SECT. III.

From the time that the Aſſyrians carried their conqueſts to the ſhores of the Mediterranean, the Egyptians had every thing to fear from their ambition or their vengeance. Pſammetichus, the king of Egypt, who in the laſt ſtage of his reign of nearly half a century, had effected the conqueſt of Azotus, was ſucceeded by his ſon, the Pharoah Necho of Scripture, and the Necos of Greek hiſtorians; a prince of deep policy and daring enterpriſe. Diſdaining the ſuperſtitious ſcruples of his countrymen againſt a ſeafaring life, Necos conſtructed harbours and equipped fleets on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; and applied to the Phœnicians, as the people beſt ſkilled in diſtant navigation, for perſons willing to undertake a long voyage of diſcovery along the African coaſt. The Phœnicians, who, as already mentioned, had immemorially traded in Egyptian and Aſſyrian wares[200], had alſo eſtabliſhed factories in thoſe countries, particularly in the cities of Thebes and Memphis, the ſucceſſive capitals of Egypt, and according to cuſtom, theſe factories were under the protection of temples erected in honour of the foreign Venus[201]. From among ſuch coloniſts, or their correſpondents, Necos ſpeedily found inſtruments fit for his purpoſe. The Phœnicians took their departure from an Egyptian harbour on the Red Sea, reached and paſſed the ſtraits of Babelmandeb, in the ſpace of forty days; in that of two years ſailed round Africa to the pillars of Hercules, and then purſuing their voyage two months longer through the well known Mediterranean, returned about the middle of the third year into Egypt[202]. The principal danger in this expedition was that of ſtarving on the inhoſpitable ſhores of the ſouthern continent. But this difficulty was provided for. Having laid in a ſufficient ſtore of ſeeds, the Phœnicians ſowed them at the proper ſeaſons[203]; and as in many parts of Africa, the corn ſown in July, is reaped in September,

Necos king of Egypt. B. C. 616—601.

His bold undertakings—circumnavigation of Africa.

[200] Herodot. l. i. c. 1.
[201] Ibid. l. ii. c. 112.
[202] Ibid. l. iv. c. 42. Conf. Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 682.
[203] Σπειρεσκον την γην ἑνα εκαστοτε, &c. Herodot. ibid.

the

SECT. III.

the delay in procuring food neceſſary to the continuance of the voyage, could not be longer than neceſſary for repairs and refreſhments. But ſhould three months be allowed for the ſtoppage each autumn, full time will remain for the completion of the undertaking within the aſſigned period, even at the ſlow rate of ancient navigation. Both the Phœnician and Greek ſhips ſeem to have avoided keeping the ſea in dark nights; they both advanced at the mean rate of little more than forty Britiſh miles daily. But from the nature of their conſtruction, particularly the flatneſs of their bottoms, which allowed gallies containing two and three hundred men, to be eaſily hauled on ſhore, they were much better adapted to coaſting voyages, than modern veſſels of far inferior burden [204].

Canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean.

Another undertaking by which Necos attempted to ſignalize his reign, was the drawing of a canal from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean: a deſign which Seſoſtris is ſaid to have begun, which Necos reſumed but abandoned, and which Ptolemy Philadelphus, the ſecond ſucceſſor of Alexander in Egypt, is ſaid to have happily accompliſhed [205].

He marches againſt Aſſyria.

But theſe great enterpriſes did not prevent Necos from paying due attention to the important revolution, which, inſtead of an odious deſpot diſſolved in pleaſure, had eſtabliſhed in the new capital of Aſſyria a victorious uſurper inflamed by ambition. With great activity of preparation, he collected a numerous army of warlike ſtrangers, and unwarlike Egyptians, and being maſter of Azotus, the key to the holy land, marched through that country to aſſail on the Euphrates, the yet unconſolidated power of Nebopolaſſer and Babylon [206], whoſe allies the Medes were ſtill fully occupied in extinguiſhing the embers of the Scythian war. But in the diſtrict of Sama-

[204] Their expedition accordingly was completely ſucceſsful, "Thus was Africa for the firſt time circumnavigated." Herodot. ibid.

[205] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. Of this more will be ſaid hereafter.

[206] Joſephus Antiq. Judaic. l. x. c. 6.

ria,

SECT. III.

ria, Necos was encountered [207] by Joſiah, king of Iſrael as well as Judah, in virtue of the grant of Eſarhaddon to his grandfather Manaſſeh, but who, according to oriental maxims above explained, ſhould ſeem to have conſidered himſelf as homager rather to the Aſſyrian nation, than to the perſon or family of the king [208]. He paſſed at leaſt, not only as an obedient, but zealous vaſſal under the ſovereign juriſdiction of Nebopolaſſar; and with a ſpirit congenial to the warmth with which he exerted himſelf for the purity of religious worſhip, determined to ſhew fidelity to his lord paramount by reſiſting the Egyptian invaſion. But this generous prince, whoſe virtues deſerved a better fate, was defeated and ſlain in the plain of Megiddo in Samaria [209].

Joſiah in oppoſing his progreſs, ſlain at Megiddo. B. C. 608.

Necos, without halting to make conqueſts in Paleſtine, haſtened by rapid marches to northern Meſopotamia, and having repelled the Babylonians, who oppoſed his paſſage of the Euphrates at Thapſacus, made himſelf maſter of the important city of Carchemiſh or Circeſium [210] on the confluence of the Chaboras with that great river. Having garriſoned a place well ſituate for facilitating further conqueſts, he returned in a few months to Paleſtine, aſſaulted and took Jeruſalem, then known by its eaſtern name Kadytis "the Holy," depoſed the new king whom the Jews had elected, a ſon of their admired Joſiah, and ſubſtituted in his ſtead Jehoiakim another ſon of that much lamented prince, on condition of an annual tribute [211] valued at fifty-two thouſand pounds ſterling,

Necos takes and garriſons Circeſium. B. C. 602.

Renders Jeruſalem tributary

[207] 2 Kings, c. xxiii. and 2 Chronicles, c. xxxv.

[208] In this manner Netocris, (of whom hereafter,) ſtood in the place of the ancient kings of Aſſyria. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 106. and c. 185.

[209] 2 Chronicles, c. xxxv. v. 22. and Joſephus, l. x. c. 15. Herodotus, l. i. c. 159. ſays the battle was fought at Magdolus. There is a place of this name in Antonine's Itinerary, diſtant 12 miles from Peluſium and the Egyptian frontier. It is mentioned under the name of Migdol, Exodus, c. xiv. v. 2. and Jeremiah, c. xlvi. v. 14.

[210] Joſephus Antiq. l. x. c. 6.

[211] 2 Kings, c. xxiii. and 2 Chronicles, c. xxxvi.

The

SECT. III.

Nebuchadnezzar is aſſociated to his father's government.

The rapid ſucceſs of Necos made Nebopolaſſar, who was himſelf *far* advanced in years, aſſociate to his government his ſon Nebuchadnezzar, a name equally illuſtrious though not equally terrible in ſacred and prophane hiſtory, ſince Greek writers, in their occaſional mention of him, prefer his ſucceſsful valour to that of their greateſt heroes [211]. During the tranſactions of Necos in Paleſtine, the young Babylonian had been ſharpening a weapon of defence deſtined to be converted by him into an inſtrument of deciſive victories and important conqueſts.

He forms an engine of defence in Meſopotamia.—Deſcription of that country.

The wide-ſpreading region of Meſopotamia, northward of the narrow but rich and populous territory contiguous to Babylon and Nineveh, was ſometimes referred by Greek hiſtorians to the different countries from which it appeared to have been peopled. The northern parts were frequently called Armenia: the ſouthern were aſcribed to Syria; and the great central deſert, to Arabia. The whole tract of land formed, as it were, a great triangle, whoſe ſummit was the narrow iſthmus near Nineveh before deſcribed; whoſe ſides were the Tigris and Euphrates; and whoſe baſe repoſed on the chain of mount Maſius, its common frontier with Armenia. In the northern diviſion and near vicinity of the mountains, we are already acquainted with the hiſtory of Zobah, or Niſibis, a city which we ſhall ſee embelliſhed as well as ſtrongly fortified by the firſt Syrian ſucceſſor of Alexander, under the name of Antioch, and diſtinguiſhed from other cities of that name by the epithet Mygdonian, from the river Mygdonius which waſhed its walls [213]. After the deſtruction of the Grecian kings of the Eaſt, Niſibis reſumed its old oriental appellation, denoting a military poſt or place of arms, and as ſuch, we ſhall ſee hereafter, was long occupied by the Romans, forming their main bulwark againſt the Parthians. Meſopotamia in approch-

[211] Megaſthenes apud Joſeph Cont. Apion. Conf Antiq Judaic. l. x.c. 11. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 678. He calls him Nauokodroſorus

[213] Πλαγιζων το περι την τειχος χωριον. Julian Orat. 1. de Niſib. p. 27.

ing

SECT. III.

ing the ſhores of its great rivers, changed ſuddenly from a deſert to a country of conſiderable fertility, and was early improved by agriculture, and planted with cities, which, being enlarged and adorned by Alexander and his ſucceſſors, received univerſally Grecian names, though really of Aſiatic origin. Carrhæ, as well as Carchemis, or Circeſium, of both which we have already ſpoken, retained enough of their primitive ſound to evince their true extraction; a purer Grecian origin ſeems indicated in Edeſſa, Anthemuſias, Nicephorium, Apamea, and other places of leſs note, though many of theſe alſo had ſubſiſted at periods long anterior to the Macedonian dominion in Aſia.

The Meſopotamian deſert.

The watery and mountainous parts of Meſopotamia have undergone many changes, but the dry central region has remained uniformly the ſame, inhabited by roving Arabs, mixed, as we ſhall ſee, occaſionally with fiercer wanderers from Scythia. The nature of the country, indeed, admitted of none but Nomades for its maſters. It was a vaſt unvaried plain, deſtitute of trees and rivers, but abounding in wormwood and other ſtrong-ſcented ſhrubs[214]. It produced vaſt flocks of a bird called Otis, a ſhort and heavy flyer, yet its fleſh of the higheſt flavour; and not ſmaller troops of oſtriches, which, however, it was difficult to catch, ſo nimbly did they ſkim the ground, uſing their wings ſkillfully as ſails to navigate the ſandy ocean. The moſt deſert ſpots of Meſopotamia were enlivened by herds of wild goats and wild aſſes[215] as they are called by Xenophon, but the animal itſelf is deſcribed by Ariſtotle[216], and recognized by our naturaliſts in the Dſiggetai, no longer ſeen in thoſe ſouthern parts, and now frequent in the remote northern deſerts of eaſtern Tartary[217]. The Dſiggetai out-ſtripped the ſwifteſt horſe; but the nimble fugitive was entrapped by gins, or caught by artful and long continued purſuit[218]. Armenia and other neighbouring provinces

[214] Xenoph. Anabas, l. i. p. 255. edit. Leuncl.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Hiſtor. Animal. l. vi. c. 36.
[217] Pallas. Neue Nordiſche Beytrage.
[218] Xenoph. p. 256.

SECT. III.

Nebuchadnezzar collects the Scythians who had fled thither.

had recently been invaded, as we have ſeen, from Scythia, whoſe roving hordes ſtill lay in watch, as it were, to renew their ravages in ſouthern Aſia. Maſter of the ſpoils of Nineveh, Nebuchadnezzar was poſſeſſed of a magnet calculated to attract greater ſwarms than ever from this vaſt northern hive. They were divided into many different tribes often hoſtile to each other, but the name of Chaldæans was beſtowed on all thoſe whom the valour and generoſity of Nebuchadnezzar drew into his ſervice, whether becauſe great part of them really deſcended from that region of Taurus called Chaldæa, whoſe natives the Chalybeans ſtood in the ſame relation as armourers[219] to the Scythians, that the Turks are known afterwards to have borne to the Tartars[220], or becauſe a colony of thoſe Chalybeans or Chaldæans about a century before this period, was eſtabliſhed in the ſouth-weſtern diſtrict of Babylonia, and thereby induced to betake themſelves to a ſettled agricultural life[221]. It might naturally be expected that the great body of the nation would be called by that name already moſt familiar in ſouthern Aſia, and which muſt have prevailed from the earlieſt antiquity, ſince the ſacerdotal caſt in Babylon, prieſts of Belus, men of poliſhed manners and high attainments[222], were connected, at leaſt in name, with the rude mountaineers between the Euxine and Caſpian, a nation more ſtubborn than the iron which they forged[223]. That branches of mankind ſo diſſimilar in manners and character, really proceeded from the ſame ſtock, hiſtory does not warrant us to aſſert; but there is the ſureſt teſtimony that the conquering Chaldees, of whom Nebuchadnezzar became general and king, were a northern people, Scythians[224] by blood and country, in their manners, habits, and mercileſs fury. With this inſtrument of victory we ſhall ſee him eſtabliſh at Babylon an empire nearly

Why called generally, Chaldæans.

Why Nebuchadnezzar little noticed in Greek hiſtory.

[219] Xenoph. Anabas, l. v. p. 354. and Strabo, l. xii. p. 549.

[220] See above, p. 42. Conf. Abulghazi Khan Hiſtor. Geneolog. des Tatars, p. ii. 5.

[221] Iſaiah, c. xxiii. p. 13. Conf. Jeremiah, c. i. v. 13.

[222] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 29. & ſeq.

[223] Xenoph. and Strabo, ibid.

[224] Jeremiah, c. i. v. 13. and c. xv. v. 12.

commenſurate

SECT. III.

commenſurate in the weſt and ſouth with what was to be the future extenſion of Saracen power. The Medes, after the deſtruction of Nineveh, reigned without a rival in the Eaſt; and as their incurſions reached the Greek colonies on the Euxine, the name of the Medes chiefly is conſpicuous in Greek hiſtory, while the contemporary renown of Nebuchadnezzar was far more terrible among the Jews, the Phœnicians, and other inhabitants of Syria.

Nebuchadnezzar marches to Circeſium.—His army. B. C. 605.

With Cyaxares, or the Medes, through whoſe co-operations his father had obtained independent ſovereignty, Nebuchadnezzar it ſhould ſeem, during his reign of forty-five years, had never any hoſtile colliſion. His firſt undertaking was the recovery of Circeſium from the Egyptians, an enterprize for which, as Necos had ſtrongly fortified the place, the ſtyle of Scythian war might appear to be very imperfectly adapted. But Nebuchadnezzar, beſides being aided in the ſiege by his more ſkilful Babylonians, was one of thoſe extraordinary men, who, like ſome Tartar conquerors in modern times, have rendered their barbarous followers not leſs perſevering in induſtry than they are naturally prompt in action: who taught them to build walls and bridges, to conſtruct engines of war, in a word, to perform all thoſe laborious taſks [225], independently of which mere proweſs in battle never made a great conqueror. Necos, however, had time to come to the aſſiſtance of Circeſium with the united ſtrength of his allies; Lybians and Ethiopians, cavalry and chariots, archers and ſpearmen, all the incongruous aſſemblage [226] of party coloured Africa. In the two armies reſpectively, the fierce Nomades were pre-eminent, Ethiopians and Scythians, hardened offſpring of burning ſands, and bleak deſerts, prepared to join in a mercileſs conflict of which the incidents are rather indicated than deſcribed, but indicated by ſuch pictureſque ſymbols, as ſurpaſs in power and effect the moſt ample narrative. The overflowing numbers of the Egyp-

The battle of Circeſium between Nebuchadnezzar and Necos. B. C. 605.

[225] See Cherefedden's Life of Tamerlane throughout.

[226] Jeremiah. c. xxv. v. 9.

SECT. III.

tians are repreſented by the inundation of their river [227]. But Nebuchadnezzar ſtays their impetuous tide, towering like mount Tabor [228] above the adjacent plain, or Carmel reſiſting the ſea, and bidding defiance to its raging waves [229]. The great dragon of the Nile darts forth with his rattling ſerpents; but the Chaldæans hew down their wood [230], bare their lurking places, and thus render thoſe wily and envenomed monſters a bloody prey to the parting ſteel.

Victory of Nebuchadnezzar.

In this figurative language we diſcern the ruinous defeat of Necos. Circeſium was recovered; the Egyptians were purſued through Syria; their countrymen were expelled from the ſtrong-holds which they had occupied there: and, with the illuſtrious exceptions of Jeruſalem and Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar gained the whole of Syria from the Euphrates to the river of Egypt; a magnificent name for the ſhallow torrent of Sihor [231], forming the common boundary of Egypt, Paleſtine, and the ſtony Arabia.

[227] Jeremiah, c. xxvi. v. 8.
[228] Ibid. v. 18.
[229] Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 3.
[230] Jeremiah, c. xlvi. v. 23.
[231] Geneſis, c. xv. v. 10. Joſhua, c. xv. v. 4. Conf. Hieronym. in Amos, c. vi. 1 Kings, c. viii. v. 65.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION IV.

Nebuchadnezzar's extenſive Conqueſts in Africa.—His Invaſion of Syria.—Deſcription and Hiſtory of that Country.—Babyloniſh Captivity.—Importance of the Jews in Macedonian Hiſtory.—The two Tyres.—Commercial Connections of the Phœnicians.—Tarteſſus.—The Caſſeterides.—Ophir.—Saba.—Political State of the Phœnicians.—Their Manufactures and Inventions.—Deſtruction of the great Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar.—His Invaſion of Egypt.—Hiſtory of the Eaſt between the Reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander.—Babylon.—Magnitude, Populouſneſs, Manufactures, Commerce, and Manners.

SECT. IV.

Nebuchadnezzar's extenſive conqueſts in Africa.

FROM the æra of Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Necos at Circeſium, his reign of nearly half a century conſiſted chiefly of a long ſeries of diſtant invaſions, fierce encounters, laborious campaigns, and perſevering ſieges. Emulous of Tarako the Ethiopian, he ſpread his dominion over both ſides of the Red Sea; rendered Egypt tributary; and pervaded the broad extent of Africa to the pillars of Hercules [1]. In theſe perpetual expeditions, many a rich temple, the ſeat of traffic and ſuperſtition, fell a prey to his rapacious followers, and to his own unprincipled purpoſe of decking the new capital of Aſſyria with the ſpoils of every ſtrong-hold whoſe opulence provoked his enmity. But we are informed of the event only, without learning the incidents in this remote and comparatively

[1] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 637. Conf. Ezekiel, c. xxx. and xxxix.

barbarous,

SECT. IV.

barbarous, warfare. A deeper intereſt is excited by his invaſion of Syria. He is the firſt prince who reduced into ſubjection all the various diviſions of that country, deſtined collectively, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, to form a powerful Greek kingdom under the dynaſty of the Seleucidæ, deſcendants of Seleucus Nicator, the moſt fortunate of Alexander's captains.

His invaſion of Syria.—Prior hiſtory of that country.

Long preceding this new dynaſty on the banks of the Orontes, the native Syrians had cultivated arts, and attained opulence. They were tributaries to the warlike David, king of Iſrael; and after the misfortunes of the houſe of David, they ſubmitted to the kings of Nineveh. The interval between theſe calamitous æras formed that period of Syrian ſplendour; in which, Hadad and Hazael ſucceſſive "kings of Syria at Damaſcus," having obtained a paramount juriſdiction over neighbouring cities [2], were occaſionally employed againſt them as inſtruments of divine chaſtiſement [3]. During the ſpace of an hundred years, the names of Hadad and Hazael ſo terrible to the Hebrews, were proportionally revered by the Syrians, who finally enrolled them among their gods, and continued as ſuch to worſhip them even down to the reign of the Roman emperor Veſpaſian [4]. With thoſe brilliant reigns, the glory of Damaſcus ſet: the Syrians ſunk in ſuperſtition and ſoftneſs, ceaſed for ever to be the hunters, and continued thenceforward the unreſiſting prey; but the Phœnicians long eſtabliſhed on their coaſts, and the Jews poſſeſſing part of the inland country, will demand attention in the immediately following, and in many ſubſequent parts of this work; beſides that the peculiarities and prerogatives of Jeruſalem give to it a real and permanent intereſt ſurpaſſing the tranſient glory of the greateſt monar-

[2] Comp. 1 Kings, c. xv. v. 20. and c. xxi. v. 1.

