., cap. v.

directed his march on the capital, to encounter Eumenes, and the reinforcements drawn by him from Carmania, Ariana, Drangiana, &c.

Marches to the river Coprates.

Finding a determined resistance, he left a body of troops to besiege the castle of Susa, and advancing against Eumenes, he exposed his army to a trying march from thence to the river Coprates, at a season when the heat was at the greatest, and everything completely burnt up. Using boats, and rafts formed of inflated skins, which were propelled by means of poles, 6,000 horse and 2,000 foot were transported across the lower part of the stream in question, probably the river of Diz, with orders to excavate a ditch and prepare a camp within it for the whole army. Eumenes, who was posted behind a river, probably the Kárún (here called the Tigris¹), and only eighty stadia from the enemy, was perfectly aware of all that was taking place, and determined, in conformity with the tactics of the school in which he had been educated, to make the best of his position by becoming the assailant. He therefore crossed the Tigris (Kárún) at the head of 4,000 foot and 1,500 horse, where he found 6,000 men collecting forage, under the protection of 300 cavalry and 3,000 infantry: these he attacked and routed, before there was even time to form, causing the whole to fly in the greatest disorder. Antigonus and the rest of his forces, after an ineffectual effort to cover or protect the fugitives, were obliged to witness the sudden destruction of 4,000 men, who by rushing headlong into the boats, and causing the greater part to sink, either perished in the water or were taken prisoners, without the possibility of receiving assistance. Nor was the loss confined to those killed and drowned, for numbers were sacrificed by exposure to the sun during the subsequent retreat to Badaca.² After reposing here for a short time, Antigonus put the army in motion, and proceeded towards Media, that he might be near the provinces from which he was to receive reinforcements. In this march he had choice of two routes, the longer and easier of which he determined to avoid, because it would have exposed his troops to the heat of the sun

Eumenes by a manoeuvre routs the enemy.

Antigonus retreats to Badaca.

He assumes the offensive.

¹The Pasitigris of Quint. Curt. and Arrian.

² Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. vi.

for forty days; he therefore preferred to move by the shorter and more difficult route through the country of the Cossæans, his intention being to force his way, contrary to the advice of Pithon, who suggested that he should endeavour to purchase the good will of these hardy mountaineers. The route thus chosen, which is described as being irregular, narrow, and precipitous, badly supplied, and occupied by hostile tribes, but cool,¹ appears to be that which passes up the valley of the Kerkhah to A'bi-Garm, and from thence crosses the mountains to Khorram-ābād.² Nearchus, one of the generals, was sent in advance, at the head of a body of archers, some slingers, and other light troops, with orders to drive the Cossæans from their principal strongholds, and having done so, to line the roads, so as to ensure the safety of the main body. Antigonus followed with the latter, and a chosen body of horse, under Pithon, covered the rear.³

Nearchus, as instructed, preceded the main body, and seized several commanding points; but many others were overlooked, and these, being occupied by the enemy, caused great annoyance and serious loss to those who followed. Those immediately round Antigonus suffered most, and were greatly exposed to the stones and darts of the Cossæans. They succeeded, however, in making good their passage, after having been exposed to this harassing warfare for nine days, during which they incurred a heavy loss in men, elephants, and horses. On entering Media, abundant supplies, with a remount for the cavalry, in some measure restored the wonted tone of the army, and the march was continued to the higher provinces.

Eumenes now broke up his camp on the banks of the Pasitigris (Kárún), to pursue his enemy; and taking the route of the *ladders*, or Pylæ Persicæ, and subsequently passing through the shaded valleys and gardens⁴ of Basht and Faïlioun, he reached Persepolis in twenty-four marches. The soldiers, who had been scantily supplied during this time, found their

¹ *Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. vi.*

² *Major Rawlinson, Royal Geographical Journal, vol. IX., p. 63.*

³ *Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. vi.*

Ibid., cap. vii.

The army is
feasted by
Peucestas.

toils rewarded by a great feast, which, like that of Alexander on a greater occasion, had been prepared by Peucestas for the whole army. An altar, dedicated to the conqueror, and another to his father Philip, occupied the centre, round which the generals, masters of the horse, nobles, and chiefs of Persia had their several tables, forming an interior circle of two stadia; a second, of four stadia, was occupied by officers of the second order; and a third, of eight stadia in circumference, was destined for the Argyraspides, and those who had served under Alexander: the fourth, or that intended for the mercenaries and auxiliaries, was ten stadia in circumference.¹

Eumenes out-
marches Anti-
gonus.

Eumenes, having drunk hard at this and another banquet which he subsequently gave to his troops, was attacked by fever, which in the latter part of the march obliged him to be carried in a litter. By making a forced march in this manner, he succeeded in anticipating the intention of Antigonus, by throwing himself between the latter and Gabene, in the district of Parætacene.

In the battle
which ensues,
Antigonus is
worsted.

On the appearance of the enemy's advance, Peucestas ordered the line of battle to be formed; but the soldiers, who suspected that Eumenes was dead, at first refused to obey. Eumenes was therefore brought out in his litter, with the curtains drawn back, in order to convince them that their general was still alive.² Eumenes had 35,000 foot and 6,000 horse, with 114 elephants, while Antigonus had only 28,000 foot, 8,500 horse, and 65 elephants. The latter, who outflanked his enemy on this occasion, attacked in echelon from the right, and repulsed the left of Eumenes; ³ but after a long and obstinate struggle, with various skilful manœuvres and alternate advantages on both sides, the contest ended at night-fall to the disadvantage of Antigonus. He retained, however, part of the battle-ground, and buried the dead before he retired to winter at Gadamolus, or Gadarlis, in Media. On the other hand, Eumenes secured his object by marching from the battle ground into the unexhausted district of Gabene.

Positions of
the contending
armies.

The two armies having moved in almost opposite directions from the recent field of battle, were now separated by a distance

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. vii.

² Ibid., cap. viii.

Ibid.

of twenty-five marches, through inhabited countries, but of nine only by the more direct route, which was, however, entirely without the means of subsistence.¹ Antigonus being aware that the troops of his rival were dispersed in different winter quarters, for the sake of supplies, formed the bold project of surprising and attacking them with a superior force, before they could assemble.

Accordingly, ten days' supplies were prepared; and giving out that he was about to traverse Armenia, he moved the whole army by forced marches across the mountains towards Gabene. Strict orders were issued that no fires should be lighted at night, lest his approach should be discovered from the heights; but after obeying this order for five nights, the soldiers, on account of the severity of the winter, made fires, and these being seen by the inhabitants, notice of an approaching enemy was immediately given to Peucestas and Eumenes.

The former, who had charge of the advance, was about to make a hasty retreat, lest he should be cut off, but Eumenes, arriving at the moment, encouraged him to maintain his post on the borders of the desert, assuring him that he knew how to delay the enemy till the army could be collected. Ever fertile in expedients, this commander ordered all the troops that he could assemble at the moment to follow him quickly to the elevated ground overlooking the plain, and choosing the most conspicuous places, he caused fires to be lighted at each. At nightfall they were to be very large, as if supper were in preparation; but in the second and third watch they were gradually to become extinct, thus having the appearance, from a distance, of an army encamped on the spot. This simple stratagem completely succeeded; for Antigonus and Pithon, believing that the whole army was in their front, immediately halted, to allow their troops the necessary time for refreshment and repose, preparatory to a general engagement. During this interval, Eumenes was equally prepared, and both armies being encamped within forty furlongs of each other, it was resolved to decide the war.

Antigonus placed his cavalry in the wings, having the

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. x.

infantry in the centre, the elephants in front, and light-armed troops occupying the intervals between these animals.

Eumenes commences the engagement, refusing his right wing.

Eumenes, with the élite of the cavalry, placed himself in the left wing, opposite to his adversary, having sixty elephants, forming an oval, in his front, here also with light troops filling up the intervals. Philip, the satrap of Parthia, commanded the right wing, and had orders to retreat rather than risk its safety by a general engagement. The whole force amounted to 114 elephants, 36,700 infantry, and 6,050 cavalry, all animated with the best spirit.

The battle, which commenced with the elephants and cavalry, terminated, after a lengthened struggle, with mutual advantages, the cavalry of Antigonus having defeated its opponents, while, on the other side, the infantry of Eumenes was victorious. But the families of the *Argyraspides* having been taken, these troops sacrificed their honour to recover their wives and children; for on a hint from Antigonus that such an exchange would be acceptable, the Macedonians delivered up their general.

Eumenes is put to death.

The talented and upright Eumenes, being now for the second time in his power, Antigonus, without hesitation, caused him to be put to death; and having gone through the form of honouring his remains with the public rite of burning, he completed the mockery by sending the ashes in a funereal urn to his relatives.

Antigonus arranges the different governments.

Antigonus now occupied winter quarters between the Median *Ecbatana* and *Rhages*, and took advantage of this interval of repose to confirm those governors who were too powerful to be dispossessed, removing others who were inimical to his interests. Amongst the latter were *Pithon*, who was tried and executed, and *Peucestas*, the satrap of Persia. Having personally superseded the latter, he assumed the title of king of the country, and sovereign of all Asia: he likewise confirmed *Oxyartes*, *Evitus*, and others, in their governments; after which he proceeded towards *Susa*, where he found the celebrated golden vine, and other treasures valued at 15,000 talents.¹

Fifteen thousand talents taken at Susa.

During this period the flames of war continued to rage in Europe, chiefly in the territories governed by *Cassander*, by whom *Olympias* had been invested in *Pydna* since the murder of

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. xv.



Engraved by J. H. St. John

W. H. St. John

Aridæus and Eurydice. At length famine overcame the bravery of the defenders of that place, when the haughty Olympias, deserted by her troops, fell into the hands of her enemies, and the mother of Alexander was put to death, by the kindred of those who had already suffered by her orders; but Roxana and her son, who were destined to experience a similar fate, still remained in captivity.

Olympias is
put to death.

Favoured by these circumstances, Antigonus marched towards Babylon, and on his approach Seleucus fled to Ptolemy, whose authority then extended over Syria and Phœnicia as well as Egypt. He was well received; and he soon induced Ptolemy to join with the rulers of Macedonia and Thrace in a combination against Ant¹ now openly aimed at uniting the whole of his conquests under his dominion. He prepared for his coming conquest by establishing beacons and couriers to secure speedy intelligence throughout Asia, by raising troops, by building a fleet, and at the same time strengthening his party by an alliance with Rhodes and Cyprus.

Combination
of Seleucus,
Ptolemy, and
Cassander.

His advantageous position between Ptolemy on the one side, and the confederates in Asia on the other, was speedily turned to good account. A fleet being urgently required to cope with that of Ptolemy, which, under Seleucus, threatened the coast and menaced the camp before Tyre, numerous shipwrights were immediately employed to construct vessels at Tripoli, Sidon, and Byblus, and also on the coast of Cilicia. The forests of the Taurus supplied materials for that coast, and 1,000 pairs of bullocks were employed in transporting the magnificent pines and cedars of Lebanon to the ports of Syria.¹

Antigonus
makes great
preparations.

Leaving, in addition to the necessary protection at these places, 3,000 men, under Andronicus, to blockade Tyre, Antigonus proceeded southward, and having secured his flank on the side of Egypt by subjecting the cities of Joppa and Gaza, he returned to resume in form the siege of the first place.² During its progress, however, the operations of Ptolemy in Greece, and those of the confederates in Asia, called for particular attention to the northern provinces. Leaving, therefore,

Siege of Tyre.

