

**VI.A.41**

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE WORLD,

FROM THE REIGN OF *ALEXANDER*  
TO THAT OF *AUGUSTUS*,

COMPREHENDING,  
THE LATTER AGES OF EUROPEAN GREECE,  
AND  
THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK KINGDOMS IN ASIA AND AFRICA,  
FROM THEIR FOUNDATION TO THEIR DESTRUCTION;  
WITH  
A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF *ALEXANDER*'S CONQUESTS, AND AN ESTIMATE  
OF HIS PLANS FOR THEIR CONSOLIDATION AND IMPROVEMENT.

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BY JOHN GILL  
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AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO H

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S, LL.D.  
DINBURGH,  
RAY FOR SCOTLAND.

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Ἡ μὲν τοι γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκὴ καὶ  
τὴν ἱφικόντο καὶ δυνάμει, κατοπιεύσας, αἶμα

IN T.

*Course of Fort William*





## P R E F A C E.

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SINCE the publication of my History of Ancient Greece, twenty years have elapsed ; an interval, had it been dedicated solely to one object, still too short to mark and recommend the present volumes, by that completeness of information, and perspicuity of connection, which must be desired by readers of every class with regard to so important and so splendid a theme as that of Alexander and his Successors.

The Grecian dynasty in Asia embraces, indeed, the whole portion of time during which the general affairs of that vast continent admit of any copious and consistent narrative : but in my ambition to heighten the interest of this narrative with the present age and posterity, I have felt the necessity of continually extending my researches beyond the chronology of kings, the intrigues of courts, the dry and often doubtful details of negotiations and battles. Without neglecting any of

these indispensable rather than ~~greatly edifying~~ matters, my attention has been chiefly directed to objects of more allurements or more permanency; the local circumstances, occupations, and manners of communities at large, and of the various ranks of persons composing them; a curious and uncultivated branch of history, towards the advancement of which I have studied to unite even the scantiest and most scattered sources of information that either the fragments of antiquity have delivered down, or the casual notices of modern travellers have laid open.

After the example of the *First* of Historians, in point not only of time but of merit, I have inquired, as he does on nearly a similar occasion\*, who they were, those ancient and once illustrious nations subdued and long governed by the Greeks and Macedonians: in what characteristic particulars they either agreed with, or differed from each other: what had been their pursuits, and what were their attainments. Through my respectful adherence to a model, the nearest of any to perfection, my readers will proceed easily from the known to the unknown; and the history of Greece, the country



## P R E F A C E.

to which we are indebted for our general acquaintance with antiquity, will naturally expand into the history of the Eastern world, and of those remote regions of the South and West which gradually fell within the sphere either of its military exertion or of its commercial intercourse.

That this is the fittest method in which the transactions and institutions of past times can be made known to the present, it will be my endeavour in the following volumes to evince. But in estimating both nations and individuals, the opinions even of the learned are too often guided by the decisions of fortune; on which account the history of Rome is very commonly confounded with that of the world. The grave and judicious Polybius composed his invaluable work to explain by what means, the Romans, in the space of fifty-three years, commencing with the second Punic war, acquired a decided preponderancy over all those powers, which, in the course of the following century, they reduced into provinces. It was, he thought, a task more easy and more animating to trace the progress of the rising commonwealth, than to rake into the vices and miseries of decaying monarchies: and the same motives which

swayed

swayed with Polybius, have generally actuated all succeeding historians ; though it may be doubted, whether their narratives would not have proved more useful to posterity if, instead of continually expatiating on the wisdom and good management of the victors, they had been at more pains to impress the sad lessons to be learned from the wretched impolicy of the vanquished.

The reigns of Alexander and Augustus are separated by a period of three hundred years, the busiest in the annals of mankind. The close of this period includes, indeed, twenty years of Roman civil wars, on which the nature of my work forbids me to dilate. They contribute in nothing to our better acquaintance with the natives of those countries which were their scene, and they are altogether unconnected with the principal action of this history ; I mean the gradual transfer of dominion from the Greeks and Macedonians to the Romans and Parthians. The civil wars of Rome only conveyed from one military usurper to another\* the power already acquired and consolidated by the republick ; and are recorded by innumerable writers on the affairs of that

Romains contre Romains, parens contre parens,  
 Combattoient seulement, pour le choix des tyrans.

CORNEILLE.

empire,

empire, with whom I shall not contend, if they arrogate to their own province the whole century contiguous to Augustus, and interweave its most memorable transactions in the majestic series of consular triumphs. But the times nearer to Alexander must be viewed under a different, and altogether independent aspect. Between the reign of that conqueror, (the most brilliant æra of Greece,) and the commencing ascendancy of Rome, the events of a hundred and five years intervene, related in a manner so little satisfactory, that they are considered by readers of reflection as leaving a sort of blank in history. This chasm I have endeavoured to fill up, by drawing together many detached incidents, calculated to give form and colour to the subject; and by obviating the chief difficulties attending it, through illustrations from parallel occurrences in earlier and later times.

From such views of my undertaking, this second part, if it shall be so considered, of the “History of Ancient Greece, its Colonies and Conquests,” necessarily rises above the first in greatness and novelty of design: its execution, also, has been incomparably more difficult, from the variety, intricacy, and wide dispersion of my materials:

materials : on all which accounts, I anxiously crave for the present work the same public indulgence which its precursor continues to experience.

*Upper Seymour-street,  
June 1807.*

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” 3c 646

# PRELIMINARY SURVEY

## OF

# ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

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### SECTION. I.

*Two Aspects of Alexander's Reign.—Peculiarities in his Character and Fortune.—Resources commensurate to his Undertakings.—Political Geography of Asia.—Delineation of Mount Taurus to the northern and eastern Extremities of the Macedonian Conquests.—Alexander's Transactions on those Frontiers.—Notions of the Greeks concerning Taurus, as the Ground of geographical Distinction, corrected by modern Discoveries.—Military and Caravan Roads through Asia.—Alexander's Garrisons and Factories.—His new Maxims : I. With regard to Government ;—II. Religion ;—III. Revenue.*

ALEXANDER died at Babylon in the thirty-third year of his age, agitating vast and various schemes both of war and of policy. His short reign, of only twelve years and eight months, may be viewed under two distinct aspects : either as the termination of republican Greece, thereby drained of her strength, and thenceforth eclipsed of her splendour ; or as the commencement of a Grecian dynasty in the East, comprehending in that quarter all those nations whose records are embodied in what is now called ancient history. In treating the subject under the former point of view, I endeavoured,

SECT.

I.

Death of  
Alexander,  
Olymp. cxiv.  
1. Before  
Christ 324—  
Two aspects  
of his reign.

## S E C T.

## I.

in a preceding work, to unfold the plan of Alexander's campaigns, and accurately to describe his battles and sieges. But, in contemplating his reign under its second and still more important aspect, as the foundation of a new empire, destined speedily to dissolve into many separate monarchies, it becomes necessary to advert, not only to the exploits which he achieved, but to the extraordinary undertakings which he meditated, and which, verging as they certainly did, on romantic heroism, were nevertheless, the boldest of them, confined within strict practicable limits.

Peculiarities  
in his cha-  
racter and  
fortune.

Above all candidates for renown, the Macedonian stands, indeed, pre-eminent for his uniform and nice discrimination between difficulties and impossibilities. The former, he perseveringly surmounted; with the latter, he never once had the presumption to grapple. This distinction in his favour, which ensured to him the highest interest with writers of reflection, has not failed, however, to expose him to the envious blasts of satire, eager to lessen greatness, and to the more pestilent breath of fabulous<sup>2</sup> panegyric, servilely prone to exaggerate merit into perfection. If his detractors have absurdly arraigned him, as a destroyer, a rod, and a scourge; his admirers are not entitled to adorn him with the fame of a blameless hero. In the usual course of his behaviour, he was mild, temperate, and just<sup>3</sup>; yet, on several important occasions, he was the victim both of anger and of pleasure; the two most ordinary sources of human frailty. But such personal excellencies or defects disappear before the splendour of his public life, the regular boldness of his plans, and the unrivalled magnitude of his performances. Endowed with an alertness and energy peculiarly his own, he nevertheless practised patiently in war the lessons derived from

<sup>1</sup> History of Ancient Greece.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, l. ii p. 70. and l. xv. p. 798. How deeply is the loss to be regretted of Strabo's Commentary on the Transactions of Alexander, alluded to in the former of

these passages! He speaks of him upwards of 70 times in the course of his Geography, and always with perfect consistency.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 20. and passim.

Philip, the greatest of generals. In his civil administration, and the prudent management of his conquests, he adhered as invariably to maxims instilled<sup>4</sup> by Aristotle, the greatest of philosophers. This singularity in his proceedings, as regulated by the lessons and authority of two such men, and of such opposite principles or purposes, strangely overlooked as it has been, by historians and philosophers of Europe, was clearly recognized by Mandanis, an Indian and a priest, when he declared the invading Macedonian the only proficient in wisdom, that he had ever known even by report, at the head of a victorious army<sup>5</sup>.

SECT. I.

Writers, innumerable, have celebrated the valour or fortune of Alexander; but few, in imitation of Mandanis, seem willing to admire his wisdom or sound policy. To do justice to this part of his character, it is necessary to ascertain, how far his resources were adequate to his great undertakings, and how far his bare projects were warranted by reason and experience.

Before he thought fit to cross the Hellespont into Asia, he not only extinguished rebellion in Greece and Macedon, but subdued the wider and rougher parts of what is now called Turkey in Europe, inhabited then, as at present, by Thracians and Illyrians, stubborn and warlike nations<sup>6</sup>. Most useful recruits might thus be

His resources commensurate to his undertakings.

Strabo, l. i. p. 67. This passage anticipates and refutes the false praise bestowed on Alexander at the expense of his preceptor, who, according to Plutarch, advised him to treat the Greeks as freemen, and the Barbarians as slaves. Plutarch's report, of which we shall afterwards see clearly the very improper grounds, has been followed by all modern writers, even the most respectable: Witness the late Dr. Robertson in his *Disquisition concerning India*, page 23, 4to edit. Yet Strabo concludes, "Alexander did not neglect the admonitions sent to him, but accepted them with full approbation, and completely complied with their sense and spirit." What this sense and

spirit were, may be seen in my translation of Aristotle's practical works, vol. ii. p. 37. and seq. 8vo. edit.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, l. xv. p. 715.

<sup>6</sup> Arrian, *Expedition of Alexander*, l. ii. c. 7. The epithets bestowed on them by the Greek historian, they deserve to the present day. Under the names of Croats, Bosnians, Bulgarians, and Servians they still form towards Europe the iron frontier of Turkish power, hating the Christians in their neighbourhood with the pride of Moslems, exasperated by the inveteracy of borderers. Sadly did the unhappy Emperor Joseph experience their stubborn valour in 1788.

## S E C T.

## I.

derived from the ample region between the confines of the Danube and the sea of Peloponnesus; a country much surpassing Great Britain in extent, and in that age exuberantly populous. The revenues of Macedon, arising partly from the gold mines of Philippi, and those near the lake Bolbe<sup>7</sup>, may, on good grounds, be estimated at the value of a million sterling<sup>8</sup>; an annual supply in those days, which notwithstanding the high pay and liberal subsistence enjoyed<sup>9</sup> by the Greeks and Macedonians, will appear on calculation sufficient to keep on foot an army, moderate in point of number, but so judiciously composed and so perfectly disciplined, that no enemies with whom it was ever called to contend, could either resist its strength or elude its velocity.

By an adherence to his preconcerted plan of first gaining the maritime cities of Lesser Asia, before he advanced inland, the invader acquired the command of the sea, and thereby ensured the best means of availing himself of his domestic resources. Long before the Indians beheld his altars on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, he should seem to have drawn from Europe contingents of troops of very disproportionate magnitude to the small army of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse<sup>10</sup> which he originally

<sup>7</sup> Herodotus, l. v. c. 17.

<sup>8</sup> This will appear hereafter from the sums brought into the Roman treasury, and a critical examination of the passages recording them, in Livy, Pliny, and Velleius Paterculus.

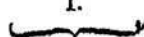
<sup>9</sup> According to Thucydides and Demosthenes the subsistence of Athenian horsemen was equal to their pay, and their pay was a drachma, that is nearly eight-pence daily. The captain had only twice the pay of the rank and file, and the general only twice the pay of a captain. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, l. vii. p. 403. edit. Leuncl. According to these data, and making ample allowance for contingencies, the expence of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse needed not exceed 900,000*l*.

<sup>10</sup> The numbers are differently reported: the highest account makes them 43,000 foot, and 5,500 horse. Plutarch de Virtut. Alexand. Orat. i. p. 327. Edit. Xyland. Arrian and Curtius do not profess to specify every reinforcement. Without having in view the general muster, I extracted from them the following contingents:

6,000	
500	
3,000	
500	
4,000	
500	
6,000	
<hr/>	
In all	20,500
<hr/>	

conducted





conducted across the Hellespont; and the success of his arms in Asia speedily procured him most powerful auxiliaries in that quarter. The western division of the Persian empire, containing an incongruous assemblage of indignant republics and rebellious satrapies, hung so loosely together, that one proportion of those reluctant tributaries might be employed in subduing the other, and both of them be afterwards directed against the remaining force of the monarchy. In the course of four laborious campaigns, and through the success chiefly of the three great battles of Granicus, Issus, and Arbela, and the two memorable sieges of Halicarnassus and Tyre, Alexander thus laid at his mercy dominions twenty times more wealthy than his hereditary kingdom. Many robust yet docile Asiatics were embodied under European officers, and with what experience discovered to be a fit admixture of European soldiers; commonly four Greeks to twelve barbarians in each division of sixteen; that is, in each file of the phalanx. The stoutest and bravest among the vanquished, might delight in the Grecian exercises, and glory at being instructed in the arts, and associated to the arms of the victors: but a passion far more powerful with the multitude than the transient love of glory, would facilitate Alexander's levies of oriental troops, if he really seized at Susa, the value of nine millions sterling, and as concurring authorities attest, double that amount in the imperial

" Herodotus, l. iii. c. 95. is thought to give 14,560 Eubœic talents, equal to 2,807,437l for the revenues of Persia; but this sum appears to have formed rather the privy purse of the emperor. Conf. Herodot. l. 192 iii. 92 Xenoph. Leucol. p. 237. and 510. Plato Opera, vol. ii. p. 121. Edit. Ficini. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 735. The contributions levied in kind (corn, cattle, cloth, drugs,) equalled those in money, that is, silver. The free gifts on new year's days were considerable. Plato, vol. ii. p. 121. The distinction above alluded to between the privy purse and the public revenue has passed

through a variety of dynasties from the ancient Persians to the modern Turks; but the Hâsné or privy purse of the Grand Seigneur is now richer than the Miri: which latter is said to amount to 4,000,000l. Eton's Turkish Empire. The custom of presents to their kings on the new year prevails also among the modern Persians. Chardin and Della Valle.