[3] 2 Kings, c. xiii. v. 3.

[4] Μεχρι νυν αυτος τε ὁ Αδαδος και Αζαηλος ὡς θειοι τιμωνται. Joſephus Antiq. l. ix. c. 14. p. 404. Mr. Gibbon, therefore, is miſtaken when in ſpeaking of deification, he ſays "the ſucceſſors of Alexander were the firſt objects of this impious and ſervile mode of adulation." Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. c. 3.

chies.

chies. It is fit, therefore, briefly to deſcribe the characteriſtic features of a country that continued the ſcene of memorable tranſactions. SECT. IV.

In the whole of its extent of four hundred miles embracing the eaſtern coaſt of the Mediterranean, Syria is roughened by ſnowy mountains, running for the moſt part parallel to the ſea, and to each other, and ſending forth innumerable branches, which ſometimes terminate abruptly, but oftener gradually ſubſide into warm and well watered vallies. Towards the middle of the broad line, Libanus and Anti Libanus, incloſing the diſtrict of Cæleſyria, of which Damaſcus was the capital, riſe to the height of nine thouſand feet, an altitude double to that of Benneves the higheſt mountain in Scotland, but little more than one half the elevation of Mount Blanc, the loftieſt in the Alps. The region of Libanus overtopping [5] all the country on either ſide, ſeparates the waters of Syria, and thereby clearly diſtinguiſhes into large and bold groups the diviſions of its geography. From the heart [6] of thoſe mountains the Orontes flows northward fifteen days journey, before it joins the Mediterranean: and about one half that ſpace, the Jordan [7] runs to the ſouth, until it mixes its ſweet waters with the bitterneſs of the lake Aſphaltites, called from its peſtiferous qualities the Dead Sea [8]. The northern valley of the Orontes with all the cultivable country inland towards the Euphrates and the deſert, was the portion of Syria peculiarly adorned by the Greeks, and named Tetrapolis, from its four principal cities; Seleucia, Lao- Its geography.

[5] The higheſt part of Libanus or Lebanon, is called in Scripture Hermon. This weſtern chain, producing *cedars*, is ſeparated by vallies and rivers from Anti Libanus, called by the Arabs, Senner, that is, "the mountain of *firs*." Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 5, with Michælis' notes. How could Mr. Volney in commenting on this word ſay, "Sennir, peutêtre, le mont Sannine." Volney, Etat Politique de la Syrie, p. 204.

[6] Orontes natus inter Libanum et Anti Libanum juxta Heliopolim. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. v. c. 42.

[7] Joſephus de Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 35. He calls the mountain from whence it deſcends, Paneus.

[8] Mare Mortuum, a quo nihil poterat eſſe vitale. Hieronym. in Ezekiel, c. xlvii. v. 8. Juſtin. xxxvi 3, ſays "propter magnitudinem, et aquæ immobilitatem, mare mortuum dicitur." But in this he is miſtaken, ſince the Greeks called it θαλασσα νεκρα, though that epithet is not applied by them to ſtagnant water. Pauſanias Eliac.

docea,

SECT. IV.

docea, Apamea and Antioch. The ſhorter ſouthern valley of the Jordan, with many adjacent diſtricts on both ſides that river, formed Paleſtinian Syria [9], the Land of Promiſe. Libanus and Anti Libanus overhanging Cœloſyria with their waving foreſts formed the lofty inland boundary between the two countries juſt mentioned; both of which extended at their remote extremities to the Mediterranean, but in their contiguous and more central parts were excluded from that ſea for two hundred miles, by a long line of maritime cit es, compoſing the Phœnician confederacy. Such were the diviſions of a territory, inhabited by Syrians in the north, and Jews in the ſouth, both conſidered as inland nations in compariſon with the Phœnicians, who held poſſeſſion of the more uſeful part of the coaſt, and of the only conſiderable harbours which ſubſiſted in the country before the Macedonian conqueſt.

Inhabitants.

The Syrians had been long inured to the yoke of Nineveh, and faſhioned to that ſoftneſs and ſervitude, which made them eaſily admit the ſucceeding yoke of Babylon. The Phœnicians [10] as well as Jews had ſmarted under the ſcourge of the former tyrannical capital: and, as both nations were united in their higheſt proſperity, under the glorious reigns of David and Solomon, zealous and unalterable allies to Hiram king of Tyre [11], ſo both were levelled by Nebuchadnezzar in ſeemingly inextricable calamity.

Jeruſalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar. B. C. 605.

Shortly after that prince defeated the Egyptians at Circeſium, he beſieged and took Jeruſalem, made king Jehoiakim his priſoner, deſpoiled the temple of ſome of its richeſt ornaments, and carried into captivity to Babylon, the faireſt and moſt intelligent youths of noble

[9] The expreſſion "Syrian Paleſtine," or Syria of Paleſtine is improper, becauſe it implies, that Syria belongs to Paleſtine, and not (which is the truth) that Paleſtine is a part of Syria. The Greeks ſaid "Paleſtinian Syria" as they did Cœle Syria, Commagenian Syria, &c. Herodotus, l. i. p. 105. Conf. Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 25. But, in the phraſe Παλαιστινη Συρια, the latter word ſeemed the fitter epithet on account of its termination; which has occaſioned the univerſal error of tranſlators.

[10] Joſephus Antiq. Judiac. l. ix. c. 14.

[11] Conf. 2 Samuel, c. v. v. 11. & 1 Kings, c. v. v. 8. B. C. 1048—1014.

deſcent,

SECT. IV.

deſcent, to be inſtructed for three years in the language and learning of the Chaldæan prieſts, that they might be fitted to ſerve the king and ſtand in his preſence [12]. From this event, hiſtorians date the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, though the misfortunes of that people did not receive their completion until eighteen years afterwards, when the temple was burned, the city deſolated and demoliſhed, and the vaſſal king Zedekiah dragged away in fetters, with all thoſe of his ſubjects, deemed dangerous at home, or qualified to prove uſeful abroad to their new maſter [13]. None but miſerable peaſants were left in the land; which remained during fifty-two years in the condition of a great farm under the ſtewards of Nebuchadnezzar. The meaner claſſes of men ſtill left behind in Paleſtine, were the leſs likely to create jealouſy, becauſe in the former tranſplantation of the ten tribes, the place of expatriated Iſraelites had been ſupplied by Cuthæans, ſtrangers from the Eaſt [14], who, having partially joined with the natives in incongruous rites and manners, formed with them the mixed and mungrel nation of Samaritans; a nation held heatheniſh by the Jews, though treated as Jews by the heathens.

Completion of its calamities.

A moſt improbable event happened, and was brought about by an inſtrument, and at a time clearly ſpecified in prophecy [15]. At the end of ſeventy years, Cyrus reſtored the Hebrews to their country. As the greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed portion of the exiles thus reinſtated in their inheritance, belonged to the tribe of Judah, the name of Jews thenceforward prevailed; under which the nation, fallen from the rank of a kingdom, began to be governed in their domeſtic concerns, chiefly by their high prieſts; though completely ſubordinate as to their contingents in war, and their pecuniary contributions, to the great powers who held ſucceſſively the empire of Aſia. This form of an eccleſiaſtical government at home, dependent on a civil or ra-

Jews return from captivity. B. C. 536.

Their government thence forward.

How Herodotus deceived concerning them.

[12] Daniel, c. i. 2 Kings, c. xxiv. 2 Chronicles, c. xxxvi.

[13] Conf. 2 Kings, c. xxiv. v. 14. and c. xxv. v. 11, 12, and Jeremiah, c. lii.

[14] Joſephus Antiq. l. xi. c. 14.

[15] Iſaiah, c. xlv. v. 1.

SECT. IV.

ther military government abroad, of which we have ſeen ſeveral examples from Babylon to Peſſinus incluſively, ſhould appear to have deceived Herodotus. That hiſtorian viſited Jeruſalem, which he calls by its oriental name Kadytis[16] the Holy, a name ſtill prevalent in the Eaſt. But the Jewiſh prieſts being as niggardly of truths, as the Egyptian prieſts had been laviſh of lies, the inquiſitive Greek enjoyed not any opportunity of learning the internal arrangements, the œconomy and hiſtory of the ſacred city. He paſſes over theſe ſubjects with an otherwiſe incomprehenſible ſilence, viewing the kingdom of David and Solomon with as little intereſt as he had formerly beheld the prieſtly governments (for that of Babylon was in his time aboliſhed) of Olbus and Peſſinus, of Comana and Morimena.

The accounts of them in pagan writers agree with ſcripture.

With equal diſregard from Greek hiſtorians[17], the Jews paſſed from the dominion of the Perſians, to that of the Greeks and Macedonians, and continued thenceforward to yield obedience to thoſe ſucceſſors of Alexander in Egypt and Syria, who alternately ſwayed the politics of Lower Aſia; until the ill adviſed decree of conformity by Antiochus Epiphanes, the ſeventh[18] Syrian ſucceſſor of Alexander, commanding them to comply with the eſtabliſhed rites of Grecian ſuperſtition. Injured in this tender point, they, whoſe religious immunity had been the price and bond of allegiance, raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion; and, in aſſerting not only the freedom, but the excluſive propriety and dignity of their national worſhip, vindicated the inſtitutions of Moſes, and precipitated the downfal of the Syrian monarchy. In this deſperate warfare their valour and perſeverance awakened Grecian curioſity to ſtill ſubſiſting peculiarities among the Jews as well as to their antient and memorable hiſtory. The work of Hecatæus of Abdera, a follower of Alexander, who had examined the affairs of Paleſtine, at a much earlier period with attention and impar-

[16] Herodot. l. ii. c. 159 & l. iii. c. 5.
[17] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. l. ii. c. 25.
[18] Antiochus' decree was iſſued 168 years before Chriſt. Nearly half a century before that decree, in the year 216 before Chriſt, Ptolemy Philopator was diſgraced by a ſhort lived and diſaſtrous regulation of the ſame kind, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

tiality,

SECT. IV.

tiality [18], is unfortunately loſt, and the loſs is for ever to be regretted; ſince the notices of other Greeks, preſerved chiefly in Diodorus and Strabo, reflect but a broken and diſtorted image of the ſacred records, although they concur in bearing teſtimony to the power and populouſneſs of the Jews, their momentous tranſactions and extraordinary inſtitutions [19].

Phœnicia—inhabitants of the two Tyres ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed from each other.

Of all the nations of antiquity next to the Jews themſelves, there is none more worthy of liberal curioſity than their neighbours the Phœnicians, whoſe irreparable misfortunes immediately followed their own. Tyre on the continent deſtroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, was a very different place from the ſmall city on a rocky iſland ſcarcely a mile diſtant from the coaſt, taken after a ſiege of ſeven months by Alexander [20]. Inſular Tyre was confined to an oval and elevated ſpot, now covered with black earth, eight hundred paces long, and four hundred broad, and could never exceed two miles in circumference. But Tyre on the oppoſite coaſt was a city of vaſt extent, ſince many centuries after its demolition, the thinly inhabited ruins meaſured nineteen miles round [21] including the populous iſland or rather rock in its neighbourhood, whoſe houſes for want of room on the earth, roſe many ſtories into the air. The Tyrians conquered by Alexander were alſo a very different people from thoſe deſtroyed, enſlaved, or expelled by the king of Babylon. The Macedonian in ſacking Tyre, revenged not only the abominable cruelties recently committed againſt his own countrymen, but the bloody inſurrection of Tyrian ſlaves then poſſeſſed of the city, againſt indulgent and unſuſpecting maſters [22]. The Babylonian drove from their country the more illuſtrious anceſtors of thoſe maſters themſelves; men equally conſpicuous for their attainments in arts, and their atchievements in

[18] Joſeph. Antiq. l. i. c. 8. Euſeb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. and Origen conr. Celſ. l. i. p. 13.

[19] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 750, and Diodor. l. i. ſ. 7. and in Fragment. Libror. xxxv and xl.

[20] Hiſtory of Ancient Greece, v. iv. c. 38.

[21] Plin. l. v. c. 19. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758.

[22] Juſtin. l. xviii. c. 3.

SECT. IV.

arms; who notwithſtanding the deſtruction of their government and their capital, left a numerous progeny of colonies on their own model, to reſcue and perpetuate their renown; and whoſe example was of much importance to Alexander, in ſuggeſting the means of completing by ſea as well as land, the vaſt commercial chain in which he had purpoſed to bind the remoteſt countries of antiquity.

Naval and commercial hiſtory of the Phœnicians.

In a former part of this ſurvey, we deſcribed the ſettlement of the Phœnicians on the coaſt of Syria, and conſidered their maritime traffic there, as an appendage to the great carravan trade carried on through Aſia and Africa[24]. The nature and intent of this ſettlement on the ſhore of the Mediterranean, are well calculated to confirm the obſervation that the further back we remount in the hiſtory of Aſia, we ſhall find characters the worthier of our eſteem. The Phœnicians were a colony[25] of Sabæans, an induſtrious ſeafaring people of Arabia, not leſs ingenious than enterpriſing, and of whom we have before ſpoken as ſingularly attentive to the culture of their language, and holding public competitions in poetry, ſcarcely leſs memorable than the Pythian games in Greece[26]. Rivalling the Greeks in taſte for the fine arts, the Sabæans, and particularly their coloniſts, the Phœnicians, were ſtill further ennobled by zeal for equal laws and political liberty. Sidon, the firſt ſettlement of the Phœnicians on the coaſt which borrowed their name, remounts to the age of Abram[27]: Tyre followed it perhaps[28] at no great diſtance of time; and upwards of twelve centuries before Chriſt, they had founded other colonies and built other ſeaports, each governed apart by its own

[24] Homer. Iliad. l. vi. v. 290 & Odyſſ. l. xv. v. 419.—424. By means of this communication, it is not impoſſible that Indian ivory might have adorned the palace of Menelaus. Odyſſ. l. iv. v. 70. et ſeq.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. 1.

[26] Vid. Schultens. Præfac. ad Monument. Vetuſt. Arab. and Pococke Specileg. Hiſt. Arab.

[27] Conf. Geneſis, c. x. v. 15, and c. xii. v. 6.

[28] Herodot. l. ii. c. 44. But the prieſts of the Tyrian Hercules indulged the vanity prevalent, as we have ſeen, in all ſuch colleges. Joſephus, Antiq. l. viii. c. 3. makes the foundation of Tyre precede by only 240 years, that of Solomon's Temple.

kings

SECT. IV.

kings or judges, whoſe official authority was ſo ſtrictly limited, that it is ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from that of elective and reſponſible magiſtrates. Under the influence of ſuch inſtitutions, the citizens of Tyre and Sidon gradually became great merchants trading on large capitals, at the various *extremities* of the commercial world, which, according to the obſervation of Herodotus, were diſcovered moſt to abound [29] in precious commodities. The hiſtorian's remark is juſtified by a ſhort enumeration of articles; the gold and ebony of Ethiopia, the ſpices, gems, and ivory of India, the perfumes and drugs of Arabia, the ſilver of Tarteſſus or Spain [30]. To theſe the Phœnicians added ſlaves from Caucaſus, horſes and furs from Scythia, the amber of Pruſſia, and the tin of Britain [31]. There was ſcarcely a commodity either of ornament, or uſe, which found not a place in their markets, and ſcarcely a ſhore, however remote, which they did not lay under commercial contribution, after they had eſtabliſhed convenient halting places for reaching it by a coaſting navigation [32]. Of theſe halting places, as well as of the principal goals or markets to which they led, the notices in ancient hiſtory are more numerous than might be expected from authors chiefly occupied about wars and conqueſts.

In examining in a former work, the colonization of the Greeks [33], we ſcarcely touched at an iſland in the Mediterranean, without diſcovering factories and forts of the Phœnicians, or clear veſtiges of the mining and other ſtubborn exertions of that indefatigable people. Cyprus had been cultivated by their induſtry [34], before it was embel-

Their goals and halting places.

[29] Herodot. l. iii. c. 106. and c. 114.

[30] Tarteſſus and Ethiopia are called particularly "the extremities of the world." Homer Odyſſ. l. iv. v. 563.

Εις πλατιον πεδιον και πειρατα γαιης.

Conf Strabo, l. iii. p. 150. For Ethiopia, ſee Matthew, c. xii. v. 42.

[31] Ezekiel, c. xxvii. Exodus, xxx. v. 23. 24. Herodot. l. i. c. 163. l. iii. c. 15. Strabo, l. iii. p. 146.

[32] See Geſner Commentar. de Electro Veterum, et de Navigationibus extra Columnas Herculis, and the ſame ſubject treated in a ſtill more ſatisfactory manner by Heeren in his Ideen, &c. p. 767. & ſeq. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Heeren, though this part of my work was rough-hewn before his publication appeared.

[33] Hiſtory of Ancient Greece, paſſim.

[34] Iſocrat. in Evagor. Conf. Diodorus, l. xvi. f. 42.

liſhed

SECT. IV.

liſhed by the elegance of Greece. In Crete the Phœnician ſtory of Europa is anterior [35] to the age of the Greek Minos. The moſt accurate of hiſtorians within the narrow limits preſcribed to his narrative, atteſts the immemorial ſettlement of Phœnicians in Sicily [36]. In purſuing this direction from eaſt to weſt, Sardinia and the Balearic iſles filled up the long inſular chain of their forts and ſettlements, finally terminating in Tarteſſus, the iſle of Cadiz near the pillars of Hercules [37]. Their eſtabliſhments on the northern coaſt of Africa are not leſs memorable. A ſmall part of that coaſt, neareſt to Phœnicia, was excluded from navigation by the ſuperſtition or jealouſy of the Egyptians. But we have the authority of Ariſtotle, not leſs weighty in hiſtory than it formerly [38] was in philoſophy, for placing the foundation of Attica two hundred and eighty-ſeven years before that of Carthage, that is, eleven hundred and fifty-ſix years before the Chriſtian æra: a date which, according to that author, was copied from the Phœnician records [39]. Around Utica their eldeſt daughter, and Carthage their faireſt and proudeſt, three hundred colonies were ſaid to have diffuſed themſelves on both ſides collectively, and the report ſeems to be credited by a great geographer [40] ſeldom accuſed of exaggeration. Many of thoſe ſettlements became important in themſelves through domeſtic induſtry and foreign commerce: Carthage, cultivating ſuch purſuits in an extenſive territory, far ſurpaſſed the power of her metropolis: but in early times all thoſe African eſtabliſhments derived no ſmall ſhare of their importance from being, as it were, ſtepping ſtones to the Andaluſian coaſt, which, if Ethiopia formed the Brazils, was the Peru and Mexico

[35] Lucian de Dea Syria ſub init. Conf. Diodor. l. iv. ſ. 60.

[36] Thucydid. l. vii. c. 2. & ſeq.

[37] Diodor. l. v. ſ. 15. In Sardinia, Tarteſſus, &c. ſacrifices were inſtituted to the Phœnician Hercules, and performed according to Phœnician forms or cuſtoms τοις των Φοινικων εθεσι διοικημενα. Diodor. l. v. ſ. 20.

[38] I mean not in the ſcholaſtic ages when nonſenſe paſſed for philoſophy, but in thoſe of Alexander and Auguſtus, the moſt ſplendid, and *intellectually* the moſt refined, in hiſtory.

[39] Ariſtot. de Mirabil. Auſcult. Opera. tom. i. p. 1165

[40] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 826.

SECT. IV.

of antiquity. During the flouriſhing ages of Tyre in particular, which muſt have laſted nearly five centuries before its deſtruction by Nebuchadnezzar, ſilver continued ever to be the principal object as well as inſtrument of Phœnician [41] traffic: and had been diffuſed by the Tyrians ſo copiouſly over the Eaſtern continent, that the revenues of all the ſatrapies, except India and Ethiopia, were paid in ſilver only [42].