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. xviii.

² Ibid.

Antigonus
marches into
Lesser Asia.

his son Demetrius at the head of an ample force, Antigonus, after experiencing some loss from the snow, crossed the Taurus, and put his army into winter quarters at Celæne in Phrygia, being supported by his newly-constructed fleet from Phœnicia.¹ He had now obtained command of the sea, and by the skilfully conducted campaign that followed, the greater part of Caria fell into his hands. During that and the following year, he gained the alliance of most of the Peloponnesus, of Eubœa, Thebes, Phocis, and Locris; in consequence of which a treaty followed with Cassander, who, from a formidable opponent, became a dependent ally.

B. C. 313.

Ptolemy de-
feats Deme-
trius at Gaza.

But these successes were clouded by a serious reverse experienced elsewhere. Ptolemy having been successful in Cyrene and Egypt, had just returned to Egypt. From thence, Seleucus,² he marched to attack Demetrius with a superior force; and the latter being routed in a pitched battle near Gaza, fled to Tripoli and despatched a courier to entreat his father's speedy assistance.³ As the consequence of this battle, Ptolemy recovered the cities of Phœnicia, with the exception of Tyre, and Seleucus was enabled to resume his government of Babylonia. With this resumption commenced the celebrated era of the Seleucidæ.

B. C. 312.

Result of the
campaign.

The approach of Antigonus, and the defeat of Ciltes by Demetrius, caused Ptolemy to retire into Egypt, leaving his enemy master of Cælo-Syria, &c.⁴

Antigonus
sends a force
against the
Nabatheans.

Elated with these successes, Antigonus determined to turn his arms against the Nabathean Arabs. By their laws, this particular section of the Arab race, like the Rechabites of an earlier time,⁵ were forbidden to drink wine, to sow seed, and to build or possess houses. Being almost wholly without cultivation, their food was necessarily limited to the milk and flesh of their flocks, with the addition of fruits, roots, wild honey, and a sort of pepper, which, says Diodorus Siculus, they mixed with the last.⁶ Athenæus, the general to whom Antigonus entrusted the enterprise, having ascertained that the bulk of the Naba-

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. xx.

² Ibid., cap. xxiii.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., cap. xxv.

⁵ Jer., chap. XXXV., v. 2-10.

⁶ Lib. XIX., cap. xxv.

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⁵ Ibid., cap. xxv.

⁶ Lib. XIX., cap. xxv.

theans were absent at a fair on the borders of Syria, made a forced march of 220 miles in 72 hours, and seized Petra their capital.¹ Antigonos seizes their capital

But the Arabs, being apprized by some of the fugitives that their enemies were not on the alert after their success, made a sudden attack during the third watch, and killed Athenæus and all his troops, with the exception of some 80 horsemen, who escaped wounded.² Antigonos now despatched Demetrius with 4,000 light armed foot and as many horse to avenge the death of Athenæus; but being unable to make any impression on a people, who for the sake of freedom occupied the caverns of Petra in the heart of a desert, without even ordinary supplies, he gladly consented to retreat towards Lake Asphaltites, on condition that the Nabatheans would send deputies with presents to appease his father. The expected profit from the bitumen of the lake was, however, some compensation to the latter for the failure at Petra, and turning his thoughts to a still higher prize, Demetrius was despatched to recover Babylon.³ Second expedition under Demetrius.

This undertaking had almost succeeded, one castle being taken, and the other about to fall, when the recall of Demetrius to assist his father in Asia Minor, enabled Seleucus to move from his retreat in the Babylonian marshes, and recover the city. The hostilities which were at this period simultaneously continued in Greece, were terminated by a treaty with the confederate princes, by which Cassander was to hold Asia in trust for the youthful king. But in the following year, hoping to receive the crown of Macedonia, he caused Alexander and his mother Roxana to be murdered; and thus her cruelty in putting the youthful and beautiful Statira to death, met a just reward. Ostensibly denouncing this treason, Polysperchon, the competitor of Cassander, sent for Hercules, the remaining son of Alexander, by Barsine, the widow of Memnon.⁴ This had the desired effect of alarming Cassander, and he agreed to share the government with Polysperchon, who having thus gained his object, immediately put Barsine and Hercules to B. C. 311.

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XIX., cap. xxv., p. 731.

² Ibid., p. 732.

³ Ibid., pp. 733-736.

⁴ Ibid., lib. XX., cap. vi.

Roxana and her son Alexander murdered.

B. C. 309.

Cleopatra put
to death.

death. One of the race, however, still remained, Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. Her beauty and noble birth, added to her influence over the Macedonians, had caused her hand to be sought by the most powerful of her brother's captains, as the means of advancement. It appears that Ptolemy was preferred to his rivals; and the princess was on her way from Sardis to Egypt, when Antigonus caused her to be seized, and privately murdered.¹ Thus, in the brief space of fourteen years, the whole of Alexander's family perished by the sword, and the prophecy that his mighty empire should be plucked up and given to others was literally fulfilled.²

Demetrius
carries the
war into
Cyprus.

Shortly after the death of Cleopatra, operations were undertaken by Antigonus against Cassander; and Demetrius, at the head of a powerful fleet and army, having freed the Grecian cities, carried his arms into Caria. He then invaded Cilicia, and from thence sailed to Cyprus to besiege Salamis.³

But here he met with the most determined resistance, which he endeavoured to overcome by the use of helevoles and various kinds of battering-rams. The arrival of Ptolemy during these operations, with a considerable fleet, caused the siege to be turned into a succession of naval engagements; and, at length, a signal victory gained over the latter occasioned his return to Egypt, and Cyprus submitted in consequence to the conqueror.⁴

Antigonus and
his competi-
tors assume
regal titles.

Antigonus was so much elated with his son's success, that he immediately assumed regal dignity, and caused Demetrius to do the same. Ptolemy likewise proclaimed himself king, as did Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus;⁵ Antigonus continuing, as before, to occupy a place between the kingdom of Ptolemy on one side, and that of Seleucus and Macedonia on the other.

But the newly-acquired diadems of both father and son were destined to be tarnished during the operations which now took place, by land and sea, against Egypt.

Expedition of
Antigonus
against
Ptolemy.

Demetrius, who was recalled from Cyprus to assist in the projected expedition, was placed in command of the fleet, with orders to keep along the coast, in sight of the land forces:

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. ix.

² Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. xii.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Dan., chap. XI., v. 4.

⁵ Ibid.

whilst the latter, consisting of 80,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and 83 elephants, marched to Gaza.

Antigonus, having procured a number of camels from Arabia to carry the requisite supplies, advanced by a forced march, hoping to surprise Ptolemy, relying on the fleet for sustenance when the ten days' provisions carried by the army should be exhausted.

This movement appears to have taken place just before the change of the seasons; the calms, therefore, which had delayed the fleet in the first instance were followed by the usual strong northerly gales which commence in the early part of May, and make the open coast of Egypt unapproachable.¹ A large portion of the fleet was lost near Raphia (Rafah); some vessels returned to Gaza, and the few that remained, with great difficulty rode out the gale at anchor, probably near Cape Starki beyond El Arish, without the possibility of communicating with the army, and suffering greatly from the want of water. But the unexpected cessation of the storm relieved the weather-beaten mariners from the fear of death, and they found refreshment in the camp of Antigonus. He, after vainly expecting to be joined by the vessels which had separated in the early part of the storm, now advanced towards the Nile. By this time, however, Ptolemy was prepared at all points, and the attempts of his enemy to enter Egypt not only failed by land, but, subsequently, both at the Pelusiac and Tanitic branches of the Nile. Repulsed at every point, and finding his army rapidly decreasing by sickness and desertion, Antigonus was obliged to retrace his steps, and encounter for the second time the privations and exposure incident to traversing the desert tract lying between Palestine and Egypt.

The fleet encounters a storm on the coast of Egypt.

Antigonus advances, and is driven back by Ptolemy.

The next operation was the siege of Rhodes. The Rhodians had, it seems, been secretly inclined to support the cause of Ptolemy; which circumstance, added to the wealth they had lately acquired by trading as a neutral territory, determined Antigonus to undertake the subjection of that island. Demetrius was therefore sent thither with a sufficient force and a powerful fleet, provided with all kinds of engines for the intended siege. The Rhodians, finding their town beleaguered,

Demetrius proceeds against Rhodes.

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. xvi.

Preparations
of the Rhodians
against
the besiegers.

and that Demetrius refused to listen to any terms, prepared for defence, sending at the same time to request the assistance of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, on account of whom, in fact, the war had taken place. As an encouragement to the citizens during the coming struggle, it was decreed that those servants who proved most faithful should obtain their freedom, and that the parents and children of those who died in the cause should be maintained at the public expense. With these and other promises all were excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and the noblest spirit animated the Rhodians throughout a siege which has become most remarkable from the skill, perseverance, and valour which were displayed on both sides. The effects of the darts and stones thrown from the walls were nearly counteracted by means of the *testudo*; and huge double towers, of sufficient height to be on a level with the top of the wall, being floated on vessels, were placed alongside the fortifications. These moving castles were, however, met by others placed by the Rhodians at the entrance of the harbour, to hurl stones, darts, and arrows against the enemy. The vessels of Demetrius succeeded, however, in approaching the walls, which were fiercely assaulted, and as obstinately defended, till, at the expiration of eight days, Demetrius was obliged to retire to the outer harbour.¹ After repairing his shattered fleet, he re-entered the port, and made a still more formidable and continuous attack, which had almost carried the town, when the desperate efforts of the Rhodians were once more successful; and many of the besieging vessels being destroyed by fire and other means, the rest again retreated to the outer port.²

Vessels and
machines
used by
Demetrius.

Renewed
attack on the
land side, with
fresh machines.

Demetrius now resumed the siege by land, chiefly using for this purpose an helepolis, consisting of several loop-holed stories. The machine was put in motion by eight immense wheels, and was propelled by 3,400 of the strongest men in the army. To this machine numerous *testudos*, battering-rams, and covered galleries were added, with everything that ingenuity could devise. The whole means of assault employed 30,000 workmen, and occupied a space of four furlongs along the walls. The besieged, however, were equally active; for, by using the

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. xvii.

² Ibid.

materials of their houses, and even of their temples, they had raised another wall within that which was being battered down. Things were in this state, when a deserter informed the citizens that the miners of Demetrius were already almost within the defences of the city. Countermines now became their only resource, and both besiegers and besieged speedily met, as it were, on equal terms, under ground.¹

Countermines
employed in
the defence.

Bribery was now resorted to, but equally without success, and the besiegers renewed their efforts above ground. The walls were fast giving way before such powerful means from without, whilst famine was assisting the enemy within, when Ptolemy's fleet arrived most opportunely with provisions and reinforcements. Encouraged by this assistance, the besieged, under cover of their engines, which launched fire-balls, darts, stones, &c., made an unexpected and vigorous sally, from the effects of which only a portion of the besieging engines were saved, and that with extreme difficulty.² Whilst these were being repaired, to renew the attack, fresh means of defence were employed by the Rhodians, who formed a crescent-shaped entrenchment, embracing the whole of that portion of the walls which was attacked. Demetrius, with equal perseverance, advanced his machines, and carried a considerable portion of the defences; but as the centre tower still resisted his efforts, he resorted to a general night attack by sea and land. On this occasion, some of the assaults forced their way into the town, but after a lengthened and bloody struggle the Rhodians were successful, and a peace followed, by which the city was to continue under its own laws, and at the same time enjoy its own revenues; while they agreed to assist Antigonus in any wars which he might undertake, excepting those against their ally Ptolemy.³

The Rhodians
repel another
assault, and
make peace.

