E18050

Heroes of the Nations

EDITED BY

Evelyn Abbott, M.A.

FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

FACTA DUCIS VIVENT OPEROSAQUE GLORIA RERUM.—OVID, IN LIVIAM 65

THE HERO'S DEEDS AND HARD-WON FAME SHALL LIVE.

ALEXANDER

HEAD OF ALEXANDER.

OBVERSE OF ONE OF THE GOLD MEDALLIONS OF TARSUS.

REVERSE OF ABOVE MEDALLION

ALEXANDER
THE GREAT

THE MERGING OF EAST AND WEST IN UNIVERSAL HISTORY

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS

NEW YORK
27 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET

LONDON
24 BEDFORD STREET, STRAND

The Knickerbocker Press

1900

COPYRIGHT, 1900
BY
BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY TEACHER

JEREMIAH LEWIS DIMAN

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

PARENTS AND HOME, 359–356 B.C. 1

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, 356–340 B.C. 19

CHAPTER III.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION 48

CHAPTER IV.

THE APPRENTICESHIP, 340–336 B.C. 64

CHAPTER V.

THE OLD GREECE, 336 B.C. 81

CHAPTER VI.

OLD GREECE — ITS POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS, 336 B.C. 98

CHAPTER VII.

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, 404–338 B.C. 122

PAGE

CHAPTER VIII.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD GREEK POLITICAL SYSTEM, 404–355 B.C. 138

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER IN THRACE AND ILLYRIA, 336–335 B.C. 149

CHAPTER X.

ALEXANDER IN CENTRAL GREECE, 335 B.C. . . 166

CHAPTER XI.

ORIENT VS. OCCIDENT 180

CHAPTER XII.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE 187

CHAPTER XIII.

CARRYING THE WAR INTO ASIA, 334 B.C. . . 208

CHAPTER XIV.

IN LYDIA AND CARIA, 334 B.C. 227

CHAPTER XV.

LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA, PISIDIA, 334–333 B.C. . . 248

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM PHRYGIA TO CILICIA, 333 B.C. . . . 266

CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLE OF ISSUS, 333 B.C. 280

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM CILICIA TO SYRIA, 333–332 B.C. 304

CHAPTER XIX.

PAGE

THE SIEGE OF TYRE, 332 B.C. 311

CHAPTER XX.

ALEXANDER IN EGYPT, 332–331 B.C. . . . 328

CHAPTER XXI.

VISIT TO THE TEMPLE OF AMMON, 332–331 B.C. . 344

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BATTLE OF GAUGAMELA, 331 B.C. . . 356

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FRUITS OF VICTORY: OCCUPATION OF PERSIA —DEATH OF DARIUS, 331–330 B.C. . . 369

CHAPTER XXIV.

IN AFGHANISTAN, 330–329 B.C. 382

CHAPTER XXV.

IN BOKHARA AND TURKESTAN, 329–327 B.C. . 398

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE INVASION OF INDIA, 327–326 B.C. . . 415

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BATTLE OF THE HYDASPES, 326 B.C. . . 433

CHAPTER XXVIII.

COMPLETED CONQUEST OF THE PENJAB, 326–325 B.C. 447

CHAPTER XXIX.

RETURN TO PERSIA, 325–324 B.C. . . . 463

CHAPTER XXX.

PAGE

AT SUSA AND OPIS, 324 B.C. 473

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER, 323 B.C. 486

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

HEAD OF ALEXANDER * . . . *Frontispiece*
[From one of the gold medallions of Tarsus.]

MAP OF ANCIENT GREECE AND ASIA MINOR . . 12

REVERSE OF HEAVY EUBŒAN OR SOLONIAN DEKADRACHM, SHOWING THE ATHENIAN OWL . . 22

SILVER COIN OF PHILIP II. OF MACEDON (FATHER OF ALEXANDER) 22
[Head of the Olympian Zeus. Coin probably struck, as the horse of reverse indicates, in commemoration of victory in the Olympian games.]

TETRADRACHM OF ALEXANDER, BEARING THE HEAD OF HERCULES 22

ARISTOTLE 36
[After the statue in the Spada Palace, Rome.]

MAP SHOWING ALEXANDRIA A CENTURY BEFORE AND AFTER CHRIST * 46

ALEXANDER THE GREAT * 70
[Obverse of one of the gold medallions of Tarsus.]

* See note on p. xiii.

PAGE

GOLD STATER OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, THE HEAD BEING THAT OF ATHENE . . . 78
[From the original in the British Museum.]

SILVER TETRADRACHM OF LYSIMACHUS (KING OF THRACE, B.C. 323–281)* 78
[From the original in the British Museum.]

SILVER COIN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT . . 78
[Supposed to have been struck during his lifetime. Obverse, head of Hercules. Reverse, Zeus holding the eagle, seated. From the original in the British Museum.]

PHILIP II., FATHER OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT . 82
[One of the gold medallions of Tarsus. Obverse, the head of Philip II. Reverse, Victory in a quadriga.]

TETRADRACHM WITH HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT WEARING THE LION-SKIN OF HERCULES. 88
[Obverse and reverse. This extraordinarily perfect coin is the property of Hon. Eben Alexander, formerly U. S. Minister to Greece.]

MAP OF THE WORLD ACCORDING TO ERATOSTHENES. 98

DEMOSTHENES 120
[From the statue in the Vatican, Rome.]

ÆSCHINES 146
[From the marble statue in the Boston Museum.]

PART OF THORWALDSEN'S "TRIUMPH OF ALEXANDER" 180
[From a frieze in the Villa Carlotta, Lake Como, Italy.]

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE ABOUT 500 B.C., AND THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 323 B.C. . 192

* See note on p. xiv.

PAGE

ACROPOLIS OF SARDIS 196

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS AS ARRANGED BY THE AUTHOR 220

ALEXANDER AT THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS * . 224

[From a statuette now in the National Museum, Naples.]

HEAD OF ALEXANDER RONDANINI IN THE GLYPTOTHEK AT MUNICH † 228

From Koepp's *Ueber das Bildnes Alexanders des Grossen.*]

MOSAIC OF THE BATTLE OF ISSUS (FROM POMPEII) . 230

HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT † 232

[From a tetradrachm of Lysimachus.]

FACE OF ALEXANDER † 238

[From the Pompeian mosaic representing the Battle of Issus. From Koepp's *Ueber das Bildnes Alexanders des Grossen.*]

SCENE ON THE COAST OF ASIA MINOR, NEAR ANAMOUR 242

THE GYGEAN LAKE AND THE PLACE OF THE THOUSAND TOMBS, ASIA MINOR 246

PLAIN OF ISSUS (PRESENT CONDITION) 288

[The ancient course of the Pinarus followed the river channel next to the north.]

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF ISSUS, AS ARRANGED BY THE AUTHOR 290

ALEXANDER THE GREAT † 322

[From the bust in the Louvre.]

---

* See note on p. xiv.

† See note on p. xv.

PAGE

BUST OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT 350
[From the British Museum.]

BATTLE OF ARBELA 380

ALEXANDER'S CROSSING OF THE HYDASPES AND BATTLE WITH PORUS 440

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

HEAD OF ALEXANDER. (One of the gold medallions of Tarsus.)

Reverse of medallion: Alexander and the Lion, after the statuary group by Lysippus, called *Alexander's Hunt*, in commemoration of a fact in Alexander's life. Alexander followed the example of Oriental monarchs in cultivating this exercise, and Lysippus that of Oriental artists in depicting it.

MAP SHOWING ALEXANDRIA A CENTURY BEFORE AND AFTER CHRIST.

This map, based on the map in Brockhaus's *Conversations-Lexicon*, showing Alexandria a century before and after Christ, which follows the plan of Mâhmud Bey, shows also by the cross-and-dash lines the present wide extension, now thickly built upon, of the Heptastadium, which originally connected the mainland with Pharos Island. At the east end of the island is shown the site of the famous Pharos, or lighthouse, one of the seven wonders of the world. The site of the ancient Pharos, after its destruction, was occupied by a fort. The breakwater extending on the right hand from the mainland to complete the "Great Harbour" no longer exists.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. (One of the gold medallions of Tarsus.)

The reverse is the same as the medallion on frontispiece, which see. The obverse shows Alexander as a descendant of Hercules, wearing the lion's scalp. The Hercules figuring on the silver coins of Alexander as his ancestor is of the same type as this Tarsus Medallion and the Tyrian Hercules. In many specimens the resem-

blance to Alexander is marked; and the "*Alexandre d'argent*," so, to speak, of Ptolemy, on which Alexander's head wears an elephant's scalp, is good evidence, in default of trustworthy literary traditions, that Alexander's contemporaries regarded the lion's-scalp profile of his own coins as the king's profile; in fact, the Sidon sarcophagus confirms the ancient tradition that Macedonian kings wore the lion's scalp as a badge of their house and office. The lion's-scalp profile of the gold medallion of Tarsus would seem to confirm the portrait theory in regard to the silver coins.

Magical virtues were ascribed to Alexander's portrait in the days of the Roman emperors. The presence of the medallion of Alexander Severus, with the Philip and Alexander medallions, would seem to indicate that the Roman emperor had given them, in reward for services, to the person in whose grave they were found at Tarsus. These invaluable medallions would appear to be older than the reign of Severus, but the script shows them to be later than Alexander himself.

SILVER TETRADRACHM OF LYSIMACHUS (KING OF THRACE, B.C. 323–281).

Obverse: Head of Alexander the Great with Horns of Ammon, as the deified son of the god. The profile is supposed to be taken from the statue-portrait by Lysippus, or the gem-portrait by Pyrgoteles. Reverse: Pallas holding Victory.