Tarteſſus.

In trading with Egyptian and Aſſyrian wares along the ſhores of the Mediterranean, as they are deſcribed in remoteſt times by Homer and Herodotus, the Phœnicians were carried accidentally to Tarteſſus, which is variouſly mentioned as a city, a river, and a country; and which ſeems originally to have denoted the ſmall iſland between two branches of the Guadalquiver [43] (ſettlements of that ſecure kind, being always preferred by the Phœnicians [44]), which gradually extended its name with the diffuſion of colonies over the adjacent territory. In this delicious portion of the Spaniſh coaſt (I ſpeak at the diſtance of thirty years with a freſh remembrance of its charms), the enterpriſing traders are ſaid to have met with objects calculated to afford unbounded ſcope to their mercantile ſpeculations. For the cheapeſt trinkets, they received vaſt quantities of ſilver in exchange; a circumſtance not extraordinary, if we believe that among the natives of the country, the vileſt utenſils and even the mangers [45] for their horſes conſiſted of this precious metal. The Phœnicians muſt have laid in a full cargo, before they could think, as is ſaid, of ſeparating the lead from their anchors, that they might load them alſo with ſilver [46]. Such reports may be partly fictitious; vain exagge-

Stories concerning the firſt Phœnician traders to that country.

[41] Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 25. The words are rendered clearly by Michaelis. "Doch waren immer die Spaniſhen ſchiffe das hauptwerk deiner handlung." Conf. 1 Maccabees, c. viii. v. 3.

[42] Herodotus, l. iii. c. 89, & ſeq.

[43] Diodor. l. v. ſ. 20. Conf. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 2.

[44] The iſle of Cadiz for the ſake of ſilver; Nordland, an iſle of Denmark, for the ſake of amber; Scilly for tin, &c.

[45] Conf. Strabo, l. iii. p. 224. and Diodor. l. iii. ſ. 36, with Weſſelingius's note.

[46] Ariſtot. de Mirabil. Auſcult. Opera. tom. i. p. 1163. Conf. Herodot. l. i. c. 163. and Diodor. l. v. ſ. 35.

rations

SECT. IV.

rations reſembling thoſe to which ſimilar circumſtances gave birth upon the firſt diſcovery of America; but as they are tranſmitted by authors of much diſcernment, they atteſt ſuch riches in Spain in remote antiquity, as were ſufficient to render that country the principal goal of the Phœnicians in their weſtern traffic.

Tin, its peculiar uſe in Aſia.

Spain is ſaid to have produced tin[47] as well as ſilver. But the Phœnicians, with their unceaſing activity in examining every coaſt which offered a hope of gain, ſoon diſcovered more copious ſources of an article at all times and places of various and indiſpenſable uſe, but particularly in requeſt among the warlike nations of the Eaſt for hardening their copper and making it ſupply the place of iron in weapons[48]. For collecting tin in abundance, the hardy navigators formed ſettlements on the Scilly iſlands, and perhaps alſo near to ſome of thoſe promontories and peninſulas on the coaſt of Cornwall, which exhibiting to ſhips at ſea the appearance of iſles not unlike thoſe of Scilly, were collectively with them named the Caſſiterides[49].

The Phœnicians endeavoured to conceal their trade to the Caſſiterides.

Careful as the Phœnicians were to conceal their profitable voyages, it was impoſſible for them to diſguiſe their navigation for ſilver to Spain through the well known courſe of the Mediterranean. But they long endeavoured to throw a veil over their trade to Britain for the baſer metals of lead and tin. In his anxiety to preſerve the monopoly of theſe articles to his country, a Phœnician captain perceiving himſelf to be followed by a foreign veſſel, contrived to make his ſhip bulge on ſhallows; his crew periſhed; the captain was ſaved on the wreck, and his bold act of patriotiſm was remunerated by his fellow citizens[50]. The Caſſiterides were conſidered as ſituated at the

[47] Strabo, l. iii. p. 147. Diodor. l. v. f. 380. and Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 16.

[48] Their armour offenſive and defenſive, has been found, on analyſis, to contain copper and tin.

[49] Strabo, l. iii. p. 175. makes the Caſſiterides ten in number. This error is corrected by Camden and others.

[50] Not, however, with the generoſity of Britiſh merchants, if he received only the value of his loſt cargo. Strabo, l. iii. p. 175, 176. But the phraſe ſhould be conſtrued liberally, that the captain received due compenſation.

extremities

SECT. IV.

extremities of the north, but the Phœnicians, if they did not really navigate the Baltic, at leaſt procured from its ſhores the admired article of amber [51]; a commodity then deemed more precious than gold.

Their trade for gold to Ophir.

But this great idol (not of the commercial world alone), appears next to ſilver to have been the principal import of the Tyrians. The long friendſhip between David and Solomon kings of the Hebrews with Hiram king of Tyre, offered an opportunity to the ſacred hiſtorian of mentioning two celebrated voyages of Hiram's ſubjects: namely, that to Tarſhiſh or Tarteſſus above deſcribed, by the Mediterranean; and that to Ophir on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, by the Red Sea. The ſhips to Tarſhiſh on the occaſion particularly ſpecified, proceeded ſouthward to the coaſt of Guinea, and together with Spaniſh ſilver, brought home the uſual purchaſes on that coaſt to the preſent day, gold and ivory [52]. The ſhips which ſailed from the harbours of Elath and Eziongeber on the eaſtern horn of the Red Sea, brought back gold only [53]. In theſe venturous undertakings, which ſhould appear to have been familiar to the Tyrians, the gains muſt have been indeed wonderful if we meaſure them by the extraordinary quantities of gold employed for adorning the temple of Jeruſalem, computed at upwards of ſix hundred millions ſterling [54]: a ſum of accumulation to which our enormous debts of profuſion can ſcarcely reconcile our ears. By adopting the reading in Joſephus [55], the amount is reduced to the tenth part of that contained in Chronicles; but even Joſephus's ſtatement is ſufficiently large to

[51] It came from the Eridanus, recognized in the Rhodaune, which flows into the Viſtula near Dantzig. Herodot. l. iii. c. 15. with Larcher's note.

[52] Kings, c. x. v. 22.

[53] 1 Kings, c. ix. v. 26, 27, and 28. and 2 Chronicles, c. viii. v. 17. and 18. In theſe texts, the two voyages are clearly diſtinguiſhed: not ſo, in 2 Chronicles, c. xx. v. 36. and 1 Kings, c. xxii. 48. To reconcile the dark, with the clear, texts, we may either ſuppoſe the names "Tarſhiſh and Ophir" to be interchanged by a miſtake of tranſcribers, or we muſt admit an anterior circumnavigation of Africa to that deſcribed by Herodotus 610 years before Chriſt. Herodot. l. iv. c. 42.

[54] 1 Chronicles, c. xxii. v. 14. with Arbuthnot's tables of ancient coins, p. 203.

[55] Antiq. Judaic. l. vii. c. 14.

SECT. IV.

warrant the ſuſpicion that the talent in queſtion is not that of the Hebrews, but a much ſmaller weight of the ſame name, applied only to articles the moſt precious, particularly the fine gold of Ophir.

Reaſons for thinking it near to Sofala.

A late celebrated traveller, in explaining the Phœnician voyage, is generally thought to have determined on good grounds the ſituation of Ophir at Sofala; a diſtrict on the eaſtern coaſt of Africa nearly oppoſite to the centre of the great iſland of Madagaſcar. In addition to the arguments employed by himſelf and others in ſupport of this opinion, it may be obſerved, that Cambyſes the Perſian, after his conqueſt of Egypt[56] proceeded as far as Meroè in his expedition againſt the Ethiopians, whoſe immenſe riches are painted in one word, by ſaying that the chains of their priſoners were compoſed of gold[57]; and that he returned, deſpairing of ſucceſs in his expedition, after he had accompliſhed one-fifth part of his journey[58]. The ſtage at which he arrived, the part of his route which he had performed, and both notices derived from the moſt reſpectable ſources, afford ſuch a reſult as ſeems altogether deciſive: ſince the diſtance between Thebes and Meroè, from the former of which Cambyſes ſet out, really meaſures about a fifth part of the journey from Thebes to Sofala or Ophir. By this obſervation, however, I pretend not to fix the ſituation of Ophir within preciſe and narrow limits, for Ophir was probably a name for that part of Ethiopia moſt productive in gold, as Tarteſſus of which we have juſt ſpoken, denoted thoſe diſtricts in Spain moſt abundant in ſilver.

Traffic of the Phœnicians in ſpices and perfumes.

Next to the precious metals, ſpices and perfumes formed the main merchandize of the Phœnicians, and were by them diffuſed among various nations of the weſt and north. In importing theſe commodities, their principal agents were the Sabæans inhabiting the culti-

[56] Strabo, l. xvii. Conf. Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. l. ii. c. 10.

[57] Herodot. l. iii. c. 23.

[58] Herodot. l. iii. c. 25. His proviſions failed before he reached this diſtance, and he could not long continue to advance, when his ſoldiers were obliged to live on the beaſts of burden, or on each other. Conf. Herodot. ubi ſupra et Seneca de Ira. l. iii. c. 20.

SECT. IV.

vated parts of Arabia on the Red Sea, and the carriers by land through the intermediate deſert, were the Nabathæan Arabs, "the troops from Tema and Sheba[59]," whoſe tranſactions will be conſpicuous in a ſubſequent part of this work during the ſhort-lived empire of Antigonus. The Phœnicians and Sabæans were connected, as above ſhewn, by blood[60], but ſtill more cloſely united by their mutual wants. The Phœnicians wanted from theſe Arabians articles indiſpenſable in the domeſtic[61] luxury, and ſtill more in the coſtly public worſhip of antiquity, when incenſe[62] perpetually ſmoked from innumerable altars; and the Sabæans might be abundantly ſupplied in return, with what they moſt deſired, the ſilver of Tarteſſus; an object of the utmoſt importance in their commerce with India, ſince that metal has been during all ages in peculiar requeſt among the remote nations of the Eaſt. Not ſatisfied with an equality of profit in this beneficial intercourſe, the wily Tyrians, while they kept in their own hands a ſort of monopoly of ſilver, contrived to create rivals to the Sabæans in the ſale of Indian[63] and Arabian merchandize. The cultivated parts on the Red Sea, and thoſe on the Perſian gulph, are ſeparated by a frightful deſert ſix hundred miles broad. Towards the north they were connected by the wandering Nabathæans, and on the ſouth, by ſmall and obſcure ſea-ports ex-

Its vaſt extent and cauſes by which it was promoted.

Sabæans prevented from keeping the monopoly in this traffic.

[59] Job, c. vi. v. 19.

[60] See above, ſ. ii.

[61] Herodot. l. i. c. 195. and 198.

[62] Id. l. i. c. 183.

[63] "The Phœnicians by means of their harbours on the Red Sea, held a regular intercourſe with India." Robertſon's Diſquiſition, &c. p. 7. 4to edit. But the authorities cited by the accurate hiſtorian, (viz. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1128. and Diodorus, l. i. p. 70.), do not warrant his aſſertion; neither is there any clear proof of Indian articles in the xviiith chapter of Ezekiel. But ſpices are mentioned in Geneſis, c. xxxvii. v. 25; and what theſe ſpices were, appears from the cinnamon and caſſia of the holy oil, Exodus, c. xxx. v. 23. with Michaelis note. Κινναμωμος is uſed in the Septuagint, Jeremiah, c. vi. v. 20. and alſo in the Revelations, c. xviii. v. 13. where that ſpice appears as an ordinary article of traffic in ancient Babylon. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 3. ſays, "cinnamon came from the country, where Bacchus was brought up," that is, India: and the ſtories related by him concerning it exactly reſemble thoſe told by the inhabitants of Ceylon to Thunberg and Foſter. Atheneus, l. i. p. 66. will atteſt the early uſe of ſpiceries in Greece.

SECT. IV.

Gerra and Maceta.

tending along the baſis of the triangle, from the Arabian to the Perſian gulph. At the entrance of the latter, Maceta oppoſite to the modern Ormus, and further to the north, Gerra, only two hundred miles diſtant from the mouth of the Euphrates, deſerved the attention of hiſtorians, not excluſively engroſſed by wars and conqueſts. At what preciſe period the commerce of theſe harbours acquired eminence we are not enabled to aſcertain; it muſt, however, have been ancient, extenſive, and uninterrupted, ſince a ſouthern diſtrict of Babylonia, Diredotis or Teredon, chiefly ſupplied by their means with ſpices and aromatics, was emphatically ſtiled the land of traffic by the prophets [64], and is dignified with preciſely the ſame title by the Greek hiſtorians of Alexander [65]. At their firſt eſtabliſhment the barbours on the Perſian gulph probably ſerved chiefly as links of connection between the Happy Arabia, and the rich Babylonian [66] plain, where the ſucceſſive capitals of Nineveh and Babylon, not to mention cities of inferior rank, muſt have occaſioned a great demand for their merchandize; ſince Babylon, in its fallen ſtate under the Perſian yoke, annually conſumed twenty five [67] tons of frankincenſe in the ſingle feſtival of Belus. But through the interference, and perhaps the example of the Phœnicians, the merchants of Gerra and Maceta, as well as thoſe of the neighbouring iſles in the Perſian gulph, ſome of which produced good timber [68], ventured on a bolder ſphere of action, and conſtructed veſſels of their own fit to perform long coaſting voyages to different parts of India. That the Tyrians had no ſmall ſhare in effecting this improvement, is indicated in the name Tylos or Tyrus, and Aradus, both transferred from Phœnician [69] cities to two ſmall

Dedan,—its import.

[64] Conf. Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 4. and Iſaiah, c. xlii. v. 14.

[65] Γης εμπορης. Arriani, Indica, c. 41.

[66] Strabo ſays this of Gerra, and ſpeaks of it as a Babylonian colony, l. ii. p. 50. Nearchus in his voyage was told that the promontory, which he ſaw before him, of Maceta, was an emporium of cinnamon and aromatics, which ſupplied the Aſſyrians. Arrian. Indic. c. 32.

[67] Herodot. l. i. c. 183.

[68] Theophraſt. Hiſtor. Plant. l. v. c. 6. and Plin. l. vi. c. 28.

[69] Ἱερα πλησιον τοις Φοινικικοις δμοια. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 766. Conf. Plin. l. vi. p. 28.

iſlands

SECT. IV.

iſlands near the eaſtern coaſt of Arabia: whether thoſe now called the Bahrein iſlands, or according to our great geographer, whoſe opinions always command reſpect, two yet ſmaller, near the mouth of the Perſian gulph [70]. The notices in ancient writers concerning the ſituation of Tylos or Tyrus are not to be reconciled. Probably, as we have ſeen in parallel caſes, the name was applied to different iſlands in the gulph; as they ſucceſſively became chief ſeats of Phœnician factories, and principal ſtaples of traffic. By means, however, of their ſettlements in theſe parts called collectively Dedan [71] in Scripture, the Phœnicians not only deſtroyed the monopoly of the Sabæans with regard to the maritime commerce in ſpices and perfumes, but obtained a channel of communication with Ophir or Sofala, independently of the harbours on the Red Sea, which, in the unſettled ſtate of that neighbourhood, frequently changed maſters.

Having endeavoured briefly to explain the different branches of Phœnician commerce, it is neceſſary to add that a people equally ingenious and enterpriſing, was not contented with dealing in foreign commodities. They carried on ſucceſsfully various branches of domeſtic induſtry, ſome common to them with other manufacturing nations, and ſeveral peculiar to themſelves alone: for the inventors of letters were the authors of many other inventions; among which it would be unpardonable to omit their robes ſhining with the far famed Tyrian dye, their inimitable pieces of workmanſhip in gold and ivory [72], and the more uſeful compoſition of glaſs, which appears to have been a Sidonian diſcovery [73]. Yet to the boldneſs of

Phœnician manufactures.

[70] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 248.

[71] Bochart and Michaelis on Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v 15.

[72] Strabo, l. i. p. 41. and l. xvi. p. 757, 758.

[73] It was induſtriouſly reported by the Phœnicians, that the fuſion of ſand into glaſs could be performed only at Sidon. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758. Conf. Herodot. l ii. c. 69. and Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 26 Were the λιθοι χυτοι, "the melted ſtones" of which Herodotus ſpeaks of the ſame nature with modern glaſs? If ſo, the Egyptians probably obtained them from Sidon. Joſhua, c. xix. v. 26. with Michaelis's note.

their

SECT. IV.

their maritime undertakings, the Phœnicians are principally indebted for their celebrity [24].

Circumnavigation of Africa.

The circumnavigation of Africa by men, who in many preceding voyages, had ſailed to Guinea on one ſide, and to Sofala on the other, is not an unlikely event, nor involving any incredible circumſtances. The voyage was accompliſhed, as we have ſeen, ſix centuries before the Chriſtian æra, by Phœnicians reſident in Egypt, at the deſire of Necos, the unfortunate rival of Nebuchadnezzar. But in the ſtate of the commercial world at that period, this voyage which firſt diſcovered the Cape of Good Hope, ſtands as an inſulated and comparitively unimportant fact, celebrated indeed as a matter of curioſity [25], but which to hiſtorians of that age, did not ſeem likely to be attended with any conſiderable utility.

Its unimportance in that age.

Had profit been its main object, the Tyrians would have left neither the deſign to a king of Egypt, nor the execution chiefly to their countrymen ſettled in that kingdom; their own commonwealth would have embarked heartily in the enterprize. But the merchants of Tyre holding ſuch an important ſhare in the traffic carried on by ſea and land through the great central countries of the world, could not diſcern any alluring proſpect at the out-lying extremity of Africa. On the eaſtern ſide, all beyond Ophir, the land of gold, was left unexamined from an opinion rather of the uſeleſſneſs of ſuch an undertaking, than of any great danger attending it; and

[24] In the Argonautica aſcribed to Orpheus, and certainly of high antiquity, the Poet makes Ancæus, a Phœnician, take the helm in time of danger, and encourage the Greek heroes. Argonaut. v. 1090 & ſeq.

[25] See above, p. 133, & Herodotus, l. iv. c. 42. Some tranſlations make Herodotus ſay, "the report of thoſe navigators may obtain credit with others, but to me it ſeems incredible; for they affirmed that having ſailed round Africa, they had the ſun on their right hand." The laſt clauſe of the ſentence ſhould run, "that in ſailing round Africa they had the Sun on their right hand," that is, in the northern hemiſphere. On turning to the original, the reader will find, that this is the only circumſtance which Herodotus calls in queſtion, although he candidly admits that others may be prepared for receiving it. He is ſo far from diſbelieving the relation in general on account of one improbable circumſtance that he immediately ſubjoins: "Thus was Africa for the firſt time explored."

on

SECT. IV.

on the weſtern ſide of that vaſt region, they might ſafely entruſt the completion of their diſcoveries to the greateſt of their own colonies, I mean the republic of Carthage, whoſe fortunate poſition on the African ſhore was improved, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, by a rare combination of deep wiſdom and daring enterprize.

Government of the Phœnicians.

The political ſtate of the Phœnicians may be familiariſed to our fancy by recalling the governments of Greece during the heroic ages. In Greece before, and for a ſhort time after, the war of Troy, each city at the diſtance of ten or twenty miles from another, had its king, its ſenate and aſſembly; while the whole of theſe cities collectively formed a confederacy for defence, and ſometimes for aggreſſion: united by the common ties of religion and language, a ſameneſs of laws, and a ſimilarity of manners. Such preciſely[76], was the condition of the Phœnicians, with one important difference, that this praiſeworthy people never unſheathed the ſword except in ſelf defence: they reſiſted the invaders of their country with unparalleled perſeverance; the other materials for their hiſtory are ſupplied ſolely by their commerce, their colonization, and their diſcoveries.

Invention of letters - connected with their extenſive commerce.