" Conf. Arrian, vii. 23. and Plutarch in Alexand. p. 691.

" Diodorus Siculus, l. xv. sect. 66. Arrian, iii. 16. Curtius, v. 2. Justin. xi. 14.

strong



**S E C T.**  
 1  
 strong hold of Persepolis <sup>14</sup>. His army, therefore, continually swelled with the progress of his expedition eastward ; and the division which he personally conducted, was never more numerous than in the modern province of Lahore and on the farther bank of the Hyphasis. At this eastern extremity of his conquests, he mustered an hundred and twenty thousand men <sup>15</sup>; and in the last year of his life, he was joined in one day on the Tigris by thirty thousand <sup>16</sup> barbarians, armed and disciplined after the Grecian fashion.

Subjects of  
 discussion  
 preparatory  
 to the fol-  
 lowing his-  
 tory.

To qualify my readers for perusing the following history with some degree of interest, I shall endeavour to lay before them a sort of statistical survey of the various dominions of Alexander, and describe the distribution of his Greeks and Macedonians among them, in reference to local circumstances, and to that easy and general intercourse, which, according to universal testimony, he laboured throughout to establish : I shall examine his singular proceedings in the three main points of government, religion, and revenue ; and shall exert the utmost diligence to explain, fully and clearly, how far in the concerns either of domestic industry or foreign commerce, he prosecuted the plans of preceding princes, or embraced new ones, peculiar to himself ; and of which as none before him had set the example, so certainly none who followed him, have ever presumed on the imitation. By the discussion of these important topics, our minds will be prepared to unravel the intricacy of the perturbed scenes that opened in the eastern world, and which brought into action all its elements and powers. The struggle for empire among the Macedonian captains is the most memorable warfare ever waged in Asia in point of duration and obstinacy, and the only general conflict in that quarter of the globe, during which the resources of wealth and numbers were steadily directed by scientific skill and

<sup>14</sup> Diodorus, xvii. 71. Strabo, xv. 731.  
<sup>15</sup> Curtius, v. 6. and Plutarch in Alexand.

<sup>16</sup> Arrian, l. vii. c. 8. and 32. and Plutarch in Alexand.

<sup>17</sup> Curtius, viii. 6.

disciplined

disciplined valour. It terminated by the battle of Ipsus in the Greater Phrygia, fought twenty-two years after Alexander's demise; through which memorable action his empire was indeed irrecoverably ruined as a whole, yet continued, in consequence of arrangements that had been made by him, to flourish conspicuously in many of its parts or fragments".

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In treating the first branch of my subject, I could wish to perform what the Greek historian of this period has been contented with promising; and to draw a lively picture impressive on the fancy and memory", of the political geography of Asia from the Grecian sea to the Indus, exhibiting all the important peculiarities by which the several portions of that vast territory were essentially characterised. A delineation of the twenty satrapies of Darius would not intirely answer my purpose, since, according to that distribution, which was made chiefly with a view to tribute, nations were classed in the same satrapy, not only dissimilar in manners, but in local situation extremely remote from each other". Besides this inconvenience, the number of the satrapies occasionally underwent alteration"; it was imprudently reduced by Darius's successors, who thereby strengthened the hands of their more powerful viceroys or vassals, spontaneously too prone to rebellion; and neither Alexander, nor those who came after him, adhered to a division artificial and arbitrary, since unguided by those permanent differences by which nature had characterised the country, and those almost equally invariable with which time and custom had marked its inhabitants.

Political  
geography  
of Asia.

" Ης (scil. Αλεξάνδρου αρχής) διαλυθείσης επι-  
πλεον εξιδάμπετα μέρη. Appian. in Præfac.  
c. 10.

" Πρὸ οφθαλμῶν τιθεμένης τῆς ὅλης τυποποιήσεως, &c.  
Diodor. s. l. xviii. sect. 5.

" Herodotus, l. iii. c. 89. To which add  
the invaluable commentary of our great geo-  
grapher; Rennell's Geography of Herodotus,

p 229—323. The subject of the Persian satra-  
pie, is learnedly treated also by Mr Heeren  
in his well known work "Ideen über die  
Politik, &c." that is, "Ideas on the Policy,  
Intercourse, and Commerce of the Principal  
States of Antiquity," p 103—350.

" Confer. Herodot. ubi supra, and Xeno-  
phon Hellen, and Anabasis, passim

Considered

## S E C T.

## I.

Its most general aspect.

Considered under their most general aspect, the Macedonian dominions in the east comprehended the peninsula<sup>22</sup> of Lesser Asia bounded by three seas; the kingdom of Egypt on the opposite or southern side of the Mediterranean; and the most renowned portion of the ancient continent running eastward of that sea, and nearly commensurate with its entire expanse of water both in magnitude and in climate. Alexander's conquests will thus be found to have extended forty-five degrees of longitude over the fairest portion of the temperate zone: their greatest breadth stretched over twenty degrees of latitude, from the sea of Aral and the Iaxartes, to the mouth of the Indus, the entrance of the Persian gulph, and the southern frontier of Egypt; all three positions in the near vicinity of the northern tropic.

Lesser Asia.

In this mighty and generally compact fabric of empire, Lesser Asia and Egypt sufficiently distinguish themselves as outspreading appendages on two opposite sides of the Mediterranean. The former is a peninsula nearly equal to Germany in extent, and which, during many ages of antiquity, might be compared with the German empire in the wide variety of its governments. It contained generally, but most conspicuously along the sea coast, a strong admixture of European blood; which circumstance rendered it equally important in a political and military point of view. It had been long famed for its arts and opulence: and its prosperity cannot be suspected of decline, under Alexander and his successors, if, after many merciless depredations by Mithridates and the Romans, Mark Anthony by a double requisition really extorted from it in one year, the amount of forty millions sterling<sup>23</sup>. In the progress of this work, the enormity of that sum will be reduced nearer to the standard of probability, when we contrast the

<sup>22</sup> The term used by Strabo. l. xiv. says, this sum was the tribute of ten years. p. 673. Appian, Bell. Civile, l. v. c. 23.

<sup>23</sup> Plutarch, in Anton. m. c. c. c. c. c. c.

ancient sources of the riches of Lesser Asia with the actual causes of its wretched poverty. Let it suffice for the present to observe, that it exhibited for the extent of two thousand miles along its winding coast a series of flourishing seaports, most of them Greek colonies and republics; an unbroken line of civilization and commercial activity, that can be compared so fitly with nothing in the ancient or modern world, as with the long list of British colonies, now United States, on the coast of North America. SECT.  
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Of ancient Egypt we should judge very improperly by the degraded country now bearing that name. The Egyptians of old, whose ingenuity had subdued the Nile, and controuled its desolating superabundance or too niggardly contributions of water, are described as an orderly and courteous people, delighting in habitual industry, enjoying great vigour of health, and according to the report of Herodotus, those of them cultivating husbandry, or resident in cities, the most intelligent of all foreigners, with whom that acute Greek historian in the course of his long travels, had the good fortune to converse". Through the sacred indolence of the Moslems in neglecting the various branches and canals of the Nile, Egypt is reduced to half its ancient cultivable soil", and contains not even a half of its ancient population". Through terror of the wandering Arabs and banditti that perpetually infest its frontier, it is cut off from the mountains of the Red Sea, which supplied it with a profusion of precious marbles. With the ruin of its useful or elegant arts, it has long ceased to command an invaluable caravan commerce, which had rendered it successively a powerful independent kingdom, and the richest satrapy, except Babylonia, in the Egypt.

" Strabo, xviii. 787, and again, p. 811. *Κλεινὰ δὲ τὰ μνηστὶς ἀρχιτεκτονίς, τὸ τε ποταμὸς ὕδαρ καὶ τὸ πλοῖον.*

" Herodot. ii. 77. & seq.

" See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 521—533.

" Josephus states its populousness at eight millions. De Bell. Judaic. i. ii. c. 4. Its inhabitants are now reduced to less than three millions. Pococke, Volney, and different Histories of the British Expedition to Egypt, in 1801.

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Persian empire, before Alexander and his successors made it the great maritime emporium of nations. In this flourishing state, it fell into the hands of the Romans, and was governed by them six complete centuries, producing an annual revenue little exceeding indeed three millions sterling<sup>\*</sup>; but which, even in the splendid age of Augustus, far surpassed the present value of that sum in exchange either with the labour of man, or the useful productions of nature.

Assyria and  
Armenia  
mutually sepa-  
rated by  
mount Zag-  
ros.

Beyond the Mediterranean, and the peninsula which that sea washes and confines, the broader expanse of Asia is commonly divided into the territories to the east and west of the Tigris. But this most celebrated portion of the ancient continent, as the immemorial seat of endless dynasties, may be more fitly distinguished by the chain of mountains a little east of the Tigris, separating anciently the dominions of Assyria from those of Media, and constituting the actual boundary between the Turkish and Persian powers. In this mountainous chain, which stretches from the confines of the Euxine to the shores of the Persian gulph, Zagros is the most important link, since forming, as it were, the western wall of Media-Magna. Zagros separates<sup>\*\*</sup> that widest of the satrapies from the once richer and more renowned regions watered by the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris. By establishing mount Zagros for the ground of our division, we shall at once impartially respect the great distinctions of empire in ancient and modern times, the comparative extent and value of territory, and those essential differences of blood and language by which chiefly the nations of the earth are either united or discriminated. Various languages, as will be explained hereafter, were spoken in the Asiatic peninsula; but from the confines of the peninsula to those of Media,

<sup>\*</sup> Strabo, l. xvii p. 798 The revenue under the Beys was estimated at 1,500,000l. Wilson's British Expedition, p. 226,

<sup>\*\*</sup> Το Ζάγρος διόριζον τῆς Μιδικῆς καὶ Βακτριανῆς. Strabo, l. xv, p. 532. Comp. Polyb. l. v. c. 44.



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the Syrian prevailed universally<sup>29</sup>; and the Persian held nearly<sup>30</sup> the same extensive sway to the Indus over Media; Persis, the proper Persia; Bactria, or Bactriana, and all the inferior provinces of the East. In point of habits and manners, Zagros formed a boundary not less palpable. To the west of it lived the Assyrians, a people comparatively peaceful and civilized; to the east, dwelt the rude Caspians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Arians, Bactrians, Sogdians, all of them alike armed with bows made of reeds, or bamboos, and short lances: in their persons and customs there was a clear and striking resemblance, which universally betrayed a strong admixture of Scythian blood, and Scythian barbarism<sup>31</sup>.

In the geography of the Greeks, Assyria often confounded with Syria, comprehended the four following countries<sup>32</sup>; Mesopotamia and Babylonia, respectively the northern and southern divisions of the vast peninsula between the Tigris and Euphrates; Atur or Adiabene<sup>33</sup>, lying to the east of the Tigris; and Syria Proper, the extensive province to the west of the Euphrates, and reaching from that mighty stream to the coast of the Mediterranean<sup>34</sup>. As the coincidence in language and institutions united the whole of those regions under the common appellation of Assyria, so a similar uniformity diffused over the countries on the other side of Zagros even to India, the ancient and general name of Ariana<sup>35</sup>, a name easily recognizable in the Eriene or Iran<sup>36</sup> of Oriental writers. But, in consequence of the ascendancy, acquired, lost, recovered, and at

Assyria, its divisions.

Ariana, or Persia, its divisions.

<sup>29</sup> Τῆς διαλεκτῆς μέχρι τῆς διαμερίσεως τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς τε ἐκτὸς τῆς Εὐφράτης καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἑσσι. Strabo, l. i. p. 41.

<sup>30</sup> Ομογενεῖς παρὰ μέγεθος. Id. l. xv. p. 724.

<sup>31</sup> Herodot. l. vii. c. 61. & seq.

<sup>32</sup> Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and Arrian: particularly Herodotus, i. 106. and 178.

<sup>33</sup> Plin. N. H. l. v. c. 22. This country was called Atur by the natives; which name the Romans confounded with Assyria in its

general signification, Dion Cassius, l. lxxviii. in Trajan: an error in names which occasioned great confusion in history as well as geography.

<sup>34</sup> Ἡ κατω σύρια. Strabo, l. xv. p. 692. "The Lower Syria," that is nearer the sea coast.

<sup>35</sup> Strabo, xv. p. 682.

<sup>36</sup> Zendavesta passim, and D'Herbelot, Artic. Iran.

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different periods of history long held by Persia, the proper Persia, adjacent to the Persian gulph, the name of Ariana was in later times supplanted, and among the historians and geographers of Europe, at length totally sunk in that of Persia, including not only the countries of Ariana above mentioned, but the extensive territory southward, washed by the Erythræan sea, and having the Persian gulph and the Indus for its western and eastern boundaries. Within this spacious quadrangle, four times the extent of France, the main body of modern Persia extends its useless bulk, the inland regions being scantily supplied with water, and the coast of the Erythræan sea unprovided with safe harbours". Its southern parts are indelibly marked by the wide deserts of Carmania and Gedrosia, and its shores were in all ages of antiquity deformed by miserable Ichthyophagi, far spread though feeble tribes, whose bread consisted of dried fishes, their houses of fish bones, and whose sole distinctions of honour depended on the quantity and kinds which they had collected of those wretched materials". But Carmania and Gedrosia, now Kerman and Makran, were respectively bounded on the north by Arachosia and Saranga, provinces refreshed by projecting branches of the Paropamisus". Fertility began with the mountains; and as this tract of Persia formed the shortest communication between India and Assyria, its inhabitants, improved by commerce, are characterized "by their party coloured robes of delicate texture, their wealth, civility, and beneficence, long before the erection there by Alexander of stations or staples connected by direct roads with Babylon, which that conqueror purposed to render the centre of universal commerce, as well as the capital of his mighty empire. From this

" Olearius, Tavernier, Chardin, Le Brun.

" Arriani Indica, c. 29.

" In the middle of the 17th century, Tavernier visited a ruinous city unwall'd, supposed the capital of Carmania, and situate in a comparatively fertile district. Voyage

en Perse, p. 107. & seq. It appears from his distances to have stood near the borders of Saranga.

" Diodorus, xvii. 8. Conf. Herodotus, vii. 67.

general survey, it will appear that leaving for the present India out of the account, the Asiatic dominions of Alexander comprehended the comparatively narrow peninsula compressed between the Euxine and Mediterranean; the widely spreading Assyria, inhabited by Assyrians or Syrians; and Ariana or Persia, the country of the Medes and Persians, and all the kindred nations of the East.