ALEXANDER AT THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS.

This bronze statuette was found in the middle of the eighteenth century at Herculaneum, and is now in the National Museum, Naples. A few ornaments of the bridle and collar are of silver incrusted upon the dark bronze. This antique is almost certainly a copy after the life-size principal figure of an equestrian encounter, presumably ordered of Lysippus by Alexander himself in commemoration of his own narrow escape in this battle. This group, set up at Dium, Macedonia, contained fifteen portraits of Macedonian champions. It was copied by Euthycrates of Sicyon, a son and pupil of Lysippus, and was afterward taken to Rome by Metellus Macedonicus. A badly mutilated bronze horse in the Museum of the Conservatori, Rome, has been conjecturally pronounced a remnant of the original group. The vigorous action of the present figure is repeated in a Smyrniot terra-cotta described by M. Reinach in the

Mélanges Graux. In the encounter at the ford of the Granicus, Alexander's helmet was slashed by a Persian scimitar, and he was forced to borrow a lance, his own being shattered.

HEAD OF ALEXANDER RONDANINI.

The bust represents a youth from eighteen to twenty years of age, and may well be regarded as an authentic portrait of the Prince Alexander as he appeared at about the period of the battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). It has, indeed, been argued with considerable probability that we have in this statue a copy of the gold-ivory statue which Leochares, after the battle of Chæronea, was commissioned to make for the Philippeion at Olympia, as part of a group in which Philip was the central figure.

HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Lysimachus, King of Thrace (323–281 B.C.), was one of the successors of Alexander. As usual on these coins, Alexander is represented with the Ammon horns, in his character as son of Jupiter Ammon and universal king. The coins of Lysimachus are of widely various artistic excellence, but they offer beyond a question the most accurate profile-portraits of Alexander, and the one here presented, published in Imhoof-Blumer's *Porträtköpfe*, Taf. I, is one of the noblest products of the Greek mints.

FACE OF ALEXANDER.

Though the face is elongated, as compared, for instance, with the coin portraits, the characteristic features of the "leonine" hair, the forehead, the full eye, and particularly the lips and chin are faithfully preserved.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. (From the bust in the Louvre.)

This marble, called the *Hermes Bust of Alexander*, was discovered in 1795 on the Tiburtine estate of the Cavaliere d'Azara, afterward Spanish ambassador to France, and by him presented to Napoleon I. This bust, inscribed "Alexander, son of Philip (King of the Macedonians)," in Greek characters of the Augustan age, was long the only means of identifying any other portrait of the conqueror. It has been mutilated by long immersion in the wet soil, and has been subjected to modern restoration in places.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTS AND HOME.

359–356 B.C.

NO single personality, excepting the carpenter's son of Nazareth, has done so much to make the world of civilisation we live in what it is as Alexander of Macedon. He levelled the terrace upon which European history built. Whatever lay within the range of his conquests contributed its part to form that Mediterranean civilisation which, under Rome's administration, became the basis of European life. What lay beyond was as if on another planet. Alexander checked his eastward march at the Sutlej, and India and China were left in a world of their own, with their own mechanisms for man and society, their own theories of God and the world. Alexander's world, to which we all belong, went on its own separate way until, in these latter days, a new greed of conquest, begotten of

commercial ambition, promises at last to level the barriers which through the centuries have stood as monuments to the outmost stations of the Macedonian phalanx, and have divided the world of men in twain.

The story of the great Macedonian's life, inseparable as it is from history in its widest range, stands none the less in stubborn protest against that view of history which makes it a thing of thermometers and the rain-gauge, of rivers and mountains, weights and values, materials, tools, and machines. It is a history warm with the life-blood of a man. It is instinct with personality, and speaks in terms of the human will and the soul. History and biography blend. Events unfold in an order that conforms to the opening intelligence and forming will of personality, and matter is the obedient tool of spirit. The story of the times must therefore be told, if truly told, in terms of a personal experience. When and where the personal Alexander was absent from the scene, history in those days either tarried or moved in eddies; the current was where he was. This will be excuse enough for making this narrative of a great historic period peculiarly the story of a man, and not merely of a conqueror.

Plutarch says that King Philip of Macedonia, shortly after the capture of Potidæa, received three different pieces of good news. He learned that "Parmenion, his general, had overthrown the Illyrians in a great battle, that his race-horse had won the course at the Olympian games, and that his wife had given birth to Alexander." Another story tells

how on the very night of the birth an ominous calamity fell upon Asia: the temple of the great Diana of the Ephesians went up in flames. So events tend to swarm together in history—at least, in the telling of history. The year was undoubtedly 356 B.C., and the best combination of all the indications we have makes the month October, though Plutarch, in deference to the horse-race, says it was July.

Philip had been three years on the throne of Macedon. The year before he had occupied Amphipolis, and so opened for his little state a breathing-place on the Ægean; at the same time he introduced it to the long struggle with Athens. Athens herself, two hundred miles off to the south, was in the midst of a war that was to cost her the most of her island empire in the Ægean. This or the following year marked, too, the publication of Xenophon's pamphlet *On the Revenues*, and of Isocrates's essay *On the Peace*. Demosthenes, twenty-eight years old, was just entering on his career as statesman and public orator. Æschines was thirty-four. Aristotle, the future tutor of Alexander, was twenty-eight. Plato, seventy-one years old, had nine years more to live; Xenophon had one, Isocrates eighteen. An old order for which Athens and Sparta had made the history was just dying out, and a new order, with new men and new motives, was coming in.

The child whose destiny it was to give this new world its shape was born outside the pale of the older world, and in his blood joined the blood of two lines of ancient Northern kings. Alexander's

mother was Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus, King of Epirus, who traced his lineage back through a distinguished line to Neoptolemus, the son of the hero Achilles. So it was said, or, as Plutarch puts it, "confidently believed," that Alexander was descended on his father's side from Hercules, through Caranus, and on his mother's from Æacus, through Neoptolemus. Plutarch does not even withhold from us a story of Philip's falling in love that constitutes a fair parallel to what we know of his prompitude and directness of action in other fields. "Philip is said to have fallen in love with Olympias at Samothrace, where they happened to be initiated together into a religious circle, he being a mere stripling, and she an orphan. And having obtained the consent of her brother Arymbas, he shortly married her." Refreshing as it is to read of a marriage for love in these old Greek times, it must be reported that the match was never a happy one.

They were both persons of decided individuality, and in both the instinct of self-preservation was strongly developed. Both were preëminently ambitious, aggressive, and energetic; but while Philip's ambition was guided by a cool, crafty sagacity, that of his Queen manifested itself rather in impetuous outbursts of almost barbaric emotion. In her joined a marvellous compound of the mother, the queen, the shrew, and the witch. The passionate ardour of her nature found its fullest expression in the wild ecstasies and crude superstitions of her native religious rites.

"Another account is," says Plutarch, "that all the women of this country, having always been addicted to the Orphic and the Dionysiac mystery-rites, imitated largely the practices of the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hæmus, and that Olympias, in her abnormal zeal to surround these states of trance and inspiration with more barbaric dread, was wont in the sacred dances to have about her great tame serpents, which, sometimes creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, and sometimes winding themselves about the staffs and the chaplets which the women bore, presented a sight of horror to the men who beheld."

While it was from his father that Alexander inherited his sagacious insight into men and things, and his brilliant capacity for timely and determined action, it was to his mother that he undoubtedly owed that passionate warmth of nature which betrayed itself not only in the furious outbursts of temper occasionally characteristic of him, but quite as much in a romantic fervour of attachment and love for friends, a delicate tenderness of sympathy for the weak, and a princely largeness and generosity of soul toward all, that made him so deeply beloved of men and so enthusiastically followed. His deep religious sentiment, which, wherever he was, carried him beyond the limits of mere respect for the proprieties of form and mere regard for political expediencies, and held him at temple and oracle in awe before the mysteries of the great unseen, stamped him, too, as the son of Olympias.

In Philip there predominated the characteristics which mark in modern times the practical politician.

He was sagacious and alert of mind. His eye followed sharply and unceasingly every turn of events that might yield him an advantage. The weakness, the embarrassment, the preoccupation, of his opponent, he always made his opportunity. He was a keen judge of character, and adapted himself readily to those with whom he came in contact. He knew how to gratify the weaknesses, ambitions, lusts, and ideals of men, and chain them to his service. Few who came in contact with him failed to be captivated by him. He was perfectly unscrupulous as to the methods to be employed in attaining an end. Nothing of the sort ordinarily known as principles ever impeded his movement. He was an opportunist of the deepest dye. Flattery, promises, beneficence, cruelty, deceit, and gold he used when and where each would avail; but bribery was his most familiar tool. He allowed no one to reckon with him as a constant quantity. His ultimate plans and purposes were concealed from friends and foes alike. In announcing his decisions and proclaiming his views, he followed the ordinary politician's watchword: "We will not cross the bridge till we come to it." As success was to him the only right, and availability the only justice, radical changes of attitude and plan in the very face of action involved no difficulty. They rather served his purpose, and were his wont. He remained, as he wished to remain, a puzzle to his foes, and a mystery to his friends.

His character was full of apparent contradictions. Perhaps, after all, it was only his extraordinary versatility that was responsible for them. At one

time he appears as a creature of passion enraged by anger or lust, again he is cool, deliberate, calculating, when others are carried away with excitement or prejudice; now he is a half-savage, again he is a smooth, subtle, temperate Greek; now he is pitilessly brutal, again he is generous and large-hearted; now he gives himself, body and soul, to some petty aim of lust or envy, again he is the prophet and preacher of a national ideal. In everything he was, however, a strong individuality. His personality dominated every enterprise in which he was concerned. He was a natural leader of men. He could organise as well as lead. He not only made himself absolute master of Macedon, but he so organised its force that it became of permanent value and could be transmitted to his successor. His organising talent was, however, military rather than political. He lacked that fine sense for the civic and religious instincts of other peoples which developed in his son the capacity for founding empire as well as leading armies. And yet without him Alexander's achievements would have been impossible.