This place furnishes a striking example of the methods of attack and defence employed in ancient times; the greatest skill, perseverance, and valour having been equally displayed for more than twelve months, both by the besiegers and besieged. Never were assaults more frequent and energetic, or courage more indomitable. When one wall ceased to resist the pon-

Diod. Sic., lib. XX., cap. xix.
Ibid.

² Ibid.

derous^a machines of Demetrius, another appeared within, offering a more impenetrable barrier than the first. The remains of the helepoles and other machines, which were presented by Demetrius to the Rhodians, as a just tribute to their valour, realized a sufficient sum to erect the colossal statue, which was considered as one of the wonders of the world.

Explosive
mines em-
ployed in the
sixteenth
century.

At a later period, this fortress witnessed the first employment of that branch of the military art, which has since contributed greatly to the superior efficiency of the attack over the defence of fortresses. In 1522, more than 100,000 enthusiastic Muslims commenced the siege of this fortress under Suleimán II. But notwithstanding the use of a powerful artillery, and of the other means employed at that time, besides a great sacrifice of life, a band of 6,000 warriors, under the knights of St. John, resisted successfully, until the besiegers resorted to the expedient of explosive mines: from that period such mines have often accelerated the fall of a besieged place.

Alexander's
successors
throw off the
mask.

As the government, which had hitherto been carried on in the names of a weak-minded prince and an infant king, had ceased to exist, the ambitious designs of Alexander's generals were no longer concealed; and his vast conquests were regarded as an inheritance, which might be lawfully secured by the most powerful among them.

B. C. 305 to
303.

The position of Seleucus at Babylon, and his tact in turning his attention eastward, rather than mixing in the contests to the westward of that city, gave him the largest portion of the spoils, so that he extended his dominion with little difficulty to the borders of India; but his ambition being little short of that of Alexander himself, the Iranian empire¹ was insufficient. Seleucus therefore prepared to extend his territory, and circumstances were particularly favourable to him, for he was in alliance with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus; and whilst the forces of Antigonos were still employed in besieging Rhodes, he proceeded from Babylon at the head of a powerful army, hoping by a rapid march to recover the provinces, beyond the Indus, which had recently shaken off the Macedonian yoke. Being master of the intervening kingdoms,

Seleucus pre-
pares to ex-
tend his ter-
ritory beyond
the Indus.

¹ From the Indus to the Euphrates.

with the necessary supplies at command, and the certainty of receiving constant reinforcements, a march through I'rán was not attended with any particular difficulty. But on finding Sandrocottus, the sovereign of the whole country, with 600,000 men, and a proportion of elephants ready to oppose him beyond the Indus, he took the prudent course of renouncing all pretensions to that territory, in consideration of being furnished by Sandrocottus with 500 elephants; then, making a retrograde march, he was in time to take a decided part in the concerns of the west, which, since the truce made at Rhodes, had become more complicated. Demetrius, who was serving as generalissimo of the Greeks, was opposed by Cassander in Europe, while Lysimachus had taken from Antigonus, not only all Phrygia and Lydia, but the whole of the territory between the Propontis and the Mæander.

Treaty with Sandrocottus, and return from India.

Antigonus and Demetrius opposed by Seleucus in Phrygia.

This state of things obliged Antigonus to hasten in person from Syria by forced marches; and, with the public funds, he raised the requisite forces to march against Lysimachus. Seleucus, in the mean time, having re-formed his army in Babylonia, marched into Cappadocia to meet Antigonus; who was obliged in consequence to recall Demetrius¹ with all speed. He was, besides, pressed on the other hand by Ptolemy, who had taken advantage of this opportunity to recover the tract between Egypt and Asia Minor, the cities of Tyre and Sidon excepted. The forces in Cappadocia and Phrygia, now about to contend for dominion, numbered on one side 60,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 75 elephants, under Antigonus and his son; and on the other, 64,000 foot, 10,000 horse, 400 elephants, and 120 scythed chariots. Demetrius attacked Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, with a degree of success which might have been complete, had he not been carried away in the pursuit till the infantry was completely separated from the cavalry. Seleucus, with admirable coolness, took advantage of this circumstance to interpose his elephants between the enemy's horse and foot, and the greatest part of the latter seized this opportunity to go over to him.

B. C. 302 to 301.

Battle of Ipsus.

Seleucus now made a determined attack with his infantry on

¹ Plut. in Demetrius.

Death of
Antigonus.

the main body, and thus completed the great defeat near Ipsus.¹ Demetrius, on seeing his father perish nobly in the heat of the battle, rallied a few of the troops, and retreated to Ephesus, and from thence to the shores of the Mediterranean, accompanied by a youth, who was afterwards known as Pyrrhus the Great.

B. C. 301.

Subdivision of
Alexander's
empire.

The principal barrier to a peaceable settlement being removed, the territories of Antigonus were divided amongst the confederate princes, and the mighty empire of Alexander, now formed four great kingdoms. Ptolemy, in addition to his possessions in Africa and Arabia, obtained Palestine and Cœlo-Syria; Cassander had Greece added to Macedonia; and Lysimachus, Bithynia in addition to some of the provinces beyond the Hellespont. Lastly, Seleucus was the acknowledged sovereign of the rest of Asia. Demetrius, however, retained, as the wreck of his father's power, Cyprus, Tyre, and Sidon, with the throne of Macedon; and his influence in Greece enabled him to raise upwards of 100,000 men, with part of which he continued the war, hoping to recover his father's dominions in Asia. Pyrrhus, however, succeeded in expelling him from Macedonia; and, being joined by the greatest part of the opposing troops, the hopes of Demetrius were effectually crushed in that quarter.

B. C. 287.

Demetrius
makes a futile
attempt to
regain his
crown.

Impelled, however, by insatiable ambition, the prince continued to make other efforts, both in the field, and by means of alliances, to recover his lost ground: the last measure was a desperate attempt with a handful of men to surprise Seleucus by night in his camp. Failing, as might have been expected, he fled to the mountains, and there remained till hunger forced him to surrender. Seleucus generously allowed his prisoner the range of ample hunting-grounds, with all the conveniences of life: the temperament of Demetrius was, however, ill calculated to support the great change in his condition; and he was gradually seized with hopeless melancholy. The elasticity of his mind was destroyed; he grew corpulent, and abandoned himself to drinking and gaming. The excesses of the table and a life of inactivity, brought on a severe distemper, which

B. C. 286.

¹ Apion in Syriac, p. 122.

terminated his existence in the third year of his captivity, and the fifty-fourth year of his age. A striking contrast to the fate of this prince will be found in the life of his son, whose moderation preserved the crown of Macedonia for a lengthened period in the family.

Demetrius dies in captivity.

Seleucus, the successful rival of Antigonus, continued to be the undisputed sovereign of the greater part of western Asia, till he was assassinated by Ptolemy Ceraunus, B.C. 280. A short time before this, he had however resigned part of his empire, with his queen, Stratonice, in order to save Antiochus, who was pining to death for his stepmother. Seleucus was distinguished for his just and enlightened government, and more particularly for the construction of numerous cities, the most remarkable of which were Antioch and Apamea, both on the Orontes, with Seleucia, the port of the former; also Theodosia, and the greater Seleucia on the Tigris. The latter was afterwards capital of the empire of Antiochus Theos, which extended from the shores of the Mediterranean to the limits of Bactria.

Death and character of Seleucus.

The second of the Ptolemies, who was surnamed Philadelphus, succeeded to the throne of Egypt at this period, and in the first year erected in Alexandria the celebrated Pharos, at the cost of 800 talents. The early part of his reign was likewise distinguished by the formation of a nobler monument, namely, the great library: the translation of the Old Testament, now known as the Septuagint version, was one of the earliest fruits of this institution; which, as will be noticed hereafter,² had much influence on the infant literature of Europe.

The Pharos erected.

Those enlarged views, which had facilitated navigation and the acquisition of knowledge, were by Philadelphus extended to the commerce with distant nations. A city called Berenice, after the name of his mother, sprang up on the western shore of the Red Sea, through which, as will hereafter be seen,³ an active trade passed from and to the Nile; again a canal leading to the same river, from the northern extremity of the Red Sea

Commerce and the arts encouraged by Ptolemy.

¹ Strabo, lib. XVII., p. 791.

² Chap. XVI.

³ Chap. XVIII.

War between
Antiochus
Theos and
Ptolemy.

was executed : and, as an additional means of superseding the route from Elath to Rhinocolura, on the borders of Palestine, this prince had fleets on that sea, as well as on the Mediterranean. Intrigues, which were the natural consequences of an incestuous marriage, and the demoralized state of the East, led to a war between Antiochus Theos and Ptolemy,¹ from which the former gladly disengaged himself after losing a large portion of his eastern possessions. Theodotus having revolted and become the sovereign of Bactria, his example was followed in other provinces of that part of the world ; but the most important change was that which, from a comparatively trifling circumstance, took place in Parthia. Agathocles, who governed for Antiochus, had so enraged the people by offering violence to Tiridates, that they put him to death ; and Arsaces, the brother of the youth in question, having expelled the Macedonians, assumed the government of that extensive country, which from henceforth was destined to play a distinguished part in the history of the world.²

¹ Strabo, lib. VII, p. 152.

² Justin, lib. XLI., cap. iv.

CHAPTER XIII.

GLANCE AT THE PARTHIAN AND ROMAN WARS, FROM
222 B.C. TO A.D. 631.

Seleucus Callinicus invades Parthia.—His Death.—Parthia becomes independent.—Antiochus the Great succeeds.—Suppression of the Rebellions in Media and Persia.—Ptolemy Philopater gains Palestine and Cælo-Syria, and visits Jerusalem.—Increase of the Roman power in Asia.—Demetrius Nicator invades Parthia, and is taken prisoner.—Extension of the Parthian Dominions.—Judicious Polity of Mithridates.—Antiochus Sidetes invades Parthia, and is killed in battle. Pacorus, King of Parthia, seeks the friendship of the Romans.—Campaign of Lucullus in Armenia.—Pontus becomes a Roman province.—Crassus invades Parthia.—Surena takes the Field.—Fate of the Roman Army.—Surena's Triumph at Ctesiphon.—Surena's Death.—Circuitous march of Antony into Media.—Siege of the Capital.—Retreat from Fraaspa to the Araxes.—Augustus proclaimed Emperor.—Preparations of Ælius Gallus.—March of the Roman Army into Arabia Felix.—Return of the Expedition to Egypt.—Siege of Jotapata by the Romans.—State of Jerusalem.—Siege and Capture of the City.—Massacre of the Inhabitants.—Trajan's Accession.—Invasion of Assyria, and descent of the River Euphrates.—The Nahr-Malká opened for the passage of his Fleet.—Capture of Ctesiphon, and descent to the Persian Gulf.—Return of Trajan.—Siege of Atrá.—Severus descends the Euphrates.—Passage of the Nahr Malká, and Capture of Ctesiphon.—Second and third Siege of Atrá.—Retreat of Severus.—Wars of Sapor, and Capture of Valerian.—Invasion of the Roman Provinces in Europe by the Goths, &c.—Rise of Odenatus, Prince of Palmyra.—He makes War on Sapor.—Death of Odenatus.—Zenobia seizes some of the Roman Provinces.—Her contests with Aurelian.—Siege and Fall of Palmyra.—Galerius Defeats the Persians.—Wars of Sapor II. and Constantine.—Remarkable Siege of Nisibis.—Rise of Julian.—His preparations for War.—Descent of the River Euphrates with a Fleet and Army to Anatho.—Fearful Hurricane encountered when approaching this City.—Descent of the River continued.—Siege and Capture of Perisaboras, &c.—Julian crosses Mesopotamia to Ctesiphon.—Retreat and Death of Julian.—Jovian succeeds and effects a Retreat with the Roman Army.—Belisarius is Defeated by the Persians.—Chosroes invades Syria, and Captures Antioch.—Chosroes is Routed by Justinian.—Second Invasion of the Roman Territories, and total Defeat of Chosroes.—Rebellion of Varanes put down by Chosroes.—Decline of the Persian power.