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In each member of this threefold division, we shall find many characteristic differences; moral as well as physical. But in surveying the whole generally, Greek historians discovered a feature in its geography, which pervaded its entire length, and of which they often make use for distinguishing, not only the larger masses of this territory, but also the minuter groups into which power or policy had thrown it<sup>41</sup>. With both these views, their descriptions of that part of the eastern continent, at all open to their researches, are commonly guided by the bold form of its mountains, which decide the course of those great rivers, to whose natural inundations, modified by patient artificial management, the dry Assyrian plains wholly owed their fertility and beauty. These gigantic highlands, the great laboratory of Asia, directly cross the chain of Zagros<sup>42</sup> above noticed, incomparably exceeding it, however, in the length of their course. Commencing in the south-western corner of the peninsula, nearly opposite to Rhodes, they hold under the general name of Taurus, a direction parallel to the Mediterranean, and thus divide Lesser Asia into two unequal parts, by separating the southern and rugged districts of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia from the more extensive and more level provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia. At the sacred promontory of Lycia, a branch of Taurus first rises to conspicuous eminence, overhanging the adjacent sea,

Taurus employed by the ancients as the main ground of geographical distinction.

<sup>41</sup> Conf Diodorus, l. xviii. c. 5. & seq. Zagros is conformable to Strabo, l. xi. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673. and Arrian. Exped. p. 522. Conf. Polybius, l. v. c. 44. Ptolemy enlarges mount Choathros at the expense of Zagros.

<sup>42</sup> The importance assigned in the text to



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and thence boasting the proud name " of Olympus, a name usurped by many other mountains, both in ancient Greece and in her Asiatic settlements. Taking an oblique course as it advances towards the eastern confines of the peninsula, Taurus assumes there a greater elevation, sometimes surveying from its summits at once the Mediterranean and the Euxine, and then gradually diffuses itself over the table land of Armenia, a country in the same latitude with Spain, yet experiencing, in consequence of its height, the utmost severity of winter ". From this huge trunk, as it were, of the mountain, a branch extends northwards, which, under the name of Caucasus, towers between the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from its northern ridges overlooks the boundless deserts of Sarmatia and Scythia. In a direction opposite to that of Caucasus, Zagros, as above observed, separated Assyria from Media-Magna, forming the western frontier of the latter. The principal entrance into Media, conducted to that beautiful district, which lies between Ecbatana, now Hamadan, and the lake Maraga \*: and the main issue from the same great province to more eastern lands, passed through the Caspian gates, a vast chasm eight miles long, and commonly forty yards broad, at the distance of an hundred miles due south from the Caspian sea ". Media, which thus constituted the link of communication between Assyria and Ariana, was, as above observed, both in a moral and geographical point of view, a great and important boundary. To the west of the Medes lived the Assyrians, a people more polished

\* Οὐλύμπου δὲ οὐκ ὀνομάζεται. Aristot. de Mundo, &c. thence denoting "the all-shining mansions of the Gods." See Homer, Odyss. vi. v 43. beautifully translated by Lucretius, iii. v 18.

Apparet Divum numen, sedesque quietæ,  
Quas neque concutiant venti, etc.

And Claudian,

Celsior exurgit pluvis, auditque ruentes  
Sub pedibus nimbos, et rauca tonitrua calcat.

Most ancient nations had their Olympus, even the Scythians, whose descendants, the Tartars, still venerate as such mount Cashgar on the frontier of their great desert Cobi. In the same manner Asgard was the Olympus of the Scandinavians. See Edda.

" Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri, l. iv. p. 329.

" Herodotus, l. v. c. 52. Compare the modern authorities in Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 277. and 338.

" Plin. N. H. l. vi. c. 14. Conf. Della-valla, vol. iii. p. 65.

than

than themselves; the contrary was the case, with the Parthians, Arians, and Persians, their eastern neighbours.

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Orontes,  
Caucasus,  
and Imaus.

After pushing forth the opposite branches of Caucasus and Zagros, the great mountain, or rather the table land studded with mountains, continues its course eastward, assuming a little beyond the site of Ecbatana, or Hamadan, the sounding name of Orontes. The portion of Taurus distinguished by this name, separated the two Medias, the northern mostly a rugged district, fit only for rude pasturage, the southern, deservedly called Media-Magna, a country abounding in beautiful vallies susceptible of the highest cultivation, and successively the main stock of the Persian and Parthian empires, neither of which were of much account until the kindred nation of the Medes reinforced their power. From the neighbourhood of the Caspian gates, Taurus pushes southward the Paratataene<sup>47</sup> hills, a branch parallel to Zagros separating Media from Persia; while the great primary chain still continues its eastern direction through the unfruitful tracts of Hyrcania and Parthia, corresponding with the rougher parts of the modern Khorosan, and from thence to the great kingdom of Bucharia; a kingdom comprehending the Bactria<sup>48</sup> and Sogdia of the ancients. Under their rude modern appellations these valuable provinces have long been deformed by Tartars, but they were anciently embellished by Greeks beyond most regions of the East; and their situation on the Scythian frontier will give to them much military importance in the subsequent history.

At the extremity of Bactria, the swelling range divides and expands into two broad belts, the one called Imaus, stretching towards the Hyperborean regions, and the coast of Nova Zembla; the other,

<sup>47</sup> As Zagros is the western, so the Paratataene hills are the eastern, wall of Media. The two parallel chains lie about 300 miles asunder. The Paratataene mountains of Media advance southward to join those of Persia, the proper Persia: the chain is only

interrupted by the valley of Isfahan, which city is scarcely four miles distant from the southern mountains. Bell's Travels, vol. i. p. 118.

<sup>48</sup> In Sanscrit. Strabo. thence often called Bactriana.

under:

SECT. 1. under the successive names of Paropamisus, the Indian Caucasus, and Emodus, and holding the original eastern course, and composing the vast high-lands that long defended the wealth and effeminacy of Hindostan; while on the opposite, or northern side, they form an obtuse angle with Imaus, and thus inclose the great desert of Shamo or Cobi<sup>49</sup>, whose frightful sterility still shuts up and guards the unwarlike populousness of China. Alexander attempted not to scale Imaus, the ascent to the proper region of those Scythians, who boasted of being the *ancientest* of men, because their country was the most elevated<sup>50</sup>, and whose desolating inundations have so often deformed the face of the eastern world. Menacing hordes of the same warlike nation, he encountered on the banks of the Iaxartes, the northern boundary of Sogdiana or Sogdia. After wounding them from his engines across that broad river, he passed to the opposite shore on skins, and assailed the insolent barbarians in a manner so new to them, and so irresistible, that they had recourse to a hasty submission<sup>51</sup>. His friendship was then granted to the great Khan, who disavowed the hostile proceedings of a worthless part of his subjects; and Alexander having thus sustained the matchless fame of his arms, allowed himself with admirable policy to be restrained by divine warnings from violating the inward majesty of the desert, into which there was not any rational human motive that should induce him to penetrate<sup>52</sup>.

The Paropamisus.

To the sagacity of that conqueror, the ridges of Paropamisus were not less alluring than Imaus had been repulsive. The southern mountains contained the inlets to India, a country disfigured, in-

<sup>49</sup> Shamo, or Shamoo, is the Chinese name, signifying the "Sea of Sand." Cobi is the Tartar name for the same desert.

<sup>50</sup> Justin, l. ii. c. 4. The boast of those western Scythians in Justin is clearly derived from their eastern brethren the Calmouks and Zongones, who hold the same proud language to the present day. La Chappe *Voyage en Siberie*, p. 302. The ascent to

Chinese Tartary is found by barometrical observations to be 16,000 feet above the Yellow Sea. Conf. Pallas *As. Petropol. An.* 1777. Staunton's *Voyage to China*, vol. ii. p. 206. and Kirwan's *Geological Essays*, p. 26. & seq.

<sup>51</sup> Arrian, l. iv. c. 5. and seq. Conf. Plutarch in *Alexand.* p. 691.

<sup>52</sup> Arrian, *Ibid.*

deed,

deed, by Greek fables, but known to produce commodities peculiar to itself, and of universal demand among all the civilized nations of antiquity. In penetrating through the Paropamisus thither, Alexander pursued the same route that had been opened, or frequented, by ancient caravans, and which has been followed, as is well known, by all future conquerors. From the precision with which the avenues to India are defined by rivers and defiles, armies in different ages have constantly invaded that country by the same unvaried tract<sup>33</sup>; all of them have traversed the Paropamisus so as to descend into the valley of Candahar, and all have crossed the Indus at Taxila, now Attock, because the only place on that river where the slackened rapidity of its stream conveniently admits a bridge. But, in his transactions in the neighbourhood of the Indus, and his return to that of the Euphrates, Alexander displayed views in his expedition altogether different from the merciless depredations of a Nadir Shah, a Tamerlane, and a Mahmut. The mountainous inlets to India were formed into a Macedonian province, under the name of the Satrapy of Paropamisus, and bridled by well garrisoned cities, particularly two Alexandrias, upon, or near<sup>34</sup>, the sites of the modern Cabul and Candahar, places still recognized as the two principal gates of Hindostan; the former towards Tartary, the latter towards Persia. The high lands surrounding Cabul and Candahar, containing the sources of the Oxus and Indus, must always be important in a commercial point of view, since they unite the navigable course of those great rivers; but they were of far greater relative importance in those ages, when the commerce of the East was carried on chiefly or solely by inland communications. In the Panjab again, or country watered by the five eastern branches of the Indus, the pacific Taxiles, and the war-like Porus, were alike reinstated in their dominions,

<sup>33</sup> Conf. Arrian, l. iv c. 22. and D'Anville  
Eclairciss. sur la Geograph. de la Haute  
Asie, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> Rennell's Memoir of a map of Hindos-  
tan, p. 153—167 3d edition.

## S E C T.

## I.

and admitted to the rank of friends<sup>35</sup>. But a surer friend, Python, the son of Agenor<sup>36</sup>, was left with a body of Greeks in the Panjab, as superintendant of Macedonian affairs in that valuable<sup>37</sup> territory. These arrangements so essential to the inland commerce carried on with India, were accompanied by naval undertakings of a bolder nature, but not less decided utility. On the banks chiefly of the Indus and Hydaspes a fleet was constructed, or collected, that from the trireme to the tender, amounted to two thousand sail<sup>38</sup>. While the land forces in divisions pervaded the country on either side, this great armament pursued its triumphant course for the space of six hundred miles down the Indus to the ocean. Having accomplished this voyage, the least serviceable vessels were laid up in the Indian Delta, a district formed by alluvions of the Indus, into the same triangular shape with the well known Delta of the Nile. The stoutest ships or gallees Alexander then manned with above ten thousand Greeks or Phœnicians, and entrusted them to Nearchus, the zealous friend of his youth and adversity during the suspicious reign of Philip, that he might explore the navigation between the mouth of the Indus, and the inmost recess of the Persian gulph: an enterprize which that commander successfully performed in the course of somewhat less than five months, and which he afterwards clearly and impressively described<sup>39</sup>. Meanwhile the Greek cities of Bucephalia and Nicæa, and others whose very names have perished<sup>40</sup>, were built in the five tributary streams which water the Panjab; and Pattala, now Tatta, was built on the Indus itself, near

<sup>35</sup> Arrian, l. v. c. 20.

<sup>36</sup> Thus named by Diodorus, xvi. 39. to distinguish him from Python, the son of Crateas, an officer, as we shall see, of higher rank in Alexander's service.

<sup>37</sup> Plutarch, p. 699. says that Alexander subdued 5,000 cities in India, as large as Cos; and Strabo, l. xiv. p. 657. says that Cos, though a beautiful and elegant, is but a small city. "It contained about five or

six thousand inhabitants: for Arrian informs us that the country of the Glanæ in India contained 37 cities, which had from 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants." Arrian, l. v. c. 20.

<sup>38</sup> Arrian, l. v. c. 2. The numbers, however, are different in his Indian history, c. 19.

<sup>39</sup> Apud Arrian, Hist. Indic. c. 20. & seq.

<sup>40</sup> Plutarch, Arrian, Diodorus, and Pliny.



the top of the Delta", destined in Alexander's fond fancy to become the Memphis of the Indian world.

SECT.  
I.

In what sense  
Taurus may  
be regarded  
as a correct  
line of dis-  
tinction.

In compliance with the example of ancient historians, I have thus traced mount Taurus to the extremity of the Macedonian conquests. But truth obliges me observe, that the delineation of this stony girdle of Asia would far better discriminate the divisions of that continent, if its nature more exactly corresponded to the notions which Greek writers entertained of it. They considered this mountainous range, particularly in its prolongation eastward, as separating<sup>61</sup> the dark regions of cold and penury, from the delicious and bright plains of Southern Asia, from countries whose names revive the ideas of wealth and pleasure; peculiarly adapted to the arts of peace, and the multiplication of men and animals; the first that were adorned by great cities, and which as the warm genial soil, when softened by irrigation, is in no season of the year condemned to barren sleep, produced abundantly, through many successions of ages and empires, whatever can soothe the senses or delight the fancy. But this bold distinction is wanting in correctness. Within the precincts of Lesser Asia, the Greeks well knew that the southern districts of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia, are rougher and less fertile than the great central plains of Phrygia and Cappadocia, or the still more northerly tract of Pontus, watered by the Iris and Thermodon<sup>62</sup>. Beyond the limits of that peninsula, Taurus, in its progress eastward, instead of forming a narrow line of partition, swells generally in breadth between the thirty-fifth and fortieth degrees of north latitude, and the provinces to which ancient historians assign it for the southern boundary, namely, Armenia, Media-Alrapatena, Parthia, Sogdia,

<sup>61</sup> Strabo, l. xv. p. 701.

<sup>62</sup> Diodorus, xviii. 5. Conf. Strabo, l. xiv. p. 673 and Arrian, l. v. c. 5. All these Greek writers considered Taurus also as an unbroken ridge, dividing the two great central regions of Asia, Iran and Turan, as they are called by the orientals. But in de-

scribing the roads from India to Turan, the more northern region, the Ayin Acbaree mentions one by the way of Candahar entirely free from hills. Rennell's Memoir, p. 154.

<sup>63</sup> Strabo, l. xii. p. 548.

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I.



and Bactria, are all of them partly, and some of them chiefly composed of the broad mountainous chain itself. Yet we shall see in the progress of this history, that these northern lands teemed with fruitful and beautiful vallies, immemorially praised by the orientals as earthly paradises; whereas not to mention the southern regions of Carmania and Gedrosia, which can only be classed with the Syrian and Arabian deserts, Persis, the proper Persia, five degrees south of Taurus, is naturally one of the roughest and poorest divisions in the empire bearing its name, and only exceeded by the neighbouring haunts of the predatory Uxii and Cossæans, in the forbidding aspect of the country and native fierceness of its inhabitants. The fortieth degree of latitude, however, which formed the great northern boundary of Alexander's Asiatic empire, may be regarded as a clear and decisive limit<sup>64</sup> between pastoral and agricultural nations, separating the peaceful Armenians from the irreclaimable tenants of Caucasus; Media-Magna from Media Atropatena; Sogdia and Bactria from Scythia; and beyond the geography known to the Greeks, the indefatigable husbandmen of China, from the Nomades in Chinese Tartary.