Philip's great permanent achievements are two: the first is the organisation of a power which Alexander was able, after him, to use for the founding of an empire; the second is the formulation and practical initiation of the idea of uniting Greece through a great national undertaking. These two are enough to set upon him the stamp of greatness. He was certainly great—great in personal force, in practical alertness, in organising talent, and in sagacious intelligence. Theopompus says well: "Taking all

in all, Europe has never seen such a man as the son of Amyntas."

So much for the parents of Alexander. How truly he was their son the story of his life will tell. The improvement which he made upon their record, particularly in point of greater self-restraint, of higher and more ideal interests, and of nobler ideas of life and duty, this is to be traced, at least to some degree, to his excellent training and education.

Alexander was born at Pella, the city which his father, in place of ancient Ægæ, had made the capital of Macedonia. Hard by a vast swamp lake, and on the banks of the sluggish Ludias, it stood near the centre of the plain which formed the nucleus of the little kingdom. The sea, the modern Gulf of Saloniki, was twenty miles away. Twenty miles to the east or west or north brought one to the foothills of the highlands that raised their amphitheatre about the plain. One great river, the Axius, modern Vardar, came down through the northern hills and traversed the plain. The Ludias was a lesser stream a little to the west. From the west, draining the mountain-locked plain of Elimea, came the Haliacmon. Philip's ancestors from their old citadel at Ægæ, near the modern Vodena, had long ruled the plain, and various tribes in the highlands behind had recognised a more or less stable allegiance to their power. Such were the Elimiotæ of the Haliacmon valley, the Lyncestæ of the Erigon valley, and the Pæonians on the upper courses of the Axius. The congeries of tribes which made up this loosely jointed Macedonian state covered a territory, ex-

cluding Pæonia, about the size and shape of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The sea-coast in Philip's early days was occupied by a fringe of Greek settlements, and the early history of Macedonia is that of an inland state. Not until it acquired a sea-coast did it figure as an international quantity.

The people themselves were a plain, hardy, peasant population, preserving the older conditions of life and the older institutions of the kingship and the tribal organisation—much, indeed, as they appear in the society of Homer's times. Only among the Spartans, the Molossians, and the Macedonians, says Aristotle, had the form of the ancient kingship survived, and only among the Macedonians the full exercise of its prerogatives. The consolidation of the classes into a strong opposition, which in the other states had first, in the form of an aristocratic opposition, throttled the kingship, and later, in the form of a democratic opposition, throttled the aristocracy, was in Macedonia prevented by the predominance of peasant life and the persistence of tribal unity. The state consisted of tribes and clans, not divided into orders and classes. The kingship belonged always in one and the same family, but definite rules for the succession within the family seem not to have been fully established. Seniority alone was not enough to determine a selection among the princes. In the turmoils that almost certainly followed the death of a king, force, daring, and leadership often asserted, by a species of natural right, their superior claim.

The larger landed proprietors owed to the king a military allegiance as vassals and companions-at-arms, and constituted a body known as the *hetairoi* (companions), not unlike the *comitatus* of the early Germans. The army consisted entirely of the free landholding peasantry. Mercenaries were unknown. It was this force that the stern discipline and careful organisation of Philip raised into the most terrible war-machine that ancient Greece had ever yet known, in firmness and energy the equal of the Spartan, in size, organisation, and suppleness immeasurably its superior. That the Macedonians were Greek by race there can be no longer any doubt. They were the northernmost fragments of the race left stranded behind the barriers of Olympus. They had not shared the historical experience of their kinsmen to the south, and had not been kneaded with the mass. If isolation from the Ægean had withheld them from progress in the arts of civilisation, still they had kept the freshness and purity of the Northern blood better than those who had mixed with the primitive populations of Greece and were sinking the old fair-haired, blue-eyed type of the Northmen in the dark-haired type of the South. It is the experience of history that force and will must be continually replenished from the North, and the Macedonians were only waiting for their turn.

Their language, mere patois as it was, and never used, so far as we know, in written form, has left evidences of its Greek character in stray words that have crept into the glossaries, and from soldiers'

lips into the common speech.* There exist, besides proper names, a large number of glosses in the lexicon of Hesychius and a considerable number of words that became incorporated into the common Greek of the Macedonian period. Thus, Berenice is known to be the Macedonian form corresponding to an Attic Pherenice, as Bilippos was the Macedonian name of Philip. Correspondingly the Attic word *ophrus* (eyebrows) had its counterpart *abrutes* in Macedonian. It is evident that the dialect was regarded as so base a patois that even when Macedon rose to world-power no attempt was made to elevate it into use as a literary language. The higher classes, presumably, all learned Attic Greek, much as the children in the Tyrol to-day are taught *Hochdeutsch*, which is to them a half-foreign tongue. Plutarch reports that Attic Greek was the medium of intercourse at Philip's court. It is a significant fact that while as late as 214 B.C., a Macedonian king, Philip V., is known to have issued a proclamation to a Thessalian community in bilingual form, *i. e.*, in Thessalian Greek and common Greek, there is no likelihood that any such use of the Macedonian dialect was ever attempted. Macedonian was, however, the common spoken language of the Macedonian soldiery. Thus Plutarch † reports a scene in the camp before Eumenes's tent: "And when they saw him, they saluted him in the Macedonian dialect, and took up their shields, and, striking them with their pikes, gave a great shout." That Alex-

* See A. Fick, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxii., 193 *ff.*

† Plutarch, *Eumenes*, ch. xiv.

ander himself usually spoke Attic Greek may be inferred from the statement of Plutarch * that when he did speak in Macedonian it was interpreted by his attendants as indicating unusual excitement or perturbation.

That the Macedonians were a rude, half-civilised people is sufficiently attested. Alexander in a speech attributed to him by Arrian † says to his army:

"My father, Philip, found you a roving people, without fixed habitations and without resources, most of you clad in the skins of animals, pasturing a few sheep among the mountains, and to defend these, waging a luckless warfare with the Illyrians, the Triballans, and the Thracians on your borders. But he gave you the soldier's cloak to replace the skins and led you down from the mountains into the plain, making you a worthy match in war against the barbarians on your frontier, so that you no longer trusted to the security of your strongholds so much as to your own personal valour for safety. He made you to dwell in cities and provided you with wholesome laws and institutions. Over those same barbarians, who before had plundered you and carried off as booty both yourselves and your substance, he made you instead of slaves and underlings to be masters and lords."

The warlike character also of the people is attested by Aristotle's ‡ remark that "it was once the usage among the Macedonians that a man who had not

* Plutarch, *Alexander*, ch. li.

† Arrian, *Exped. Alex.*, vii., 9.

‡ Aristotle, *Politics*, vii., 2, 6 (1324*b*).

yet slain a foe should wear a cord about his body." They were passionately fond of the chase and given to the most barbarous excesses in strong drink, in which latter particular at least Philip, and, as some think, Alexander, too, proved themselves true sons of Macedonia.

But none of these characteristics affords the least warrant for excluding them from the list of Greek tribes. Like the inhabitants of Epirus, who were also often classed as "barbarians," they represented the outer rim of the Greek race, while the Illyrians to the west of them were of another race, probably the same as the modern Albanians, and their language, as we know from an incident related by Polybius,* was totally unintelligible to the Macedonians.

Rude people as the Macedonians were, we have no reason to think that the Greeks generally classed them as "barbarians." When Demosthenes seeks to arouse political antipathy against Philip by calling him and his people barbarians, we shall interpret his words as we do ante-election editorials, and not as a sober contribution to ethnology. Bitterest is his expression in a passage of the *Third Philippic:* "Philip—a man who not only is no Greek, and no way akin to the Greeks, but is not even a barbarian from a respectable country—no, a pestilent fellow of Macedon, a country from which we never get even a decent slave." If this tirade contains any basis of fact, it is that the Macedonians were rarely found in slavery, a testimony, on the one hand, to their own manliness, and, on the other, to their

* Polybius, xxviii., 8, 9.

general recognition as Greeks. There is no evidence that Demosthenes's detestation of the Macedonians was commonly shared by his Athenian countrymen, though the two peoples surely had very little in common. In institutions, customs, and culture, they represented the extreme contrast afforded within the limits of the Greek race.

Whatever may have been the current opinions in Greece concerning the Macedonian people, there can be no doubt that their royal family had been for generations regarded with great respect. They claimed to be descended from the ancient royal family of Argos, a branch of which, tradition said, had in the early days of Grecian history taken refuge in the north. Though it is impossible for us to test the reliability of this tradition, or to determine whether the name borne by the family, the Argeadæ, is to be regarded as evidence to the truth of the tradition, or merely as the deceptive cause of its origin, certain it is that it was generally accepted among the Greeks, and had received the most decisive official verification from the highest Greek tribunal. When Alexander, a Macedonian king of the earlier part of the fifth century (498–454 B.C.), presented himself as a competitor at the Olympian games, Herodotus says that the other "competitors undertook to exclude him, saying that barbarians had no right to enter the competition, but only Greeks. But when Alexander proved that he was an Argive, he was formally adjudged a Greek, and on participating in the race, he came off with the first prize."