DURING the period about to be considered, the contest which had previously been so general in all quarters amongst the suc-

cessors of Alexander, became chiefly confined to one portion of Western Asia, that inhabited by the Parthians: these, in their connexion with other countries, will now be briefly noticed.

Science and
learning en-
couraged in
Egypt.

Ptolemy Euergetes, who at the close of the preceding chapter filled the throne of Egypt, was more occupied with peaceful than with warlike pursuits, being no less the encourager of learning and science, than his predecessor Ptolemy Philadelphus. On the library of Alexandria he bestowed particular care, with the assistance from time to time of those individuals, who having made themselves remarkable for their knowledge and acquirements, became in consequence the cherished guests of the Egyptian monarch.

Whilst the arts of peace were fostered in this kingdom, those of war maintained their pre-eminence in the adjoining territory.

Seleucus
Callinicus is
defeated, and
dies in cap-
tivity.

The first object of Seleucus Callinicus, the successor of Antiochus, on being partly extricated from two unsuccessful contests, one with Ptolemy Euergetes, and another in Asia Minor with his brother Antiochus, was to march against the Parthians; but owing to fresh commotions at home his purpose was delayed, and Arsaces obtained another opportunity of consolidating his power. As soon, however, as these troubles seemed to permit it, Seleucus renewed the attempt with that perseverance which characterized the successors of Alexander: but being defeated and taken prisoner by Arsaces, he died in captivity.¹ The Parthians afterwards celebrated this victory as the first day of their independence, and as that by which their leader had raised himself from a low condition to the throne: Arsaces taking from thenceforth the title of king, became in fact the Cyrus of Parthia. The short reign of the son of Seleucus, Seleucus Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, was followed by that of his brother Antiochus, surnamed the Great, which, in his fifteenth year, commenced under difficult circumstances, both as regarded Egypt and his own territory. His brothers, Molo and Alexander, the satraps of Media and Persia, withdrew their allegiance from him, and hostilities commenced in Egypt against Ptolemy Philopater, who was now on the throne. The war was urged personally by Antigonus in the region of Cœlo-Syria with little success, and

B. C. 222.

Rebellion of
Molo and
Alexander.

B. C. 219.

¹ Justin, lib. XLI., cap. iv., compared with Athenæus, IV., cap. xiii.

was carried on at the same time in Mesopotamia under his general Xenætas. This last was still less fortunate; for having passed the Tigris, near Seleucia, he fell into an ambuscade in that neighbourhood, and perished, with those whom he commanded. Mesopotamia as well as Babylonia thus fell into the hands of the rebels.¹

In the spring, Antiochus took the field, and passing the Euphrates, no doubt at the Zeugma of Thapsacus, he wintered at Antiochia of Mygdonia (Nisibin). Subsequently his troops crossed the Tigris, and having relieved Dura, which had been besieged by Molo's troops, he advanced by Oricum to Apollonia,² the capital of that part of Assyria which bears this name. Here he gained a complete victory, and the rebel Molo having in despair laid violent hands on himself, his followers submitted; as did subsequently the Atropatians, with their king Artabazans, and the whole were received into allegiance as formerly.³

On the coast of Phœnicia contests, on the whole favourable to Antiochus, were carried on both by sea and land; but these were followed, in the spring, by a campaign which terminated in his defeat at the great battle of Raphia, the consequence of which, was the submission of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine to Ptolemy.

In making a progress through these territories, the conqueror visited Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to the God of Israel, and bestowed rich gifts on that holy place. It is also stated that he visited the second court of the temple, and that when about to penetrate to the holy of holies, contrary to the express law of God, he was stricken with terror and retired.⁴ During the next season, Antiochus being, by the terms of the treaty that followed the late campaign, at liberty to renew hostilities, carried the war into Asia Minor, and having defeated Achæus, and taken Sardis, he subsequently recovered Media,

Antiochus
subdues the
rebels.

B. C. 217.

Defeat of
Antiochus by
Ptolemy
Philopator.
B. C. 216.

Antiochus
subdues
Bactria and
the inter-
mediate
countries.

¹ Polybius, lib. V., cap. xlii. - xlix., compared with Justin, lib. XXX., cap. i.

² Now Thereban: D'Anville's Anc. Geog., vol. II., p. 35.

³ Polybius, lib. V., cap. liv.

⁴ Third book of Maccabees, chap. I., v. 9, to chap. II., v. 24, as found in the Codex Vaticanus of the LXX.; also Polybius, lib. V., cap. lxxx.

B. C. 201.

Parthia, and Hyrcania, and concluded a treaty by which Arsaces was to assist in regaining the other provinces;¹ in consequence of which Bactria was subdued. The forces of Antiochus numbered 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse.

B. C. 183.

But notwithstanding the success which thus attended his endeavours to recover the territory of his predecessors, Antiochus discovered in the sequel that circumstances were greatly altered: the Roman power now extended into Asia, and notwithstanding his repeated and persevering efforts, it was firmly established between the chain of the Taurus and the river Halys; in consequence of which, the kings of Syria were wholly excluded from Lesser Asia. Things were in this state, when Seleucus Philopater succeeded Antiochus the Great in the government of a kingdom, now oppressed with the enormous annual tribute of 1,000 talents to the Romans.

Increase of
the Roman
power.

Henceforth, the interference and influence of the latter people rapidly increased amongst the Greeks, the Macedonians, the Syrians, and the people of Asia Minor. Many provinces had in reality become Roman, some having been bequeathed and others obtained by intrigues or negotiations; so that in the year 145 B. C. but little of the Seleucidæan territory remained.

Demetrius
Nicator
invades
Parthia.

Demetrius Nicator still, however, retained Syria, though involved in a serious and protracted war with the Maccabees; which had scarcely terminated when he was threatened with more serious danger from another quarter. The Parthians were, at this period, governed by Mithridates, the brother of Phraates; and, of late, this people had subjected the whole of the countries lying between the Indus and Euphrates. Some of the inhabitants being of Macedonian descent, Demetrius was urged by repeated embassies to enable them to shake off the yoke; and, full of bright hopes built upon the promised general insurrection, this prince marched eastward with the bulk of his forces. The Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, successively declared in his favour as he advanced, and he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; but at the very moment when the prospect of recovering his eastern territory seemed most promising, the Parthians, under the plea of negotiating,

His army is
destroyed.

¹ Justin, lib. XLI., cap. v.

or by some other *ruse de guerre*, made him prisoner, and cut his army to pieces.

Following up this victory, Mithridates obtained possession of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, which, in addition to his previous possessions, gave him the command of the territory lying between the Ganges, the Euphrates, and Mount Caucasus.¹ Instead of considering them as ephemeral conquests and enriching himself by their spoils, the great Mithridates consolidated these acquisitions, making them an integral part of the Parthian empire, whose integrity was preserved during many ages, notwithstanding the diversity of nations which the state comprised.² Either by force or persuasion the talented ruler of Parthia induced most of the princes of Asia to form alliances on his own terms; and it is said that he took from each whatever was valuable, as the basis of the laws by which the empire was regulated during the remainder of his reign: this terminated in a glorious old age, and was not less illustrious than that of Arsaces I.³

Parthian dominions, &c., under Mithridates.

Subsequently, Antiochus Sidetes, hoping to liberate his brother Demetrius, invaded Parthia at the head of 80,000 men; and in the campaign that followed, Phraates II. being defeated in three successive battles, all the conquests of his father Mithridates were lost. A change, however, soon afterwards took place; for the invaders, being confined within the limits of Parthia Proper, and encumbered with followers who were triple the number of fighting men, experienced a signal defeat; when Antiochus was slain, and his army entirely cut to pieces.⁴

B. C. 135.
Antiochus Sidetes is defeated in Parthia.

Phraates was about to follow up this success by the invasion of Syria, when a war broke out with the Scythians. In this contest he perished, and his successor Artabanus subsequently lost his life in a battle with the Thogarian Scythians.⁵

Phraates loses his life during the Scythian war.

B. C. 129.

Pacorus, the son and successor of Artabanus, tempted by the renown of the Romans, and desiring their friendship, was

¹ Justin, lib. XLI., cap. vi

² Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii, pp. 360, 361.

³ Ibid., compared with p. 597, vol. II. of Wesseling's Mithridates.

⁴ Justin, lib. XXXVIII., cap. x.; Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii, p. 374; Jos. Ant., lib. XIII., cap. xvi.

⁵ Justin, lib. XLII., cap. i.

Origin of the
war between
the Romans
and Parthians.

induced to send ambassadors to Sylla in Cappadocia; and this step led to important consequences; for the Romans, as allies of the Syrians, or otherwise, henceforth maintained an almost uninterrupted war with Parthia.

This commenced under Phraates III., who besieged the city Artaxata, with a view to the re-establishment of Tigranes on the throne of Armenia. Phraates withdrew, however, on the appearance of Pompey, after renewing the alliance concluded by his father, first with Sylla, and then with Lucullus.¹

Lucullus
invades
Armenia.
B. C. 65.

Mithridates, though disappointed in the assistance promised by his son-in-law Tigranes, continued the war, but being again defeated, he sought and obtained from the latter an asylum in Armenia; Tigranes, however, scarcely granted hospitality to his relative, and even refused to see him: at the same time he carried the war in another direction as far as the confines of Egypt. The success of Tigranes gave umbrage to the Romans, and Lucullus invaded Armenia in consequence, though ostensibly, as a punishment for the asylum which had been afforded to Mithridates.

The vigour and talent for which the early career of Tigranes had been distinguished were now totally wanting, and his retreat before the invaders became almost a flight. One portion of Lucullus' army continued the pursuit, whilst another, under Sextilius, was employed against Tigranocerta; but soon afterwards the two divisions were united with the view of prosecuting the siege more vigorously. Tigranes now called a council of war, in which it was determined to attack the Romans, and the appearance of the king's army crowning the hills beyond the river (presumed to be the Mesopotamian Khábúr), was hailed by those in the city as the harbinger of victory.

Battle of
Tigranocerta,
and subjection
of the
surrounding
territory.