Military  
road through  
Asia.

Before I proceed to explain the distribution of the Greeks and Macedonians among the various provinces which I have enumerated, it will be proper to advert to the natural and usual communications between them in the whole of their extent from the Ægean sea to the Indus. Under the Persians, whose thoughts turned solely on aggrandisement or security, part of this vast route was marked by a great military road which extended above thirteen hundred miles from the Choaspes or Eulæus<sup>65</sup>, to the Greek coast of Ionia. The banks of the Eulæus were adorned by Susa, a rich and flourishing city, of whose immemorial prosperity, the sources will afterwards be

<sup>64</sup> Compare Strabo, Diodorus, and Arrian above cited, with Chardin, Tavernier, and Foster's journey from Bengal to England in 1798.

<sup>65</sup> The Choaspes and Eulæus unite their streams a little above Susa: thence the confusion of names.

explained.

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explained. It stood two hundred<sup>66</sup> miles east of Babylon on the same extended plain, and through hatred to the Babylonians had been preferred by the kings of Persia, for the usual residence of their court, and the chief seat of their empire<sup>67</sup>. In consequence of this circumstance, the military or royal road, for the purpose of the historian who describes it, is carried no farther than Susa. This road passed<sup>68</sup> from the Grecian sea through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; penetrated through the Cilician passes at Issus, crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma, and thence traversed Mesopotamia to Nineveh or Mosul, the ordinary passage of the Tigris. It then took its direction southward through Adiabene or Aturia, and crossed the four rivers, which, after watering that province, fall into the Tigris: namely, the greater and lesser Zab, which the Greeks called the Wolfe and the Boar; the Diala, or Physcus, which flows through the intermediate district, and the more southern, Mendeli or Gyndes, which Cyrus, to avenge the drowning of a sacred horse, is said to have deprived of its dignity as a great river, by dividing it into 360 artificial channels<sup>69</sup>. From Aturia it conducted to Sittacene the eastern appendage of Babylonia, and from thence proceeded through a rich plain to Susa. The whole route

<sup>66</sup> Polyclet apud Strabon, l. xv. p. 728.

<sup>67</sup> According to Xenophon, Cyrus spent seven months at Babylon; two summer months at Ecbatana in Media-Magna; and the three months of spring at Susa. Xenophon Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233. But from the time of Darius Hystaspis Susa became the chief residence of the Persian kings. Mr. Larcher in his translation of Herodotus, vol. vii. p. 347. Table Geograph. says, "that the Persian kings after Cyrus, spent the winter at Susa, the summer at Ecbatana, the spring at Babylon, and the autumn at Persepolis. But he does not cite his authorities, and I believe, none will be found for the residence of those kings during the autumn at Persepolis."

<sup>68</sup> Herodot. l. v. c. 52. & seq.

<sup>69</sup> Herodotus, *ibid.* Yet Cyrus, who was incomparably the best and wisest of all the Persian kings, might have better reasons for this strange undertaking. Finding the Gyndes unexpectedly swollen, and being unprovided with embarkations, he might have recourse to the labour of his great army to make the river fordable; and the sooner to gain his end, might mark out a vast number of channels. Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 202. Cæsar performed a similar operation on the river Sicoris in Spain. Cæsar de Bell. Civil. i. 61. This action in Cyrus, therefore, is not to be put on a footing with that of Xerxes, the third in succession from him, when he threw fetters into the Hellespont. Herodot. vii.



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## I

consumed ninety-three days, at the rate of fourteen English miles for each day's march, thus exceeding above thirteen hundred of such miles in length. There is nearly the same distance between the Choaspes which washed the walls of Susa, and the remote parallel stream of the Indus. The military progress through ancient Asia, may be supposed, therefore, to have consumed about the space of six months; but the slowest caravans far exceed the rapidity of armies, commonly travelling each day seventeen or eighteen miles.

The same  
road fre-  
quently im-  
memorially  
by caravans.

On this occasion I mention caravans, because the roads traversed for military purposes by the Persians were according to the earliest notices in history frequented by the Assyrians, Arabians, and Indo-Scythians<sup>70</sup> in travelling associations for commerce. To this salutary intercourse through many parts of the Eastern continent, deserts presented difficulties, and mountains impossibilities.<sup>71</sup> The halting places, therefore, and great staples by means of which only an extensive inland traffic can be carried on, were determined chiefly by the direction of Taurus and its various branches above specified. In passing through Lesser Asia, Taurus overhangs the level and easily pervious provinces of that peninsula, which were traversed as we have seen by the royal road of the Persians, and which will be shewn in the progress of this history, to have been immemorially the seats of opulent commercial cities. As it advances eastward, the same mountain, surveyed from its southern sides, the once rich Assyrian plain, an uninterrupted level inferior to the peninsula in dimensions, but contiguous to the boundless deserts of Syria and Arabia. As the Syrians and Arabians, through all ages of antiquity, spoke dialects of the same language, they may be regarded as branches of one great nation. According to concurring testimonies, the Phœnicians were a colony<sup>72</sup> from the

<sup>70</sup> Job. vi. 19. Strabo, xvi. p. 781. Eustathius ad Dionys. Perieget. v. 1088.

<sup>71</sup> Herodotus, l. i. c. i. Conf. Genesis, c. x. v. 15. and c. xii. v. 6. in the translation of Michaelis, and Gesner de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis, annexed to his

edition of Orpheus, p. 424. See also a note in Larcher's Herodotus, l. i. c. i. in which he exposes on this subject the stupendous ignorance of Voltaire; an ignorance deforming every part of that too popular author's remarks concerning matters of ancient history.

Sabæan coast in Arabia, who early settled on the coast of Syria, and whose pursuits there will be found perfectly analogous to those of the peaceful Sabæans, from whom they descended. But neither the Sabæans, Phœnicians, nor Syrians, much less the industrious cultivators of the rich Babylonian plain, had any affinity in manners or in fortune with the far spread Arabian Nomades. Amidst innumerable revolutions of all around them, these Nomades have remained unalterably the same. At the dawn of history, they appear with their present characteristic features<sup>72</sup>; as men with open hearts, and boiling passions, quick in apprehension, voluble in speech, with ardour to undertake great enterprises, and with a presence of mind and perseverance fitted to carry them into execution; on the whole admirably adapted to those bold commercial expeditions, which, if they deterred by the dangers of distant warfare, also transported by its hopes, and allured by its advantages. Their importance to the Assyrians, in effecting the boasted conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, will afterwards be explained: in commerce also they were early and intimately connected with Nineveh and Babylon successive capitals of Assyria; and the trade in which they were the carriers to the latter of those cities affords notices for extending the royal road just mentioned eastward to the Indus.

In order to obtain the vast quantities of Indian commodities consumed<sup>73</sup> in Babylon, the shortest route would have conducted across the mountains of the Uxii and Cossæans, and other fierce clans, all brethren and robbers infesting the rugged frontiers between Persia and Media. It then led, as we have above seen, through Saranga and Arachosia on the frontiers of the Carmanian and Gedrosian deserts. To avoid such dangers, the Assyrian or Arabian caravans proceeded northwards through Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris into

Whole extent  
of the car-  
avan road  
through  
Asia.

<sup>72</sup> Schultens Præfat. ad Monument. Vetus. Conf. Asiatic Researches, and D'Hér-  
belot Bibliothèque Orientale Artic. Arabes.

<sup>73</sup> Ctesias Indic. c. 21. and Herodotus,  
I. i. c. 183.

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## I.

Alexandria  
in Egypt.

conquests.<sup>50</sup> Of all those cities, Alexandria in Egypt, built in the vicinity of the antient Canopus, has most illustriously transmitted to modern times the name of the conqueror. For establishing this great emporium destined to continue for eighteen centuries, the principal bond of connection between the East and West, the only situation was selected that obviated the inconveniences of a low coast, invisible at a distance, and dangerous to a proverb when approached.<sup>51</sup> The harbours on the sea, and on the lake Mareotis; the spacious and well ventilated<sup>52</sup> streets of Alexandria; and the magnificent lighthouse in the isle of Pharos, were all of them indeed completed by the first Ptolemy, the brother of Alexander; but that conqueror himself not only planned these noble undertakings, but had begun to carry them into execution; and mixing agreeably to his character, the endearments of private friendship with generous schemes of public utility, he commanded the Pharos to be adorned with a Heroum in honour of Hephæstion; that contracts between merchants and mariners might for ever commemorate the mild and manly virtues of his early, best beloved, and deeply regretted friend. Cleomenes, his intendant general in Egypt, with whom, as we shall see hereafter, there was much reason to be offended, he exhorted by letters to forward the monument to Hephæstion, declaring with his characteristic sprightliness, that activity in this particular, would cancel many past transgressions, and procure indulgence for new ones.<sup>53</sup> Besides this Cleomenes, a Greek, and a skilful financier, Alexander left in Egypt Pentaleon and Polemon, trusty Macedonians, respectively commanding in Memphis and Pelusium.

Forces in  
Macedon,  
Lesser Asia,  
and Ariana.

At the western extremity of the empire, Antipater, the able minister of Philip, governed under his son as lieutenant or viceroy in Macedon; and to such peaceful subjects had the Greeks, Macedo-

<sup>50</sup> Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. p. 327;  
Conf. Diodor. xvii. 83.

<sup>51</sup> Strabo, l. xvii.

<sup>52</sup> Strabo, *ibid.* p. 793.

<sup>53</sup> Arrian, l. vii. c. 23.

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nians, and still more turbulent Thracians been reduced, that the military establishments of Antipater, required only sixteen thousand foot, and five thousand horse; that is the full complement of the phalanx, attended with its essential <sup>64</sup> auxiliaries. On the three coasts of Lesser Asia, the generosity of Alexander had subdued the affections of the Greeks. In the interior of that Peninsula, his principal military force rendezvoused under Antigonus, in the central province of Phrygia. The wide extent of Ariana, or Persia, was committed chiefly to Peucestes and Atropates, who ruled respectively in Persis, the proper Persia, and in Media. The king in person, with many of the officers highest in his service, and an army fifty thousand strong, <sup>65</sup> spent the last scenes of his life in Babylonia, which he had chosen <sup>66</sup> for the seat of an empire, of which it formed locally the centre, since at an intermediate, and nearly equal distance from its four great boundaries; the Indus, the Danube, the burning sands of Libya, and the bleak Scythian desert. After making this general muster, the parts of which naturally distribute themselves over the above explained geography of the country, I shall delay till the course of my narrative requires it, to enumerate officers commanding inferior provinces, or those entrusted with the various castles or treasuries wrested from Darius and his Satraps. These employments, important as they were, fell <sup>67</sup> generally to the share of subalterns, in two distinguished bodies of horse and foot, known by the technical name of *Companions*; a term of which, in the progress of this history, it will be material accurately to ascertain the import. At present, it is more necessary to remark, that by wise regulations, and an accurate survey of roads and distances, every possible facility was afforded to an uninterrupted communication among all the different garrisons

Communication between Asia and Europe.

<sup>64</sup> Diodorus says, 12,000 foot and 11,500 horse. He has augmented the latter at the expense of the former, as will appear, when we come to consider more particularly the composition of Macedonian armies.

<sup>65</sup> Diodorus, Arrian, Curtius.

<sup>66</sup> Strabo, l. xv. p. 751.

<sup>67</sup> Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius and Plutarch.

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in Asia;" and between Asia and Europe, the same secure intercourse was maintained by a fleet of three hundred galleys, commanding the narrow seas, and perpetually exchanging<sup>89</sup> the money and merchandise of the one continent for the men and valour of the other.

Alexander's  
new maxims  
for the go-  
vernment of  
Asia.

In all general discussions concerning Asia, the strength and distribution of armies are matters of primary importance; because in that quarter of the world, the forms of public administration have ever been chiefly military; and instead of the persuasive voice of law, the coercive arm of power, is, on every occasion, vigorously exerted for the maintenance of police, the collection of revenue, and the enforcement of what is there called justice. With all his unwearied exertions and incomparable abilities, Alexander could not have altered the natural genius of the people, or rather those acquired habits of thinking, which time and custom had indelibly impressed. The great mass of his eastern subjects, he speedily perceived was incapable of adopting, nay of understanding, the liberal institutions of his hereditary kingdom; a government not of arbitrary will, but of equitable law;<sup>90</sup> in which all judicial trials were public, and conducted according to precise indispensable forms;<sup>91</sup> in which taxes were not to be imposed but by general consent; and according to which a loyal and martial people presumed, for the public good, to regulate the occupations, and sometimes to controul even the amusements of their sovereigns.<sup>92</sup> Such institutions, Alexander well knew, were not calculated for the meridian of Asia. He employed, however, unremitted diligence to engraft on the irreclaimable and barren stock of despotism, some of the coarser fruits of liberty. Under the Persian dynasty which immediately preceded him, and under the Medes who preceded the Persians, individuals of those nations, who themselves

<sup>89</sup> Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 17. Conf. Aristot. de Cura Rei Familiaris, l. ii. p. 510, and Strabo ii. p. 69.

<sup>90</sup> Diodor. l. xviii. c. 15. Arrian and Curtius, passim.

<sup>91</sup> Κατὰ νόμον διακρίματα. Aristot. Politic.

<sup>92</sup> Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas. Curtius, l. x. c. 8.

<sup>93</sup> Curtius, l. viii. c. 6. Conf. Tit. Liv. xxi and xlv.

trembled



trembled at the frown of a master, governed despotically other nations, whom they scorned as their natural inferiors. In this manner the extended possessions of Asiatic monarchies formed a wide political circle, of which the dominant nation was the center, and of which the parts nearest to this center rose in respectability above the provinces more remote from it." Natives of Persia, the proper Persia, thus governed the territories in their immediate neighbourhood; and natives of these territories were employed as Satraps over countries more distant from the Persians, but on one side contiguous to themselves. Vested with this commission, they held both the sword and the purse, accountable only for their administration to Satraps nearer to Persia, while the last and nearest of these, always themselves Persians, were amenable to none but the great king or his ministers. The same national pre-eminence had been claimed of old by the Assyrians, and has been exercised with cruel arrogance over Asia, by all the conquering dynasties of Scythian or Saracene descent down to the present day." But Alexander, the only Euro-

" Herodot. l. i. c. 183 and 196, and l. iii. c. 192. Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd., l. vii. p. 193.