It was this same king who, during the invasion of Xerxes, showed himself so firm a friend of the Greek cause as to win the title "Philhellene." The memory of his action on this occasion became an heirloom in his family. The espousal of Hellenic interests as against the power of Persia remained the policy and the ideal of his successors. It was left to his namesake, a century and a quarter after him, to realise the ideal in its fullest sense. However the other Greek states might vacillate in alternately opposing Persia or paying court to her, according to the momentary advantage, the Macedonian kings always remained firm in their hereditary aversion to the effeminate empire and civilisation of the East; and in this we may find one of the strongest grounds of their popularity with the Greeks at large, as it surely also gave a certain moral basis for the claims of their ambition to lead the united force of Hellenism against the East.

Another family tradition that took its rise with Alexander the Philhellene, or perhaps even with his father, Amyntas (540–499), associated itself with the cultivation and patronage of the higher elements of Greek civilisation. It was a natural tribute which the lesser pays the greater, but it was none the less a credit to have discerned the greater. Alexander's eagerness to participate in the Olympian games was part of a general desire to be recognised by the Greeks. He showed himself highly sensitive to their opinions about him. He sought the acquaintance and society of their eminent men, and brought it about that Pindar, then the first literary name of

Greece, should celebrate his Olympian victories in verse.

The efforts to introduce Greek culture into Macedonian society, which began with Alexander the Philhellene, were continued under his successors. History gives us no connected account—only stray hints, but they are broad enough to follow. Greek settlers were welcomed. Men eminent in letters and in art were induced to visit the country and reside at court. Thus Alexander's immediate successor, Perdiccas II. (454–413 B.C.), entertained at his court Melanippides, the dithyrambic poet of Melos, who was regarded as one of the foremost lyric composers of his day; and tradition, which was ever busy with the half-mythical career of Hippocrates, did not fail to report that the great physician had once been called to practise his art at the palace of the same king.

In the reign of the next king, Archelaus (413–399), the Philhellenist tendency, which had become almost a craze of imitation, reached its climax, and by developing a nationalist party drew after it a reaction. Archelaus sought to make his court a Weimar. Though Sophocles and Socrates declined his invitations, Euripides spent the last years of his life in Macedonia, dying there in 406. The tragedian Agathon, the epic poet Chœrilus, the musician and poet Timotheus, and the artist Zeuxis all resided there for longer or shorter periods, finding under the hospitable roof of the king a welcome refuge from the turmoils that the long course of the Peloponnesian war was bringing to the Greek states. Great

progress was made in all the arts and practices of peaceful civilised life. Thucydides says of Archelaus: "He built the fortresses now existing in the country, and built direct roads, and, among other things, regulated the military system with provision of horses, equipment, and the like, doing more than all the eight kings before him put together."

Though the progress of the country toward civilisation was seriously retarded by the ten years of anarchy that followed this reign, and the various wars that intervened to disturb the succeeding reigns of Amyntas (389–369 B.C.), Alexander II. (369–368), Ptolemæus (368–365), and Perdiccas III. (365–359), the trend of events was ever toward bringing the country into closer, though often hostile, contact with central Greece.

It was an occurrence of no slight significance for the history of the land which he was afterward to rule when Philip, the son of Amyntas, was held three years (368–365) a hostage at Thebes—at a time, too, when Thebes, at the height of its political importance, was the leading military power of the day, and the home of Epaminondas, the greatest leader and military strategist that Greece had yet produced. The tendency of Macedonian politics for a century and a half before Philip had followed, as we have seen, the twofold inclination of the kings, first, to raise Macedonia to the rank of a Greek state and secure it participation in Hellenic affairs and Hellenic culture, and, second, to antagonise orientalism as expressed in the power of Persia. With Philip the course of events brought it about

that these two inclinations naturally blended into one. After a peculiar combination of occurrences in the year 352 had given him a foothold in Thessaly and made him a party to the controversies of central Greece, he saw his way to a larger ambition, which combined all the ambitions of his predecessors, and more than fulfilled them. He and his people should become Greek in *leading* Greece, and in leading it against *the East.*

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

356–340 B.C.

PHILIP ascended the throne in 359 B.C. Three years later Alexander was born prince and heir. We have seen the soil and the root from which he sprang. All his life is true to its source. In fresh, wild vigour he is a son of Macedon, in impulsive idealism the son of Olympias, in sagacity and organising talent the son of Philip. But he was born to a throne, and, in his father's foresight, to a greater throne than that of little landlocked Macedonia, with its shepherds and peasants and country squires. Philip doubtless prided himself on being a "self-made" man; but his boy was to have an education that no Greek could despise.

While it would be evidently amiss in estimating the influence of Alexander's education upon his character to compare inherited traits as subtrahend against the finished product as a minuend, the data which we fortunately possess concerning his early

training, and our knowledge of the ideas and system of his later teacher Aristotle, afford, when combined with the clear picture history has left us of our hero's personality, an opportunity unparalleled in all the story of olden time of seeing what education can do for a man. Let the plain story of his boyhood yield its own lesson.

As was usual in all well-to-do Greek families, Alexander was first committed to the care of a nurse. Her name was Lanice, probably the familiar form of Hellanice. The first six years of his life were spent under her care, and a feeling of attachment developed toward her that lasted throughout his life. "He loved her as a mother," says an ancient writer. One of her children, Proteas, whom she nursed and brought up in company with the young prince, remained in after life one of his most intimate associates. All her sons afterward gave their lives in battle for him, and her one brother, Clitus, who was also a faithful friend, and at Granicus rescued him from death, was killed by his hand in a pitiful quarrel at a drinking-bout, a deed which brought him instant regret and fearful remorse. As he lay in his tears on the bed of repentance, the graphic account of Arrian tells how

"he kept calling the name of Clitus, and the name of Lanice, Clitus's sister, who nursed and reared him—Lanice, the daughter of Dropides. 'Fair return I have made in manhood's years for thy nurture and care—thou who hast seen thy sons die fighting in my behalf; and now I have slain thy brother with mine own hand!'"

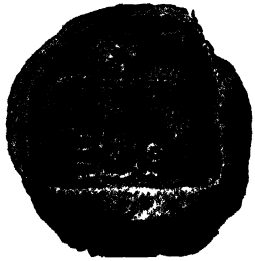
During these first six years we have no reason to suppose that our young hero's education differed essentially from that of other Greeks. The methods of the nursery are usually those of plain tradition, and are the last strongholds to be reached by the innovations of any newfangled systems of education. He grew up in the retirement of the women's quarters, in the company of other children, and with the customary solace of top and hoop, puppet and riding-horse, cradle-songs and nurse's tales. Of men he saw little, least of all during those militant years of his father, Philip. He was, through and through, a mother's boy. To her he had the strongest attachment, and from her he inherited the predominating traits of his spiritual character.

With the beginning of his seventh year a Greek boy of the better class was usually intrusted to the care of a special male servant, called the *paidagogos*, or pedagogue. He was usually a slave, not necessarily one of much education, but a trustworthy, respectable, and generally elderly person, capable of teaching boys their "manners" and keeping them out of mischief. He accompanied the boy wherever he went, attended him to school, carrying his cither, or little harp, his books, tablets, etc., and remained there in waiting until the schoolmaster, the *didaskalos*, was through with him. In Alexander's case more than this was done. The general oversight of his education was intrusted to a man of distinction and royal birth, one Leonidas, a relative of Alexander's mother, who, though he did not spurn the title "pedagogue" in so good a cause,

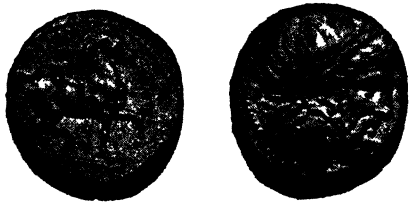
was properly known as "educator" or "professor." He was, in reality, what we should call the prince's tutor. The position of pedagogue proper was held by an Acharnanian named Lysimachus, a man whose witless mediocrity has been rescued from total oblivion by one happy "classical allusion." "Because," says Plutarch, "he named himself Phœnix, and Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus, he was esteemed and held the second rank [*i. e.*, among the educators of Alexander]."

Leonidas was essentially a harsh, stern disciplinarian. Alexander received under his tutelage an excellent physical education, and was trained to endure hardships and privations, and to abhor luxury. A passage in Plutarch's life of Alexander is in point here:

"He was extremely temperate in eating and drinking, as is particularly well illustrated by what he said to Ada —the one whom he dignified with the title 'mother,' and established as Queen of Caria. She, as a friendly attention, used, it seems, to send him daily not only all sorts of meats and cakes, but went so far, finally, as to send him the cleverest cooks and bakers she could find. These, however, Alexander said he had no use for. Better cooks he had already—those which his pedagogue Leonidas had given him; namely, as breakfast-cook one named All-night-tramp, and as a dinner-cook one Light-weight-breakfast. 'Why, sir,' said he, 'that man Leonidas would go and unlock my chests where I kept my blankets and clothes, and look in them to see that my mother had not given me anything that I did not really need, or that conduced to luxury and indulgence."

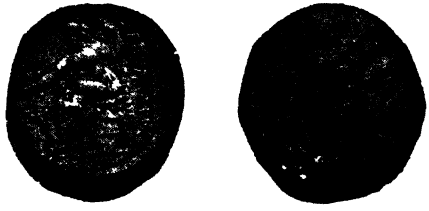


REVERSE OF HEAVY EUBOEAN OR SOLONIAN DEKADRACHM, SHOWING THE ATHENIAN OWL.



SILVER COIN OF PHILIP II. OF MACEDON (FATHER OF ALEXANDER).

HEAD OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS. COIN PROBABLY STRUCK, AS THE HORSE ON REVERSE INDICATES, IN COMMEMORATION OF VICTORY IN THE OLYMPIAN GAMES.