At the head of theſe diſcoveries muſt be mentioned, that which is the greateſt of all, and to which mankind are ſo infinitely indebted, that emotions of curioſity and gratitude ariſe in every liberal mind, at the bare name of its authors. It might naturally be expected that clouds ſhould ſurround the origin of alphabetic writing, an art by which chiefly, the fruits of all other arts and ſciences are perpetuated and diffuſed. But the general voice of antiquity, while it aſcribes to the Egyptians and Aſſyrians reſpectively, the improvements of geometry

[76] The progreſs of government in Phœnicia, accorded alſo exactly with that in Greece, and was directly the reverſe of that in Paleſtine. Inſtead of Judges, the Hebrews created Kings; inſtead of Kings, the Phœnicians elected Suffetes, the Phœnician or Hebrew word (Sophetim) which ſignifies judges. In their hiſtorical age, the Carthaginians knew only Suffetes, though Hanno in the title to his voyage (of which hereafter) is called king. This interchange of names atteſts the nature of the office, agreeing, as ſaid in the text, with the very *limited royalties* of Greece. Hiſtory of Antient Greece, vol. i. c. 1. & 3. Conf. Joſephus, cont. Apian, l. i. c. 17.

and

SECT. IV.

and aſtronomy [m]; and to both nations promiſcuouſly, the introduction of idolatry and hieroglyphics [n], aſſigns to the Phœnicians an invention of greater ſubtilty and more extenſive uſe; the analyſis of articulate ſound into its ſimpleſt elements, and the notation of theſe elements by fit characters, which Cadmus carried with him into Greece, two years before Moſes led the Iſraelites acroſs the Red Sea. The Aſſyrians and Egyptians depicted on walls and columns their public tranſactions, as well as their aſtronomical obſervations: the ſymbolic writing employed for theſe purpoſes was alſo ſubſervient, as we have ſeen, to the early and extenſive intercourſe carried on by caravans, through the great cities of Thebes and Nineveh, Memphis and Babylon; and between thoſe great inland ſtaples of the antient continent on the one hand, and the Phœnician as well as Arabian ſea ports on the other. To which of the two great purſuits of the Theban and Babylonian prieſthood, whether for commerce or for ſcience, the ineſtimable art of recording thought was originally introduced, it would be now fruitleſs to inquire; but it is worthy of remark, that the two great nations of antiquity, the moſt noted for their inland traffic, are alſo the moſt celebrated for their hieroglyphics; and it is conformable to this obſervation that the Phœnicians, while they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by maritime commerce, ſhould have exerted their ingenuity on contrivances indiſpenſable to merchants [o], and have ſimplified more and more, the means by which their contracts might be recorded, and their thoughts communicated to numerous correſpondents and factories in diſtant parts of the world.

Deſtruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. B. C. 573.

Within as narrow a compaſs as ſeemed conſiſtent with perſpicuity, I have endeavoured to compriſe the merits and attainments of a people whoſe ſplendour appears early above the diſtant horizon of time, and whoſe ſun of proſperity ſet five hundred and ſeventy three years be-

[m] Ὁι χαλδαιοι μεν αστρολογιαν, Αιγυπτιοι δε γεωμετριαν, &c. Anatolius apud Fabric. Bibliogr. Græc. l. iii. c. 10. p. 275. Vid. Caſſiodor. Varior. l. iii. Epiſt. 52.

[n] To this ſource, alſo, Strabo aſcribes their arithmetic and doctrine of proportions. Τω λογιστικω &c. και γεωμετρια, l. xvii. p. 787.

fore

SECT. IV.

fore the Chriſtian æra. After a thirteen years ſiege, Tyre was taken and demoliſhed by Nebuchadnezzar. King Ithobal was ſlain in fighting for his capital. To theſe particulars concerning a ſiege longer, and in reſpect of its defenders far more important than that of Troy, hiſtory only enables us to add the ordinary operations in all ſuch warfare; a mound raiſed againſt the place, walls of circumvallation round it, forts with lofty engines from which its higheſt towers were battered [80]. Its fair palaces, ſplendid idols, and accumulated magazines of precious merchandiſe [81] were a prey to horſemen from the north, the Scythian cavalry of Nebuchadnezzar; barbarians not leſs thirſty for blood than they were greedy of plunder.

Influence of that event on the commercial world.

The craſh of this metropolis in the bold language of prophecy, reſounded over numerous iſles and diſtant coaſts; its fall ſhook to the earth many flouriſhing factories and colonies, involving as it were in its ruin the whole commercial world [82]. A peculiarity in the prediction "that Tyre ſhould be thrown into the ſea, ſo that though ſought for, it ſhould never more be found [83]," was not fulfilled till near three centuries afterwards, when Alexander employed part of the ruins of this capital to raiſe a ſtupendous mole reaching three quarters of a mile from the coaſt to the walls of New Tyre, built on the oppoſite iſland [84]. This mole has been gradually covered with alluvions, and formed into an iſthmus, which with the ſmall iſland at its extremity, compoſe together a peninſula in the ſhape of a hammer. The preſent town ſtands on the junction, as it were, of the head and handle: miſerably peopled by fifty families of poor fiſhermen [85]. Sad as this deſolation muſt appear, the narrowneſs and ſmallneſs

Prophecy fulfilled.

[80] Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 8 & 9.

Ibid. c. xxviii. v. 12, in Michaelis tranſlation.

[81] Id. ibid. v. 15, 16, 17.

[82] Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 17 & 21.

[83] Hiſtory of Ancient Greece, v. iv. c. 38

[84] Voyage de Volney en Syrie, &c. v. ii. p. 194. This more lively than learned traveller gives a curious derivation of the word Sour (the modern name of Tyre). The Latins, he ſays, ſubſtituted the letter T for the Greek Θ, which had the hiſſing ſound which the Engliſh give to Th in the word Think. Hence the change of the Greek Theta into S. How ſtrange! Did Mr. Volney ever meet with "Tyre" written in Greek with a Theta?

SECT. IV.

ſmalineſs of inſular Tyre, the ſea port ſacked by Alexander, but afterwards reſtored by him, was a declenſion ſcarcely leſs memorable from the ſpacious and ſplendid city deſtroyed irrecoverably by Nebuchadnezzar.

New Tyre—its buildings.

This king of kings, the redoubted commander of innumerable cavalry, appears not to have been poſſeſſed of any conſiderable naval force. Many Tyrians eſcaped by ſea with their moſt precious effects; and a conſiderable number of them, moved by affection for their native land, ſo much encreaſed the populouſneſs of the iſland, that it became in time neceſſary to raiſe the houſes there, five and ſix ſtories above the ground. They are deſcribed as equalling in height the *inſulæ* at Rome, a word for which the Engliſh language happily ſupplies not an equivalent, but which denoted large and lofty edifices, inhabited by various tenants of the poorer ſort, occupying their ſeveral flats or ſtories[86]. Security from ſuch conquerors as Nebuchadnezzar, compenſated to the Tyrians for every inconveniency and even danger, in a country often ſhaken by earthquakes.

Nebuchadnezzar's invaſion of Egypt.

The taking of Tyre which had not been effected by the Chaldees "till every head was bald, and every ſhoulder peeled[87]," was immediately followed by a predatory deſolation of Egypt, then torn by a civil war between Apries the grandſon and ſucceſſor of Necos, and his revolted general Amaſis. The haughty character of Apries, who, according to Herodotus, vaunted that it was beyond the power[88] of the gods themſelves to ſhake the firmneſs of his government, is deſcribed more pithily by the words put into his mouth by Ezekiel "the river is mine and I have made it[89]," ſuch pride deformed by ſtill more

Thro? The modern name of Sour or Sur is not derived from the Greek but from the Arabic, in which language Tyre, as is well known, is written Tſyrus. Vid. Golium. Element. Afragan.

[86] Conf. Juvenal. Satyr. iii. v. 166; Sueton in Neron. and Strabo, l. xvi. p. 753 and 757. They are common in all parts of the continent; over which England has this advantage, that perſons of moderate fortunes, as well as the rich, can lock their outer doors, their houſes being inhabited by one family only.

[87] Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 18.

[88] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 161.

[89] Chap. xxix. v. 9.

odious

SECT IV.

odious cruelty [90], precipitated him from the throne; and after the departure of Nebuchadnezzar, (who ſhould appear to have entered into a compoſition with Amaſis,) ſubjected him to a ſhameful death [91].

Amaſis, his reign of forty four years. B. C. 569—525.

From the date of Apries' execution, the uſurper Amaſis reigned forty four years with great glory; exaggerated perhaps by the partiality of the Greeks, to whom he threw open the commerce of his kingdom, and whom he encouraged to build temples, (a precaution neceſſary to merchants) in every part of his dominions, and with whoſe nation he enhanced all his former merits, by making a Greek woman the partner of his throne [92]. During the latter part of his long adminiſtration, Egypt completely recovered the evils inflicted on it in the time of Apries. The ſeaſons were favourable, the ſupplies of water to the Nile unuſually propitious, and the kingdom boaſted its twenty thouſand cities or towns, moſt of them well inhabited [93]. Such a bloom of proſperity tempted a new invaſion, not indeed from the unworthy ſucceſſor of Nebuchadnezzar, but from the ſame great power which had ſwept that deteſtable deſpot from the earth.

Revolutions in Aſia between Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander. B. C. 561—330.

The Egyptian expedition is the laſt warfare of which we have any diſtinct notice in the military hiſtory of Nebuchadnezzar, who ſhortly afterwards a converted his vaſt camp into the greateſt city deſcribed in antiquity. Of the wonders of this city, as well as of the various claſſes of its inhabitants; their occupations, purſuits, and manners, ſuch as they ſtill appeared at the æra of the Macedonian conqueſt, we ſhall ſpeak preſently; after deducing in few words the revolutions in Aſia, from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Alexander.

The great Nebuchadnezzar, called Labynetus by the Greeks, died five hundred and ſixty one years before the Chriſtian æra. He was ſucceeded by a prince named alſo Labynetus by Herodotus [94], a name

[90] Herodotus, l. ii. p. 161.
[91] Ibid. c. 169.
[92] Ibid. l. ii. c. 178 and 181.
[93] Ibid. c. 177.
[94] Ibid. l. i. c. 188.

SECT. IV.

that may be recogniſed in the Nabonnid of Beroſus [95], and who, from a complete coincidence in ſeveral extraordinary particulars [96], is concluded to be the ſame perſon with the Belſhazzar of Daniel, whoſe capital was taken by Cyrus five hundred and thirty eight years before the Chriſtian æra.

Babylonian, or ſecond Aſſyrian empire B. C. 605-538.

The ſecond Aſſyrian empire called Babylonian, from the capital of Nebuchadnezzar, and Chaldæan from the nation of his warlike followers, laſted no more than ſixty ſeven years from the deſtruction of Nineveh, to the Perſian conqueſt of Babylon. During the firſt fifty five years of that period, the power of Babylon in the weſt, was contemporary with that of the Medes in the eaſt; and during the twelve laſt years of the ſame period it was contemporary with that of the Perſians [97], who, through the valour and policy of Cyrus, ſupplanted the dominion of the Medes five centuries and a half before Chriſt [98].

Perſian empire B. C 538-330.

From the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, to the aſſaſſination of the laſt Darius by Beſſus, an interval of two hundred and eight years, the Perſians, whoſe hiſtory in connection with that of the Greeks, I related in a former work, held a more extenſive dominion in ſouthern Aſia, than any other nation ever enjoyed either before or after them, the Macedonians alone excepted.

Egypt conquered by Cambyſes, B C. 525.

To Aſia, Cambyſes the ſon and ſucceſſor of Cyrus, added Egypt [99] almoſt immediately after the death of Amaſis, its illuſtrious and beloved ſovereign. Pſammenitus, the ſon of Amaſis, and the laſt independent king of Egypt, reigned but ſix months before the invaſion of his country, and the deſtruction of himſelf and family by a mercileſs tyrant, who in his eagerneſs to level every thing in that antient kingdom before his own deſpotiſm, raged with an intolerant fury not totally devoid of policy, againſt its idolatry and prieſthood [100]. As the

[95] Apud Joſeph. cont Apion. l. i. c. 2. and Euſeb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 41.

[96] Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. vii. p. 190. Edit. Leunel. and Daniel, c. v. paſſim.

[97] Herodot. l. i. c. 125, and ſeq. Conf. Daniel. cum Comment. Hieronym.

[98] Id. ibid.

[99] Herodot. l. iii. c. 1. and ſeq.

[100] Id. ibid. and c. xxv. & ſeq.

prieſts

SECT. IV.

priests had been the first authors, and always continued the main supporters of Egyptian prosperity, so of all classes in society, they were the most reluctant in yielding submission to a barbarous foreign yoke. The successive revolts of the Egyptians fomented chiefly through the priests, continued down to the æra of the Macedonian conquest. Only twenty years before that period, when Artaxerxes Ochus defeated Nectenebus the last conspicuous rebel, his victory was followed, as we have had occasion formerly to observe, by a general persecution of the sacerdotal families, whose temples were plundered even of their sacred records [101].

Persecutions of its priests and rebellions B. C. 525 - 330.

Notwithstanding the evils inflicted on Egypt by the Persians, that country, as well as Assyria, when they fell under the dominion of Alexander, still contained an industrious and ingenious people. The use which that conqueror, as well as his brother Ptolemy, who reigned after him in Egypt, made of such valuable materials there, it will be my duty to explain fully hereafter. But as Babylon, locally the centre, was chosen also for the seat and capital [102] of Alexander's empire, it is necessary in this place to describe its condition when conquered by him, not merely as to its buildings and external embellishments, things comparatively of little interest, but with regard to its numerous inhabitants; their arts, manners, character, and pursuits.

Babylon chosen for the seat of Alexander's empire.

Babylon had been long famed for science and for commerce, before it became the head of a great empire on the downfall of Nineveh. These cities, as capitals, existed not simultaneously, but successively. Many of the ornaments of Babylon might be due to a princess who flourished an hundred and fifty years [103] before Nebuchadnezzar, and still more of them might be owing to his queen Nitocris, who is supposed to have carried on his architectural plans during his long mental alienation; yet we have the authority of Scripture for ascrib-

How enlarged by Nebuchadnezzar.

[101] Diodorus, l. xvi. f. 51.
[102] Strabo, l. xv. p. 731.
[103] Herodotus, l. i. c. 184.

ing

SECT. IV.

ing to Nebuchadnezzar himſelf [104] the vaſtneſs and magnificence "of the houſe of his kingdom." The dimenſions of his capital as extended on the plan of a vaſt camp after the uſual practice of oriental conquerors, are given with as little variation [105] as might be expected from travellers eſtimating by report only, without actual admeaſurement. According to the faireſt reſult, they comprehended a regular ſquare, of which each ſide meaſured about twelve Engliſh miles [106], giving a ſurface of an hundred and twenty-ſix ſquare miles within its fortifications: a ſurface exceeding eight times the ſize of London and its appendages [107]. Babylon contained many crowded ſtreets riſing three and four [108] ſtories high; but like its precurſor, Nineveh, abounded with gardens, or rather parks, ſpacious reſervoirs of water, temples and palaces of great extent, with other places altogether empty, or but thinly inhabited. Although we abate above one half for theſe vacancies, we ſhall have ample ſpace for habitation within walls 48 miles in circuit. Theſe walls were 75 feet high, with pinnacles riſing fifteen feet above them [109]: and were provided at due intervals with an hundred brazen gates. The principal palace ſtood on the weſtern bank of the Euphrates directly oppoſite to the temple, ſepulchre, and tower of Belus. This laſt named edifice aſcended above the middle of the temple, or rather ſacred incloſure, in a pyramidal form, diminiſhing in compaſs as it reached upwards from its quadrangular baſe, each ſide of which was a ſtadium in length [110]. It was divided into eight ſtories, of which the higher always contracted by the deep retreat of its ſides from the diviſion immediately below it. The whole height of the tower meaſured a ſtadium: an altitude

Its dimenſions.

How divided within the walls.

Tower of Belus.

[104] "Is not this great Babylon which I have built for the houſe of the kingdom," that is, the capital of my empire. Conf. Daniel, c. iv. v. 30. Joſephus cont. Apion, l. i. c. 19.

[105] Conf. Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Curtius, Pliny.

[106] Herodotus, l. i. c. 178. Conf. Diodor.

[107] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 541.

[108] Herodotus, l. i. c. 180. Conf. Curtius.

[109] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 738.

[110] Herodot. l. i. c. 181. his ſtadium is the tenth part of a mile nearly.

well

well according with the forty feet [111] aſſigned to the coloſſal ſtatue of Belus or Jupiter on its ſummit; which, at the elevation of a ſtadium, would repreſent the ordinary ſize of a human figure.

How Babylon ſupplied with food.

The magnitude of this edifice, loftier and only ſomewhat leſs maſſy than the greateſt of the Egyptian pyramids, has been a ſtumbling-block with many who have overlooked a more conſiderable difficulty. How could Babylon, if three times, or only twice as populous as London, be properly ſupplied with food? In the narratives of ancient writers, we hear nothing of that ſcarcity [112] which prevails in the populous cities of China, now the greateſt in Aſia; and which reduces their wretched inhabitants to the meaneſt ſhifts and coarſeſt garbage for ſubſiſtance [113]. The Babylonians, on the contrary, are deſcribed as living in great plenty, and the upper claſſes as enjoying the habitual uſe of expenſive luxuries [114]. It has been computed that London requires for its ſupport, according to the average culture of Great Britain, a territory nearly equal in extent to Wales [115]. Could the produce of fourteen thouſand ſquare miles, that is, twice the ſurface of Wales, be tranſported to Babylon without enhancing beyond bounds the price of neceſſaries? The queſtion will be anſwered in the affirmitive, when we conſider what was above ſaid of the wonderful fertility of Babylonia, that is, the cultivated ſoil between the rivers; of the canals for watering the deſert on the weſt of the Euphrates, and of the rich alluvial Suſiana on the eaſt of the Tigris [116]. Beſides this conſideration, the following paſſage of Scripture ſeems to indicate the means by which the produce of very remote diſtricts might be ſerviceable in nouriſhing the capital, and lowering in price there, the principal articles of ſubſiſtence. "And Solomon had twelve officers over all Iſrael which

The houſehold of the great king not ſupplied from the ordinary markets.

[111] Diodorus, l. ii. c. 9.

[112] Anſon's Voyage, Staunton's Embaſſy, &c.

[113] Id. ibid.

[114] Herodot. l. i. c. 195.

[115] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 541. & ſeq.

[116] See above, p. 60. & ſeq.

SECT. IV.

provided victuals for the king and his houſehold [117]." A ſimilar inſtitution prevailed under the Aſſyrian and Perſian empires [118]. Two royal palaces only, occupied in Babylon the ſpace of two and a half ſquare miles [119]. In theſe ſtupendous abodes of luxury and magnificence, the retainers and court attendants cannot be ſuppoſed leſs numerous than they are afterwards deſcribed in the ſmaller palaces of Suſa where the menials were numbered by troops like the king's accompanying army, and where many thouſands of higher rank were daily fed at his tables [120]. In ſubſiſting theſe favourite multitudes, and even the royal army, no demand needed to be made on the ordinary markets. They were provided bountifully by the deſpotic maſter of millions, commanding and concentrating labour, and ſetting all expence at defiance.

Peculiar circumſtances in the ſoil and mode of life of the Babylonians.

In addition to this circumſtance, Babylonia, more fertile than Egypt, enjoyed for the moſt part an equal conveniency in point of water carriage. The ſoil not only produced more than that of European countries, but there was a quicker ſucceſſion of crops, legumes ſucceeding grains, and fruits being followed in the ſame ſeaſon by new flowers. The Babylonians alſo, like the inhabitants of ſouthern Aſia in general, lived on the ſimple and immediate produce of the ground, inſtead of receiving the reſult of that produce infinitely diminiſhed in the form of animal food. Nations ſubſiſting chiefly on grains and roots attain a degree of populouſneſs of which carniverous Europeans can ſcarcely form an idea. In thoſe aduſt climates beſides, the crops of many years might be treaſured up with ſafety; and that this expedient for preventing ſcarcity was in uſe at Babylon there is abundant proof in hiſtory [121].