" So extensive in point both of time and place are Asiatic maxims, that the Tartars act towards the Chinese with the same systematic nationality. "The science of government," Lord Macartney observes, "in the eastern world is understood by those who govern, very differently from what it is in the western. When the succession of a contested kingdom in Europe is once ascertained, whether by violence or compromise, the nation returns to its pristine regularity and composure; it matters little whether a Bourbon or an Austrian fills the throne of Naples or of Spain, because the sovereign, whoever he be, then becomes a Spaniard or a Neapolitan. The policy of Asia is totally opposite. There the prince regards the place of his nativity as an accident of mere indifference. It is not locality, but his own cast

or family: it is not the country where he drew his breath, but the blood from which he sprang, it is not the drapery of the theatre, but the spirit of the drama that engages his attention, and occupies his thoughts. A series of two hundred years, under a succession of eight or ten monarchs, did not change the Mogul into a Hindoo, nor has a century and a half made Tchien Lung, a Chinese." The Tartar conqueror never loses sight for a moment of the superiority of his cast:—"his impartiality is a mere pretence:—he conducts himself at bottom with a systematic nationality." Macartney, quoted by Mr. Barrow in his China, p. 415. Comp. Staunton's Chinese Embassy, vol. ii. c. 4. To these remarks I shall add, that in reference to nations, *ἐλευθερία* in Herodotus and other correct Greek writers, signifies "the freedom of one nation from vassalage under another." Herodot. i. 95. & iii. 87. and passim. The words denoting

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1

pean<sup>96</sup> who ever bore sway in the great central regions of the eastern continent, determined to destroy this most invidious of tyrannies, the tyranny of nations over nations, and persevered immovably in his purpose, notwithstanding the perpetual and turbulent remonstrances of his Greeks and Macedonians. The proudest of his lieutenants were compelled to respect the customs, the superstitions, the local prejudices of the vanquished.<sup>97</sup> The ordinary affairs, whether civil or sacred of the Barbarians, were left to the management of persons appointed from their own number, and the best qualified, therefore, to direct in matters of domestic concern. The severity of government was mitigated by minute partitions of power and quick rotations of magistracy: and we can discern with wonder and regret that offices, whose union is described at other periods of time as the universal<sup>97</sup> bane of Asia, were clearly distinguished and unalterably separated. In Egypt and Syria, in Babylonia and Media, the functions of the financial administrator were exercised apart from those of the general and the judge; the people might occasionally be injured by persons holding distinctly those various powers, but could not be permanently oppressed by their united and dreadful springs, wound up in one unfeeling hand, and exerted at will by one merciless arm. Amidst the severest toils of war, Alexander never lost sight of the great and liberal maxims which had carefully been in-

what we call "liberty" are *εὐνομία* and *ισονομία*; words happily chosen, since the former expresses "equality of law regulating actions," and the latter "equality in the use of speech or writing," implying a perfect independence of thought.

<sup>96</sup> The Arabs, in allusion to this circumstance, call Alexander Dhulkarnaim, "the two horned," quod affectus est Orientem et Occidentem. Abulpharagius Compend. Dynast. p. 96.

<sup>97</sup> Arrian, l. iii. c. 16. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738, and Joseph. Cont. Apion. Plutarch de Fortun. Alexand. compliments the pupil on

this subject most unjustly at the expence of his preceptor, a calumny anticipated and refuted by Strabo, l. i. p. 67.

<sup>97</sup> From this union of powers, the Asiatics are said to be deprived of all security with regard to property; a security which Bernier furnished the Mogul from his long travels in the East, rightly denominates the source of all that is "beau and bon dans la société," a language altogether different from that of his countrymen, Raynal, Diderot, &c. in the subsequent century. "Le Meum and Tuum, sont les plus grands fleaux de genre humain."

filled



stilled into him. In the progress of his conquests, his discipline, without severity, was watchful. In opposition to the custom of the times, his soldiers were restrained from the licence of plunder, and habituated to self-command in the moment of victory. Safety and impunity were granted to seasonable submission: his word was sacred; and his faith once plighted, was relied on as firmly by conquered enemies, as by the unsuspecting companions of his victories.<sup>98</sup>

According to the universal report of antiquity, Alexander was of all men the most zealously and perpetually observant of his duties to the Gods. But unlike, as we shall see, to his persecuting predecessors in empire, and to his intolerant successors in Egypt and Syria, he treated the Gods of all nations as the objects not only of indulgence, but of commendable worship. If he commanded the revenues due by Ephesus to be devoted to the restoration and embellishment of its celebrated temple, he was not less attentive to repair the temples in Memphis and Babylon. In this respect he shewed no partiality; and neither in the general progress of his march eastward, nor in the wide variety of his numerous excursions, did he omit any sacrifice that was due to the local divinities of the minutest district, or violate any place that was holy, or treat contemptuously any ceremony, however frivolous in itself, yet respectable in the eyes of those, among whom it had long been established. This proceeding, the object of high and exclusive panegyric among all historians and biographers, ought not to be ascribed to any peculiar excess of superstition. We know on undoubted authority, that Alexander had been taught early to entertain rational and philosophic notions of deity, and to prize the clear conviction of divine truths above his highest exploits and proudest victories.<sup>99</sup> To account therefore for so striking a singularity in his conduct, it is necessary to advert, to what will fully appear in

Alexander's  
maxims with  
regard to  
religion.

<sup>98</sup> Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.

<sup>99</sup> See my translation of Aristotle's *Ethicks*,  
and *Politics*, vol. i. p. 35, 2d edit.

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I.  
Their in-  
fluence in  
art and  
commerce.

the course of the present work, that throughout the whole of the Macedonian dominions, the local rites of religion were indissolubly connected with arts, industry, commerce, and all the best improvements of social life. From the earliest temples in Nineveh and Babylon down to the destruction by Mahomet of the idols of Mecca, the sanctuaries of eastern superstition continued invariably the seats of trade.<sup>100</sup> Even in Greece itself, as I have shewn on a former occasion, the inviolable repositories of temples constituted the ordinary banks of deposit both for individuals and for states.<sup>101</sup> The venerable mansion of Saturn formed the principal treasury at Rome; and such is the force of imitation, that the vestibules and sacred enclosures of the temple of Jerusalem, were sordidly<sup>102</sup> applied to purposes widely different from their pure and primitive destination, as places of prayer to the Almighty<sup>103</sup>.

It is impossible to trace the muddy systems of polytheism to any one clear source, and would be idle nicely to discriminate between things essentially capricious; yet capricious and absurd as they are in their own nature, and fraught with many consequences prejudicial to public and private happiness, they appear, all of them, to have contained so many points of agreement, as greatly facilitated intercourse among remote, jealous, and often hostile nations. This remark might be copiously illustrated in the notices still extant concerning most of the principal emporia from the Grecian sea to the Indus. In Lesser Asia, in Assyria, and in Ariana, the threefold division above given of the great ancient continent, we shall find priestly casts or families, hereditary ministers of the Gods, bearing sway throughout each of them respectively, in all the places most conspi-

<sup>100</sup> Sixty idols stood in the Caaba, the ancient resort of the Sabæan merchants. Mahomet ruined trade by the profanation of this temple. Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 21, and Garmier Vie de Mahomet. For the antiquity of the Caaba, these writers might have cited Diodorus l. iii. c. 44. The situa-

tion of his *ἱερὸν ἀγιοτάτων* exactly corresponds with the Caaba at Mecca.

<sup>101</sup> Xenoph. Anab. l. v. p. 355, and Cicero in Verrem, l. i. c. 19.

<sup>102</sup> Matthew xxi. 12.

<sup>103</sup> Isaiah lvi. 7.

cious for civilization and commerce : and in several cities of Lesser Asia, we shall see this sacerdotal government, subsisting in full force from the darkest antiquity down to the bright reign of Augustus, amidst innumerable convulsions and revolutions of all the states around them.<sup>104</sup> Of these hierarchical establishments, however various the forms or rites, the principle or sanction had every where much sameness. This sanction depended chiefly on benefits derived from heaven through the supposed intervention of earthly vicegerents:<sup>105</sup> and in the countries where idolatry is said to have begun, and where it certainly flourished most vigorously, I mean Babylonia and Egypt, priestly domination was essentially connected with the kindly influences of the celestial revolutions on the regular returns of the seasons, and the indispensable operations of agriculture.<sup>106</sup> Originating in an art essential to human subsistence, it extended with another pre-eminently conducive to actual well-being and future improvement. By commerce only, the scattered rays of knowledge and civility could be collected and concentrated, in cities guarded by the sanctity of temples more surely than they could be defended by the strength of walls. In those marts of superstition and traffick, fierce Nomades intermixed with peaceful artizans;<sup>107</sup> through the revered authority of priests, the one class was restrained from fraud, and the other from violence; and the œconomy and tendency of such asylas, or privileged resorts in simpler ages, we may in some measure learn by their description in later and more corrupt times, when they still presented objects imperiously demanded by the multitude; airy ceremonies and fables to amuse the dangerous idleness of their minds, together with tempting allurements and luxuries to soothe their senses, and soften their ferocity.<sup>108</sup> In Alexander's punctilious attention to local superstitions we may

<sup>104</sup> Diodorus l. iii. c. 59. Conf. Strabo, l. xii. p. 558 & 672.

<sup>105</sup> Strabo, l. i. p. 247 & l. xvi. p. 762.

<sup>106</sup> Isocrat. Areopagit.

<sup>107</sup> Stephanus de Urb. Voc. Asia.

<sup>108</sup> Strabo, ubi supra.

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discern therefore a perfect harmony with all the great views by which he was actuated. His veneration for imaginary gods, so universally attested, and so unanimously approved<sup>109</sup>, discovers a respect still more commendable for productive and commercial industry, for safe communication and confidential intercourse, for all the arts, either of elegance or utility; in a word, for whatever in that age had a tendency to restrain the brutal passions of men, and to engage them in laudable exertions.

## His revenues.

History is full of Alexander's endeavours, even during the progress of his conquests, to wean wandering and war-like shepherds from their predatory habits, and to convert them into industrious husbandmen<sup>110</sup>. Of his exertions to make the empire flourish in resources, there is every where abundant attestation; but none of his biographers or historians have furnished us with any notices concerning the imposition or collection of his revenues. On this subject, the only details are given as exceptions to his general system, and must be sought in the writings<sup>111</sup> of his preceptor, to which no one has hitherto, for this purpose, had recourse. With regard to the imposition of taxes, a saying of Alexander's is handed down, reproaching "the wasteful gardener, who, instead of picking the fruit, plucked up the plants themselves"<sup>112</sup>. Yet his fleets and armies, his new cities, fortifications, and arsenals, not to mention lesser objects connected either with the defence or with the improvement of his dominions, must have required prodigious efforts of labour, and enormous disbursements of money. His revenues are vaguely estimated at three hundred thousand talents<sup>113</sup>, above fifty millions sterling; and his diligence in augmenting them was zealously seconded by his financial administrators, some of whom hop-

<sup>109</sup> Arrian, Plutarch, Diodorus, Strabo, and all the authors whom they cite.

<sup>110</sup> Strabo, l. xi. p. 517. Pliny, l. vi. and Plutarch in Alexand.

<sup>111</sup> Aristot. de cura Reifamiliaris, Opera, vol. ii. p. 509. edit. Du Val.

<sup>112</sup> Olitorem se odisse, Alexander dixit, qui radicibus excinderet olera quæ carpere debuisset.

<sup>113</sup> Justin, l. xiii. c. 1.

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ing to obtain impunity for their malversations while they gratified their master in an object so important to him, had recourse to very unwarrantable means for diving into the purses of his subjects: abuses, which doubtless affix a stain on the government under which they happened, but which, being oblique and artful, serve notwithstanding to distinguish the extortions under Alexander from the direct and frontless depredations of other Asiatic conquerors.

Among these disgraceful expedients for raising money we shall select those employed by Cleomenes, a Greek, formerly mentioned as intendant general in Egypt, one of the countries most abounding in wealth, and the most reluctant in paying contributions. Corn being the principal export of that fertile kingdom, Cleomenes obtained large sums by alternately imposing and threatening corn laws. On an occasion of pecuniary exigency, he made a progress to the nome of Thebes, whose inhabitants, he understood, worshipped the crocodile: and one of his incautious attendants being snatched away by a hungry monster of this species, Cleomenes pretended that he would ask Alexander's permission to employ his generals commanding in Egypt in a war against crocodiles, and thus make reprisals on an enemy who had visibly been the aggressor. The rich inhabitants of the Thebaid thought no price too dear to purchase impunity for their gods. At another time Cleomenes complained, that the ecclesiastical establishment of the Egyptians was too burdensome to the state, and said that he should be under the necessity of advising his master to make considerable reductions in it. The priests flocked to him with full purses to save their temples, their tithes, and great pecuniary revenues. By letters from Alexander, the same Cleomenes was desired to transfer the festivals and fairs immemorially held at the inland city Canopus, to the maritime capital Alexandria, then rising in its neighbourhood. Persons interested in the prosperity of Canopus, offered him large bribes to suspend the alteration. He accepted the money, but found pretences soon after for carrying his master's

The intendants, Cleomenes and Philoxenus, their cruel artifices for raising money.

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I.

orders into execution<sup>111</sup>. Such disgraceful proceedings were not peculiar to Cleomenes. Philoxenus intendant general in Caria was equally culpable. Having proclaimed a festival to Bacchus, Philoxenus appointed the richest citizens to bear their several parts in the solemnity. To avoid the irksomeness of this tedious ceremony, the Carians purchased exemptions at a high rate. Others next to them in opulence, were then substituted to their functions: these also desired to commute their personal attendance for money; Philoxenus still persevered in appointing a new set of performers, until he thus received money from all the principal Carians, then and long afterwards a very wealthy people<sup>112</sup>.

Fair financial  
operations of  
Antigenes,  
intendant of  
Babylonia.

The vile expedients of Cleomenes and Philoxenus differed widely from the fair financial operations of their fellow-labourer Antigenes, intendant general in Babylonia. Antigenes imposed a tax on masters for every slave or servant employed by them, but stipulated to pay to these masters in return, the full value of every fugitive that escaped from their families or manufactories; a condition, which, in most countries of antiquity, would have proved very burdensome, (slaves, almost the only labourers, being extremely addicted to desertion,) but which was fulfilled at little cost by Antigenes, such an excellent police had he established along the highways in his province. This respectable minister also revived several of the duties or customs which anciently<sup>113</sup> prevailed in the Assyrian empire, when Babylon was the seat of arts and of luxury; and, as will be explained hereafter, at once the source and the centre of an extensive and multifarious commerce.

<sup>111</sup> Aristot. *ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Id.* *ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Id.* *ibid.* p. 510.



# PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

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## SECTION II.

*Two Classes of Asiatic Conquerors.—Assyrians and Egyptians, their Characteristics.—Scythians, their Characteristics.—Medes and Persians to be classed with barbarous Conquerors.—The Babylonian Plain.—Its Revolutions and successive Capitals.—Authentic History of Assyria, confirmed by local Circumstances.—State of Asia antecedently to the first great Monarchy.—Inland communication from the Mediterranean to India.—Emporia in Assyria, Ethiopia, and Egypt.—Similarity of their Institutions and Government.—Pursuits and Attainments of the Egyptian Priests.—Their Brethren in Ethiopia.—Meroe, its History and singular Theocracy.—The Sabæans and Phœnicians.—Three main Staples.—Babylon in Assyria.—Bactra in Ariana.—Pessinus in Lesser Asia.*

**A** GREEABLY to the method above prescribed, I should now proceed to examine how far, in the concerns of domestic industry, or foreign commerce, Alexander's plans were original; and how far, in such pursuits, he was guided by the examples of his precursors in empire. But to treat this subject in a manner the most satisfactory, it will be necessary, in connection with a more circumstantial survey of favoured imperial districts, and the magnificent cities which adorned them, to review the various dynasties which had successively governed Asia, and whose transactions in peace and war, whose manners and institutions, left indelible impressions on the great ancient continent.