TETRADRACHM OF ALEXANDER, BEARING THE HEAD OF HERCULES.

Another reference to Leonidas (Plutarch, chap. xxv.) harmonises reasonably with the foregoing. It again represents the tutor as a rigid inspector of details, and gives to his sternness a complementary shade of the petty economical. This is the story:

"As he [Alexander] was sending off to Olympias and Cleopatra and his friends great quantities of the booty he had taken [from the sack of Gaza], he sent along with it, for his pedagogue Leonidas, five hundred talents of frankincense and a hundred talents of myrrh, in memory of a boyish dream of his youth. For it so happened once at a sacrifice that, as Alexander seized both hands full of the incense and threw it upon the fire, Leonidas called to him, and said: 'Sometime, if you get to be master of the land of spices, you can throw incense on lavishly like this, but for the present be economical in the use of what you have.' So now Alexander took the occasion to write him: 'We send you frankincense and myrrh in abundance, so that you may make an end of economising with the gods.'"

We may do the old tutor an injustice in attributing to him, on the basis of this incident alone, anything like smallness or meanness in character. The tendency of Alexander was naturally toward lavishness and recklessness. Leonidas sought, doubtless, to check this, and was remembered most distinctly by his former pupil in his favourite rôle of brakeman. And yet Leonidas cannot escape wholly the charge, which later opinion laid at his doors, of having carried his severity and martinetism too far, and of being thus in some measure responsible for certain faults, particularly of harshness, imperiousness, and

arbitrariness, which showed themselves later in the bearing and temper of his pupil. Philip early recognised that a character of such strength as Alexander's was not to be controlled and trained in the school of arbitrary authority. He needed guidance, and not authority. He must be convinced and led, not driven. Thus Plutarch says:

"Philip recognised that while his was a nature hard to move when once he had set himself to resist, he could yet be led by reason to do what was right. So he always himself tried to influence him by argument rather than by command, and as he was unwilling to intrust the direction and training of his son to the teachers of music and the culture-studies, considering this to be a task of extraordinary importance and difficulty, or, as Sophocles has it, 'a job at once for many a bit and many a helm,' he sent for Aristotle, the most famous and learned of the philosophers, to come to him."

It does not by any means necessarily follow from what Plutarch says, that Leonidas was dispossessed of his position as supervisor of the prince's education by the coming of Aristotle. He probably remained in at least nominal control, but it is certainly to be inferred from all that we hear about the later course of training that the all-important personal factor in it was Aristotle. The pedagogue proper, *i. e.*, Lysimachus, undoubtedly continued to act in the function of personal attendant, and we hear of him as still in the company of Alexander during the campaign in Syria, and when the latter was over twenty-three years old. The story which Plutarch

tells about him in the *Vita* illustrates not only his amiable eccentricity of temper, but also, at the same time, the tenderness, generosity, and unselfish loyalty to friendship which were such marked features in Alexander's character.

"During the progress of the siege of Tyre, on a foray-expedition which he made against the Arabs dwelling by Antilibanon, he came into great danger through his pedagogue Lysimachus. Lysimachus, namely, had insisted on following him everywhere, claiming that he was no less fit and no older than Homer's Phœnix. When now, on entering the mountain regions, they were obliged to leave their horses and go afoot, Lysimachus became exhausted and was unable to advance. The rest of the company was far in advance, but Alexander could not bring himself to leave his old friend there alone, with the night coming down and the enemy close at hand. So he stayed by him, and kept cheering him on and trying to help him forward, until, without its being noticed, he, with a few attendants, became separated from the army, and found himself obliged to bivouac there in the darkness and the bitter cold, and that, too, in a grimly disagreeable and dangerous position. After a while he descried at some distance from him various scattered camp-fires of the enemy. Relying upon his fleetness of foot, and with his usual fondness for encouraging his people by personal participation in toil and peril, he made a dash against the company at the nearest watch-fire. Two barbarians who who were sitting there by the fire he despatched with his knife, and then, seizing a fire-brand, made off with it to his own people. Then they built a great fire, so that some of the enemy were frightened and fled. Others who essayed to attack them they

repulsed. Thus they spent the night in safety. This is the story as Chares tells it."

To return now to the boy Alexander. We have good reason to justify the opinion of his father, Philip, that the training of such a fellow demanded the best coöperative steering endeavours of "many a bit and many a helm." He was not at all what is ordinarily called the "bad boy"—rather the contrary. But he was restless, energetic, fearless, headstrong, and self-willed, though his self-will was that of an intelligent, inventive independence, rather than pure stubbornness. The famous story of the taming of Bucephalus contains a full body of doctrine on this subject, and, as its accord with later developments in the character of Alexander is too unmistakable to admit of any doubt as to its authenticity, we give it in full as Plutarch tells it. From the context in which the narrative appears, we infer with reasonable certainty that Alexander at the time was about twelve years old.

"Philonicus of Thessaly had offered to sell Philip his horse Bucephalus for thirteen talents. So they all went down into the plain to try the animal. He proved, however, to be balky and utterly useless. He would let no one mount him, and none of the attendants of Philip could make him hear to him, but he violently resisted them all. Philip, in his disgust, ordered the horse led away as being utterly wild and untrained. Whereat, Alexander, who was present, said: 'That is too good a horse for those men to spoil that way, simply because

they have n't the skill or the grit to handle him right.' At first Philip paid no attention to him, but as he kept insisting on being heard, and seemed greatly disturbed about the matter, his father said to him: 'What do you mean by criticising your elders, as if you were wiser than they, or knew so much more about handling a horse than they do?' 'Well, this horse, anyway, I would handle better than anyone else, if they would give me a chance.' 'In case you don't succeed,' rejoined his father, 'what penalty are you willing to pay for your freshness?' 'I 'll pay, by Jove, the price of the horse!' Laughter greeted this answer, but after some bantering with his father about the money arrangements, he went straight to the horse, took him by the bridle, and turned him around toward the sun. This he did on the theory that the horse's fright was due to seeing his own shadow dance up and down on the ground before him. He then ran along by his side a while, patting and coaxing him, until, after a while, seeing he was full of fire and spirit, and impatient to go, he quietly threw off his coat, and swinging himself up, sat securely astride the horse. Then he guided him about for a while with the reins, without striking him or jerking at the bit. When now he saw that the horse was getting over his nervousness and was eager to gallop ahead, he let him go, driving him on with a sterner voice and with kicks of his foot. In the group of onlookers about Philip there prevailed, from the first, the silence of intensely anxious concern. But when the boy turned the horse and came galloping up to them with pride and joy in his face, they all burst out into a cheer. His father, they say, shed tears for very joy, and, as he dismounted, kissed him on the head, and said: 'My son, seek thee a kingdom suited to thy powers; Macedonia is too strait for thee.'"

Bucephalus became from this time the property and the inseparable companion of Alexander. He accompanied him on his campaigns, "sharing many toils and dangers with him," and was generally the horse ridden by him in battle. No one else was ever allowed to mount him, as Arrian says, "because he deemed all other riders unworthy." He is reported to have been a magnificent black charger of extraordinary size, and to have been marked with a white spot on the forehead.

Some thought his name "ox-head" to have been given him on account of this resemblance of his head to that of an ox. Others said it was because he was branded with the mark of an ox-head. This reminds us of the name *Koppatias* applied to the famous Corinthian horses, which are said to have been branded with the letter *koppa* (ϙ), probably in allusion to the *koppa* as initial of the word Korinthos (*Qorinthos*) which always stood upon the Corinthian coins under the device of the horse Pegasus.

Alexander's affection for the animal is illustrated by two stories, one told by Arrian (v., 19, 6), the other by Plutarch (*Vita*, ch. lxi.) as well as by Arrian. Arrian's story is this:

"This horse once disappeared from Alexander's hands in the country of the Uxians (a tribe of robbers east of Mesopotamia), whereupon he sent out a proclamation throughout the country, to the effect that if they did not bring him back his horse, all the Uxians would be put to death. In response to this proclamation the horse was brought back immediately. This shows how great was Alexander's interest in the horse, and also in-

cidentally how great was the barbarians' dread of Alexander."

Plutarch's story is as follows:

"Shortly after the battle with Poros [the battle of the Hydaspes] Bucephalus died, as the vulgate report has it, while being treated for wounds he had received, but as Onesiscratus, however, says, worn out with old age. For he says he was thirty years old when he died. Alexander was overwhelmed with grief at his loss. It was for him as if he had lost an old companion and friend. So he founded a city on the Hydaspes, and named it in his honor Bucephala."

From boyhood on, nothing is more characteristic of Alexander than his restless passion for reshaping and subduing. We shall very greatly misunderstand him if we attribute this to an empty desire for fame and glory. It was not the desire for fame, but the desire to act. It arose from the promptings of an active, ready will, that shrank from no responsibility, and never shunned the pains of decision. He bore no marks of indolence of will. Action was almost a mania with him. A naïve remark of his boyhood shows how the child was father to the man.

"Whenever news was brought of Philip's victories, the capture of a city or the winning of some great battle, he never seemed greatly rejoiced to hear it; on the contrary, he used to say to his play-fellows: 'Father will get everything in advance, boys; he won't leave any great task for me to share with you.' . . . He deliberately preferred as his inheritance, not treasures, not luxury and pleasures, but toils, wars, and ambitions."