Leaving a force to continue the siege, Lucullus crossed with the remainder of his army at a ford where the river makes a bend to the west. This gave his movement the appearance of a retreat; but the decision of the battle in his favour against fearful odds, opened the gates of the capital, with its treasure, to the conqueror. Thus terminated this remarkable campaign,

¹ Diod. Sic., lib. XXXVI., p. 22. Liv. Epit., lib. c., compared with Dio Cassius, lib. XXXVI., p. 24.

in which Lucullus, at the head of an organized body of 11,000 men, 10,000 being heavy-armed foot, and 1,000 cavalry, archers, and slingers, and assisted only by Machares the son of Mithridates, had successfully invaded the kingdom of Armenia, which was defended by 250,000 men.¹

Pompey superseded the Roman general, and ended the war soon afterwards with the assistance of Tigranes the younger, who had taken arms against his father, and Pontus, as well as Syria, became a Roman province; the latter in right of Tigranes, who had been elected successor to Cybiosactes, the last of the Selucidæ, who had been murdered in Egypt.

Parthia, the next object of conquest to the Romans, was under the government of Orodes, who had usurped the throne of his brother, Mithridates II., and was assisted by the celebrated Surena.

At this period Cæsar was nominated to Gaul, and his rival, Pompey, to Spain, while Crassus obtained the government of Syria, which his avarice prompted him to seek, that he might make war upon the Parthians. His object being known, it was with exceeding difficulty that he got out of the hands of Ateius Capito, and the party who were opposed to the unjust invasion of this rich and powerful nation, which had never been subjected by any foreign enemy.² Passing through Galatia he reached his consular appointment, which comprised Syria and the neighbouring provinces. He then lost no time in commencing his plans against the Parthians, and hastening across the Euphrates, he found Mesopotamia altogether unprepared against invasion. Had this unexpected advantage been followed up, Crassus might have taken Seleucia and the whole of Babylonia; but after storming Zenodotia,³ he most unaccountably retraced his steps, leaving about 8,000 men in the towns of Mesopotamia. During the succeeding winter, Crassus increased the revenue of Syria by new taxes and fresh sacrileges, not even sparing

Pontus
becomes a
Roman
province.

Crassus pro-
ceeds to his
government
in Syria.

First invasion
of Parthia.

¹ Plutarch in Lucull., vol. I., p. 509, Paris, 1624, compared with Appian, Mithrid., cap. lxxxvi.

² Plutarch in Crasso. Appian, Bell. Civil, lib. II., pp. 437, 438.

³ Supposed to have been on the river Khâbûr.

Orodes sends
envoys to
Crassus.

the seat of the much-venerated Syrian goddess Atargetes,¹ or the hitherto-respected treasures of Jerusalem.² Having plundered this rich temple, and the others within reach, and being joined by his son, who had been serving under Cæsar in Gaul, he collected his forces early in the spring to renew the invasion of Parthia. Aware of his hostile intentions, the warlike Orodes had not only assembled a numerous army in the meanwhile, but had sent a special embassy to the proconsul during his preparations.

Agreeably to their instructions, the envoys on being admitted to his presence, inquired with admirable tact, whether Crassus were about to break the existing alliance by order of the Romans, or only to make war to satiate his private interest; for, in the former case, a war of extermination must be the consequence, whereas, in the latter, the Parthian sovereign would be ready, in consideration of his age, to allow the Roman garrison to retire from Mesopotamia unmolested. Crassus haughtily replied, that they should have his answer at Seleucia; on which the envoys briefly and expressively replied, that hair would grow on the palms of their hands, ere he took the city in question.³

Preparations
of the
Parthians.

Orodes, little fearing an attack on the western side through the Desert, but rather expecting his enemy would attempt to penetrate either by the route of Armenia, or that of Upper Mesopotamia, divided his troops, and proceeded himself with the main body to cover the frontiers of the former, while he despatched the remainder to encounter the invaders in the latter direction.⁴

Person and
character of
Surena.

This important command was entrusted to a celebrated individual, whose character, as handed down by Plutarch, displays that extraordinary mixture of qualities, for which the eastern people are sometimes remarkable. To a commanding stature and winning manners, Surena joined wealth, power, and au-

¹ Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 748; Plin., lib. V., cap. xxiii.; Plutarch in Crasso, and above, vol. I., p. 421.

² Jos. Ant., lib. XIV., cap. vii.

³ Flor., lib. III., cap. ii.; Plutarch in Crasso.

⁴ Plutarch in Crasso.

thority only inferior to those of the king, who had been indebted to his valour for the recovery of Seleucia from Mithridates, and for the preservation of the crown itself. The travelling equipage of this chieftain comprised 1,000 baggage camels, 200 chariots for his harem, and 1,000 heavy-armed horsemen, besides a number of light-armed troops; forming, with vassals, slaves, &c., a body of about 10,000 followers.¹ In his case the luxury of an Asiatic prince was united with the intrepidity of the soldier, for while ready to lead his troops on the most desperate enterprise, like the Arabs and Medes he was not ashamed to paint his face, and dye and perfume his hair.²

His important services to Orodes.

Surena now advanced against the Romans, and quickly recovered Mesopotamia. From some of the fugitives, the Romans learnt that they were about to encounter brave and determined enemies, whom they could neither escape by flight, nor overtake in pursuit, and who were consequently very different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had driven out of the field.

Surena assumes the offensive.

In consequence of this intelligence, Caius Cassius and most of the legionary tribunes, advised Crassus to proceed cautiously, whilst Artavasdes or Artabazus,³ king of Armenia, recommended him to throw himself into the mountains to avoid the Parthian horse. But the general, following his own opinion, advanced towards the frontiers of Mesopotamia, and passing the Zeugma of Thapsacus, entered that country at the head of seven legions, and 4,000 horse; or, including the auxiliaries, about 40,000 men.

Crassus crosses the Euphrates with 40,000 men.

Seeing his chief determined to advance, Cassius recommended him to keep along the Euphrates, drawing supplies from his fleet during the march towards Seleucia. But the insidious advice of Ariamnes, king of Edessa, then a visiter in the camp, prevailed, and the Romans advanced over a desert tract, till the scouts brought intelligence that the Parthian army was at hand. Crassus, believing the assurance of Ariamnes that the enemy's forces were not numerous, adopted a square formation, with, as the necessary consequence, a limited front. One of

Mutual preparations.

¹ Plutarch in Crasso.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Commence-
ment of the
battle.

Charge of
young Crassus.

His critical
situation and
death.

the wings was given to his son, the other to Cassius; the general retaining the command of the centre himself. Thus advancing, after a long and painful march, the enemy was discovered, but apparently not in force, near the river Balesius (Belik). Surena, who was prepared in every way, had not only concealed a part of his forces, but their arms also, least they should be betrayed by their glare; till on a given signal, an army well mounted, and with shining cuirasses, appeared to spring out of the ground, and advanced to the attack, making a frightful noise. Surena, richly dressed, charged at the head of his spearmen. Finding the phalanx impenetrable, the Parthians retired, according to their custom, in apparent confusion, but again returned to make a more general attack, by means of showers of arrows, which were poured in on all sides. Crassus now ordered the light-armed troops to advance and charge the enemy: this for the moment was successful; but the Parthian horse speedily re-formed, and forced the troops to seek protection behind the heavy-armed foot. Showers of heavy arrows were now discharged against the close mass, on which every missile took effect, and the situation of the Romans was the more hopeless, since the Parthians had the means of replenishing their quivers from a reserve carried on camels. Young Crassus, by his father's directions, now advanced at the head of 1,300 horse, 500 archers, and eight cohorts; when the Parthians, as was their custom, took to flight. Not doubting that this was real, the youth, crying out, "They fly before us!" pushed on at full speed; but when far from support, he found himself charged by the supposed fugitives. The Romans halted: but instead of engaging in a close fight, the Parthians, as before, resorted to a discharge of arrows against those whose situation scarcely admitted of either attack or defence. As a last resource, the young commander, at the head of his cavalry, made an ineffectual charge against the cuirasses and steel-covered horses of the enemy, and after having been wounded, retired with his remaining men to join the infantry, and seized a rising ground, which they hoped to defend till succours could arrive. But seeing no chance of assistance, and being unable to use his arm, he sought the relief of death from one of his

attendants. The Parthians having killed or taken all that remained, marched without delay against Crassus, displaying, as they advanced, the head of his son on the point of a lance.

On perceiving this dismal trophy, Crassus exclaimed, like a true Roman, "This misfortune is mine; let us charge, and punish these insulting barbarians, since the loss of one man cannot affect the victory." His efforts to reanimate the troops were however vain; and the Parthians continued their harassing attacks till nightfall, when they retired, to allow, as they said, the father one night to lament his son.¹

Efforts of
Crassus to
encourage his
troops.

This was truly no more than he required, for the excitement of the contest being over, his energies sunk so completely that he covered his face in his cloak, and became incapable of further exertion. A council of war was therefore called, and it was resolved that a retreat towards Carrhæ should be commenced at dawn, which took place accordingly, the wounded being left to their fate. Three hundred horse, under Ignatius, proceeded, however, early in the night by the same route, and passed on to the Zeugma, after apprizing the governor of Carrhæ that a battle had been fought with the Parthians: Crassus found in consequence an asylum in this city. This, however, proved only temporary: Surena was not long behind his enemy, and having ascertained that Crassus and Cassius were within the walls, he prepared to invest the place. To avoid so critical a situation, the Roman army continued its march the same night, closely followed by Surena, to whom their purpose had, it would appear, been betrayed.

Retreat of the
Roman army.

Finding the army hampered in marshy ground, Cassius separated himself from the guide, whom he suspected, and returned to Carrhæ, whence he made his way into Syria; but Crassus remained entangled in his difficult position. At daylight he removed to a hill, and the troops having been formed by Octavius into a hollow square, continued the retreat; their bodies serving as a rampart to protect their general.

Difficulties
encountered.

Crassus now increased the disadvantages of his position by thoughtlessly entering into a negotiation, and even accepting an invitation to confer with his enemy. A kind of scuffle ensued,

Death of
Crassus.

¹ Plutarch in Crasso.

which led to the death of the unfortunate Roman, and to the destruction of the remainder of his army.¹

As in the similar catastrophe at Kábul, in our own time, it is doubtful whether the enemy had planned the death, or merely intended to bring about the capture of the chief. But the scene which was subsequently enacted at Seleucia, makes the latter conclusion more probable than the former.

Position of the
localities.

The marshes in which the Romans found themselves entangled when advancing, indicate that this event must have taken place some miles southward of Hárán, and the battle ground was in all probability a little further in the same direction.² The previous passage at Thapsacus, and the march from thence through a desert country to the river Belik, seem to show that Crassus must have proceeded eastward, or nearly so, in a direct line from Thapsacus to the upper part of that river.

Triumph of
Surena at
Ctesiphon.

Surena proceeded to Seleucia after the battle, and there celebrated his victory by a mock procession, in which Crassus was personated by an individual, who was made to enter the city preceded by lictors and other accompaniments of such displays. The head of his fallen enemy had, however, already been despatched to Orodes with this brief message: Surena sends the head of the Roman general, whose army has been cut in pieces. Orodes received this present, with transports of joy, in Armenia, whilst engaged in cementing, with public feasts, his recently-formed alliance with Artabazus; and having obtained a more particular account of the action from the messenger, Syllaces, he commanded melted gold to be poured into the mouth of the lifeless head, in order that, as he observed, the passion of Crassus for this metal might be satiated.