From the concurring testimony of sacred and prophane history, it appears, that before the Macedonian invasion, two classes of conquerors had alternately held sway in the East. The nations to which

### SECT. II.

Dynasties  
preceding  
the Macedo-  
nian.

Assyrians  
and Egyp-  
tians, their  
characteris-  
tics.

these



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these conquerors belonged, are marked by wide discriminations of civility and barbarism. Antecedently to the boasted reigns of Ninus and Sesostris, the former of which began only twelve, and the latter about fourteen centuries, before the Christian æra, the Assyrians and Egyptians consisted chiefly of laborious husbandmen and industrious artificers, resident in cities or villages, addicted to pomp in religious worship, and so immemorably conversant with arts and letters, that, at their first appearance above the horizon of time, they should seem to have reached their highest meridian of refinement; and the farther back that we remount in their annals, their proceedings in war and peace, become proportionally the more worthy of regard'. The stupendous monuments, besides, of both these nations, may be considered as still attesting their ancient greatness, since those of the Egyptians which remain, were, according to unquestionable authority, far surpassed and outshone<sup>2</sup> by those of the Assyrians which have perished through the slighter consistence of their materials.

Of the Scythians.

The second class of eastern conquerors is distinguished by features equally characteristic, but uniformly expressive of grossness and ignorance. Destitute of temples for their gods, and of fixed habitations for themselves, they roved with their flocks, and herds, and tents, over the wide Scythian deserts, stretching between the range of Taurus above described, and another chain of mountains twelve degrees north of it. This northern range, known under the general name of Altai, should seem, from the inhospitable savageness of the inhabitants and the country, to have been rarely visited by strangers during any age of antiquity; in after times it became the disfigured scene of Tartar and Turkish fables<sup>3</sup>; and it was first carefully surveyed by the curiosity or policy of the Russian government in the course of the last century. Commencing with the lofty Riphæan

<sup>1</sup> See the first and second books of Diodorus Siculus throughout. For the extensive conquests, and the *ὑπάρτος κυβερνῆς*, or geographical tables, of the Egyptians, see Apollonius Rhodius Argonaut, l. iv. v. 275.

and Eustathius in Proem. ad Dionys. Perieget. p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. l. i. c. 178.

<sup>3</sup> D'Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, Article Caf.

mountains,

mountains, a thousand miles due north of the Caspian, Altai prolongs its ridges to the sea-coast of Siberia, and the frightful solitudes of the Tonguses, a people so irreclaimably barbarous, that they are still governed by Shamans or wizzards \*. Within the ample region between Taurus and Altai, the elevated plains of Scythia are generally unfit for tillage, though frequently chequered with rich herbage, and have therefore been invariably inhabited by nations or clans, whose manners are pastoral, whose government is patriarchal, and whose habits are military; thus presenting in all ages the same unaltered picture of war-like barbarity, turbulent at home, and awfully formidable abroad. The descents both of Taurus and of Altai afford, in many parts, the best iron †, which the Scythians, at their first appearance in history, had already fashioned into swords and hatchets ‡. In giving firmness and sharpness to this metal, in converting the hair of their camels into felt for tents or for garments, and in corrupting the innocent mildness of milk into a liquor highly intoxicating §, those shepherds of the north displayed their highest reaches of art and ingenuity; but of their native courage and prowess there are perpetual and signal proofs in all their transactions and institutions, and in all the earliest reports concerning them. Not to mention the tradition that Asia had been thrice conquered by Scythians before the building of Nineveh, and that Ninus, the founder of that kingdom, first ventured to withhold from them the tribute which they had exacted from Assyria during fifteen centuries ‖, the father of prophane history records their desolating migrations southwards, six hundred and twenty-eight years before the Christian æra. At that period, Cyaxares the Mede had undertaken an expedition against the Assyrian Sarac or Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh,

Their irrup-  
tions into  
Southern  
Asia, Olymp.  
xxviii. 1.  
B. C. 628.

\* View of the Russian Empire by Smirnov, p. 67.

† Voyage en Syrie par l'Abbé Chappe Autiruche, p. 603.

‡ Herodot. i. vii. c. 64.

§ Pallas, History of the Moguls, p. 133.

‖ Justin, l. ii. c. 3. Conf. Diodor. ii. 43. The

antiquity of the Scythian conquest is greatly antedated, if the origin of the nation remounted only to the year 1510 before the Christian æra; or as Herodotus says, a thousand years before Darius's Scythian expedition, Herodot. iv. 7.

when

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when an irruption of eastern Scythians into the rich Nicæan plain, the finest district in Media, recalled him to the defence of his ravaged fields and flaming villages. To this Cyaxares the Medes acknowledged themselves indebted for their military discipline, and for reducing into regular bodies of pikemen, cavalry, and archers, those shapeless unweildly masses that had hitherto acted with tumultuary rage and by mere brute force<sup>9</sup>. But the improved tactics of the Medes served not to resist the perpetual torrents of Scythian horsemen that assailed them in rapid succession; and Cyaxares in danger of being overwhelmed on all sides by this desultory warfare, consented to acknowledge the Scythians for his masters by paying to them large contributions. In the space of five years, the invaders carrying their houses on their waggons, pushed their predatory colonies into Armenia, Colchis, Pontus, Cappadocia: some ravagers penetrated into Syria, particularly that division of it called Palestine, in which they occupied Bethshean, a town formerly belonging to the half tribe of Manasseh on this side the Jordan, and which thenceforward received the name of Scythopolis<sup>10</sup>. On the frontiers of the Holy Land, Psammeticus, king of Egypt, came forward, not to oppose the invasion by arms, but to divert it by submission and rich presents<sup>11</sup>. By these offerings, the rage of the Scythians was appeased: slaves and booty formed the main objects of their ambition; since, being narrowed in mind by the same habits and mode of life which invigorated and enlarged their bodies, they were totally unfit to govern the conquests which their valour had achieved, and which their rapacity, for the most part, deformed and desolated; for with them the merciless havoc of war was restrained by no considerations even of interest, the naked face of their own country saving them from fear of reprisals in their grossest abuse of victory<sup>12</sup>. Among the

Herodot. i. 73 — 103. Conf. Saadi Hieron. Opera, vol. iv. Coll. 661.

<sup>9</sup> Syncell. Chronograph. p. 214. Conf. Herodot. i. 103. & seq.

<sup>10</sup> Herodot. i. 105.

<sup>11</sup> Arrian has thus explained the principle of Scythian warfare *οτι σκοπιον αυτοις εστιν οχυρουν την τον Φιλιππου*. "Having no home, they feared not harm to any of its sweet endearments." Arrian Exped. Alexand. iv. 17.

fierce natives of the desert, who on this occasion established themselves in the countries south of mount Taurus, the sudden alteration in their way of life appears to have produced a correspondent change in their character. Finding themselves in possession of many conveniencies and luxuries, hitherto unknown to them, they greedily embraced every new temptation to appetite, indulged the wildest caprices without shame or remorse, and passed at one fatal bound from the simplicity of childhood to the miserable voluptuousness of doating old age: a consequence inevitable whenever gross undisciplined minds are borne on too brisk a tide of deceitful prosperity. Of this rapid degeneracy, Cyaxares availed himself for destroying part of his unworthy guests, and expelling the remainder of them from Media. In several neighbouring countries, the people collectively took arms against their insolent and besotted oppressors; whose vexations, though dreadful in the villages and open country, had generally stopped short at the gates of walled cities, well provided with granaries and arsenals; and some of them possessed also of treasuries. As the Scythians had neither skill nor patience for sieges, money, by way of ransom, was readily accepted by them. Many tribes returned home richly laden with silver: others fell a prey to their own vices or the revived courage of the vanquished; and the agricultural nations of Asia were thus delivered from a scourge by which they had been afflicted upwards of twenty years<sup>11</sup>.

But after a short breathing-time of scarcely half that period, a new irruption from the stony girdles of Asia left more indelible marks on the southern parts of that continent. In the most venerable of all records, the Chaldean Nomades, destined to overthrow Jerusalem and Tyre, are characterized by qualities exactly appropriate to their remotest Tartar descendants<sup>12</sup>. They are the iron

New irruptions of Scythians or Chaldeans. Olymp. xlv. 2. B. C. 599.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus says 28 years; others 20; Life of Tamerlane, and in the life of Zingis, the storm abated gradually. Conf. Herodot. i. 106. Sanct. Hieron. v. iv. Coll. 661. or Gengiscan, by Petit de la Croix, are exact copies of those drawn in Scripture, in Herodotus, in Diodorus, and in Justin.

<sup>12</sup> The pictures given in Cherefeddin's

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nation of the north, the resistless rovers of the desert, whose successions of fierce cavalry are numerous as the sea's waves, and impetuous as the winds of heaven". The slightest attention to geography shows that this impressive imagery is, as will be explained more fully hereafter, totally inapplicable to those Chaldæans who immemorially formed the sacerdotal tribe in Babylonia, and who cannot possibly be regarded as a northern people in respect of the Jews or Phœnicians. The Chaldæans of the prophets are those of whom a part was anciently called Chalybians by the Greeks from their habitual labours in iron. They dwelt among the craggy descents from the table land of Armenia towards the Euxine sea, and cultivated there, the same trade of armourers for the supply of the western Scythians, which the Turks afterwards exercised for the service of their eastern brethren". Their name being that of the tribe nearest to civilized nations, was extended to Scythians in general, in the same manner as the appellation of Tartars, or rather Tatars, originally denoting a small body of men, attained in later times an indefinite amplitude", and as the name of a miserable village on the southern frontier of Siberia has expanded over the whole of that immense region".

Frequency of  
Asiatic revolutions, cause  
thereof.

A lively writer cited, and approved by a learned one, ascribes the frequent revolutions in Asia to the extremes of cold and heat, which in that continent immediately touch each other, without any intervening degree of middle temperature". But consistently with the records of history, indispensable premises to such general conclusions, the vicissitudes in the eastern world may more truly be referred to

" Conf. Isaiah, c. xxiii. v. 13. Jeremiah i. 13. and xv. 12. Ezekiel xxvi. 3. and 7.

" Strabo, l. xii. p. 549.

" Conf. Strabo ubi supra, and Abulghazi Khan Histoire Genealogique des Tatars, p. ii. c. 5.

" The Tartars formed the van-guard of the Scythian armies, and their name thus reaching the ears of foreigners before that of

any other tribe, came to be applied by strangers to the whole Scythian nation. Freret in Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom xviii. p. 60.

" Schmidt's Russische Geschichte. Feodor, 1584.

" Conf. Montesquieu Esprit des Loix, l. xvii. c. 3. and Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. c. 26.



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the striking contrast between fierce Nomades with their warlike manners and habits, and the softened civilization in their neighbourhood of men collected in great cities, dissolved in the luxury of baths and harems. If the Scythians often descended in terror from their cold mountains, the shepherds of Arabia and Ethiopia, as we shall see presently, emerged with as successful boldness from their scorching plains. The Medes inhabiting a country more southern than Spain, held sway, during their rude pastoral state, for a century and a half in Upper Asia<sup>21</sup>. But corrupted by their conquests in Assyria, the Medes lost their military prowess without improving in civil wisdom<sup>22</sup>; and thereupon submitted to Cyrus and his Persians, a people visited by a still warmer sun, but who then lived in scattered villages, subsisted chiefly by hunting and pasturage, and were commonly clothed in the skins of wild beasts<sup>23</sup>. Xv

Notwithstanding the boastful fictions of the modern Persians, a mingled brood of Scythians and Saracens, the purer ancient nation bearing the Persian name, including the Medes, intimately united with the Persians in government, in manners, and in language, must, according to authentic history, be classed with the barbarous conquerors of Asia in as far as concerns the pursuits either of foreign commerce or even of domestic industry. Their unskilful practice, also, in arms, as well as in arts, is attested by all their wars with Greece, circumstantially related in a former work<sup>24</sup>; and the contributions of their provinces were irregular and precarious until the rapacious<sup>25</sup> reign of Darius. In the exercise of what was called

The Persians  
to be classed  
with barbarous  
conquerors.

<sup>21</sup> The Medes were encouraged to revolt from the Assyrians, 710 years before Christ, in consequence of the disasters of Senacherib's army related in Isaiah, c. xxxvii. v. 36. After the loss of his army "Senacherib's estate was troubled," Tobit, c. i. v. 15. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. and Mos. Chorenens, l. i. c. 22. Herodotus, who wrote an Assyrian History, the loss of which is infinitely to be regretted, places the foundation

of the Assyrian empire 520 years before the revolt of the Medes, (l. i. c. 95.) that is, 1230 years before the Christian era.

<sup>22</sup> Xenoph. de Institut. Cyri, l. i. passim.

<sup>23</sup> Herodot. l. i. c. 71. The revolt of the Persians happened 550 years before Christ; and the last Darius was murdered by Beilus 330 years before Christ.

<sup>24</sup> History of Ancient Greece.

<sup>25</sup> Herodot. l. iii. c. 89.

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government, we see on every side the tremendous power of despots with all the strength and all the weakness incident to their detestable domination<sup>26</sup>; the palaces and cities in the centre polluted by submissive slaves, instruments of a vile luxury, while the distant provinces were perpetually shaken by usurping satraps or rebellious vassals. The law of the Medes and Persians, "which altereth not," has been too favourably construed into a definite code of written legislation, bespeaking considerable advancement in civil policy<sup>27</sup>: for indubitable evidence compels us to take the expression in its literal sense. Notwithstanding the primitive and hardy virtues of the Persians, spontaneous results of ignorance and poverty, Xenophon acknowledges with what facility they descended from the innocence of their mountains into the profligacy of Babylonian plains, and with what stubborn formality, characteristic of barbarians, they adhered to the letter, after they had long departed from the spirit of their primitive institutions<sup>28</sup>. They were destitute of temples and idols<sup>29</sup>, but had been taught by their magi, or priests, an awful veneration for the elements, those particularly of fire and water<sup>30</sup>. This strange superstition prevented them from willingly undertaking any voyage by sea, lest they should defile its waves by the unavoidable secretions from their bodies<sup>31</sup>. Darius Hystaspis, a prince inimical to the magi, endeavoured, indeed, to overcome this religious scruple<sup>32</sup>. Yet of the twelve hundred ships with which his successor Xerxes invaded Greece, not one was furnished by Persia. The sea-ports of Syria and Lesser Asia, with the adjacent islands of Greece, supplied the whole number. This timid folly was carried

<sup>26</sup> Καὶ τὰς δὲ νῆας πάντα τὰς πόλεις καὶ βασιλεῖας.  
Aristot. Politic. l. v. c. 11.