Public granaries.

[117] 1 Kings, c. iv. v. 7.

[118] Cteſias Perſic. and Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 241.

[119] Diodorus, l. ii. ſ. 8.

[120] Xenoph. ibid. Conf. Athenæus, l. iv. p. 146. Diocleſian the firſt Roman emperor who adopted the court ceremonial of the great kings of the Eaſt, had the avenues to his palace lined by vaſt troops, (the various ſchools as they were called,) of domeſtic officers. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, et Spanheim de Uſu Numiſmatum, Diſſert xii.

[121] Herodotus, l. iii c. 158. and Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 190.

During

SECT. IV.

During the latter part of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and the twenty-ſix years that intervened between his death and the conqueſt of his capital by Cyrus, Babylon appears not only to have been the ſeat of an imperial court, and ſtation for a vaſt garriſon, but the ſtaple of the greateſt commerce that perhaps was ever carried on by one city. Its precious manufactures under its hereditary ſacerdotal government remounted, as we have ſeen, to immemorial antiquity [112]. The Babylonians continued thenceforward to be cloathed with the produce of their own induſtry. Their bodies were covered with fine linen, deſcending to their feet: their mitras or turbans were alſo of linen, plaited with much art; they wore woollen tunicks, above which a ſhort white cloak repelled the rays of the ſun [113]. Their houſes were ſolid, lofty, and ſeparated, from a regard to health and ſafety, at due diſtances from each other [114]; within them the floors glowed with double and tripple carpets of the brighteſt colours [115]; and the walls were adorned with thoſe beautiful tiſſues called Sindones, whoſe fine yet firm texture was employed as the fitteſt cloathing for eaſtern kings [116]. The looms of Babylon, and of the neighbouring Borſippa, a town owing its proſperity to manufactures wholly, ſupplied to all countries round, the fineſt veils or hangings, and every article of dreſs or furniture compoſed of cotton, of linen, or of wool [117].

Babylon's greateſt commercial proſperity.

Rich manufactures.

In the conſumption of the Babylonians we find innumerable commodities, produced only in countries far remote from their own. The vaſt quantities of ſpices and aromatics waſted in private luxury, or in the ſuperſtitious worſhip of their gods, appear to have been objects of more expence among them, than among any other people, not excepting the Romans during the ages of their greateſt

Vaſt conſumption of precious foreign articles.

[112] Joſhua, c. vii. v. 21.
[113] Herodot. l. i. c. 195.
[114] Curtius, l. v. c. 1.
[115] Xenoph. de Inſtit. Cyri.
[116] Theophraſt. Hiſt. Plantarum. l. iv. c. 9.
[117] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 739. and Theophraſt. ibid.

SECT. IV.

magnificence. At the feſtival of Jupiter, twenty-five tons[128] of frankincenſe were yearly burned on his altar. Next to this article the prodigious maſſes of gold employed in ſtatues and other ornaments deſervedly excite wonder. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image ninety feet high, included alſo the height of the pedeſtal, ſince the breadth of this figure was, according to Scripture, only nine feet, which from the known proportions of the human body, will give forty feet for its altitude, the preciſe[129] number aſſigned by Diodorus Siculus to the loftieſt of the coloſſal ſtatues at Babylon. According to *his* enumeration and eſtimate of the golden ornaments in that city, the collective maſs exceeded in value twenty-one millions ſterling[130]: but ſome fallacy may be ſuſpected, ſince we know from higher authority, that many idols conſiſted of wood[131] overlaid only with gold. Every Babylonian is ſaid to have worn an engraved gem, ſerving for his ſignet; and whoſe ordinary materials were the onyx, the ſapphire, or the emerald[132]. The diamond had not yet diſplayed its unrivalled brilliancy. In its natural ſtate this ſovereign of the mineral kingdom, is commonly a greyiſh flint, dull and dirty; its ſplendour and ſuperior value is revealed only by cutting, the invention of Berquen of Bruges towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century[133]. In the article of diet, the Babylonians are deſcribed as ſparing. Like the Chineſe and Hindoos they lived chiefly on grains; the table is not the favourite luxury of any of thoſe eaſtern nations. But the Babylonians delighted in perfumes, the uſe of which was univerſal, and with which, in their liquid ſtate, the whole body was daily ſprinkled[134]. Their native palms ſupplied them with a variety

Golden idols.

Fallacy in their amount.

Signets.

Table and perſonal luxuries.

[128] Herodotus, l. i. c. 183. His talent is reckoned at 60 pounds averdupois. He ſays, "1000 talents." Forty talents make a ton, and 1000 talents make 25 tons.

[129] Conf. Daniel, c. iii. v. 1. and Diodorus, l. ii. f. 9.

[130] Diodorus, l. ii. f. 9. & ſeq.

[131] Iſaiah, c. xl. v. 9. Such probably was the golden calf worſhipped in the wilderneſs (Exodus, c. xxx. v. 20.), about which ignorance has ſo long cavilled, and will continue to cavil.

[132] Cteſias Indic.

[133] An. Dom. 1476, Merveilles des Indes par Berquen de Bruges, p. 15.

[134] Herodot. l. i. c. 195. and 199.

in

SECT. IV.

in their bread, and alſo yielded inferior ſorts both of honey and of wine; they received palm wine, and fruits in great quantities from Armenia [135]; nor was the more generous wine from grapes [136] excluded as a branch of the river commerce of Babylonia, until the ſullen ſuperſtition of Mahomet baniſhed conviviality with almoſt every ſocial pleaſure from the fineſt regions of the earth.

Gems and dogs from northern India.

The commerce of the principal articles hitherto enumerated, gold, ſpices, and perfumes, we have already endeavoured to explain. But the country ſupplying the different gems above-mentioned, might be a matter of uncertainty, were we not told that they came from the ſame quarter that yielded other luxuries, whoſe locality is clearly aſcertained by their name and nature [137]. Theſe are the famous Indian dogs, ſuch eſſentials in Babylonian magnificence, that whole diſtricts were exempted from other tribute that they might be enabled to defray their maintenance [138]. They are ſaid to have been the mongrel brood of dogs and tigers [139], participating in the qualities of both. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, found them ſtill in northern India, towards the middle of the thirteenth century. He compares them in ſize and ſtrength to lions [140]; and if they really combined with other excellencies, the docility and fidelity of the dog, their value muſt have been ineſtimable in the eyes of kings and ſatraps, whoſe favourite delight was hunting, both as the amuſement of their idleneſs, and the gratification of their vanity.

Route to the Mediterranean ſea.

Important as this eaſtern traffic might be conſidered, the weſtern commerce of Babylon was not leſs conſiderable in itſelf, and is ſtill more conſpicuous in hiſtory. In human affairs there is generally a

[135] Id. c. 194.

[136] Curtius. l. v. c. i.

[137] Cteſias Indic. c. v. He alſo mentions, c. xxv, θηρια ερυθρα ωσπερ κυναςαρι, ſuppoſed to be cochineal, an article of great importance to the manufactures of Babylon and Borſippa.

[138] Herodot. l. i. c. 192. We ſhall ſee hereafter that they continued to be equally admired under the Greek kings of the Eaſt; and Sultan Bajazet, the unfortunate rival of Tamerlane, had among other ſervants of his houſehold 12,000 dog-keepers. Chereffeddin's Life of Tamerlane, vol. ii. p. 147.

[139] Ariſtot. Hiſtor. Animal. l. viii. c. 28.

[140] Marco Polo in Romuſio, ii. 35.

SECT. IV.

compenſation throughout, unobſerved by that careleſs impatience which views every queſtion under one only, and that often a falſe aſpect. The navigators of modern times precipitate their courſe through the wideſt ſeas, whereas thoſe of antiquity timidly purſued their tedious way along the winding ſhores of deep bays and dangerous promontories. But the ancient caravans, on the other hand, penetrated fearleſsly through broad deſerts, in conſequence of eſtabliſhments formed there for their ſafety, with a perſeverance of ſtubborn induſtry, unrivalled perhaps in any other line of exertion. Witneſs Palmyra or Tadmor in the Deſert, and the numerous ruins between that uſeful wonder of art, and the ſtaples of Emeſa and Heliopolis[141], from which laſt the Babylonian traders were brought to the centre of the Mediterranean coaſt, teeming in every age of antiquity with rich and populous cities. This golden chain was often ſhattered by the iron rod of conquerors. The capital link was deſtroyed when Nebuchadnezzar depopulated and demoliſhed Tyre. But as commerce delights to reſume the routes with which it has once become familiar, a new Tyre, as we have ſeen, aroſe in the ſmall iſland ſeparated only by a narrow firth from the old[142]. Sidon, Aradus, and other Phœnician cities of leſs note eſcaped the vengeance of the deſtroyer; and were not backward to avail themſelves of the commercial advantages accruing to them from the ruin of their overwhelming rival[143].

Royal road.

Beſides the route through the Syrian deſert, connecting Babylon with the Phœnician ſea-ports, another and a far longer line of communication between that great capital and the countries of the weſt, offered itſelf in what was called the royal road. By means of this road, which we formerly had occaſion to deſcribe[144], the merchandize of Europe might reach the remote countries of the Eaſt. Amber, metals, and works of Grecian art, would eaſily bear the expence of

[141] Pococke's Travels, p. 159. & ſeq.
[142] Plin. l. v. c. 19.
[143] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 754.
[144] Herodot. l. v. c. 52. & ſeq.

SECT. IV.

a long conveyance by land. The Greek colonies early eſtabliſhed on the northern ſhores of the Euxine, diffuſed the pelts and furs [145] of Sarmatia and Scythia over the central provinces of Aſia; and through the operation of mutual exchange, other European commodities, ſtill heavier in proportion to their value, might ſometimes find their way thither.

Maritime commerce of the Babylonians.

In every age of antiquity maritime commerce was an object of far inferior importance, to that carried on by land. But Babylon, which had ſo great a ſhare in the latter, could not, however, remain altogether deſtitute of the former, ſituate as that city is, in the neighbourhood of thoſe ſeas and great rivers which lay open the inmoſt receſſes of Aſia, and therefore well adapted for participating in ſuch traffic as was carried on by ſmall veſſels, whoſe number compenſated for their want of bulk. In the Hebrew prophets, the Chaldæans, the principal caſt or tribe of the Babylonians, are early characterized as a people "who raiſe the ſhout of joy in their ſhips [146]." The Chaldæans of Gerra, we know from good authority [147], ſupplied their great metropolis with Arabian and Indian merchandize. They often ſailed three hundred miles up the Euphrates to Thapſacus, where part of them left their veſſels, and becoming carriers by land, diſtributed their ſpices and perfumes through the neighbouring cities [148]. The Tigris could not be navigated on account of its rapidity to ſuch a remote diſtance from its mouth. Yet the traffic of that river had raiſed a place called Opis viſited by Xenophon, to populouſneſs and proſperity [149], though fifty miles diſtant from the ſite of Bagdad, and a hundred north of Babylon.

Navigation up the Euphrates and Tigris.

Chaldæans of Gerra.—their commerce and opulence.

It ſhould ſeem that partly through this maritime colony of Gerra, diſtant only two hundred miles from the mouth of the Euphrates, the Babylonians were furniſhed with thoſe prodigious [150] maſſes of

[145] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 104. & ſeq.

[146] Iſaiah, c. xlii. v. 14. and Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 4. with Michaelis's notes. Conf. Heeren Ideen, p. 640. & ſeq.

[147] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 766.

[148] Id. ibid.

[149] Xenoph. Anabas, l. ii. p. 284.

[150] Diodor. l. iii. ſ. 12.

gold,

SECT. IV.

gold, which give an air of romance to their early hiſtory. The Gerræans maintained an intimate connection with Phœnician factories in the ſmall iſles of the Perſian gulph, which traded, as we have ſeen, to Ophir or Sofala. They enjoyed an intercourſe ſcarcely leſs advantageous with the emporia in the Red Sea, in the neighbourhood of the Ethiopian mines, called under the Ptolemies Berenicè Panchryſos: mines opened from immemorial antiquity, and of which the working, though attended, in different ages, with very different degrees of profit, and often interrupted by the deſolating invaſions of Nomades, yet appears to have been continually renewed with freſh ardour, inſomuch that the various operations by which the pure metal was obtained, are deſcribed by Agatharchides an eye witneſs, who examined the golden Berenicè under the reign of the VIth Ptolemy [151]. The magnificence of Gerra is ſaid to have been worthy of the rich articles in which ſhe dealt; ſpices, perfumes, gems, ebony, ivory, and gold. In their perſonal accommodations her merchants rivalled the ſplendour of princes. Their houſes diſplayed a profuſion of the precious metals; and while the roofs and porticoes were crowned with vaſes ſtudded with jewels, the apartments were filled with ſculptured tripods, and other houſehold decorations, of which gold, ivory, and gems compoſed the ſole materials [152]. Such ſuperfluity of magnificence indicates a traffic for which the Gerræans were well ſituate with that part of the African coaſt anciently viſited by the Phœnicians, and the ſource of immenſe riches, as we have ſeen, to them and their Hebrew allies [153]. Like other commercial enterprizes of antiquity, the voyages to Ophir are mentioned but incidentally and ſparingly. From a hint [154] only, we know that the Tyrians continued to proſecute them immediately before the ſiege of their city by Nebuchadnezzar. How early the Chaldæans of

[151] Agatharchides Cnidius apud Phot. c. ccl. p. 1322. & ſeq. and Geograph. Minor. Hudſon, v. i. p. 22. & ſeq.

[152] Ibid.

[153] See above, p. 153.

[154] Ezekiel, c. xvii. v. 16.

Gerra,

SECT. IV.

Gerra, and alſo thoſe of Teredon [155], near the mouth of the Euphrates, participated in this lucrative traffic [156], we are not enabled to determine, but from the epithets beſtowed on them by the prophets beſpeaking a people peculiarly converſant in navigation, we may preſume that they would not long neglect voyages the moſt profitable of any on record; and by which Babylonia might, in the courſe of ages, be ſupplied with great abundance, of gold independently of the vaſt accumulations made by conqueſt and tribute under the two firſt kings of Babylon, and the thirty two Aſſyrian kings who reigned before them at Nineveh.

Cuſtoms of the Babylonians, relative to their extenſive commerce.

When Babylon is conſidered as the ſeat of univerſal traffic, ſeveral inſulated particulars touching its inhabitants, for which it has appeared difficult to account, will arrange themſelves naturally in the general picture of commercial manners. Of this remark, the inſtitutions relative to the fair ſex, and thoſe regarding perſons in a bad ſtate of health will ſerve for illuſtration. The reports of the rhetorical Curtius, ever fond of extremes, receive too much countenance from more authentic and graver authors [157], when he deſcribes the abominable profligacy of the Babylonian women; eſpecially thoſe of inferior condition. The Greeks were ſtruck with the freedom of intercourſe between the ſexes in this great capital, ſo unlike to the unſocial [158] jealouſy of Orientals elſewhere, or even in this point, to their own unamiable auſterity. Yet in Greece itſelf the commercial Corinth exhibited an example of equal licentiouſneſs: and the chain of great marts through Aſia Minor; Peſſinus, Morimena, Comana, and ſeveral other cities, proved the conflux of cara-

[155] See above, p. 156.

[156] They ſtill enjoyed it in the age of Alexander. Nearchus apud Arrian. Indic.

[157] Conf. Curtius, v. i. and Herodot. l. i. c. 197.

[158] Herodotus perhaps carries this obſervation too far, when he ſays the Perſians had no places of public reſort, not even public markets. Herodot. l. i. c. 153. Conf. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 3. Edit. Leuncl. But Xenophon's Cyropædia is a philoſophical romance.

vans.

SECT. IV.

vans not leſs ruinous to female modeſty, than the concourſe of ſhipping and rich ſeamen [159].

With regard to perſons in bad health, Herodotus ſays, "they were carried to the ſquares and places of public reſort, that they might be interrogated by paſſengers, and obtain advice as to the cure of their complaints [160]." Such a cuſtom might be attended with peculiar advantages in a city frequented by a ſucceſſion of travelling merchants, headed as we have ſeen, by perſons converſant with all branches of uſeful ſcience known in their times [161]. When Herodotus ſays, "the Babylonians had not phyſicians [162]," he means only that they had not a diſtinct caſt or family exerciſing excluſively as in Egypt, and antiently in Greece, the different branches of the healing art [163]. The profeſſion was open for all who choſe to engage in it, and the cordiality between natives and ſtangers, ſo deſirable in a place of traffic, would be promoted by the maxim that it was uncivil in either to view with inſenſibility, a ſuffering individual, or to decline entering into converſation with him [164]. Of Babylonians, as well as ſtrangers at leiſure for this office of humanity, there was always a ſufficient number; for though the inferior claſſes, as we have ſeen, were buſily employed in trade and manufactures, in repairing or embelliſhing their immenſe city, and in retailing or tranſporting the different productions of their land and labour, yet the ſpacious ſquares of Babylon abounded with rich idlers dreſſed in flowing robes [165], breathing precious perfumes, their heads adorned by the mitra, and bearing each in his hand, as a badge of grandeur, a ſtaff or cane [166], ſhaped

[159] Τροπον γαρ τινα μικρα Κορινθος ην ἡ πολις, Strabo, l. xvi. p. 559. He is ſpeaking of Comana, but he uſes the ſame expreſſion repeatedly in ſpeaking of the other ſtaples.

[160] Herodot. l. i. c. 197.

[161] See above, p. 63.

[162] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

[163] Ariſtot. Politic.

[164] Id. ibid.

[165] Diodor. l. ii. c. 6. Conf. Herodot. c. 195.

[166] In remote times and places, the cane has been the badge of a gentleman. Addiſon ſomewhere ſays of a perſon remarkable for his native good breeding, that he ſeemed "born to a cane." The expreſſion would now convey quite a different meaning.

at

SECT. IV.

at top into the form of a flower, a bird or ſome other characteriſtic emblem [167]. Their hereditary opulence relieved ſuch perſons from care and labour; and it ſhould ſeem that the faſhion of their country impoſed on them the duty of uſing their beſt endeavours to mitigate diſeaſe and ſoothe ſorrow.

[167] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY

OF

ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS.

SECTION V.

Application of the preceding Survey to Alexander's Undertakings in the Eaſt.—His Views with regard to the Weſt.—The Hiſtorian Livy's Defiance.—State of Rome at that Period.—Of Carthage.—Alexander's Helps towards executing his boldeſt Projects.—Eſpecially from Greeks in the three Diviſions of the World.—Alexander's laſt Operations in Babylonia, connected with uſeful Eſtabliſhments on his moſt remote Frontiers.—His Death and Teſtament.

SECT. V.

Application of this ſurvey.

IN ſurveying Alexander's conqueſts, the object which I have in view, is that of qualifying my readers to enter with ſatisfaction on the hiſtorical part of this work. The deſcription of imperial diſtricts and great capitals is therefore more copious and more circumſtantial than that of other cities and provinces, not only becauſe ſuch objects are peculiarly intereſting in themſelves, but becauſe our attention will more frequently be recalled to them. Upon the ſame principle, as far as my materials would allow me, I have adjuſted the proportions of *all* ſubordinate parts; ſo that wherever the ſcene of the following hiſtory may be tranſported, the reader may ſtill find himſelf among countries and nations, with whoſe tranſactions, manners, and local circumſtances, he is not unacquainted.