By nature he was fervently passionate and impulsive. His attachments to his friends were strong. He loved warmly and loyally. He was often swept by storms of anger, though hatred was foreign to him. It was only a magnificent force of will that enabled him to hold rein upon his passions. The struggle for self-control began in his boyhood. "Even in boyhood," the ancient biographer says, "he showed a tendency to moderation and self-control, in that, though naturally violent and easily swayed by passion, he was not readily inflamed in the enjoyment of bodily pleasures, and handled them mildly." Self-subduing was only a manifestation of the supreme passion for bringing his environment under the control of his personality; he merely treated self as part of his environment. Appetites fared with him much as Bucephalus did.

This greed of achieving early showed, however, its bent toward things political.

"He had not," Plutarch says, "like his father, Philip, an undiscriminating fondness for all kinds of fame. Thus Philip, for instance, used to plume himself on his cleverness in oratory, as much as if he had been a professional rhetorician, and his chariot-race victories he commemorated on his coins. Alexander, however, when his companions were trying to find out whether he would be willing to compete in the foot-race at Olympia, for he was swift of foot, said: 'Yes, certainly, if I can have kings as antagonists.'"

We should do Alexander great injustice if we interpreted this remark as monarchical snobbish-

ness. Alexander, our author implies, was no lover of fame in itself and for its own sake. The winning of a foot-race, for instance, would have little value for him, except he could win it from a prince, *i. e.*, except as the victory could take on a political colour and assume a political meaning. Not that he felt it unbecoming to his station or beneath his dignity to contend with common men, but that a mere athletic victory would be to him only a sham victory, a meaningless achievement. This interpretation of our passage is supported not only by the context, but by all that we know else of the boy's character.

It is in harmony with this earnestness of purpose, and the tendency of his ambition to concentrate itself upon a single aim, that we find him, while yet a stripling, profoundly interested, with a naïvely boyish seriousness, in everything which concerned the imperial dreams and plans of his house. Once when, in his father's absence, a body of special ambassadors from the Persian Shah came to the capital, he is said to have attracted much remark by the skill with which he entertained them, and by the sober craft with which he exploited the opportunity of their presence. He showed them such distinguished attention and kindness that he directly placed himself upon a confidential footing with them. The questions he asked them were, to their surprise, not about trifling topics such as a boy would be expected to be interested in, but

"about the length of the roads, and the methods of in-

land travel; about the Shah, and what sort of a man he was in a military way; how strong the Persian army was, and what constituted the strength of their empire. With such queries, as well as such demeanour, he so aroused their admiration that they came to think that, after all, the cleverness of Philip, about which they had heard so much, counted but little in comparison with the energy and the nobility of purpose they discovered in his son."

The life of Alexander affords an unusually satisfactory opportunity of measuring the influence of education upon character. Ancient history scarcely offers another such. Alexander's natural endowments of character, as we have already seen from the story of his boyhood, and shall further see in the unfolding of his later life, include certain traits so pronounced and well defined that there can be no mistake concerning them. The character of the natural man Alexander is well in evidence. On the other hand, we are afforded an unusually accurate means of gauging the method and spirit of his education through the circumstance that, from his thirteenth year on, Aristotle was his tutor, and Aristotle's ideas about how to teach and why to teach and what to teach are better known than those of any one of the ancients who ever practised pedagogy.

Alexander, especially in some of the tendencies of his later career, unquestionably offended seriously against the doctrine of his master, and many of his ideas, particularly regarding politics, were at variance therewith. A superficial judgment might, therefore, pronounce that all evidence of Aristotle's

influence was lacking in Alexander's career. Such a judgment fails, on the one hand, to take into sufficient account the abnormal conditions constituted by Alexander's sudden and enormous success, and on the other to take in complete review the incidents of his life in the light of his natural instincts and of his power and opportunity. Wherever we see in him a high, imperious, fitful temper and a restless, energetic, selfish will curbing themselves to the rein of reason, reflection, and large humane considerations, there the influence of the teacher is to be discerned.

Alexander was between twelve and thirteen years of age when Aristotle, then a man of forty or one-and-forty, took him in hand. Aristotle's birthplace, Stagira, was in Thrace, very near Macedonian soil, and his father, Nicomachus, had been the court physician of Amyntas, Alexander's grandfather. He was certainly, therefore, well enough known to Philip. There is a letter reported to us by Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Attic.*, ix.) which purports to be Philip's announcement to Aristotle of the birth of his son:

"Philip to Aristotle, greeting. Be it known that to me a son is born. I am thankful therefore to the gods, but not so much at the birth of the child as that he is born in thy time. For I hope that, trained and educated by thee, he will prove himself worthy of us and of the succession to the throne."

It is altogether improbable that Aristotle in the year 356, when but twenty-eight years old, and nine

years before the death of his master, Plato, had attained a repute such as to justify an address like this. The letter rather belongs to the rhetorico-sophistic compositions of a later date, but testifies to the classical importance which the union of the two great names, Aristotle and Alexander, had assumed in the mind of antiquity. It was indeed a most significant fate that brought the two in this relation together. In the words of Zell: "The one had the power and the call to master and rule the world. The other had discovered and subjugated a new world for the human mind and for science."

In recognition of Aristotle's services and as a species of higher remuneration therefor, Philip, to quote Plutarch's word's, "caused the city of the Stagirites, where Aristotle had been born, and which he [Philip] had laid waste (348–347 B.C.) to be rebuilt, and he recalled to their homes the citizens of the same who were living in banishment and slavery."

As a seat for Aristotle's school the city of Mieza, in the Macedonian province of Emathia, southwest of the capital city Pella, near the boundaries of Thessaly, was selected, and there in the Grove of the Nymphs, hard by the town, the place where he taught, with its great chair of stone on which the master sat, and the shady paths in which he was wont, as in later years in the *peripatoi* of the Lyceum at Athens, to walk with his pupils, was shown as a "chief attraction" to visitors even in the days of Plutarch, five centuries later.

Aristotle remained here in all about eight years,

i. e., from 344–43 to 335 B.C. Shortly after Alexander ascended the throne (336 B.C.) Aristotle removed to Athens, and there, more or less aided by the favouring current of Macedonianism, established his famous school in the Lyceum in the eastern suburbs of Athens. Of his eight years in Macedonia not more than four could have been given to the immediate personal instruction of the prince. From his seventeenth year on, Alexander became too much absorbed in military and political interests to admit of further exclusive attention to study, but no particular date, prior to 336, marked an abrupt cessation of his relations to his tutor, whom he continued to respect and heed, and whose instruction he doubtless from time to time still enjoyed. To his father, he said, he owed his life, to Aristotle the knowledge of how to live worthily.

In Aristotle's school at Mieza, Alexander was by no means the sole pupil. Such an arrangement would have been inconsistent with one of the fundamental principles of the master's pedagogic system, for he held that education, and particularly moral education was largely to be attained through personal association, and that the cultivation of noble friendships among the young was a most potent means of forming in them cleanliness and healthiness of character. A considerable group of young men, composed in part, if not entirely, of noblemen's sons and princes, made up the school. We have no means of judging of the number further than that the language of those writers who allude to it certainly contains the implication that the

number was not small. Among other allusions of the kind an anecdote preserved in Pseudo-Callisthenes shows that Alexander was taught in company with others, and rather unconsciously illustrates the advantage of class instruction over private coaching in the incidental sharpening of wits by rivalry. The story runs as follows:

"As Aristotle had with him once in his school a lot of boys, several of whom were sons of kings, he said to one of them: 'When, some day, you become king in your father's stead, what favor do you think you will show me, your teacher?' The boy replied, 'You shall dine at my table, and I will make everyone show you honour and respect.' Then turning to another the teacher asked the same question, and this one answered, 'I will make you my chief treasurer, and will consult you as adviser in all that is brought me for decision.' Then he turned to Alexander with the question, 'And now, my son, what do *you* propose to do with me, your old teacher, when you come to sit upon the throne of your father, Philip?' And Alexander answered, 'What right have you to ask me such questions about that which the future has yet to bring? As I have no assurance of the morrow, I can only say that, when the day and hour is come, then I will give you answer.' 'Well said,' exclaimed the master; 'well said, Alexander, world-monarch! for thou wilt one day be the greatest king of all.'"

Alexander's personal relations to his teacher in after life are unfortunately rendered somewhat obscure by the contradictory and to some extent evidently unauthentic statements of our authorities.

ARISTOTLE

AFTER THE STATUE IN THE SPADA PALACE, ROME.

When the invasion of Asia was begun, Aristotle evidently preferred the quiet of philosophic teaching at Athens to the turmoil of the camp, and declined his pupil's solicitations that he should accompany him. For a time at least they remained in constant communication with each other, and a series of letters of doubtful authenticity constituting a supposed correspondence between them during the earlier years of the campaigns in Asia were known and much read in antiquity. Two of Aristotle's existing tractates, viz., that *On Colonisation*, and that *On the Monarchy* were written as advice to Alexander during his campaigns in Asia, and were evidently influential in directing the policy of the conqueror. We have it on good authority, too, that he in various ways and at different times gave aid to Aristotle in the prosecution of his scientific work, having at one time given him no less a sum than eight hundred talents for the purchase of books and for defraying the expenses of his investigations connected with the preparation of his work on zoölogy. At another time he placed at his disposal the services of a thousand men throughout Asia and Greece with instructions to follow out the directions of Aristotle in collecting and reporting details concerning the life-conditions and habits of fishes, birds, beasts, and insects.

These outlays, gigantic as they seem, were in reality not disproportionate to the difficulty of the work, and the vastness of Aristotle's undertaking, especially when we consider the absence of prior investigations, the vast stretches of country in-

volved, and the difficulties of communication. Aristotle's work stands to-day as a monument and a voucher to the money and means afforded through the thankfulness of the pupil. In course of time, it appears that the two became in some way and to some extent estranged from each other. In the long separation, under radically different conditions, they naturally grew apart. The later tendencies of Alexander's life, especially his inclination to oriental manners, and his supposed assumption of divine honours, could not fail to be distasteful to his master, and on Alexander's part it became noticeable, as Plutarch puts it, that "his kindly disposition toward Aristotle lost with time somewhat of its earlier heartiness and of its warmly affectionate character."