<sup>27</sup> In the celebrated Travels to discover the source of the Nile, vol. i. p. 449. Mr. Bruce ascribes this maxim to Nebuchadnezzar, who was neither a Mede nor a Persian. But this great traveller was not very accurately acquainted with ancient history, on some important passages of which his work

as will appear in the sequel, throws much light.

<sup>28</sup> Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 238. & seq. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 135.

<sup>29</sup> Herodot. l. i. c. 131.

<sup>30</sup> Xenoph. ubi supra, and Herodot. l. i. c. 128 and l. iii. c. 16.

<sup>31</sup> Plin. N. H. l. xxx. c. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Herodot. l. iii. c. 70. and l. iv. c. 44.



by the Persians to such an extravagant excess, that they never built a harbour, or city of any note, on any part of their vast coasts<sup>33</sup>. They even destroyed those inland navigations which had antecedently been established, and succeeded in the perverse labour<sup>34</sup> of obstructing great rivers fitted to lay open the inmost recesses of Asia, and which, as we shall see in the progress of this work, both before and after the dominion of those unworthy<sup>35</sup> masters, were successfully employed for that beneficial purpose. Egypt and Babylonia, two countries, which for reasons that will afterwards appear, were the peculiar objects of Alexander's partiality, suffered under the Persians the utmost severity of persecution<sup>36</sup>. Cambyfes, the brutal conqueror of Egypt, in his eagerness to level every thing in that ancient kingdom before his own despotism, extinguished the whole royal lineage, and raged with intolerant fury against the priestly cast, or ancient sacerdotal families<sup>37</sup>, the first authors, as will be shewn, and always the main supporters of Egyptian prosperity. Persecution excited rebellion, and rebellion was punished by new aggravations of cruelty. In this manner Egypt, for the space of nearly two centuries, continued the perpetual scene of crimes and of punishments. Scarcely twenty years before the Macedonian conquest, Artaxerxes Ochus suppressed Nechtenebus the last conspicuous rebel; and on this occasion fresh severities were exercised on the Egyptian priests: their temples were plundered, their lands were wrested from them; even their sacred books, the objects of such religious care, were seized in their hidden repositories, and retained by their cruel persecutors, till ransomed by large sums of money<sup>38</sup>. The injuries inflicted on the Babylonians were not less outrageous. The Persians plundered their treasuries and profaned their temples<sup>39</sup>, corrupted their daughters,

<sup>33</sup> Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. Stigmatizes their  
καταρακτικὴς χειροποιήτας.

<sup>35</sup> Strabo, l. xi. p. 509. He speaks of their grossness, ignorance, and total neglect of all improvement in terms applicable to the sacred indolence of their Moslem successors.

<sup>36</sup> Herodot. l. i. c. 183. 196. l. iii. c. 92. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 51.

<sup>37</sup> Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. & seq.

<sup>38</sup> Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 51.

<sup>39</sup> Herodot. i. 183.

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and emasculated their sons;\* and with tyranny embittered by envy, intercepted two ancient sources of Babylonian wealth, by obstructing the navigable courses of the Euphrates and Tigris.<sup>41</sup>

Also under  
flooded the  
examples of  
those con-  
querors.

To a prince animated by the prospect of extending commerce and diffusing arts and industry over the finest regions of the earth, the proceedings of all those conquerors whom we have named, could only present examples to be shunned. In the progress however of his expedition, Alexander used unexampled diligence in searching after the archives<sup>42</sup> of the vanquished, as well as in examining with his own eyes the ancient monuments of their opulence and power.<sup>43</sup> Many invaluable records collected by him, have irrecoverably perished. Yet the objects which he beheld, and the information which he received on the spot, concurring with the notices recorded by a few travellers of his own country, could not fail to raise his thoughts above the vain pomp of Ecbatana, Pasagarda and Persepolis, and to fix them on the more substantial grandeur of Babylon, Bactra, Tyre, Memphis, and Thebes, before these and other once industrious cities, were some of them a prey to the savageness of the Scythians, and others of them permanently enslaved under the painted barbarism of the Medes and Persians.

Directs his  
attention to  
the earlier  
transactions  
of the Assy-  
rians, Ethio-  
pians, and  
Egyptians.  
How these  
were record-  
ed.

In entering upon the history of those ages of productive industry, and commercial intercourse, which must of necessity have preceded the destruction and havoc attending the foundation of empires, I might regret the scantiness of my materials, if there were not still greater reason to lament their uncertainty. The ancient glories of the Assyrians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, immemorial cultivators of the earth, and the inventors of those arts which naturally flow from the leisure and security of agricultural and settled life, were not

\* Herodot. l. i. c. 196, & l. iii. c. 92.

<sup>41</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. The kings of Persia treated the merchants of Babylon precisely in the manner, that a merchant of London, pretended ludicrously to fear lest this great commercial city might be treated

by Charles II. "The king" he was told "is very angry:" "Indeed! I fear he will take the river from us."

<sup>42</sup> Strabo, l. ii. p. 69. Pliny, vi. 17. Conf. Moses Choronensis, l. i. c. 7. & seq.

<sup>43</sup> Arrian, Curtius, and Plutarch.

indeed

indeed abandoned either to the darkness of oblivion, or the mists of traditionary fable. Their transactions were recorded on monuments<sup>44</sup> of the utmost durability, but recorded in a kind of picture-writing whose characters, except in gross material objects, being essentially ambiguous, necessarily heightened in obscurity, according to the growing extent of their signification; that is to the variety or spirituality of the notions which they were employed to express. It is remarked by Herodotus, that the Egyptians wonderfully excelled in the strength of their memories.<sup>45</sup> A prodigious compass of this faculty was requisite to grasp the wide variety of their hieroglyphics, already perplexed with such difficulties in the age of the patriarch Joseph, who governed Egypt as intendant general during the greater part of the seventeenth century before Christ, that the interpretation of sacred writing is described as one of the most important professions in the kingdom.<sup>46</sup> It was exercised like all other employments of dignity, by the privileged or sacerdotal families, in the hands of whose degenerate descendants it always continued to remain, and was often very grossly abused; witness the impudent lies told from hieroglyphics, to the inquisitive travellers Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus,<sup>47</sup> remote by five centuries from each other; and at the intermediate point of time between these respectable historians, the shameless fictions, given also as explanations of hieroglyphics, by Manetho and Berosus, when the translation of the books of Moses into Greek under the first Ptolemies, piqued the national vanity of those romancers, the one an Egyptian, the other a Babylonian, priest, and made them enhance beyond all bounds, the antiquity and celebrity of their respective nations. I shall not therefore venture to write, what, in the numerous authors who have copied each other

<sup>44</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 729. Diodor. l. i. c. 27. Herodotus. Pliny and Cassiodorus.

<sup>45</sup> Herodotus, l. ii. c. 77. Conf. Diodorus. iii. 4. The hieroglyphics on some single obelisks, are said to amount to 400. Diodorus speaks with wonder of the *μύθους*

*μητρὸς συνθημάτων.* Diodor. *ibid*

<sup>46</sup> Genesis xii. 8. The word translated "Magicians" in our bible, Michaelis renders "Aufleger Egyptischen bilderschrift"

<sup>47</sup> Πολλὰ λεγόντες φιλοτιμότερον ἢ περ ἀληθινότερον. Diodor. i. 29.

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on the subject, I have found it disgustingly tiresome to read, and formally repeat those incoherent and insipid fables which pass for ancient history.\* There would be a chance rather of shame than of satisfaction, in laboriously arranging such faithless and flimsy materials, since after much pains in selection and decoration, instead of the exploits of kings and conquerors, of men and gods, all equally the creatures of fancy, a more skilful interpretation of the record, might rightly substitute the annual vicissitudes of the Euphrates or the Nile, the periodic motions of the heavenly luminaries, the operations and implements of useful arts, Orion or a plough share."

The Babylonian plain, its revolutions and successive capitals.

The Babylonian plain, however, which comes forward in Scripture as the first great scene of national enterprise, continued to be described long after the introduction of alphabetic writing, as the finest portion of Assyria and of all Asia. At the distance of a few years from the projected tower, "whose top might reach unto heaven," we find in profane history a city whose æra remounts 2234 years before Christ; a date obtained from the astronomical tables sent by Alexander to Aristotle<sup>40</sup>, and important beyond other astronomical æras, because supported by various notices and circumstances, all bearing on the same point, and powerfully co-operating to confirm

\* An agricultural explanation of hieroglyphics is given by Abbé Pluche in his *Histoire du Ciel*: (vol. i. p. 45 & seq. Edit. 1788,) in author, who being an advocate for religion, is most acrimoniously insulted by Voltaire, as an adversary, and treated too angrily by Warburton who needed not to have feared him as a rival. Warburton's great merit in the explanation of the origin and nature of hieroglyphics is generally and justly admired; yet he has not exhausted the subject, and I cannot reconcile all of his conclusions with the only existing authorities concerning it; viz. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 36. Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4. Porphyry in Vit Pythagor. Clemens Alexand. V. Strom. p. 555, and a fragment of Manetho in Eusebius's Chronicle, p. 6. In this fragment, Warburton instead of *ἱερογλυφικαὶ* substitutes *ἱερογλυφικαὶ* *ἱερογλυφικαὶ*.

His reason for this correction is, that *ἱερογλυφικαὶ* being always used by the ancients to denote characters of things, in opposition to alphabetic letters, or characters of words, ought not to be joined with *ἱερογλυφικαὶ* which denotes characters of words only. Because *ἱερογλυφικαὶ* always denotes characters of things, Warburton concluded that *ἱερογλυφικαὶ* always denoted characters of words. The conclusion is illogical, and contradictory to one of the passages on which our whole knowledge of the subject rests, *περὶ δὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ἱερογλυφικῶν ὡς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἱερογλυφικαὶ καλεῖσθαι*, &c. Diodorus, l. iii. c. 4. Conf. Divine Legislation, b. iv. f. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Genesis xi. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Porphyry, apud Simplic. in Aristot. de Cælo.

it". That Babylon was immemorially governed by Chaldæans, a sacerdotal cast or family; and that the authority of those Chaldæans was founded on their superior attainments, particularly their proficiency in astronomy, is said to have been attested by the concurring remains of Assyrian history". The Greeks too, fond as they were of ascribing their scientific improvements to Egypt, acknowledge themselves indebted to the Babylonians for the pole, the gnomon, and the division of the day into twelve hours"; inventions which, with others of a like practical nature, could not fail to be diffused over remote countries by a city carrying on a very extensive traffic, and whose wares found their way into Greece many ages before the war of Troy". Of the ingenious manufactures also, for which Babylon continued to be renowned, even under the Persian yoke, many must have remounted to a very high antiquity, since fourteen hundred and fifty years before Christ, the elegant dyes brought from Arabia were already employed in that city, when "the goodly Babylonish garment" tempted the dishonesty of Achan, and overcame his fear of the Almighty, thereby occasioning his memorable punishment in the mournful valley of Achor". Yet according to the manner in which ancient history is generally understood, after the first glimpses of the tower and city above mentioned, not only these important monuments, but the whole Babylonian plain disappears from our sight for the space of sixteen centuries, after which lapse of time, Babylon again commands our attention as the new capital of Assyria, upon the destruction of Nineveh, a place described in scripture nine centuries before Christ, in terms calculated to excite our utmost curiosity. Three hundred years after this magnificent description of Nineveh, and six hundred years before the Christian

" Seneca Nat. Quest. l. vii. c. 3. Conf. Anatolius apud Fabric. Bibl. loth. Græc. l. iii. c. 10. p. 275.

" Strabo, l. i. p. 23, and l. xvi. p. 762.

" Herodot. l. i. c. 109.

" Ibid. l. i. c. 1,

" Joshua, c. vii. v. 21. Conf. 2 Samuel, c. xiii. v. 18. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739, and Bruce's Abyssinia, vol. i. p. 374.



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æra, Babylon was enriched, peopled, and enlarged by Nebuchadnezzar, even beyond the measure of Nineveh itself, that stupendous capital in which there were upwards of six score thousand persons, incapable of discerning between their right hand and their left<sup>16</sup>. Is it yet possible to give an account of what happened in Babylonia in the interval of the sixteen centuries above mentioned, between its projected and unfinished tower, and the wonderful aggrandisement by Nebuchadnezzar of its most ancient city, whose æra, according to the notices sent by Alexander to Aristotle, accords with the year 2234 before Christ? This question is important, for it cannot be imagined that the industry of man, equally stubborn and audacious<sup>17</sup>, should have neglected for sixteen hundred years, a territory well known, and acknowledged to be the finest<sup>18</sup> portion of Asia, though fitted according to circumstances, to be the most productive of plains, or the most frightful of deserts<sup>19</sup>. To answer this question fully and clearly, would necessarily give birth to a new history of Assyria, for a careful meditation of all the authorities on record, have forced me on conclusions different from those hitherto received, 1. concerning the foundation and extent of the empire of Ninus; 2. concerning the æra and site of Nineveh, its first capital; and 3. concerning the time and circumstances of its decline and downfall. In my endeavour to illustrate this very extensive subject, (for the history of Arabia and Ethiopia will be found essentially connected with that of Assyria) the surest notices of antiquity will be confirmed by reasons drawn from the unalterable dispositions of nature. I therefore request the reader's attention to the following short account of the geography of Assyria.

<sup>16</sup> Jonah, c. iii. v. 3. and c. iv. v. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Genesis xi. 4-6. "Let us build a city and tower whose top may reach unto heaven." The Lord said, "this the people begin to do, and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do." Compare Horace, Ode iii. l. i.

Audax lapeti genus

Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit—

Again

Nil mortalibus arduum est  
Cælum ipsum petimus stultitia, &c.

<sup>18</sup> Herodot. l. i. c. 178, l. iii. c. 92, l. iv. c. 39. l. vii. c. 63. Conf. Joseph. Antic. Jud. l. i. c. 7. and l. xvi. c. 6 and 7.

<sup>19</sup> Strabo, l. xi. p. 502.