Pacorus
invades Syria.

But Surena did not long enjoy the glory of his victory; for Orodes, fearing he might be supplanted by his vezir, caused him to be put to death, and then sent an army under his own son Pacorus to invade Syria, at a time when the Romans were much occupied in another quarter.

B. C. 50.

¹ Plutarch in Crasso.

² The distance from Carrhæ must have been small, since the fugitives reached that city about midnight after the battle.

The campaigns in Europe which have been so well described by the Roman historians, and in the Commentaries of Cæsar himself, having terminated at Pharsalia, the East again became the theatre of war.

After the reunion of Octavius and Antony, the latter took the field in person, hoping to snatch the laurels of victory from his own lieutenant Ventidius,¹ and afterwards to subjugate the Parthians; and in order to avoid the passes occupied by the enemy in the line through Kurdistán,² he appears to have made a detour of 1,000 miles, to the river Araxes;³ probably keeping westward, and again northward, of the most mountainous part of Armenia.

Antony takes the field.

Route of his army towards Praaspa.

Having arrived on the borders of Media, and wishing to hasten operations in order to rejoin Cleopatra, he left Statianus in Atropatana⁴ to bring on the baggage and military engines, while he made a forced march of 300 miles to Praaspa or Phraata, the Atropatenian Ecbatana,⁵ having taken, it is supposed, the route near the lake of Urumíyah and the Miyándáb plain, following the valley of the Jaghatú by Şa'in Kal'eh, to the stronghold in question.⁶

Feeling at ease respecting the safety of their city with Antony's present means, the Parthian army which had come to protect it, allowed the place to be quietly invested, and crossing the mountains in a direct line, they fell unexpectedly upon Statianus, and not only routed his escort, but captured the whole of the baggage and military engines.⁷ Antony on perceiving his fatal mistake, and suspecting the object of the march, hastened to pursue the Parthians, but finding he was too late, he returned to resume the siege, raising a mound

Capture of the Roman baggage and engines.

¹ Jos. Ant., lib. XIV., cap. xxvii.

² The pass of Keli-shín, and the mountainous country about Rowándiz, would be in the direct line from Thapsacus to the Median Ecbatana.

³ If the valley of the Upper Euphrates were followed, keeping northward of Erz-Rúm to the central part of the river Araxes, the distance from Thapsacus would exceed 1,000 miles.

⁴ Plutarch, p. 933, and Appian, vol. III., p. 77.

⁵ Now Takhti-Soleimán, Royal Geog. Journal, vol. X., pp. 113, 114.

⁶ Ibid., p. 115.

⁷ Strabo, lib. XI., pp. 523, 524, 525, compared with Dio Cassius, lib. XLIX., p. 465.

against the walls, as the only means of replacing the engines. He persevered for a time under these adverse circumstances; but being unable to make an impression on the town, or to bring the active enemy who harassed his rear to a general action, supplies also beginning to fail, he abandoned his entrenchments as they stood, and forthwith proceeded by the mountain road towards the Araxes. Antony retreated by a different line from that by which he had advanced, namely, through the mountains, leaving it is supposed Marághah on the left, and skirting Sehend in the direction of Tabriz. There was a sort of understanding that the march would not be molested; notwithstanding which he found himself constantly harassed by the Parthians, and suffered the greatest losses and privations, being attacked no less than eighteen times before he quitted the Median territory. The principal affair, that of Gallus, in which the Romans lost 8,000 men, took place probably not far from Miyándáb¹. But at length he recrossed the Araxes into a friendly country, after the loss, chiefly by sickness, of 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry.²

Antony's
retreat from
Phraata.

B. C. 31.

Augustus
assumes the
purple.

B. C. 24.

B. C. 20.

Antony speedily rejoined Cleopatra, and ere long the battle of Actium took place. On the death of Antony and Cleopatra, Augustus entered Alexandria, and two years later he assumed the title of Emperor.

The early part of his reign was remarkable for an expedition sent into Southern Arabia,³ in order to secure by commercial treaty, or other means, a share of the gold, silver, and other reputed treasures of that country.

Ælius Gallus
lands in
Arabia.

By command of the emperor, Ælius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, prepared an adequate flotilla at Cleopatra, from whence he proceeded to Leuce Komí, a port in the Nabathean territory, then well known to the Romans as a commercial entrepôt between Southern Arabia and the great mart of Petra, and now represented by El Haura⁴ on the coast of Hijáz.

March
through the
country.

With a force consisting of 10,000 Romans, 500 of Herod's guards, and 1,000 Nabatheans commanded by Syllæus, and conducted by the latter as the representative of their ally Obodas,

¹ Royal Geog. Journal, vol. X., p. 115. ² Plutarch in Ant.

³ Detailed in Strabo, lib. XVI.

⁴ The white town. D'Anville's Anc. Geog., vol. II., p. 8.

king of the Nabatheans, the expedition proceeded through an arid country, carrying on camels the water necessary for subsistence. After a toilsome march of many days the army reached the territory of Aretas, who, as the relative of Obodus, gave them a friendly reception; but owing to the want of roads, thirty days were subsequently consumed in passing through the country of this chief, which is described as only producing palms, and a coarse kind of rye, with butter instead of oil to render the food of the people palatable. The army now entered the nomad district of Ararena,¹ of which Sabus was king. In this tract, which was almost entirely desert, fifty days were consumed before the army reached the fertile country of Nigranes, probably Wádí Nejrán. The king fled on their approach, and his city was taken by assault. From thence in six days the army arrived on the banks of a river. Here an engagement took place, in which the Arabians lost about 10,000 men, and the town of Asca (Cisca), fell in consequence to the invaders. Gallus next proceeded to the town of Athrulla, which did not offer any opposition. Having procured supplies, and left a garrison in this place, the Romans proceeded to Marsyaba, in the country of the Rhamanctæ, which was governed by Ilasarus. After six days, want of water obliged Gallus to raise the siege of this town, which according to the account given by the prisoners, was only two days from the spice country. Perceiving that he had followed the guides uselessly for six months, Gallus determined to return, and taking for this purpose a more direct line, in nine days he reached the battle-ground of the Nigranes. Eleven days carried the army from thence to the Seven Wells; from whence they marched by Chaalla to Malothas, and thence through an uninhabited country to Nera Komí, a seaport town under the dominion of Obodus: thus accomplishing in sixty days in returning, a distance which had occupied six months during the advance. Gallus then crossed the Red Sea to Myos-Hormos, from whence he marched to Coptos, and returned to Alexandria. There seems little doubt that the extreme point reached, Marsyaba, is Máreb or Sabá,

Progress
through the
country of
Aretas.

Engagement
with the
Arabs.

Retreat of
Ælius Gallus,
and

his return to
Egypt.

¹ Gosselin, in his researches, with much probability supposes that Strabo here alludes to the district of Nedjd-el-'Aridh.

also called Marsabá, being, like the former, in or near the country of the Rhamnatae.¹

Observations
on the
campaign.

Although there are not sufficient materials to follow the wanderings of the Roman army under Ælius Gallus, the time consumed during the advance may easily be accounted for, without the supposition that the Roman general had been deceived. The detour of Nedjd-el-'Aridh was probably taken to round the high range of Jebel Imariyeh. This and the subsequent march through desert countries in central and southern Arabia, would give a distance of nearly 2,000 miles from El Haura to Marsyaba, which would have occupied nearly the specified time of six months; whilst the return, when better acquainted with the countries to be traversed, would naturally have been much more rapid, the direct distance to one of the ports on the coast opposite to Medina, being only about 1,000 miles.

Augustus
recovers the
eagles, &c.,
taken from
Crassus.
B. C. 20.

The failure in the attempt to subjugate the Arabs was almost the only disappointment which occurred during the reign of Augustus, all else having been prosperous. The Parthians were glad to restore the trophies as well as the remaining captives taken from Crassus; and in the following year an embassy came for the second time, bringing rich presents from the Indians, to seek his alliance.² Moreover, extensive tracts of country, and even kingdoms, were disposed of by Augustus: among these was Armenia, which was, for the second time, bestowed on Tigranes; the latter having been raised to the throne on the expulsion of Artabanus.

B. C. 1.

Rebellion of
the Jews.

When the advent of the Redeemer of mankind took place, Augustus still wielded the sceptre of Rome; and, only half a century after the decease of this emperor, the predicted punishment of the Jewish people commenced, through the instrumentality of Gessius Florus, the last and most cruel of the governors who ever tyrannized over Judea. In the second year of his government, the Jews, exasperated beyond endurance by his atrocities, everywhere took up arms, and giving loose to their passions in murders and robberies, Cæstus Gallus was sent to subdue them, but was shortly afterwards superseded in

¹ Strabo, lib. XVI., p. 782.

² Ibid., lib. XV., p. 719.

the command by Vespasian. The Roman general commenced the war by burning Gadara; after which, with the assistance of his son Titus, he laid siege to Jotapata, knowing that Galilee must follow the fate of its capital. The city was defended by the celebrated historian of the Jews with such valour, that it resisted 60,000 Romans for forty-seven days, when it was carried by a fearful assault in which every individual was either killed or taken prisoner. After the fall of this city,¹ Vespasian reduced Joppa and Tarichea by storm, and Tiberias having surrendered, he likewise captured Gamala. Titus was employed against Girschala, which being taken, he rejoined his father, in order to undertake the siege of the capital, the principal object of the war. Three parties at this time divided the power in Jerusalem, and a fourth was invited to assist in its defence, viz., the Idumeans, who, as the descendants of Esau, were considered a part of the Jewish nation. But on being admitted to the city, to revenge some supposed insult, they indulged their predatory habits by plundering and committing other excesses, after which they returned to their own country, leaving Jerusalem to its fate. Discord was at its height when Titus approached; who, after the necessary reconnaissance were made, commenced the siege in form. The tenth legion occupied the Mount of Olives; a third legion took post three stadia beyond the city; and the rest of the army, after levelling the ground between Scopus and the walls, was stationed where these turn from north to west, and from thence to the tower of Hippicus. During these preparations, Titus sent Josephus to offer terms of peace, which were scornfully rejected as it were by the whole nation, then assembled from all parts to keep the feast of the Passover. Titus, therefore, proceeded to level the suburbs, and after carrying some of the works, he put a stop to all chance of egress by lines of circumvallation. Famine soon ensued, and this to such a fearful extent, that the cravings of hunger overcame a mother's love, and the body of the offspring became the food of the wretched parent. When this inhuman circumstance was made known to Titus, he determined on the extirpation of a people

Capture of
Jotapata.

Successes of
Vespasian and
Titus.

State of
Jerusalem.

A.D. 73.

Commence-
ment of the
siege.

a Distress of
Jerusalem.

¹ Now probably Safet.—See vol. I., pp. 479, 480.

Fate of the
city and
people.

who had chosen to be reduced to such extremities; and the siege being pushed with increased vigour, the castle of Antonia was taken, the gates burned, and the temple plundered and afterwards destroyed by fire, notwithstanding the efforts of Titus to save this noble structure. A horrid massacre subsequently took place, and 1,101,000 Jews are said to have perished in this memorable siege, while 97,000 were sold as slaves:¹ the descendants of those who escaped, still continue outcasts in the remotest corners of the world.

The work of massacre and pillage being over, Titus caused the fortifications to be razed to the ground, with the exception of a piece of the western wall, and the three towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, which were left to give future ages some idea of the strength of the city.²

A.D. 78.