But beſides this general end, which bears a reference to the whole of the following hiſtory, the above related changes in empire, and the ſtatiſtical diſcuſſions with which they are accompanied, will enable

SECT. V.

enable us to diſcern the intent of undertakings which Alexander, indeed, lived not to carry into execution, but which ſerve to evince his perfect knowledge, both of the materials with which he had to work, and of the leſſons which correct hiſtorical experience afforded. Two circumſtances, chiefly, caſt an air of romance on the reign of the moſt ſagacious of conquerors. Firſt, deſigns altogether extravagant have been aſcribed to him; and ſecondly, no clear explanation has been given of his helps towards accompliſhing the vaſt projects which he really entertained. Should we credulouſly liſten to later writers among the Greeks and Romans, when thoſe nations had too evidently loſt a due reliſh for truth together with their manly ſpirit and their liberty, Alexander aimed at nothing leſs than the ſubjugation of the whole habitable world: poets and artiſts carried the exaggeration farther, and repreſented him in the childiſh attitude of crying for new worlds to conquer[1]: ridiculous fictions! totally diſclaimed by Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy, his companions in arms and biographers. From ſuch contemporary authorities, it is yet poſſible to aſſign the real and natural limits which Alexander had preſcribed to himſelf in the North, South, Eaſt and Weſt; to explain the meaſures which he had taken or projected for ſecuring his moſt remote boundaries; to deſcribe his arrangements towards uniting all of them with the center, Babylon; and thus cementing, by laws and arts, as well as by arms and victories, the extremities, as they were then deemed, of the commercial world. Having diſcuſſed theſe topics, I ſhall relate circumſtantially his operations in the imperial diſtrict of Babylonia, where, chiefly, he ſpent the laſt fifteen months of his life; and where the ſcene of the following hiſtory opens with the diſſentions among his generals, about the ſucceſſion to his empire.

Principles on which Alexander eſta-

According to authentic hiſtorians, Alexander bounded his empire northward, by the Danube and the Jaxartes. In a former part of

[1] Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. l. iv. c. 29. Conf. Juvenal Satyr xv. v. 168. Ælian whimſically aſcribes Alexander's mad ambition to his peruſal of Democritus' treatiſe on the plurality of worlds.

SECT. V. — In the Indies

this work, we have ſeen his proceedings on the banks of theſe great rivers, which flow reſpectively into the Euxine and Caſpian; and had occaſion to obſerve with what admirable prudence he avoided a uſeleſs conflict with the Scythian nations beyond them, at the ſame time, that he adopted the ſureſt means for overawing ſuch irreclaimable barbarians, and confining them in future within their native wilderneſs. The bleak Scythian deſert led to nothing more valuable beyond it: the reverſe was the caſe with the burning ſands of Arabia. The ſouthern ſhores of that peninſula were immemorially inhabited, as we have ſeen, by the Sabæans, an induſtrious and enlightened people, cultivating the moſt valuable productions, and carrying on many rich branches of commerce.

His meaſures for exploring and ſubduing Arabia.

Alexander, we are told, had formed the reſolution of penetrating thither[1]; and as his armies were to be accompanied and ſeconded by fleets, (the beſt means for ſecuring ſucceſs,) he had ſhortly after his return to Babylon, ſent down ſucceſſively into the Perſian gulph, three veſſels for exploring and examining the contiguous coaſts[2]. The firſt of theſe veſſels commanded by Archias, proceeded only to Tylos or Tyrus, formerly mentioned as a well known mart of the Phœnicians, and ſtill ſubſiſting as the center of the modern fiſhery for pearls. The ſecond veſſel navigated by Androſthenes, advanced but a little farther; and even Hiero, a Greek of Cilicia, by whom the third ſhip was conducted, far leſs ſurpaſſed his precurſors than he fell ſhort of the object which his employer had recommended to him; which was to circumnavigate the whole of Arabia from the mouth of the Euphrates to the inmoſt receſs of the Red Sea[3]. But Hiero barely beheld Cape Syagros, the great eaſtern promontory; and after viewing the conflict of the waves there, haſtened back to deſcribe this forbidding obſtacle, in nearly the ſame

[1] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 785.

[2] Arrian de Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 19. and ſeq.

[3] Arrian ſays to "Heroopolis," the capital of an antient Egyptian Nome, and now forty miles inland from Suez, the modern ſea-port.

terms

SECT. V.

terms of exaggeration, which were uſed by the firſt Portugueſe mariners, who ſaw, without doubling, the Cape of Good Hope. But Alexander was alike proof againſt fear and impoſture; with him the voyages hitherto undertaken were mere preludes; and at the fatal moment which terminated all his projects, Nearchus the friend of his youth, and who had already conducted a great fleet in ſafety from the Indus to the Tigris, was prepared [6] to reſume the circumnavigation of Arabia with an aſſured proſpect of ſucceſs. Had this deſign been carried into execution, facilities would thereby have been afforded for counteracting by fleets of victuallers, the natural ſterility of the country; and Alexander who had defeated and overawed the firmer Scythians, would eaſily have ſurmounted the diſunited hoſtility of the Arab tribes; an hoſtility only formidable to well diſciplined armies, when the congenial enthuſiaſm of Mahomet gave to the whole nation one decided impulſe. By the ſucceſs of this undertaking in its full extent, the Macedonian dominions ſouthward would have been defined by the region of perfumes on both ſides of the Red Sea; the Adel and Yemen of eaſtern geographers, or the two Ethiopias of the Greeks [7].

For conſolidating his conqueſts in Hindoſtan.

With regard to his eaſtern limits, Alexander having occupied the mountainous inlets to Hindoſtan, erected them into the ſatrapy of Paropamiſus; a province famous in modern times, as the primitive ſeat of the Afghans or Abdalli, and the root of their powerful kingdom of Candahar, which has ariſen with ſuch rapidity upon the diviſions and diſaſters of the Perſian and Mogul empires. Through this elevated diſtrict, he proceeded above three hundred miles to Taxila on the Indus,[8] overran the country watered by that great river and its tributary eaſtern ſtreams, treated his vanquiſhed enemies with moſt admired generoſity, raiſed the fortreſſes of Nicæa and Buce-

[6] Faria y Souza, Portug. Aſia, vol. i. p. 46.

[6] Arrian, l. vii. c. 25, and Hiſtor. Indic. c. 20.

[7] Strabo, l. i. p. 30.

[8] Taxila is 345 miles from the city of Candahar.

SECT. V.

phalia on the Hydaſpes, and erected his ſtupendous altars on the Hyphaſis[9]. Having returned to Taxila, now Attock, on the Indus, he traverſed ſouthward from that city an extent of nearly ſeven hundred miles to the ſea; built the ſtrong-hold of Pattala at the top of the Indian Delta[10]; and then proceeded howeward in perſon with his army, while his fleet was committed to Nearchus to explore the coaſts of the Erythræan ſea between India and Aſſyria. With this bold outline, the ſubordinate parts correſponded. The highlands of Paropamiſus, he obſerved, ſeparate the waters of that part of Aſia; and the courſes of the Indus, Oxus, and other great rivers formed thoſe deep vallies affording the only ſafe paſſes either for armies or caravans. By building Alexandria, now Candahar, he choſe the fitteſt ſite for ſecuring the communication between India and Perſia; and by means of a more northern Alexandria, now Cabul[11], he connected, in like manner, the former country with Bactriana, whoſe capital Bactra enjoyed, as we have ſeen, an early commercial intercourſe with the emporia on the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, and through them with many flouriſhing cities in Leſſer Aſia.

In his return from India, Alexander, it is well known, penetrated through the inhoſpitable ſolitudes of Carmania and Gedroſia; and from this, the leaſt profitable of all his expeditions, he could only learn that in the actual ſtate of thoſe frightful regions, no ſafe communication by them could poſſibly be introduced. But on the ſkirts of theſe dreary waſtes, having diſcovered that fertility began with the Arachoſian and Arian mountains, he founded two Alexandrias, reſpectively in Aria and Arachoſia, and alſo the ſtrong-hold of Prophthaſia in Saranga, which, with many other cities leſs conſpicuous or leſs permanent, formed a chain of fortreſſes and factories upon

[9] Arrian, Diodorus, and Plutarch.
[10] Strabo, l. xv. p. 701.
[11] The ancient and modern cities, if not preciſely on the ſame ſite, were ſo near to each other as in a commercial point of view to anſwer the ſame purpoſes.

the

SECT. V.

the moſt direct central route from the Indus to the Euphrates [12]. Theſe undertakings for maintaining an intercourſe with India by land and ſea, perfectly accord with his tranſactions above related with its native princes; and both unitedly atteſt his reſolution of acquiring a paramount authority in Hindoſtan, which had he lived ſolidly to eſtabliſh, would have carried back by the ſpace of 2000 years the æra of European domination over that remote eaſtern region.

His projects with regard to the weſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean.

In the weſt only, the deſigns of Alexander ſtopped ſhort at bare projects. But a prince who had proceeded to the country of ſpices, and taken meaſures for penetrating to the country of perfumes, could not overlook objects yet more important in commerce, and chiefly abounding in Spain, or Tarteſſus, at the weſtern extremity of the Mediterranean. The deſire of exploring this country, which formed the Peru and Mexico of antiquity [13], had determined Alexander to carry his arms to the pillars of Hercules. With this view, we are told, he had been careful to inform himſelf concerning the coaſts weſt of Greece and Egypt; and through the aſſiſtance of plans furniſhed to him by Phœnicians and Greeks who had long frequented thoſe ſeas, he judiciouſly ſelected and marked with his own hand, the ſites beſt fitted for harbours and emporia, docks and arſenals. Spacious roads were to be drawn along the tracts moſt convenient for caravans; many protecting temples were to be erected; and the whole circuit of the Mediterranean was to be commanded by fleets and armies, ſufficient to reſtrain depredations by ſea and land, and to overawe the native barbarians of Africa and the weſt of Europe [14].

Livy's patriotic defiance to him.

This bold project ſhould ſeem to have provoked the patriotic indignation of the prince of Roman hiſtorians. In the longeſt digreſſion of an immortal work which ſeldom turns aſide from commemo-

[12] Arrian, Diodorus, Strabo. See particularly Strabo, l. xi. p. 514. and l. xv. p. 723. In delineating theſe eaſtern routes, he has always Alexander in view. Conf. Iſidor. Characen. apud Hudſon's Geograph. Minor. D'Anville Eclairciſſ. p. 19. and Rennell's Memoir, p. 171.

[13] See above, p. 151.

[14] Diodorus, l. xviii. f. 4. and Plutarch in Alexand.

rating

SECT. V.

rating the proud ſeries of conſular triumphs, Livy [15], in ſpeaking of Papirius Curſor, the contemporary of the Macedonian hero, undertakes to examine what would have been the iſſue of the conflict, had that hitherto matchleſs warrior carried his arms into Italy. The extraordinary exploits of Alexander, he ſays, had often been the ſubject of his own ſecret wonder; yet, with all his renowned greatneſs, had that conqueror come into competition with the Romans, it is the hiſtorian's belief that he muſt inevitably have been foiled in the conteſt. My readers are acquainted with the great military eſtabliſhment and admirable tactics of the Macedonians; they know that the phalanx, as organized by Alexander, was indeed a very different inſtrument of victory from that employed a century afterwards by the Antiochuſes and the Ptolemies; and they will ſee preſently vaſt armies wielded with ſkill by his warlike captains, who divided amongſt them his empire. But at the time, when Livy makes his countrymen challenge, as it were, this prince to battle, the force of Rome exceeded not ten legions [16]; her dominion did not extend over a fourth part of Italy; ſhe was diſtracted with perpetual hoſtilities againſt her ſubjects, her allies, her revolted colonies, and twenty independent nations beyond them. Fifty years before Alexander, Rome had been burned by the Gauls; and four years after his demiſe, two conſular armies were, at the Caudine Forks, paſſed under the yoke by the Samnites. "Yet great," as Livy ſays, "was the fortune of Rome;" but to uſe the words of an hiſtorian and ſoldier, better qualified to appreciate the reſources of war, "her fortune was greateſt in this, that Alexander died in his 33d year, before he found leiſure to invade and conquer Italy [17]."

His views with regard to Carthage

In extending the empire to its projected weſtern boundary, the conqueror, it may be conjectured, would have met with leſs formi-

[15] L. ix. c. 16. & ſeq.

[16] The legion then contained only 4000 foot and 300 horſe.

[17] Raleigh's Hiſtory of the World, c. iv. p. 3.

dable

SECT V.

—State of that republic.

dable oppoſition from Rome than from the deſtined rival of the Roman name; long perſecuted as her enemy, at laſt cruelly immolated as her victim. The foundation of Carthage on that part of the African coaſt which advances into the Mediterranean to meet, as it were, and defy Italy and Sicily, preceded by an 115 years the foundation of Rome; and the former republic had made proportionably ſtill more rapid advances towards wealth, ſtrength, and proſperity [18]. Commanding 1500 miles along the African coaſt, ſhe carried on the inland commerce of that vaſt continent. Her powerful navy was nouriſhed and upheld by the rich maritime traffic which it protected to all the weſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean. The ſilver mines which the Carthaginians wrought in Spain, and the gold of Ethiopia, attracted to their ſtandard Numidians, Gauls, Iberians; the fierceſt nations in Africa and Europe. The weſtern diviſion of Sicily; Sardinia, Corſica, with all the leſſer iſles in the Tuſcan ſea, formed the appendages of their empire. The moſt dangerous wars that they had yet waged, had been with the Greeks in Sicily; with thoſe of the ſame nation who had occupied Maſſilia, or Marſeilles, and its ſurrounding diſtrict in Gaul; and with thoſe who, two centuries after the foundation of Carthage, eſtabliſhed themſelves on the projecting coaſt of Cyrenè in Africa, which, in point of geography, bears the ſame relation to Crete and the Peloponneſus that Carthage herſelf holds with regard to Sicily and Italy. The great loſſes ſuſtained in thoſe wars, an induſtrious commercial nation had ſpeedily repaired; and Carthage now ſeemed to ſtand firm with her wealth, her ſhipping, and wide extended dominion. Yet her ſecurity reſulted wholly from the premature death of Alexander, which intercepted his progreſs weſtward. This we may affirm on ſolid hiſtorical grounds; for only a dozen years after that fatal event, we ſhall ſee

[18] Carthage was in her meridian greatneſs at the æra of Agathocles's invaſion, 310 years before Chriſt, and 56 years before her firſt war with Rome. Her condition at the former period will be deſcribed in a ſubſequent part of this work, chiefly from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Juſtin, and Strabo.

SECT. V.

Agathocles of Syracuſe fail in his Carthaginian invaſion chiefly through the mutiny of his Greek troops. Alexander needed not, like Agathocles, to have invaded Carthage by ſea; he was maſter of Egypt; he had explored the route to the Oaſis of Hammon, the moſt difficult part of the journey from that kingdom to Cyrenè; and from Cyrenè, as we ſhall ſee in due time, armies leſs enured to fatigue and danger than thoſe which had pervaded the barren lands of Carmania and Gedroſia, might find their way ſafely to Carthage. The fate of that flouriſhing republic in its reduction under the Macedonians, would have preſented a leſs unworthy ſpectacle than its cruel ſubverſion by the relentleſs enmity of Rome; for Alexander, whoſe breaſt was not to be diſturbed by any emotions of jealous rivalſhip, would, as in other inſtances, have left to the Carthaginians, their laws, their ſhipping, and their opulence; and requiring only a ſlight acknowledgment of his ſupremacy, have admitted them as one of the moſt important links in the golden chain of well-protected commerce, in which he laboured to unite the moſt diſtant nations.

His reſources in the Greek colonies ſettled in the three divi ſions of the world.

For effecting this ſalutary purpoſe, the above ſtatiſtical ſurvey has ſhewn us how great and manifold reſources he poſſeſſed in the ſtrenuous domeſtic induſtry of the Egyptians and Aſſyrians; in the bold trading expeditions by land of the Ethiopians, Arabians, and Indo-Scythians; and in the rich foreign traffic, the invaluable manufactures, and extenſive maritime connections of the Sabæans and Phœnicians. Beſides all theſe materials, ſo well fitted for conſolidation into the vaſt fabric which he had projected, the firmeſt cement and brighteſt ornaments of the edifice were ſtill to be-found in his own nation; I mean in the activity, ingenuity, and enterprize of Greek colonies, diffuſed through all parts of the ancient world.

Thoſe along the peninſula of Aſia.

In the great central peninſula of Aſia, his deſired work had by means of theſe colonies already been effected, and the foundations of public proſperity had long been eſtabliſhed. The three ſides of that

SECT. V.

that peninſula extending ſixteen hundred miles from Trapezus or Trebiſond to the Syrian gates near Iſſus, abounded with Greek cities governed on the republican plan, whoſe inſtitutions, both civil and religious, the conqueror was ſtudious to uphold. This long line of civilization and induſtry was farther protracted by the valuable coaſt of Syria, where Greeks were intermixed with not leſs buſy Phœnicians. In the near vicinity of Phœnicia, Egypt was growing into a Greek kingdom; and Alexandria with its crowded harbours, was faſt riſing [19] to that commercial pre-eminence which, as Alexander's ſchemes with regard to Babylon failed through his premature death, the capital of the Ptolemies was deſtined to maintain during the courſe of eighteen centuries. From the confines of Egypt, the Greeks of Cyrenè then governed, as we ſhall ſee, by the wiſdom and equity of Mantinæan [20] laws, puſhed their dominion five hundred miles weſtward; ſo that the unbroken line of European colonization along the coaſts of Aſia and Africa conſiderably exceeded the length of the Mediterranean ſea, accurately eſtimated by the ancients at 2,400 Roman miles [21].

On the Euxine and Maotis.

On the oppoſite, or European ſide, the conqueror's views would have been ſeconded by the zeal of ancient Greece, and her flouriſhing colonies in Italy, Sicily, and Gaul. The narrow ſeas joining the Mediterranean and Euxine waſhed his dominions in Thrace, and were commanded by his fleets; and in this quarter alſo, he would have found fit inſtruments for his boldeſt and moſt beneficial projects. Towards theſe rugged regions of the north, the Greeks, and particularly the Ionians, had early diffuſed their induſtrious colonies. Their principal cities were Olbia at the mouth of the Boryſthenes or Dnieper; Panticapæum and Theodoſia in the Tauric Cherſoneſus; Phanagorium on the Cimmerian Boſporus, with a chain of ſea-ports

[19] Strabo, l. xvii. p 792. Conf. Ariſtot. de Cura Rei-familiaris, Opera, vol. ii. p. 509. Alexandria non ſenſim ut aliæ urbes, ſed inter initia prima aucta per ſpatioſos ambitus. Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxii.

[20] Ariſtot. Politic. l. vi. c. 4.

[21] Polybius Specileg. ex l. xxxiv. A Roman mile is to an Engliſh as 0,91 to 1.

SECT. V.

terminating in the harbour of Tanais, near the inmoſt receſs of the Palus Mæotis [22]. One great object of theſe eſtabliſhments is explained by the father of hiſtory. From the northern ſhores of the Euxine, the enterpriſing coloniſts extended their ſettlements 350 miles inland to the country of the Geloni, in conjunction with whom the Greeks inhabited a wooden city 12 miles in circuit, the immemorial ſtaple of the fur trade [23]. This wooden city, which ſhould ſeem to have ſtood near the ſite of the modern Woronez in Ruſſia [24], appears to have maintained a conſtant communication with the continent and iſlands of ancient Greece; for I doubt not that the far famed Hyperboreans, who ſent regular offerings to Delos [25], were no other than the Greek colonies in thoſe remote northern regions.

Maſſilia or Marſeilles.—Its hiſtory and inſtitutions.

The moſt weſtern colony of the Greeks was the famous Maſſilia, or Marſeilles. To this ſhore, already well known to their traders, and on which ſome feeble ſettlements ſhould ſeem to have been previouſly eſtabliſhed, the maritime Phocæans had tranſported themſelves from Ionia 540 years before the Chriſtian æra. The motive of their migration was to eſcape from the perſecuting tyranny of the Perſians [26]. They abandoned their poſſeſſions for the ſake of their freedom, and carried with them to their new country in Gaul, their laws and arts, together with the revered rites of Epheſian Diana, and the adventurous ſpirit of their commerce. As they increaſed in populouſneſs and power, they diffuſed their colonies on both ſides of the rocky ſhores of Marſeilles, and particularly over the extent of 150 miles from the mouth of the Rhone to that of the Var [27]. Their eſtabliſhments at Rhoè, Antipolis, Olbia, and Nicæa deſerved the name

[22] Strabo, Pliny, Dionyſ. Perieget.