In its complete signification, that name comprehended two vast tracts of territory, on opposite sides of the Euphrates; called in scripture, Aram beyond the Euphrates, and Aram on this side the river<sup>60</sup>. To the former, the Greeks peculiarly applied the name of Assyria; to the latter, for the sake of distinction, that of Syria<sup>61</sup>. Exclusively of Aram on this side the river, Assyria contained three divisions; first Mesopotamia, an appellation which taken literally, should comprehend the space of seven hundred miles between the whole courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, from the Armenian mountains in which they rise to the Persian gulph into which, during the age of Alexander, they still continued to flow by separate channels<sup>62</sup>. But the name Mesopotamia was confined to the northern region, where the rivers diverge an hundred, and in some parts two hundred miles asunder, until in their course towards the sea, they contract to the nearness of twenty miles in the vicinity of Bagdad, the great modern capital. From this narrow isthmus, the second division of Assyria deriving its name Babylonia from ancient Babel, extended three hundred miles to the Persian gulph, never exceeding fourscore miles in its breadth between the rivers. The third division of Assyria was the projecting district beyond the Tigris, reaching to the foot of the Carduchian hills, and watered by the greater and lesser Zab, the Diala, and the Mendeli. From these local circumstances, this eastern district, properly named Atur, was frequently called Messenè and Adiabènè, Greek translations of Assyrian words, denoting a country, lying among rivers difficult of passage<sup>63</sup>. It happened however, that the

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Assyria, cause  
of errors in  
its geogra-  
phy.

<sup>60</sup> Nehemiah, c. i. v. 7, 9, 2. Samuel viii. 3. Conf. Herodot. ubi supra, and Arrian, l. vii. c. 7.

<sup>61</sup> The names are thus used by Xenophon, Diodorus, Arrian, and the whole series of Greek historians. The Syrians and Assyrians, though regarded as one people from their agreement in language, in persons, and in manners (Herodot. l. vii. c. 63.) yet in-

habited different sides of the Euphrates: and as we shall see below, were first completely reduced under one empire, by Nebuchadnezzar, six centuries before Christ.

<sup>62</sup> Nearchus apud Arrian, Indic. c. 40.

<sup>63</sup> Suidas in Voc. Adiabèn. Conf. Stephanus de Urbibus in Voc. Messenè and Adiabènè, cum notis ad locum. Edit. Berkel.



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same term *Messenè* denoted also the narrowest part of Babylonia, because that invaluable strip of land, the first scene of enterprize, and first seat of civilization, compressed and defended, as it was, by the Euphrates and Tigris, had also from immemorial antiquity been intersected near the site of the modern Bagdad by innumerable canals, several of which wore the appearance of great natural rivers<sup>64</sup>. In their wars for three centuries with the Parthians, the Romans usually marched through the country called Atur by the natives, by themselves Aturia, and which, from the similarity of sound, they easily confounded with the more extensive name of Assyria<sup>65</sup>. While this deception made the Romans dignify the least important division of Assyria, with a name properly applicable to the whole, the terms *Messenè* and *Adiabènè* made the Greeks under the Roman empire confound the same northern district with the central and more celebrated division, called properly Babylonia; and this conflux of errors from different sources gave birth, as will be shewn presently, to strange misrepresentation of ancient history. Meanwhile it is material to remark that the Assyrians and Syrians, though they had the Euphrates throughout for their acknowledged boundary, could really communicate with each other towards their northern frontier only, where the river approaches the Mediterranean, until it is again repelled eastward by mount Amanus. Southward of this mountain, Syria extended four hundred miles along the Mediterranean coast: the mean distance of an hundred miles from the sea marked, and indelibly marks the region of fertility: all the vast intermediate space between this limit and the Euphrates is occupied by inhospitable and for the most part impenetrable deserts<sup>66</sup>. X

<sup>64</sup> Herodot. l. i. c. 193. Xenoph. Anabas, l. ii. p. 283. Diodorus, l. ii. c. 26. Conf. Nahum, c. ii. v. 6. 8.

<sup>65</sup> Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. c. 28. He considers Assyria and Aturia as the same words, differently pronounced.

<sup>66</sup> Strabo, l. xvi. p. 749, & seq. Comp. Volney, Voyage en Syrie. These deserts were directly crossed but once by an army, that of Nebuchadnezzar, as we shall see below.

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## II.

Received  
notions of  
Assyrian  
history.

Before I proceed to relate the history of the Assyrians consistently with these unalterable distinctions in geography, it is necessary to state in few words the received opinions on the subject. It is generally said, then, that the empire of the Assyrians began before the days of Abram; that it extended over all southern Asia; that its capital was Nineveh in Atur, the eastern district beyond the Tigris; and that this capital near the site of the modern Mosul, subsisted with the empire itself thirteen hundred years from the triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis to the voluptuous reign of Sardanapalus, who was destroyed by his provincial governors, Belesys the Babylonian and Arbaces the Mede, seven hundred and forty-seven years before the Christian æra<sup>67</sup>. Not to mention that the wonderful stability of the dynasty of Ninus during the space of thirteen hundred years, is incompatible with the varied revolutions in southern Asia during all succeeding periods, and those stubborn causes above explained, from which such perpetual vicissitudes have never ceased to flow, this early, extensive, and durable monarchy is so totally inconsistent with the divided state of the ancient world, as represented in sacred and profane authors, that the great Newton and his few followers in chronology, are solicitous to reject the whole story as fictitious, and to make the æra of Nineveh, as a seat of empire, begin about the same time, that other chronologers have thought fit to end it<sup>68</sup>. According to this less extravagant system, the first great Assyrian conqueror was Pull, who appeared in that lofty character seven hundred and seventy-one years before Christ, interposing with a strong arm in the

The two  
Ninevehs.

<sup>67</sup> "The ancient empire of the Assyrians which had governed Asia for above thirteen hundred years was dissolved on the death of Sardanapalus, 747 years before Christ." Prideaux in the Old and New Testament Connected, b. i. p. 1 and such is the general language of historians and chronologers founded on corrupt or fabulous lists of the great kings of Asia from Ninus to Artaxerxes Mnemon. These lists were copied in

that reign by Ctesias, and from him transcribed by Castor, Eusebius, and Syncellus. They contain not a single name agreeing with that of any of the Assyrian kings mentioned in Scripture. But historical arguments, more irrefragable than discordancy of names, totally disprove them.

<sup>68</sup> Newton's Chronology followed by the authors of the Ancient Universal History, vol. iv. c. viii. p. 310. and vol. ix. p. 352.

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affairs of Syria, and by the plenitude of power confirming the murderous Manakem in the usurped kingdom of Israel<sup>60</sup>. But even this system of Newton is invalidated by the best Greek historians, and overthrown by the authority of Scripture, which describes Nineveh in the century before Pull with the same characteristic majesty in which that capital comes forward twelve hundred years before Christ in profane authors, as a city of wonderful extent, and more wonderful populousness, and the seat of a mighty monarch, whose measures of government were concerted in the council of his princes and ministers<sup>61</sup>. That such a dominion subsisted twelve hundred years before Christ at Mosul, and uninterruptedly continued there for many following centuries is disproved by the strongest evidence. Mosul stands within a hundred miles of Zobah or Nisibis<sup>62</sup> in northern Mesopotamia, whose kings, inconsiderable potentates, fought in the eleventh century before Christ against Saul and David kings of Israel; and were often defeated by those illustrious Hebrews. David in particular vanquished Haderezer king of Zobah, with great slaughter, stripped his servants of their golden quivers, and not satisfied with recovering his own border on the Euphrates, pursued the flying enemy homeward, and sacked the cities Betah and Berothai<sup>63</sup>, places of little strength but considerable commerce, since they contained, with other merchandize, vast magazines of brass<sup>64</sup>, a circumstance well marking the country contiguous to Nisibis, both banks of the Trigris in that neighbourhood abounding in copper mines<sup>65</sup>, several of which are wrought to the present day, partly for

<sup>60</sup> 2 Kings, c. xv.

<sup>61</sup> Jonah, iii. 3. and iv. 11. Conf Nahum, c. iii. v. 16. & seq. As to the characteristic circumstance respecting Nineveh, its extent of three days journey, it will be shewn hereafter that the circuit of its walls was 480 stadia, which divided by 3 gives 160 stadia, about 17 miles, precisely the computed days journey among the Orientals in all ages. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 737. and

Tavernier, Lucas, Bernier, Jackson, &c.

<sup>62</sup> 1 Samuel, c. xiv. v. 47. with Michaelis notes.

<sup>63</sup> 1 Samuel, c. viii. v. 3. and c. xv. v. 18.

<sup>64</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Denoted by the word Medan, which gives name to many places in Armenia and Curdistan. See Jackson's Journey from India in 1797.

exportation.

exportation, and partly for supplying the manufactories of the recently populous Diarbekir". From the near connection of Nisibis in locality with Mosul, it is impossible that the former of these cities should have long maintained wars with the kings of Israel without rousing into action, at least without bringing into notice, the far greater power of Mosul, if that had really been the head of a mighty empire. The great Nineveh, therefore, could not occupy the site usually assigned to it; its splendid court and powerful garrison must have belonged to a kingdom naturally secluded by the desert above mentioned from the countries contiguous to the Mediterranean sea: nor does it appear to have interfered with those countries in war or government, until Pull, king of Assyria, quitting the pacific system which had governed most of his predecessors, conquered Nisibis or Zobah, Haran, Eden, with all the neighbouring strong-holds in Armenia or Northern Mesopotamia, and thereby brought his victorious arms on the immediate frontiers of Syria<sup>76</sup>. Of this greater Nineveh, called by the Greeks Ninus, much is said in history. It adorned the invaluable isthmus of Babylonia above described, and its position has been variously marked by the Euphrates and the Tigris, because it occupied the banks of the great canal between them<sup>77</sup>. It was distant above four hundred miles from the fertile district of Nisibis, and secluded from it by the smaller, as from Syria by the greater desert. It was built by Ninus, the first great Assyrian conqueror, in the year twelve hundred and thirty before Christ. On the west its territories were bounded by an impenetrable ocean of sand; but to the east it subdued, and governed for the space of five

<sup>76</sup> Diarbekir was, in 1756, more populous than any city in the Turkish empire, not excepting either Cairo or Constantinople. It contained 400,000 inhabitants. "But, in 1757, swarms of locusts devoured all the vegetation of the surrounding country, and occasioned a famine: an epidemic sickness followed, which carried off 300,000 souls in

the city of Diarbekir, besides those who perished in the neighbouring villages." Eton's Survey of the Turkish empire, c. vii. p. 268.

<sup>77</sup> 2 Kings, c. xviii. and xix. Conf. Isaiah, c. xxxvi.

<sup>78</sup> Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 95. and Diodor. l. ii. f. 25.

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centuries, Media, Bactria, Persis, and other provinces of *Upper Asia* "The confounding of this great capital with a city of humbler fortune but much higher antiquity, has strangely perplexed the history of what is called the first great monarchy, or rather the first great empire that permanently established the dominion of nations over nations, though that dominion was much lightened and mitigated, as we shall see, under Ninus the successor of Ninus, and seventeen pacific princes that followed him. The two Ninevehs are distinguished from each other by very clear characteristics. The first Nineveh was built by Ashur upon his removal from the plain of Shinar, and is described as less considerable than other cities in its neighbourhood". It stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris three hundred miles above Babylon, at a place where the river is most

"*Ἡ ἀνω Ἀσία*, Herodot. l. i. c. 95. that is the countries east of the Euphrates; Dionysius of Halicarnassus also, *Antiq Roman*, l. i. c. 4. thus limits the Assyrian empire in point of space. As to time Herodotus says the Assyrians governed Upper Asia 520 years before the revolt of the Medes. This revolt, as will appear fully hereafter, happened 710 years before Christ; add 520, and the foundation of the Assyrian empire will remount to the year 1230 before Christ. This date coincides with that given by Appian of Alexandria in *Proem*, c. ix. Appian says "the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians governed Asia nine hundred years." The last Darius was slain 330 years before Christ: add this to 920 and we shall again have 1230 before Christ for the era of the Assyrian empire. Herodotus' notices with respect both to the extent and the duration of that empire, are thus confirmed by two historians inferior to none in point of credit. Independently of this confirmation, his authority may safely be relied on in matters so important to him as the date and dominions of an empire of which he wrote the history. Vid. Herodot. c. i. l. 106. and 184. Herodotus's *Assyrian History* is alluded to by

Aristotle in his *History of Animals*, l. viii. c. 18. In speaking of birds with crooked bills, "which never drink," the philosopher observes, that this peculiarity was unknown to Herodotus, who describes the augurial eagle as drinking, in his narrative of the taking of Nineveh. In M. Camus's edition of the "*History of Animals*" now before me, he adopts the erroneous reading of "Hesiod instead of Herodotus." Was Hesiod an historian? Or, a question still more decisive, could Hesiod relate an event long posterior to his own age? I add one remark farther because it appears to me of importance. Herodotus' chronology is not only consistent with Scripture, but tends to increase our reverence for the prophecy there concerning the Assyrians 1452 years before Christ. See *Numbers*, c. xxiv. v. 22. In this passage the captivity announced under the Assyrians would be less marvellous if their dominion (as commonly said) had already subsisted many centuries over all Asia. Had that been the case, it was easy to foresee that a powerful nation would be eager to punish its rebellious vassals.

"Genesis, c. x. v. 11. and 12, in Michaelis' Translation.

conveniently



conveniently crossed. Its locality is marked by Mosul, the bridge or passage, the name of a city since built on the opposite or western bank: and is still further confirmed by great mounds of earth indicating, according to travellers of good authority<sup>a</sup>, the remains of ancient buildings. From the conveniency of passing the Tigris in its neighbourhood, this Nineveh became early a place of considerable traffic, and as a commercial city, it remained to the reign of Claudius the Roman emperor<sup>b</sup>. But Nineveh, raised and fortified by Ninus in the great Babylonian plain, was destined to a far shorter though incomparably more brilliant existence: since it was founded seven hundred years later, and was totally demolished<sup>c</sup> six centuries before Christ. When the Assyrians, under Ninus, became extensive conquerors, they built, according to Asiatic maxims, this their great strong-hold and capital in the district best calculated for such prodigies of architecture and populousness as Nineveh, Babylon, and after them Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad: successive seats of empire, which, as will be explained hereafter, arose not figuratively on the ruins, but literally from the materials of each other.

Having removed geographical difficulties, founded on misconception and perpetuated through negligence, I proceed to explain the transactions of the Assyrians and of the principal nations connected with them either in war or in commerce. For the sake of greater perspicuity, and that the chronology of subsequent events may be referred to a precise and important æra, I begin with the reign of Ninus. Many centuries before that conqueror, the virgin soil of Asia, new and warm from the hands of nature, is represented as teeming with men and animals<sup>d</sup>. The vast central plains inviting to agriculture and a settled life, abounded with well cultivated fields,

Completion  
of Ninus'  
conquests—  
consequences  
thereof  
B. C. 1230.

<sup>a</sup> Della Valle, Niebuhr, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Tacitus, *Annal.* l. xii. c. 13. A. D. 50.  
His expression, *vetustissima sedes Assyriae* are words highly applicable, but not in the sense which he intends them.

Ἰστανόδη ποντοπόρον. Strabo, l. xvi.

p. 737. with whom Diodorus agrees.

<sup>c</sup> Diodor. l. ii. c. 5. Conf. Genesis, c. xxi. v. 12.