A.D. 81.

A.D. 96.

Trajan's wars
in Germany.

On the death of Vespasian, Titus received the purple: his brother Domitian succeeded him, and was followed by Nerva, who closed a happy reign by the judicious choice of a successor. This was Ulpian Trajan, a native of Italica, near Seville, who, in consequence of the decision of Nerva, quitted the government of lower Germany, to assume that of the Roman empire.

During his second war against the Dacians, the famous bridge of twenty large arches was thrown over the Danube by his engineer, Apollodorus of Damascus.³ His conquests over the Dacians and Armenians procured for him the reputation of a great general; but these, as well as the subjection of Arabia Petraea, by his lieutenant, Aulus Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria, were only preparatory to his invasion of Parthia.

A.D. 107.

He constructs
a fleet.

Early in the spring he advanced towards the enemy; but as the country near the Tigris produces little wood adapted for the purpose, he conveyed thither on carriages the materials prepared in the forests near Nisibis for the construction of a fleet: and on reaching the river, he prepared to lay a bridge over against Mount Cordynas, the highest of the Gordyæan chain.⁴ The barbarians (Assyrians) were posted on the opposite bank to prevent the passage, yet Trajan succeeded in

¹ Jos. Bell. Jud., lib. VI., cap. i. ii.

² Ibid., lib. VII., cap. i.

³ At the narrow part of the river, near the present Orsova.

⁴ Pliny, lib. VII., cap. xxvii.

throwing a bridge across the river: part of the vessels were lashed together to form the bridge, while others, with soldiers and archers on board, were posted as if to cover the operation of passing the river, or to manœuvre on each flank. Owing to this judicious plan of attack, and the consternation caused by the appearance of such a fleet in a country, where, from want of timber, it could not have been constructed, the enemy fled.

Passage of the Tigris, and

The Romans immediately crossed the river, and subdued the whole country of Adiabene, which is that part of Assyria near Nineveh, and also contains Guagamela and Arbela, where Alexander conquered Darius. The inhabitants, changing s into t, call this part of the territory Athur, for Assur.¹

subjection of Adiabene.

Not finding any enemies who were in a condition to offer resistance, the Parthians being extremely weakened by their civil wars, Trajan advanced as far as Babylon, and visited the lake, the sulphur (or bitumen) of which had been used in constructing the walls of that stately city. The strength of this bitumen, when mixed with bricks or small stones, is so great that it becomes harder than marble or iron.²

Descent of the river Euphrates.

Difficulties have been experienced in explaining the descent of Trajan, who, according to the historian Dio, proceeded from Assyria by the Tigris to Babylon, which is situated on the sister stream. But as the name of one river is sometimes used by ancient writers for the other, there is little doubt that on this occasion the Roman fleet descended the Euphrates. As has been described, the vessels were transported on carriages from the forest of Nisibis to the banks of the Tigris, and supposing them to have been carried back in the same manner, Trajan could have taken his forces from the neighbourhood of Šinjār, along the Mesopotamian Khábūr into the Euphrates at Circesium, and then have continued the descent to Hīt and Babylon; where the narrative of the operations is resumed.³

Observations on the localities.

Trajan commences the Nahr Malká.

Trajan had resolved, writes Dio Cassius, to carry his vessels

¹ Dio Cassius, ed. Reimer, Hamb., lib. LXVIII., cap. xxvi.; Steph. 1592, Xiphilinus, p. 252-254.

² Ibid.

³ As the historian carries him from the Euphrates across the country, it is obvious that Trajan must have descended this river, and not the Tigris, as erroneously stated in his text.

from the Euphrates into the Tigris, and he commenced the canal now called Nahr Malká for this purpose; but he abandoned the work on ascertaining that the bed of the Euphrates was higher than that of the Tigris, and that there was danger that the former would be drained in consequence of the waters descending to the lower level. Transporting his vessels, therefore, by means of carriages across the country which lies between the two rivers, and which is a very narrow tract, he crossed the Tigris and entered the city of Ctesiphon, where he found the daughter of Chosroes, and the golden throne of this prince.

Supposed beds
of the rivers of
Mesopotamia.

Assyria, &c.,
declared
Roman
provinces.

Having conquered the surrounding country, and declared Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, to be Roman provinces, he was saluted as emperor, and established his right to the surname of Parthicus. He also received from the senate the honour of a triumph, attended with feasts and public rejoicings, which were to continue as long as he thought proper.

Trajan
descends the
Tigris, &c.

After the fall of Ctesiphon, Trajan sailed down the Tigris to the Red Sea, a part of the ocean so called from the name of a prince who formerly reigned there, and without difficulty reduced an island, called the Isle of Messene, which is situated in the Tigris, and of which Atambilus was king. But owing to stormy weather, the rapidity of the river, and the reflux of the sea, the fleet was exposed to extreme danger. The inhabitants of a city called Spasinas received him in a friendly manner; and he afterwards came to the ocean itself, which he viewed very attentively. Seeing a ship ready to sail for India, he said that he would have made the voyage himself if he had been younger; adding, that Alexander had been happy in carrying his arms so far.¹

A.D. 117.

His return to
Ctesiphon.

Symptoms of revolt in the newly-acquired provinces having called for the presence of the emperor, he immediately returned to Ctesiphon, where, having assembled the Parthians and Romans on the neighbouring plain, and recounted from an elevated spot his various expeditions, he declared Parthaspates king, and placed the crown on his head. He next proceeded against the Hagarenes or Saracens,² who had endea-

¹ Dio Cassius, ed. Reimer, Hamb., lib. LXVIII., cap. xxvi.

² Probably a portion of the Arabs westward of the lower Euphrates.

voured to shake off the Roman yoke ; but owing to the scarcity of water and provisions for the troops, and the excessive heat, Atrā,¹ the capital, successfully resisted his arms ; and Trajan being foiled, as Severus was at a later period, he raised the siege and proceeded to Cilicia,² where he died in the nineteenth year of his reign.

Adrian, his successor, resolved to abandon useless conquests, and having withdrawn his troops from the territories beyond the Euphrates, that river once more became the boundary of the Roman empire. Adrian lessens the number of the Roman provinces.

Peace, which continued for many years, was again disturbed A.D. 167. by the Persian king Vologeses, who was defeated by Cassius.

At a later period, the emperor Severus resolved to subject the Parthians, who, while he was occupied in the civil war, had possessed themselves of Mesopotamia, and laid siege to Nisibis. A.D. 197.

This city held out till Severus appeared, when the Parthians immediately retreated. Following up his success with in- Severus descends the Euphrates.

creased means, and considering the autumn the most favourable season for his intended expedition, the emperor put his fleet and army in motion ; the latter partly on the banks of the stream, partly on the water. On reaching Babylonia, he caused the Nahr Malkā to be cleared out, by which means his fleet was conveyed from the Euphrates into the Tigris. Seleucia Passes through the royal canal.

having fallen, he laid siege to Ctesiphon, which was at length carried ; but this operation was attended with many privations to the troops of Severus, who were forced to eat such roots as they found in the fields. The city was given up to plunder, and the inhabitants put to the sword, with the exception of 100,000 women and children, who were sold as slaves. The pompous account given of his exploits, which were also represented by paintings, obtained for Severus from the senate a triumph, with the title of Parthicus Maximus. Capture of Ctesiphon.

As the supplies had been consumed in descending the line of the Euphrates, Severus was determined to return by another route. The army ascended* therefore along the Tigris, and in passing through Upper Mesopotamia, made an unsuccessful attack against Atrā (El Hadhr). In the following season, Return of Severus, and siege of Atrā. A.D. 129.

¹ Probably El Hadhr.

² Xiphilinus, Trajan, p. 254.

Second siege,
and successful
resistance of
Atra.

Severus, having made great preparations in troops as well as in military engines, laid siege for the second time to this city, whose resistance could not be tolerated, all other places having submitted to the dominion of Rome. But, though no means were spared in carrying on the attack, he was as unsuccessful in this attempt as in the former, and suffered the loss of his choicest troops. Many were slain whilst foraging; for, at that moment, the Arabian cavalry were accustomed to fall upon them suddenly from the exterior, whilst the besieged showered darts on those near the walls. But the greatest loss was experienced when the Romans had reached the foot of the wall, and had beaten down part of it, for the besieged then threw quantities of burning naphtha on the assailants, when, besides the destruction of the men, the warlike engines were consumed in an instant by this liquid fire.

Severus raises
the siege and
retreats.

Severus, from the ground where he was posted, had the mortification of being an eye-witness of this catastrophe, and of the failure of the assault, at the moment when his soldiers attempted to enter the town through the breach. Severus now ordered a retreat to be sounded; but finding that a whole day passed without any offer of surrender from the inhabitants, he gave directions for another assault. The European soldiers refused to advance, and the Syrians having undertaken that service, were repulsed with great loss. After remaining twenty days before this place, he raised the siege and proceeded to Palestine, after which he went to Egypt, where he rendered funeral honours to Pompey the Great.

A.D. 201.

A.D. 211.

This monarch died whilst carrying the Roman arms into Great Britain. He was then in the neighbourhood of York, preparing to renew the invasion of Caledonia, the wall which he had carried across the island from Solway to the mouth of the Tyne not having been a sufficient protection against the people of that kingdom.

The Persian
power replaces
that of the
Parthians.

The cruelties of his son Caracalla, and of his successor Heliogabalus, caused two invasions of the Roman territories. On the first occasion, the Romans purchased peace from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, by fifty millions of drachmas; but, on the other, Artaxerxes, who had established the Persian

on the ruins of the Parthian power, was foiled before Atræ, when he returned to his kingdom after ravaging Media,¹ instead of taking Syria which was then unprotected.

The decline of the Roman discipline had, for a time, given the superiority to the Persians; but, the ancient discipline having been restored by the emperor Alexander, when Artaxerxes advanced at the head of many thousands of horsemen, Invasion and defeat of Artaxerxes A.D. 233. 1,800 chariots, armed with scythes, and 700 elephants, each carrying, according to custom, a tower filled with archers, he was entirely defeated; and, to use the words of the Roman general, in his relation to the senate, the most potent Persian king Artaxerxes, with 120,000 horse, was put to flight, and 1,000 Cataphractarii, whom the Persians call Clibanarii, killed in war.²

About five years later, Alexander was assassinated, and A.D. 238. Gordian III. assumed the purple in consequence. Sapor, son of Artaxerxes, the remarkable prince who now occupied the throne of Persia, was of lofty stature, arrogant and haughty in his demeanour, passionate, cruel, and an enemy to the principles of justice. This prince, the restorer of the Persian empire, entered the Roman dominions at the head of a numerous army, captured the cities of Nisibis and Carrhæ, overran Mesopotamia, and committed dreadful ravages in Syria. Antioch itself had fallen, and the Roman soldiers were beginning to desert their standards, when Gordian restored confidence by boldly assuming the offensive. Sapor's accession and character.

For this purpose he hastened to the theatre of war, and advancing from Syria, soon proved that the efficiency of an army does not depend on its numerical strength. The Romans speedily recovered Artaxance and Antioch, as well as Nisibis and Carrhæ, in the face of a host of Persians, and Sapor retreated before his energetic enemy, who proposed to follow him even as far as Ctesiphon.³ Gordian successfully opposes the Persians.