Alexander's unfortunate experience with Callisthenes, the nephew of Aristotle, undoubtedly helped to raise a barrier between them during the last few years of Alexander's life. This man, distinguished above all things for his tactless effrontery of speech and general lack of good sense, had accompanied Alexander on his campaigns in the character of chronicler. After having fallen from favour through his exquisite obnoxiousness, he was discovered in complicity with a treasonable plot and died in imprisonment, 327 B.C. It is impossible that Aristotle should have been greatly surprised at his fate, for he had himself warned him earlier that his tongue would some day be the ruin of him, but some of the historians would have us believe that Alexander extended his suspicion of Callisthenes to his uncle.

This is however highly improbable. We have no reason to believe that Alexander ever entertained any positive suspicion or even dislike of his old teacher, but the fact that Alexander had taken up with Callisthenes on Aristotle's recommendation unavoidably threw some of the responsibility for his conduct upon his uncle.

That Aristotle aways stood in some sense under the protection of royal favour, even though in the last years it came to him mostly through the personal friendship of Antipater, is shown by the fact that after the death of Alexander he was forced to quit Athens on the distinct ground that he was a Macedonian favourite.

Having thus reviewed the history of Alexander's relations to the great philosopher, it remains for us now to gain some impression of the nature of the instruction which he received from him. In the absence of connected statements on the subject in the biographers and historians, we are left to reconstruct a picture of it out of occasional allusions, out of our knowledge of Alexander's literary and scientific interests in his later life, and, best of all, out of the well-known pedagogical as well as scientific ideas of the master himself.

Before coming under Aristotle's influence, the young prince had evidently learned what by that age a boy had usually learned from the ordinary grammatist and *paidotribe, i. e.*, he could read and write, could draw a little, had some knowledge of the flute and harp, and had been trained in the usual physical exercises. In regard to all these

branches, however, the influence of Aristotle upon the later views of his pupil can be more or less distinctly traced, and we cannot afford to pass them by without at least a cursory glance.

First of all, in the department of athletics and gymnastics we know that Alexander had, as a youth, attained no ordinary proficiency. He was, as Plutarch tells us in connection with the story of his being urged to compete at the Olympic games, eminently "swift of foot." He knew also that he was praised as an extraordinarily skilful ball-player, and was herein the peer of the famous Aristonicus, of Carystus, whose prowess as ball-player won him the Athenian citizenship and the honor of a statue at Athens.

During his campaigns in Asia he lost no opportunity to indulge in healthful exercise, as Plutarch tells us in the *Vita* (ch. xxiii.):

"If he was on a march which did not require haste, he would exercise himself on the way, either in shooting or in mounting and alighting from a chariot at full speed. He often diverted himself, too, with fox-hunting and fowling, as we learn from his journals."

The incident, finally, of the breaking of Bucephalus, already alluded to, joins with other things to show how thoroughly ready and robust he was in all that pertains to the sports of outdoor life. In spite of all this, his aversion to athletics for its own sake, as proved by his dislike of the professional athlete, and as shown, for instance, in his ironical remark when, at Miletus, the statues of the Olym-

pian victors were pointed out to him: "Where were all these famous physiques at the time when the barbarians besieged your city?" identifies him as the consistent pupil of the great philosopher. No one of the great Greek writers raises so persistent and emphatic protest as Aristotle against that misuse of physical culture which attempts more than to make the body the ready and efficient tool of the individual's spiritual and intellectual activity.

Alexander's attainments in the arts of drawing and painting seem at the least not to have exceeded the standard laid down in the pedagogical system of his master, who held that this discipline served in the ordinary liberal education no further purpose than to teach the pupil "to discriminate in the works of professional artists the more beautiful from the less." That he had, as might be expected of a liberally educated man, a decided interest in art is proven by a number of cases in which he showed especial favour to distinguished artists, as well as by the attention he always appears to have bestowed upon works of art;—and that he also had some sound sense of discrimination may be perhaps inferred from Horace's report that he forbade any other than Apelles to portraiture him in colour or any other than Lysippus in bronze. With a weakness, however, not uncommon in potentates, he loved to indulge himself in art criticism, sometimes forgetting, it appears, that this class of judgments falls within the range of a different *gratia dei* to that which setteth up kings. It is a lasting honour to the profession that Apelles did not hesitate on occa-

sions to call the imperial sciolist to order, as well as a credit to Alexander himself that he tolerated it. Ælian * tells the following story:

"Alexander, on seeing the picture which Apelles painted of him at Ephesus, failed properly to recognise its excellence. His horse, however, when driven up before it, whinnied at the horse in the picture, as if it were a real one. Whereupon Apelles said, 'Your horse, O King, seems to be considerably more *artistic* than yourself!'"

Pliny's story † is also a familiar one. He says that Alexander, who

"used frequently to visit the *atelier* of Apelles, and while there was apt to discuss things freely and in a manner calculated to display his own ignorance, was politely advised by the artist to keep silent, because he was making himself a laughing-stock for the apprentices who were scraping colours there."

Alexander's literary training we should not expect would be neglected in the hands of the author of the *Poetics*. It evidently was not, as his later interest in literature, and particularly his enthusiasm for Homer shows.

"He was also naturally fond of learning and an extensive reader of books. The Iliad he thought, and indeed called, the *vade-mecum* of soldierly spirit, and he took with him a copy of it, the copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called the casket-edition. Onesicritus

* Ælian, *Varia Historia*, ii., ch. iii.

† Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv., 10, 85.

tells us he used to lay it always under his pillow with his sword. And not only that, but when he wished for other books, and found them hard to procure in the upper provinces of Asia, he wrote to Harpalus for a supply. The latter sent him the works of Philistus and many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, as well as the dithyrambs of Telestes and Philoxenus" (Plutarch, *Vit.* ch. viii.).

The mention of Euripides's name as first among the three tragedians, in contradiction of the chronological order, can scarcely be an accident. Harpalus undoubtedly consulted carefully the tastes of the king in making the selection, and if that taste gave preference to Euripides, it would be only a natural echo of Aristotle's opinion that Euripides, with all his faults in the disposition of his material, is after all found to be the most tragic of poets. So the mention of Æschylus in the last place seems to correspond to Aristotle's neglect of him in the *Poetics*. Philoxenus is used by Aristotle, *e. g.*, in the *Politics*,* as a typical illustration of a dithyrambic poet. Philistus was the historian of Sicily and the two tyrants, Dionysius the elder and Dionysius the younger, and was called by Cicero "a weak Thucydides." His subject-matter, dealing with strong personal government, as well as his political attitude favourable to such government (Dionysius calls him a flatterer of princes) probably determined Alexander's interest.

Homer, however, was Alexander's chief delight.

* *Politics*, viii., 7.

Dion Chrysostomus who, in the second essay *On the Kingship*, has collected the traditional stories concerning Alexander's attitude toward Homer's works and made them the basis of a more or less imaginary conversation between Philip and Alexander, puts upon the latter's lips the expression*: "The Homeric poetry alone I find to be truly noble, grand, kingly;—and to this, I think, one who is to bear rule over men should devote his attention."

Arrian's account of Alexander's visit to the tomb of Achilles contains the matter-of-fact statement†: "There is indeed a report that Alexander pronounced Achilles fortunate in obtaining Homer as the herald of his fame to posterity," or, as Plutarch has it, ‡ "deemed him happy, that in life he had found a faithful friend [Patroclus] and in death a mighty herald." Achilles was, among Homer's characters, the one whom Alexander chose as his ideal, and he loved to claim him as a prototype. In his youthfulness, his *élan*, his impulsive moodiness, and in his mission as champion of Greekdom, he certainly was. The first suggestion of the simile came perhaps from Lysimachus, the old pedagogue, but it was a natural one, and however it came about, the mystical power of the parallelism merely exercised a strong influence upon the shaping of our hero's earlier life, and upon his plans and ideals throughout.

The *Iliad* was to Alexander "the *vade-mecum* of

* Dion Chrysostomus, *De Regno*, ii., p. 74 R.

† Arrian, *Anab.*, i., 12.

‡ Plut., *Vita Alex.*, chap.

soldierly spirit," or the soldier's Bible, not only in the sense that its action and its types breathed the true spirit of the nobleman, the chieftain, and the warrior, but in the further sense, it appears, that he found in it a solace and guide among the perplexities and uncertainties of a soldier's life.