[23] Herodotus, l. iv. c. 104.

[24] Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 93.

[25] Theſe offerings paſſed through the hands of many Scythian nations to the Hadriatic. The Dodonæans were the firſt Greeks who received them. From Dodona, they were carried to the Malian gulph. From thence they travelled to Caryſtus in Eubœa. The Caryſtians tranſported them to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos. Herodotus, l. iii. c. 33.

[26] Herodotus, l. i. c. 164. and Juſtin, l. xliii. c. 3.

[27] Strabo, l. iv. p. 180. & ſeq.

SECT. V.

of cities. The Stæcades or Hieres iſles[28] were among their earlieſt poſſeſſions, and highly cultivated by their induſtry. At the mouth of the Rhone, they alſo occupied the ſmall iſland between its two principal branches, which they adorned with a temple of Diana. The whole of their territory was favourable to the production of wine and oil, articles which they knew how to procure in perfection, manfully to defend, and to ſell to the beſt advantage. Their inſtitutions were, indeed, equally well adapted to the oppoſite ſtates of war and peace. In point of military engines and arſenals, Marſeilles is compared with Cyzicus[29] and Rhodes, two Greek cities, as we ſhall ſee, highly conſpicuous for theſe advantages. Their frontiers were ſecured by fortreſſes on the land ſide, and they had gained ſignal victories at ſea over the Tuſcans and Carthaginians. Their government was in the hands of a ſenate of ſix hundred, who held their offices for life, and of a leſſer council of fifteen, who conducted the current affairs, and ſucceſſively preſided in the ſenate[30]. Their laws were public, preciſe, and equal; no armed man was admitted within their city; their hoſpitality[31] to ſtrangers procured for them extraordinary good will among Greeks and Barbarians. Many of their inſtitutions had in view the preſervation of that propriety, decency, and dignity, which, in a well ordered ſtate, ought to exalt the human character. No licentious feſtivals, particularly no corrupt comedies were permitted at Marſeilles: at funerals all unmanly lamentations were forbidden: the marriage portions of women were limited to one hundred aurei, and only the twentieth part of that ſum could be expended in dreſs or in ornaments[32]. In later times, Marſeilles became the ſource of light and information to the neighbouring provinces of France and Italy; and was frequented by the Romans, ſcarcely leſs than Athens itſelf, as a ſchool of Greek learn-

[28] They conſiſted of three large, and two ſmaller, iſlands.

[29] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 653.

[30] Id. l. iv. p. 179.

[31] Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6.

[32] Strabo and Valerius Maximus. Ibid. Conf. Cicero, Oratio pro Flacco, c. lxiii.

ing.

SECT. V.

ing. But before the age of Alexander this remote colony had obtained nearly the full meaſure of its ſtrength and wealth; and in the reign of that prince, the voyages of Pytheas of Marſeilles illuſtrated the enterprizing ſpirit by which his countrymen were animated. Pytheas circumnavigated the Britiſh iſles; he ſailed even to Thule, *Iceland*. His accounts of thoſe far diſtant and unknown lands, were diſgraced perhaps by exaggerations and fictions; though ſome of his reports which have been branded as the vileſt fables, rather reflect diſgrace on thoſe who ignorantly rejected them [33].

The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily.

But the helps to be found in Gaul were then inconſiderable in compariſon with the aſſiſtance which Alexander might have derived from either diviſion of Magna Græcia. In the age preceding his own, the petty tyrant of Syracuſe had fitted out four hundred ſhips of war from a ſingle harbour. The ſame Dionyſius commanded an army of 120,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe [34]. During the intermediate ſpace of time, the reſources of the Sicilians had not diminiſhed; thoſe of their brethren in Italy were alſo flouriſhing and powerful. The fame of Alexander filled the remoteſt of theſe countries; and while in contemplating his victories, the Spartans maintained a proud ſilence, and the Athenians too often indulged the loquacity of anger and envy [35], all the other various communities of Greeks, which in their diſperſion over ſo many coaſts and iſlands, cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 20 millions of ſouls [36], were forward to aſſociate themſelves to the glory of an enlightened and liberal conqueror, who protected their laws, encouraged their arts; and together with their arms and their commerce, diffuſed alſo their inſtitutions, their

[33] In Thule, for example, Pytheas ſaid that the elements were combined in a certain chaotic mixture, reſembling the fiſhes called Mollia by naturaliſts. See my Analyſis of Ariſtotle, vol i. p. 147. 8vo. edit. But this alluſion to the Mollia plainly indicates the vaſt quantities of ſea plants found on the ſhores of the northern ocean, extending over vaſt tracts of country, and often riſing in maſſes above ſix feet high. In thoſe regions of Cimmerian darkneſs, Pytheas diſcerned only that ſoft ſlippery ſubſtance reſembling Mollia which he trod under foot. Martinet in Act Harlem. apud Schweigh. in Polyb. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

[34] Diodorus Siculus, l. xiv. ſ. 47.

[35] Livy, l. viii. c. 18.

[36] See above, p. 18.

language,

SECT. V.

language, and their learning over the fineſt countries of antiquity.

The intercourſe which Alexander meant to eſtabliſh realized on a larger ſcale.

Had Alexander lived to conſolidate his conqueſts within the limits above aſſigned, the unreſtrained intercourſe of the ancient world would have nearly accorded with what the diſcovery of America realized, on a ſtill larger ſcale, in the modern. The precious metals of Spain, (for it abounded in both ſorts), would have been freely and ſecurely exchanged for the ſpices of India, the perfumes of Arabia, and the manufactures of many induſtrious intermediate countries. The weſtern diviſion of this huge maſs of empire, from the pillars of Hercules to the Euphrates, was afterwards conquered, and long governed, by the Romans; and the eaſtern, from the Euphrates to the Hyphaſis, was that portion of his conqueſts which, from the precautions that Alexander had taken, would have been the moſt eaſily retained.

His multifarious improvements in Babylonia.

By chooſing in the centre of this vaſt territory, Babylon for the houſe of his kingdom [37], he complied at once with the invitation of great natural advantages, and the example of former maſters of the Eaſt, who had reared their ſucceſſive capitals on the rich Babylonian plain, peculiarly productive in grain, and of unrivalled conveniency for building. From its intermediate ſituation, Babylon, before it was oppreſſed by Perſian tyranny, had anciently been the goal and main rendezvous of Aſiatic caravans. Alexander, while he reſtored this inland traffic of the Babylonians, purpoſed alſo to revive and greatly extend their ancient commerce by ſea [38]. In this deſign he is ſaid to have been encouraged by the ſucceſsful voyage of Nearchus, which had joined Aſſyria with India; and the wiſdom of his undertaking is confirmed by the reports of modern navigators, who inform us that many harbours on the Perſian gulph, admit veſſels drawing twelve feet water; a depth fully ſufficient for the largeſt Grecian gallies, and more than ſufficient for the round flat-bottomed merchant-

[37] Conf. Daniel, c. iv v. 30. and Strabo, l. xv. p. 731. οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὑγιὲς τὸ Βασιλίων, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βαβυλῶνα, &c.

[38] Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. vii. c. 20.

men

SECT. V.

men of antiquity. In proſecution of an enterprize bearing the united ſtamps of grandeur and utility, while proper perſons were employed by Alexander to repair or embelliſh the temples and palaces, the parks or paradiſes, of Babylon, the king ſurveyed with his own eyes the navigable courſes of the Euphrates and Tigris, above and below that city. In the courſe of this examination, he every where removed the artificial obſtacles with which the commerce of theſe great rivers, the natural inlets to Aſia, had been interrupted by the cowadice or jealouſy of the Perſians [39]. With a ſimilar view he formed a harbour at Babylon fit to contain a thouſand gallies, and furniſhed with large galleries or porticoes, under cover of which that number of ſail might, according to the ancient faſhion, be occaſionally hauled on ſhore [40]. The native cypreſs of Babylonia was employed in the conſtruction of innumerable ſmall craft; and for building larger ſhips, as the remote Hyrcanian foreſt was laid under contribution [41], the vaſt woods in Armenia would not be overlooked, ſince theſe great magazines of timber being near to the Tigris and Euphrates, might be floated with much eaſe to Babylonia. To Thapſacus on the Euphrates one hundred and fifty miles above Babylon, he cauſed to be conveyed over land from Phœnicia, thirty long veſſels, with ſingle banks of oars, and twenty trireme gallies built by the beſt Phœnician artizans. To prepare them for this conveyance the ſhips were taken in pieces [42]: they were reconſtructed at Thapſacus, and thence ſailed proudly down the river, being intended by Alexander to ſerve as models in the formation of future navies, which unhappily never exiſted but in fancy [43].

[39] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 740. and Arrian, l. vii. c. 7. After ſuch indubitable teſtimonies, Niebuhr's Opinion, vol. ii. p. 307, "that theſe obſtructions were dykes for keeping up the waters to a fit level for the purpoſes of irrigation;" this opinion, I ſay, deſerves only to be mentioned, becauſe entertained by a traveller in high eſtimation.

[40] Arrian, l. vii. c. 19.

[41] Plutarch in Alexan. Arrian and Diodorus.

[42] Arrian, ibid.

[43] Only ſix years after Alexander's death, the Euphrates was navigated for the laſt time by two Grecian gallies; the ſole remains of all his mighty preparations. Diodorus, l. xix. ſ. 12.

The

SECT. V.

His agricultural ſurvey of this country.

The barbarous policy of the Perſians had ruined the foreign traffic of Aſſyria. Under the ſame odious tyranny, agriculture and manufactures had alſo fallen to decay. Alexander, with impartial attention to every ſpecies of uſeful induſtry, examined and improved [44] the reſervoirs of water and canals indiſpenſible in a country where all is deſert, that cannot be duly ſupplied with moiſture; and where all is of exuberant fertility, that can be flooded and drained at the proper ſeaſons. To encourage the labours of his workmen in this eſſential undertaking, he committed himſelf in a ſlight veſſel to the intricacy of reedy lakes, and the unwholeſomeneſs of ſlimy ditches. Although the greater canals of Aſſyria had been long neglected and exhauſted, there remained (and they ſtill remain to the preſent day) two artificial lakes with channels joining them to the Euphrates. One of theſe lakes, directly weſt of Babylon, is now diſtinguiſhed by the tomb of Hoſein; the other thirty miles ſouth of it, is diſtinguiſhed by the tomb of Ali; and it is worthy of remark, that theſe tombs of Mahommedan ſaints ſhould now ſupply [45] the place of antient ſepulchres of Babylonian prieſts and princes, (ſince the ſacerdotal caſt in Babylon united, like the deſcendants of Mahommet, both characters,) carefully examined and even repaired by Alexander in the courſe of his agricultural ſurvey. Upon the canal Pallacopas leading to the more ſouthern of the two lakes, the operations of the Macedonian workmen were of the moſt beneficial tendency. The Pallacopas, though bearing the appearance of a natural river, was not fed by ſprings, nor repleniſhed by mountain ſnows, but flowing from the main trunk of the Euphrates ſerved to moderate its redundant force by diverting part of its waters into the ſea, through va-

[44] Αλεξανδρῳ γαρ τας λιμνας ες χρειαν των απο Ευφρατην την Ασσυριδα γην αρδευειν, παρεπλεοντι. Appian. Syriac. c. 56. Conf. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 741. How is it poſſible to imagine with Niebuhr, that the ſame perſon who made ſuch exertions for the benefits of agriculture in one part of the country, ſhould have removed the weirs or dams eſſential to irrigation in another? Vid. Niebuhr ubi ſupra.

[45] Conf. Arrian. l. vii. c. 22. and Niebuhr, vol. ii. p. 181.

SECT. V.

rious and ſcarcely perceptible outlets. But this ſalutary drain being carried through too ſoft a ſoil, gradually ſcooped out and ſunk its ooſy bed; ſo that the Euphrates continued ſtill to enter it after the ſummer inundation had ceaſed, and thereby loſt that elevation neceſſary at other ſeaſons for refreſhing and fertilizing the aduſt Babylonian plain. Upon a careful examination of the circumjacent diſtrict, Alexander diſcovered only three miles diſtant from the head of the Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom. Through this firm ground, he commanded a new canal to be drawn; and the water being made thus to flow between ſolid banks, the inundations of the Euphrates were fitly controuled at one ſeaſon, without too much depreſſing its ſurface at another [46].

Incident that happened in it.

After this eſſential ſervice had been rendered to Babylonia, the king with a ſailor's cap on his head, and ſteering his own veſſel, followed the lower courſe of the Pallacopas, and ſurveyed the many turbid pools and reedy marſhes, which, through a long ſeries of neglect, deformed the ſouthern coaſt. On this occaſion a trivial occurrence gave birth to wonderful reports. A ſudden guſt of wind uncovered Alexander's head; his heavy cap fell near to him, and ſunk in the water, but the encircling fillet or diadem floated at random in the air, till intercepted and caught among the reeds growing out of the lofty tomb of an ancient Aſſyrian king. A Tyrian mariner ſprang into the lake to recover the royal ornament; and leſt it ſhould be ſoiled in the muddy water, wound it about his own brows, and thus ſwam back to Alexander. The king ordered the Phœnician's activity to be rewarded with a talent of ſilver; but his accompanying prieſts pronounced ſentence of death on the man who had wantonly uſurped the peculiar badge of empire. This ſuperſtitious cruelty was however reſtrained through Alexander's humane interference; and the ſentence of death commuted for a ſlight corporal puniſhment. At a certain diſtance of time, when the circumſtances

[46] Arrian, l. vii. c. 21.

SECT. V.

of this incident were forgotten, the unguarded aſſumption of the diadem was transferred from an ignoble and nameleſs mariner to Seleucus Nicator, that in him it might be credulouſly conſtrued into an omen of future greatneſs [47].

New city founded

Having completed his ſurvey of the Pallacopas, and its adjacent marſhes, for the waters of which he provided proper outlets, Alexander terminated his progreſs through ſouthern Babylonia, by the ſelection of a fit ſite for a ſtrong-hold and garriſon. The place ſoon grew into a city peopled chiefly by Greeks incapable of field ſervice, and by ſuch others of their countrymen as wiſhed to repoſe from their military labours in a remote and long neglected territory, to which their maſter had determined to reſtore its antient and natural pre-eminence [48].

Ship races on the Babylonian rivers.

Upon his return to Babylon from this peaceful expedition, Alexander beſides new levies of Barbarians, armed and diſciplined after the Greek faſhion, was joined by numerous bands of ſailors attracted by great bounties, and the promiſe of high wages from the ſea-faring cities around the Mediterranean; among whom are particularly ſpecified thoſe who fiſhed for the purple ſhell, not only on the coaſt of Phœnicia, but on many neighbouring ſhores [49]. The ſhort remainder of his life was ſpent in military or naval reviews, and memorable for the novelty of ſhip races [50] on the Euphrates and Tigris; an entertainment coupled with deſigns of much utility, and exhibited for the firſt and unfortunately the laſt time on the great Babylonian rivers.

His operations in Babylonia connected with others at the remote extremes of his empire.

The premature death of Alexander was lamented by many, who ſeized not what is truly moſt lamentable in his ſtory. His campaigns and battles have been deſcribed, but the more characteriſtic glories of his reign are ſhewn to us by parcels, without that clear repreſentation of the whole, which can alone give to each diſtinctive feature its full beauty and brilliancy. His tranſactions in Babylon

[47] Arrain, l. vii. c. 22.
[48] Arrian and Strabo, l. xv.
[49] Arrian, l. vii. c. 19.
[50] Ibid. c. 23.

SECT. V.

were indeed intimately connected with his uſeful and magnificent eſtabliſhments on the Indus and Jaxartes; with his operations in the foreſts of Hyrcania, and the contiguous iron mines of Margiana; and with the projected elongations of his empire to the outlying emporiums of Ethiopia and Tarteſſus. His aſcendancy over the whole, he ſhould ſeem to have deemed neceſſary to the beſt improvement of the parts: but in conſequence of this ambitious reaſoning, how multifarious ſoever his exertions, their ends were ſimple and definite; to enliven arts and induſtry, to introduce mutually beneficial intercourſe, to harmonize inſtitutions and manners. On the ſtock of conveniency or neceſſity, he ſtudied to engraft the refinements of elegance, and the charms of ſocial pleaſure. Commerce was to be cultivated, not merely as the procureſs of ſuperflous luxuries, but that the interchange of commodities might produce a reciprocation of ſentiment and affection; and that the free, equal, and unobſtructed communication among men of different countries might remove thoſe local prejudices which prevented them from viewing each other as brethren[51].

Singular liberality of his policy.

With a view to this liberal policy, the famous nuptials were celebrated (ten thouſand in a ſingle day) between Greeks and Barbarians; the Aſiatics of diſtinction were carefully diſciplined not merely in the arms, but in the arts and attainments of their European conquerors; and as various colonies of Europeans had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Aſia and Africa, other colonies in return were to be tranſported from thoſe quarters of the world, and accommodated with ſecure ſettlements in Europe[52]. The ſame generous ſpirit pervaded all his arrangements, military, financial, and political. In the judicious diſtribution of his troops, his garriſons ſerved the uſeful purpoſe of ſtaples or factories. Impoſts were moderate,

[51] To perceive the full merit of Alexander in this particular, our fancy muſt tranſport us to ancient times. In thoſe ages the Greeks treated all other nations as Barbarians: the Romans denoted a ſtranger and an enemy by one and the ſame word: (Cicero de Offic. l. i. c. 12.) local antipathies ſtill more bitter prevailed, as we have ſeen, in Aſia and Africa.

[52] Diodorus, l. xviii. ſ. 4.

and

SECT. V.

and his collectors amenable to the laws on the ſmalleſt violation of juſtice. He allowed no people to tyrannize over another, and leaſt of all his own haughty Macedonians, thereby reſtoring that equality and confidence which is the vital ſpring of both productive and commercial induſtry. Before this ſpring had been broken by the deſpotiſm of nations over nations, we have ſeen the wonderful exertions of the Babylonians and Egyptians for the extenſion of agriculture, and the ſingular inſtitutions by which the Egyptian prieſts endeavoured to wean their ſubjects from a paſtoral and wandering life. Hiſtory is full of the labours of Alexander towards the ſame end, even during the progreſs of his conqueſts [53]; an end of the utmoſt importance, ſince the preponderancy of barbarous Nomades has ever proved the greateſt bane both of Aſia and Africa.

He formed plans of inimitable boldneſs.

By the arrangements which he made, and the ſtyle of war which he introduced, the central and civilized nations of the Eaſt, remained ſecure for nearly a century after him, againſt the fierce rovers of either the northern or ſouthern deſerts. This advantage peculiar to that period of time, together with the extent and contiguity of his dominions, entitled him to form plans of inimitable boldneſs. We have ſeen the vaſt multiplicity of his reſources and auxiliaries. But the greateſt reſource of all was in his own mind. To attain perſonal excellence, no exertion ſeemed laborious; to promote excellence in others, no attention and no expence was ſpared. In one gratuity he beſtowed eight hundred talents towards the improvement of natural hiſtory [54]: a ſum that bore no inconſiderable proportion to the annual pay of the army, with which he had atchieved his conqueſts. On another occaſion he ſent ten thouſand talents into Greece, to defray the repairs of temples and other public edifices [55]. Alive to every kind of honourable talent, he entered with deep intereſt into the competitions of painters and muſicians, ſhowering liberality on thoſe to whom the prize of merit had been adjudged, even contrary to his

[53] Strabo, l. xi. Pliny, l. vi. and Plutarch. in Alexand.

[54] Athenæus, l. ix. p. 398.