Subsequently, however, the Persians regained some of their

¹ Dio Cassius, lib. LXXX., p. 318.

² Lamprid. vit. Alex., cap. lv., lvi.

³ Julius Capitolinus in vit. Gordian, cap. xxvi., xxvii., compared with Zosimus, lib. I., pp. 5, 6.

Defeat of
Sapor, and
death of
Gordian.

lost ground; but Gordian, having again advanced, totally defeated Sapor on the banks of the Mesopotamian Khábúr, and forced him to retreat into his own dominions. Whilst following up this success, Gordian was put to death by his own troops, at the instigation of Philip, the captain of his guards. A splendid monument, recording his titles and conquests in Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian, was, however, erected by the soldiers to the now deified Gordian at the Circean camp, which, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, who visited the spot, was at Dura, near Zaitha, and sixty stadia below Circesium on the Aboras.¹

Capture of
Antioch.

Sapor renewed the war successfully in the time of Valerian, and having taken Antioch, after conquering the intervening territories, he returned to Persia, with much booty.² About this period the Borani Scythians crossed the Euxine, and, having plundered Trapezus and certain places near the Bosphorus, they retreated, on the approach of Valerian.³

A.D. 260.

Valerian is
taken prisoner
by Sapor.

Valerian, thinking the territory on the Rhine and the Danube secure, hastened into Syria to meet Sapor, and his allies the Armenians and Cadusians; but having encountered these combined forces under serious disadvantages, he was signally defeated near Edessa, and subjected to a lengthened and cruel captivity.⁴

Rome and her
European
provinces are
threatened.

This ill success brought on the Roman empire a flood of invaders, who, coming from the wide circumference of Asia, converged upon one portion of Europe, and threatened the destruction even of Rome itself. One section, the Scythian Goths, ravaged the southern coast of the Pontic sea, and a considerable part of Asia Minor. A second, the Sarmatians, occupied a part of Dacia, and the neighbouring tracts. A third invaded Spain;⁵ whilst a fourth, the Alemanni, accom-

¹ Amm., lib. XXIII., cap. v., and lib. XXIV., cap. i.; and Gord. vit., cap. xxx., compared with Eutropius, lib. IX., cap. ii.; Zosimus, lib. III., p. 49.

² Zosim., lib. I., pp. 10, 25, 33, Ox.; Ammian., lib. XXIII., cap. v.; Zonares, lib. XII., cap. xxiii. ³ Zosim., lib. I., pp. 12, 28, 29.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 33-34; Aurel. Vict., p. 210; Petri Patricii de Legat., p. 29; Valerian, vit., p. 175; Zonares, lib. XII., cap. xxiii.; Trebell. Poll., Valer., cap. vi.

⁵ Zosim., lib. I., p. 42, Ox.; Gallieni, vit., pp. 176-178; Zonar, lib. XII., p. 24. See Aur. Vict. De Cæs., cap. xxiii.

panied by the Franks, penetrated into Italy as far as Ravenna. Gallienus hastened from Gaul, and successfully opposed the torrent of the Franks, and compelled them to retreat. Those who invaded Dacia were likewise repulsed. As usual a civil war ensued, by which Regillianus gained the power, while, in the mean time, the Persians were actively employed.

Sapor laid waste both Mesopotamia and Syria; and, after surprising Antioch and levelling the principal buildings of the city, proceeded into Cilicia, where he plundered Tarsus; then, advancing into Cappadocia, he stormed Cæsaria and put its inhabitants to the sword.¹ The thoughtless conduct of this prince, now at the height of his prosperity, raised up an unexpected, and, as it is proved, a formidable enemy.

Odenatus, a ruling emir of Palmyra and eastern Arabia, held an intermediate place between the two great powers, which for some time had been contending for sovereignty. Hoping to keep on friendly terms with both, he sent several camels laden with rare and valuable presents to the Persian king. But the haughty Sapor tore up the letter which had been addressed to him, and caused the presents to be thrown into the river, declaring that he would exterminate him and his country for his presumption, unless he showed proper respect to his lord and sovereign, by prostrating himself at his feet with his hands tied behind his back.² Odenatus declared that he would either be revenged for this indignity, or perish in the attempt, and joined his forces with those of the Romans. The latter, who had continued broken and dispirited since the capture of Valerian, were now assembled under an individual, who distinguished himself by his daring and judicious manner of assuming the offensive. Calistus, or rather Balista, transported his forces by sea from the coast of Italy to that of Cilicia, and arrived just in time to prevent the surrender of Pompeiopolis, or Soli, to the Persians. Being joined, as he advanced towards Lycaonia, by his new ally Odenatus, the Persians, who occupied this and the neighbouring provinces in

Sapor lays waste Mesopotamia.

Indignity offered to Odenatus by the Persian king.

Calistus assumes the offensive.

¹ Amm. Marcel., lib. XXIII., cap. v.; Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiii.; Zosimus, lib. I., p. 33, Ox.

² Petr. Patr. de Legat., p. 29.

fancied security, were defeated, and the harem of Sapor, chiefly owing to the efforts of Odenatus, made part of the spoil.¹

Campaign of
the Romans
and Palmy-
reans.

Balista hastened to Cilicia, where he captured Sebaste and Coryeus,² whilst his ally, faithful to his purposed revenge, fell upon the rear of the Persians as they reached Euphratesiana, and obliged them to repass the river. This operation was attended with such heavy loss, that Sapor gladly purchased a safe retreat from the garrison of Edessa, by restoring the treasure which he had amassed whilst plundering the Roman territory.³

A.D. 260.

Odenatus
assumes the
regal title.

Odenatus now assumed the title of king of Palmyra, and the following year, being commander of the Roman forces as well as his own, he again took the field, and having recovered for his allies the cities of Nisibis and Carrhae, advanced into Persia, hoping for an opportunity of punishing his enemy by releasing Valerian.⁴

Odenatus
defeats Sapor
near Ctesi-
phon.

Sapor, at the head of a powerful army, was defeated by Odenatus in an obstinate engagement near Ctesiphon, which city he was prepared to hold to the last. The Persians, however, had hastened from all parts of the empire to support their monarch; and a succession of well-contested battles were fought under the walls, generally to their disadvantage. But Sapor maintained the city and his royal captive against all the efforts of his enemy;⁵ and Odenatus at length abandoned the enterprise, after devastating the surrounding country as a punishment of the people. In a subsequent invasion, Odenatus besieged Ctesiphon a second time, and had mastered the place, when an irruption of the Goths into Asia Minor called him thither, when, according to Syncellus,⁶ he was assassinated at Heraclea, by his cousin Maconius.⁷

A.D. 264.

A.D. 266.

¹ Trigint. Tyr., cap. xiv.; Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiii.; Trebell. Poll., Valerian, cap. vii.

² Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiii.

³ Petr. Patr. in Excerpt. de Legat., p. 25; Trigint. Tyr., cap. xiv.; Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiii.

⁴ Gall. vit., cap. xxxii.; Zosim., lib. I., p. 36.

⁵ Trebellius Poll., vit. Gall., cap. xxxii.; Zosim., lib. I., p. 36.

⁶ P. 382.

⁷ Trebellius Poll., Gall. vit., cap. xxxii.; Trigint. Tyr., cap. xiv., Zosim., lib. I., p. 36; Zonar., lib. XII., cap. xxiv.

The sons of Odenatus being too young to reign, their mother, Zenobia, governed in their name as empress, or rather, queen of the East. Gallien, foreseeing that she would not maintain the same fidelity towards the Romans as her late husband, sent Heraclianus against her, who, being defeated by Zenobia, was forced to retreat towards Rome; the queen, giving way to the fascinations of ambition, followed up this success by the subjection of Syria, Mesopotamia,¹ and, subsequently, of Egypt.

Zenobia reigns, and takes Syria, &c.

Zenobia continued undisturbed till the time of Aurelian, whose wars with the Goths permitted her to make a fresh attack on the side of Bithynia. But the former wars having terminated, the emperor proceeded forthwith against the queen of the East, receiving, as he advanced, the submission of Ancyra and Tyana; the latter, after an obstinate siege.

A.D. 272.

Operations against the queen commenced near Antioch: the first battle is supposed to have taken place at Imma on the plain of 'Unk, and was decided by a well-timed stratagem. During the greater part of the day, the armour-clad cavaliers of the desert bore down everything before them. All, however, was not lost as long as the resources of talent and presence of mind remained. Aurelian instructed his cavalry to retreat, and even to simulate flight. They continued this system till the heavy-armed troops of Zenobia, spent with exertion, entered marshy ground, when the Romans unexpectedly faced about, and at the close of the day snatched the victory from the queen of the East. Her fugitive troops hurried into Antioch, but again quitted the city on finding that the inhabitants were likely to declare for Aurelian, and proceeded towards Emessa. On pursuing them, Aurelian found the heights and defile of Daphne strongly occupied. But a closely-formed body advancing, protected from missiles by the cover of their shields, carried the heights, and turned the pass. On approaching Emessa (Homs), Aurelian found Zabdus posted in order of battle, with 70,000 men to oppose his progress.² A double attack was immediately made, in which the cavalry of Aurelian was overturned, but the Roman infantry being successful, the victory remained

Aurelian defeats Zenobia at Imma.

He forces the pass Daphne.

¹ Orosius, lib. VII, cap. xxiii.; Zosim., lib. I., pp. 36, 41, 44

² Vopiscus, Aurel., vit., cap. xav.; Zosim., pp. 45, 46, 48.

Second defeat,
and retreat of
Zenobia.

with the latter, and the ground was covered with the slain. The queen, unable to trust the inhabitants of Emessa, who were prepared to declare for the Romans, made a rapid retreat to her capital, followed by Aurelian, who secured the treasure left by her in Emessa. During his advance, several combats took place with the Arabs; but he continued his march till the beautiful city of the wilderness was before the eyes of the victorious Romans.

Preparations
at Palmyra.

Zenobia was prepared to defend herself in what was deemed an almost impregnable and well-garrisoned position; while in consequence of its central situation as the commercial entrepôt of the East, Palmyra was in the highest state of wealth and prosperity which had ever yet been attained by any city, Tyre and Carthage alone excepted.¹ As lately as the time of Odenatus it had been skilfully fortified, and in addition to the advantages of high and strong walls, it possessed that of an isolated situation in a wide-spreading desert. Here the resources of the besieging army in water, would be limited to a scanty supply, while the city was amply provided for a protracted defence, which, from the enormous wealth of the people, their devotion to their queen, and her determined valour, promised to be successful; supported as it was outside the walls, by the Arab, Persian, and Armenian auxiliaries. Such a state of things, at a period when defensive siege warfare was equal to, if not superior to that of attack, almost justified the answer of defiance, which was sent in the name of Zenobia, by her secretary, to the summons of Aurelian, who, from that time, appears to have determined to be revenged on this minister.

Commence-
ment of the
siege.

Thinking their city impregnable, the inhabitants, from the summit of their walls, irritated the Romans with reproachful epithets, while the latter gradually raised towers, and carried on their approaches with timber, supplied by the neighbouring date groves. Sorties and other efforts were not wanting; for, encouraged by their sovereign and the influential men who were so much attached to Zenobia, the city was long and valiantly defended.² But Syria being open to the besiegers and rein-

¹ Vopiscus, Aurel., vit., cap. xxviii.; Zosim., p. 50.

² Ibid.