[55] Plutarch in Alexand.

own

SECT. V.

own wiſhes [56]; and the man who diſplayed ſuch muniſicence in matters leſs immediately connected with his favourite purpoſes, could not be expected leſs eager in ſharpening the dexterity of engineers, architects, ſhip builders, and all thoſe agents or inſtruments by which his great royal works were to be effected. During the fervour of youth and the career of victory, he ſo nicely diſcriminated between impoſſibilities and mere difficulties, that none of his undertakings failed, nor were any of his projects likely to prove abortive. Upon this conſideration, chiefly, his philoſophical hiſtorian, warmed by an enthuſiaſm of reaſon, exclaims that Alexander was ſent into the world by ſome peculiar providence, a man like to none other, and whom both actions and deſigns became, that would become none beſides [57].

Why entitled to do ſo.

Without adopting this extraordinary praiſe, we may obſerve, that no other conqueror was ever entitled to embrace the ſame lofty views. The great Aſſyrian monarchy comprehended, as we have ſeen, only the eaſtern diviſion of his empire. The Medes and Perſians, who ſucceeded to the Aſſyrians, were incapacitated from forming any generous plans of public utility, by their ignorance, barbariſm, tyranny and ſuperſtitious abhorrence of the ſea, and a ſea-faring life. The Parthians, who came long after, were deformed by maxims not leſs illiberal, and by characters ſtill more ferocious: and the Romans, who fought three centuries with the Parthians, without gaining from them the frontier province of Meſopotamia [58], would have been prevented by the interpoſition of theſe warlike barbarians, (even had their own maxims been leſs unfavourable to commerce) from reviving the uſeful links of communication, which Alexander had eſtabliſhed between the countries of the Eaſt and Weſt. Beſides this, the Romans, as we ſhall ſee, diſguiſed, without relinquiſhing [59], the odious tyranny of nations over nations;

[56] Plutarch in Alexand.
[57] Arrian, l. vii. ſub fin.
[58] Juliani Cæſares, p. 324.
[59] Joſeph. Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.

a tyranny

SECT. V.

a tyranny which had been aſſerted by all Aſiatic conquerors before Alexander; and which has been exerciſed with tremendous deſpotiſm, by all the ſucceſſive dynaſties of Scythian, or Arabian, extraction, that ſince the downfal of the Macedonian power, have barbariſed the fineſt countries of the earth; countries whoſe early proſperity, remounting beyond the far-famed triumphs of Ninus and Semiramis, flouriſhed in its utmoſt vigour before ſurrounding nations had yet beheld the gorgeous walls of Nineveh and Babylon, or crouched to thoſe proud capitals, the blood-thirſty tyrants of proſtrate provinces. Alexander alone had enough of real greatneſs to diſdain all empty ſhadows of it. When the architect Staſicrates propoſed to faſhion mount Athos into his ſtatue[60], he obſerved coldly: "we will leave Athos unmoleſted; it is already the monument of royal folly[61]."

Yet the man who in other matters reſpected the "golden mean" was careleſs of this moſt important of all maxims in regard to his own perſon. The time and manner of his death illuſtrates, indeed, the vanity of all human affairs, but exemplifies alſo a practically more important leſſon perpetually inculcated by his preceptor[62]: namely, the inevitable ruin of the greateſt deſigns and of the brighteſt characters through any conſiderable deficiency in point of any one moral virtue. In the cabinet and the field, Alexander's indefatigable body had kept pace with the activity of his mind; but in the feſtive entertainments, which preceeded or followed great enterprizes, he ſometimes was betrayed by the ſocial warmth of his diſpoſition, (for in the uſe of wine he was habitually ſparing[63],) into idle conflicts of intemperance and drunkenneſs, in which honeſty and open His death;

[60] Plutarch in Alexand.

[61] The alluſion is to Xerxes' idle vanity in ſeparating the promontory of Athos from the continent, and ſailing between them. Herodot. l. vii. c. 21. Lyſias in Orat. Funeb. and Iſocrat. in Panegyr. Juvenal, out of hatred to the Greeks, ſays maliciouſly, if not ignorantly,

Creditur olim,
Velificatus Athos, et quidquid Græcia mendax
Audet in Hiſtoria, &c. Satyr. x. v. 174.

[62] See Ariſtotle's Ethics, throughout.

[63] Arrian, l. vii. ſub fin.

frankneſs

SECT. V.

frankneſs are always the ſooneſt worſted. Upon an occaſion of this kind, the projected circumnavigation of Arabia, of which we have before ſpoken, after he had entertained Nearchus and his officers, he was paſſing from the banqueting room to the bath to prepare himſelf for reſt, when his progreſs was interrupted by Medius, one of thoſe perſons called the king's friends, though many of them deſerved a quite contrary appellation. They conſiſted of men of learning or information; poets, artiſts, philoſophers, not excluding the votaries of wit, pleaſantry, and convivial merriment, who, without any employment in the ſtate or army, were admitted to the king's table and converſation, to vary the dull monotony of military life. Medius ſtopped Alexander to requeſt his preſence at a banquet, that was celebrating in another part of the palace, "becauſe the company could not fail to pleaſe him[64]." The king too indulgently complied, ſince he retired from this ſecond drinking bout, which was prolonged twenty-four hours, in a fever of which he died eleven days afterwards. On the third[65] day of his malady, he was able to hear from Nearchus a relation of ſome memorable occurrences in the Indian ſeas. He was repeatedly conveyed to a cool garden, on the lofty bank of the Euphrates, oppoſite to the royal palace, but without finding any relief to his burning heat. On the 4th and 5th days, he tranſacted public buſines, and gave ſome new directions concerning the purpoſed expedition to Arabia. Next morning, he attended the ſacrifices with difficulty, and filled up ſome vacancies in the army. On the 8th day he was conveyed, for the laſt time, acroſs the Euphrates, and again back to the palace. On the 10th the ſoldiers, deeply concerned for his ſafety, demanded to ſee their beloved general and ſovereign. They were allowed to paſs through his apartment in ſingle file: the king was ſpeechleſs, but affectionately ſtretched forth to them his hand. In the night following, Seleucus and Python, two of the

[64] Γινοσθαι γαρ αν ηδιν τον κωμον. Arrian, apud Plutarch in Alexand. and Arrian, l. vii. c. 24. l. vii. c. 26.

[65] See an extract from the Royal Diary,

youngeſt

youngeſt *royal companions*, viſited the temple of Serapis to conſult that protecting divinity of commerce, whether Alexander ſhould be carried to his ſhrine and immediate preſence, that the malady which afflicted him, might be healed by divine aid. They received for anſwer that the king had beſt remain in his preſent ſituation; and his death immediately ſucceeding this oracular reſponſe, was, therefore, piouſly conſtrued into the beſt thing that could befal him[65]. SECT. V.

To theſe particulars recorded in the Royal Diary, it is added by Ariſtobulus[66], a contemporary biographer, that Alexander being aſked, immediately before his diſſolution, to whom he bequeathed the empire, replied, "to the ſtrongeſt, for my obſequies, I know, will be celebrated by ſtrenuous funeral games among my generals." This report, though invalidated by the ſilence of the Royal Diary, was greedily embraced by the Greeks, whom Homer had taught to believe that the ſoul, at taking its flight from the body, often clearly predicted the ſecrets of futurity[67]. Even thoſe who in later times affected to diſregard this idle ſuperſtition, acknowledged the characteriſtic fitneſs of an anſwer, thus veiling the king's melancholy preſages under his habitual magnanimity. Yet Alexander had not been guilty of the omiſſion, to which able and buſy men are found peculiarly liable. Sleep and love, he uſed to ſay, kept him in mind of his mortality[68]; impreſſed with which reflection, he had made a full and clear teſtamentary diſpoſition with regard to his whole dominions[69]. In him, indeed, this precaution was the more natural and neceſſary, becauſe the patrimony of his crown bore ſo ſmall a proportion to the perſonal acquiſitions of the king, that all notions of hereditary monarchy were loſt in the boundleſs extent of conqueſt. The place choſen as the depoſitory of this important inſtrument, was the city of Rhodes, capital of the iſland of that name, which on And teſtament.

[65] Plutarch ubi ſupra, and Arrian, l. vii. c. 25.

[66] Apud Arrian, c. 26.

[67] Iliad, l. xvi. v. 850 Conf. Diodorus Siculus, l. xviii. c. 1.

[68] Plutarch in Alexand.

[69] Διαθηκην ὑπερ ὁλης της βασιλειας. Diodorus, l. xx. f. 81.

SECT. V.

various accounts Alexander regarded with much fond partiality [70]. The Rhodians had early acknowledged his juſt aſcendancy, and admitted a Macedonian garriſon; a cordial correſpondence ſubſiſted between them and their protector; and the enterpriſing iſlanders, amidſt the decline of greater commonwealths, had begun to aſſume their high ſtation of pre-eminence as bold and liberal traders, the redoubted foes to piracy, the ingenious cultivators of arts, and the authors of thoſe ſalutary marine laws deſtined to perpetuate their renown to the lateſt poſterity. But in the matter of Alexander's teſtament, the Rhodians acted not conſiſtently with their own character, or the favourable opinion which that prince had conceived of them. Their deſcendants always boaſted [71] with prepoſterous vanity, that Rhodes had once been in poſſeſſion of a document ſo important to the world; but the deed itſelf, which many powerful perſons had the ſtrongeſt intereſt to cancel, never made its appearance; and Alexander's ſucceſſion, except that for a reaſon to be explained preſently, he had committed his ring or ſignet to Perdiccas, was left to be decided by the ambiguous laws of his country, and the diſcordant pretenſions of his generals.

[70] He had married Barcina, widow of Memnon the Rhodian; and a magnificent belt, the gift of the Rhodians, conſtantly adorned his perſon. Plutarch in Alexand. p. 684.

[71] Diodorus, l. xx. ſ. 81.

HIS-

HISTORY

OF

THE WORLD,

FROM THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER TO THAT OF AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER I.

Heirs in the Family of Alexander.—Their reſpective Incompetencies.—Pretenſions of his Generals.—Their Proceedings conformable to their ſeveral Ranks and Situations.—Arrhidæus choſen King by the Phalanx.—Perdiccas's Character and Views.—Thoſe of Nearchus and Ptolemy.—Bold Stratagem of Perdiccas, which terminates the Sedition.—Diviſion of the Provinces.—Lamentations of Alexander's Aſiatic Subjects.—His late Funeral.

CHAP. I.

Heirs in the family of Alexander, Olymp cxiv 2. B. C. 323

ALEXANDER is ſaid to have died childleſs[1], an expreſſion indicating that the Greeks did not regard as legitimate his offſpring by Aſian women, though this opinion was never declared, nor perhaps entertained by himſelf. The year before his return to Babylon he had married Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian; and a twelvemonth after celebrating theſe nuptials, had eſpouſed ſtill more publicly Statira, eldeſt daughter to Darius[2].

[1] Αλεξανδρου τετελευτηκοτος απαιδος. Diodor. l. xviii. f. 2.

[2] Conf. Diodor. l. xviii. f. 107. Arrian, l. vii. c. 4. Plutarch in Alexand.

CHAP. I.

But as early as the ſecond year of his expedition, and nearly nine years before his death, there had been found in the ſurrender of Damaſcus, Barcina, widow of Memnon the Rhodian, and daughter to Artabazes, a Perſian of diſtinction by a princeſs of the royal blood. The beauty of Barcina, and ſtill more her amiable character and Grecian education [3], recommended the Syrian captive to Alexander's bed. She bore to him a ſon, named Hercules, now in his fifth year [4]. Roxana was ſix months pregnant, and ſhortly after the king's death brought forth a ſon, called Alexander from his father. Statira, the daughter of Darius, who had been wedded with ſo much ſolemnity at Suza was not a mother. The deficiency in point of deſcendants was not ſupplied by collaterals deemed worthy of ſucceeding to the throne. Alexander's half-brother Philip Arrhidæus, nearly of the ſame age with himſelf, had indeed been acknowledged, and royally educated by king Philip, though the ſon of a Theſſalian dancing woman [5]. But Arrhidæus was a prince of a weak underſtanding, and an unambitious temper, who had followed the Macedonian camp, without bearing any command, or ever taking part in any important tranſaction [6]. Alexander's full ſiſter, Cleopatra, after the death of her huſband the dependent king of Epirus, had paſſed into Aſia, leſs ſolicitous about finding there a new marriage ſuitable to her rank, than eager to indulge in the midſt of a great army her unbounded gallantries. The incorrigible looſeneſs of her behaviour was univerſally ſtigmatiſed even in that licentious age, and the object of contemptuous deriſion to Alexander himſelf [7]. Another ſiſter called Cynna formed a ſort of contraſt with Cleopatra. Cynna [8] was the daughter of an Illyrian named Euridice [9], but far

Philip Arrhidæus.

Cleopatra, Cynna, and Euridice.

[3] Plutarch in Alexand. p. 676.

[4] Plutarch in Eumen.

[5] Pauſan. Arcad. c. vii. and Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 578.

[6] Plutarch in Alexand.

[7] When informed of her diſorders, "leave her to enjoy," he ſaid, "what ſhe conſiders as *her* ſhare in the empire." Plut. ibid. p. 818.

[8] Called Cynnana by Arrian apud Photium, p. 219.

[9] Her original name, Audalas, had been changed into Euridice. Conf. Polyæn. Stratag. l. viii. c. 60. and Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. xiii. c. 36.

more

more reſembled her warlike brother than did Cleopatra, who ſhared his blood by both parents. Her huſband Amyntas having aſpired to the throne on the death of his uncle Philip, had by the ſentence of his country been conſigned to the puniſhment of unſucceſsful rebellion. Cynna followed Alexander into Aſia, aſſumed the lance and helmet, and delighted to fight in the firſt ranks [10]. To the ſame martial accompliſhments, in which herſelf excelled, ſhe devoted and trained her daughter by the unfortunate Amyntas, who bore the family name of Euridice; and whoſe character, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, well correſponded with her education. Yet neither Cynna nor Euridice, any more than the voluptuous profligacy of Cleopatra, were ever thought of in the great queſtion of ſucceſſion to the empire; cuſtom without any expreſs declaration having eſtabliſhed a ſort of Salic law forbidding the government of women over freemen and ſoldiers.

Generals of the blood royal

Beſides the poſterity of Alexander and his father Philip, three generals of great renown boaſted of a more remote deſcent from the royal family. Theſe were Leonnatus and Perdiccas, both preſent in Babylon, and Antigonus then reſiding [11] as governor of Phrygia in the centre of the Aſiatic peninſula. Theſe ambitious men were likely to urge with keenneſs their double pretenſions of birth and merit; whereas Ptolemy, though in both reſpects above them, was contented to be thought the ſon of Lagus, and had been treated by Alexander with more fraternal regard becauſe he had never claimed the name of brother [12]. In addition to theſe four, there were ten other generals who, from the glory of their exploits, and the high rank, which, as will be explained preſently, they held in Alexander's ſervice, could not be expected eaſily to acknowledge a ſupe-

Ten other generals of high pretenſions.

[10] Diodorus, l. xix. ſ. 52. and Athenæus, l. iv. p. 155. She is ſaid by Polyænus, l. viii. c. 6. to have ſlain with her own hand Cœria a rival heroine, queen of the *Phrygians* (read) *Illyrians*. She muſt have accompanied either Philip or Alexander in their Illyrian warfare.

[11] Dexippus apud Photium, p. 220. and Arrian, l. i. c 30.

[12] Curtius, l. ix. c. 8.

rior.

CHAP. I.

rior. Of theſe, ſeven were then preſent in Babylon; Lyſimachus, Ariſtonous, Python, Seleucus, Eumenes, Meleager, Nearchus [11]; of the three remaining, Peuceſtes, whoſe heroiſm had ſaved the life of his maſter in the aſſault of the Mallian fortreſs, reſided [12] in his government of Perſis, the proper Perſia; Antipater continued to govern with almoſt royal power Greece and Macedon; and Craterus, an old general wedded to the cuſtoms of his country, and of great popularity in the army, was marching with ten thouſand veterans through Cilicia [13], that they might be exchanged for a greater number of new recruits from Europe. This long liſt of generals, moſt of them men of fierce ſpirits and unprincipled ambition, the policy as well as the magnanimity of Alexander had overawed. In each province, he had ſeparated the departments of the purſe and of the ſword; and for the protection of his ſubjects at large, had eſtabliſhed firm barriers of juſtice guarded with unceaſing vigilance. But to uphold ſuch a fabric required the abilities of him who had erected it; and no two things could be more widely at variance than the exigencies of the empire and the condition of the royal line; the weakneſs of Arrhidæus, the nonage of Hercules, the precarious expectance of Roxana's pregnancy. Yet both Greeks and Barbarians looked for a lawful ſovereign in the family of their late king: and the merits of his lieutenants were ſo equally balanced, that it would not be eaſy to decide which of them ſhould hold the regency.

Deliberation concerning the regency and ſucceſſion.

To deliberate concerning both the ſucceſſion and adminiſtration, the principal officers aſſembled in the palace the day after Alexander's death. The deliberation itſelf as well as the tranſactions immediately following it, have hitherto been repreſented as a blind ſcramble for power among profligate and daring uſurpers. Their proceedings, indeed, are tranſmitted to us from antiquity, through

[11] Dexippus et Arrian apud Phot. et Curtius, l. x. c. 6.

[12] Arrian, l. vi. c. 30.

[13] Phot. Eclog. p. 201. and p. 215. and Arrian. l. vii. c. 12.

the

CHAP. I.

the medium of obſcure fragments [16], or flowery declamation [17]. But a careful ſtudy of this illuſtrious reign, and of the Macedonian inſtitutions, will ſhew that in the whole buſineſs, there was much regularity, and particularly that affairs ſtill followed the impulſe which Alexander had given to them, the parts acted by his generals exactly correſponding to their reſpective ſituations in his army. The compoſition of this army will therefore firſt require our attention.

The parts acted by Alexander's generals correſponded with their reſpective ſtations.

The Macedonian Phalanx conſiſted at firſt of ſix, and afterwards of ſixteen thouſand ſpearmen, arranged ſixteen in depth. In its uſual order it occupied a line of three thouſand feet, but could contract itſelf in a charge to one half of that length [18]. By its depth, compactneſs, and the nature of its weapons, this body of infantry ſurmounted every enemy both in the time of Alexander, and that of his immediate ſucceſſors. But in the wars between the followers of thoſe princes, and the Romans, the phalanx was ſhown to be in itſelf a very incomplete [19] inſtrument of victory; it depended on the co-operation of lighter troops, for removing obſtacles, for covering its flank, and for giving it a fair opportunity to exerciſe in front its invariably reſiſtleſs ſtrength. In the reign of Alexander, theſe eſſential auxiliaries to the Phalanx conſiſted of the hypaſpiſts, a body of three thouſand light infantry [20]; and of the *equeſtrian companions*, a regiment of two thouſand and forty-eight horſe. When the Phalanx was doubled from ſixteen to thirty-two thouſand ſpearmen, theſe lighter troops might in the ſame proportion be augmented, ſtill preſerving the original modes of diviſion by which their reſpective ſyſtems were diſtinguiſhed. In the formation and employment of

The Phalanx with its eſſential auxiliaries.

[16] The Excerpts from Dexippus and Arrian in Photius, p. 200—215.

[17] Curtius, l. x. c. 5. & ſeq.

[18] Ὁ πανυπέρμαχος καὶ κατάφρακτος, B. Cardinal Beſſarion's Grammar from an ancient treatiſe on the Phalanx.

[19] The defeats of the later Macedonian kings aroſe from their conſidering the Phalanx as αὐτάρκης, all-ſufficient in itſelf. Polybius, l. xviii. c. 12—15.

[20] Πεζέταιροι θαυμαστοὶ καὶ σύντονοι καταφράκτοι, that admirable and indefatigable light infantry. Demoſt. Olynth. c. vi. The Romans called the hypaſpiſts cetrati. T. Liv. l. xliv. c. 41. and paſſim.

his