"And if what the Alexandrians say upon the authority of Heraclides be true, Homer proved no idler nor bad counsellor when he made the campaign with him. For they tell us that when Alexander had conquered Egypt, and was minded to build there a great Greek city called after his own name, he had, on the advice of his engineers, selected a site, and was preparing to lay the foundations, when in the sleep of the night he saw a marvellous vision. It seemed to him that a man with grey hair and of venerable appearance came up to him and repeated the verses :

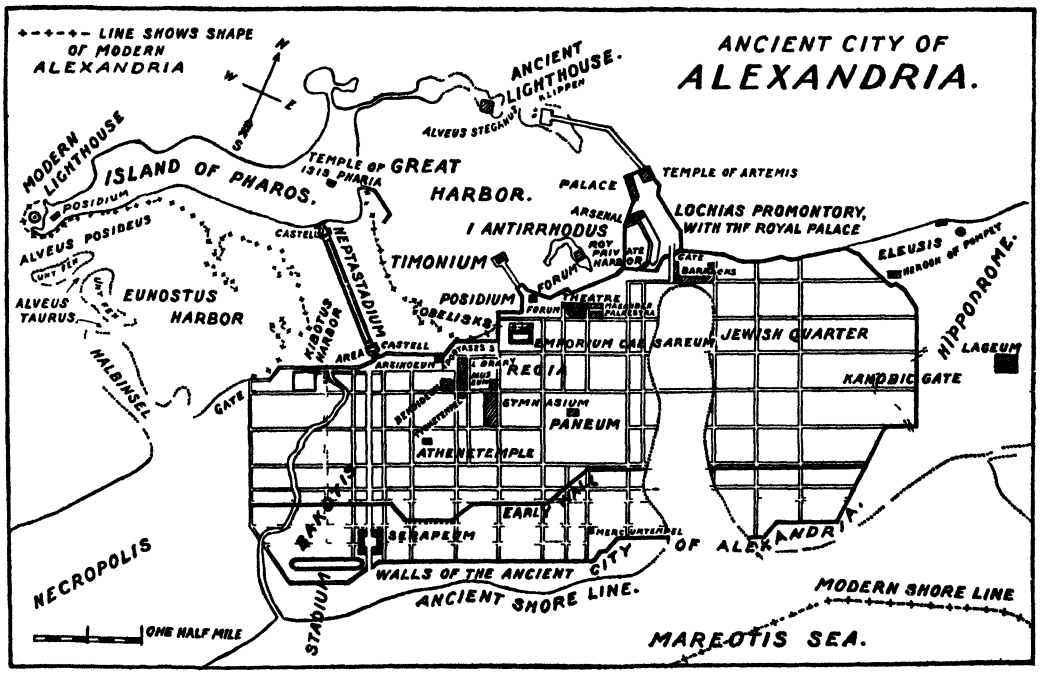
> 'High o'er a gulfy sea the Pharian Isle
> Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile.'
> —(Trsl. POPE.)

"Alexander, upon this, straightway arose and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, though now joined by a spit to the mainland. The moment he saw the extraordinary commodiousness of the situation, he gave orders to lay out there the plan of a city adapted to the terrain, adding, as he did so, 'Homer, along with his other remarkable qualities, is a wonderfully clever engineer.'"

Alexander lost no occasion of testifying in season and out of season his admiration for the great epics,

and sometimes his enthusiasm smacks a little of youthful excess. Indeed, he might be accused of faddism, were not the unique position of Homer in antiquity, and the natural idealism of our hero amply taken into the account. On one occasion, when among the spoils of battle an elegantly fashioned jewel-case of Darius was brought to the king's tent, and the question had arisen what was to be done with it, Alexander proposed to use it as a receptacle for the manuscript of the *Iliad*, for no treasure he knew of was so worthy of it. Another incident is not to be interpreted straightway without recognising that Alexander possessed some sense of humour. We are told that once a messenger came galloping up to him, apparently the bearer of good tidings, for his face and his manner betrayed such an exuberance of joy, that the king exclaimed: "What good news is there, pray, for you to bring, worthy of such demonstrations as this? It must be Homer has arisen from the dead!"

Aristotle cannot be denied at least some of the credit for his pupil's interest. He taught him Homer, that we know, and probably we have in the *Poetics* a fair sample of some of the lectures that Alexander was likely to have heard in connection with his study of Homer and the tragedians. It appears from this that it was the æsthetic or artistic side rather than the moral or ethical which he emphasised, and grammar we know he taught not as an end in itself but as a means to the interpretation solely. Neither emotional warmth nor a high degree of personal attractiveness or magnetism was to



SHOWING ALEXANDRIA A CENTURY BEFORE AND AFTER CHRIST.

be expected of the matter-of-fact and rather cold-blooded savant-philosopher. He never had the reputation of being a very agreeable man. But he was in his best years; he was far in advance of the best learning of his days; he was thinking and constructing for himself, and he could not well help conveying to his pupils, however chilling his manner, an impression of that most genuine of all enthusiasms,—that which attends the formation of new ideas and the uncovering of new truths. We cannot be sure how far Dion Chrysostomus may have relied on his imagination for his facts, but he cannot have been far out of the way when, in the essay alluded to just above, he represents Philip at the conclusion of his conversation with his son as exclaiming in admiration at what he had heard:

"Verily not in vain have we honoured Aristotle and have allowed him to rebuild his native town; for a man is deserving of highest reward who has given thee such doctrine concerning the duties and functions of kings, be it that he gave this through the interpretation of Homer or in any other way."

CHAPTER III.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

THERE is no indication that Aristotle devoted any time to instructing his pupil in mathematics. In the list of Alexander's tutors which the Pseudo-Callisthenes gives, one Menecles the Peloponnesian is accredited with having taught him geometry. It is not improbable that all he acquired of mathematics he learned from this teacher, or from his first elementary teachers. There is also nothing in the facts which requires us to believe that he was instructed in the applications of mathematics; for instance, in mechanics. His supervision of the siege-engines at Tyre and Gaza was the work of a leader and a man of common sense and inventive resources; it bears none of the traces of being the work, as has sometimes been held, of a trained mathematician and engineer. Professional engineers were there to carry out his ideas, and there is nothing in any of the accounts requiring us to suppose that Alexander himself supplied any of the technical knowledge necessary to the construction or operation of the machinery.

While we have no direct warrant in tradition for a belief that natural history was included among the studies of Alexander, we can hardly escape the conclusion that such must have been the case. With Aristotle himself it was hardly second to any other interest. How strong Alexander's interest was in the same studies may in the first place be seen from the opportunity and encouragement he gave the scientific men attached to his service in Asia. Thus, for instance, Aristobulus and Nearchus made extensive collections of observations concerning the plant and animal life, the habits and customs and dress of the inhabitants, and the climate and geography of the countries far to the east, especially India; and their writings, though no longer extant, were amply cited by Arrian and Strabo. Aristobulus in fact served as Arrian's chief reliance, if not his most important source.

Further proof of Alexander's interest in these studies we have in the ample subsidy which he gave to Aristotle's work on *Animal History*, and the assistance afforded him in collecting his data. As this was unquestionably done in recognition of services rendered him by his teacher, it seems natural to suppose that these services were especially remembered in connection with these particular studies.

Among other varied accomplishments Alexander had repute it appears as a medicine-man. The possession of some medical and therapeutic knowledge was an almost inevitable consequence of Aristotle's instruction in the physiology and botany of the day,

and the distinction of having studied under him endowed one, like an old-fashioned college diploma, with universal learned right-of-way. Plutarch is right enough in suspecting Aristotle to be responsible for it all. He says *:

"Aristotle, I am inclined to think, implanted in Alexander a fondness above all else for the practice of medicine. For we find that he was interested not only in the theoretical side of the science, but that he used also to give practical service to his friends when they were ill, in that he would prescribe for them a particular diet as well as specific remedies. This you can learn from his letters."

Form in thinking, or logic, and form in speaking, or rhetoric, are inseparably connected in Aristotle's system. Rhetoric is the art of putting things, or, to give his own definition more accurately, it is the faculty of finding out all the persuasive aspects which a subject naturally possesses. As such it is a mere phase of dialectics on the one hand and of ethics, a branch of politics, on the other. For its successful exercise it demands, first, the power of argumentative reasoning, and, second, a knowledge of human character and conditions, as well as of the nature and qualities of human emotion.† It was, in Aristotle's teaching of it, solely and wholly a practical art. Except in its applications to political or forensic use he displayed no interest in it, and virtually declined to discuss it.

* Plutarch, *Vita Alex.*, ch. viii.

† Aristotle, *Rhet.*, i., ch. ii.

Between him and Isocrates, to whom it became more and more a self-contained branch of æsthetics, there was a deep gulf fixed. Aristotle followed also in his pedagogical method altogether the practical course, and taught argumentation and expression only in connection with the discussion of concrete questions.

"Thus," says Cicero in the *De Oratore*,* "he joined study of the subject-matter with the practice of expression. And this did not escape King Philip's attention; he appointed him his son's instructor, so that Alexander might learn from one and the same man the doctrine alike of acting and of speaking."

The identification of the effects of such studies as these upon the manners and character of a man is not to be readily accomplished by the crude and ordinary tests. In Alexander's case it is peculiarly difficult and in view of his natural talents peculiarly uncertain. But certainly this much can be said: the records of his words, even if they do not positively identify him as a pupil of Aristotle, still offer nothing that does in any wise discredit to his teacher's instruction. His speeches as we have them in Arrian's accounts are always brief, forcible, and to the point. They are distinguished by their power in making a convincing case out of the plain facts. He never prided himself on being an orator, and we never hear him spoken of as such by his contemporaries. His dislike of all tricks and false ornamentation of speech is amply attested. In-

* Cicero, *De Orat.*, iii., 35.

deed, Plutarch,* in speaking of his singleness of purpose and the nobility of his ambition, contrasts him with Philip, his father, who among other things "plumed himself upon his eloquence as much as any sophist."

Though Alexander was evidently averse to the formal arts of oratory, he was marked as an educated man by that which seemed more than anything else to characterise in classical times the educated Greek gentleman, namely, ability to converse well. Cleverness in questioning and answering, adroitness in repartee, readiness in discussion, all these we find abundantly vouched for as among his virtues. Particularly did his soul delight in the long talks by the after-dinner wine.

"He was not so much addicted to wine," says Plutarch, "as he got the credit of being. This notion that he was a hard drinker arose from the length of time he spent at the table, but this he protracted not in drinking so much as in conversing, for with each cup he used to start some special topic for prolonged conversation and discussion —this of course, however, only when there was no business on hand."

Fineness of touch in the use of expression and a refined consciousness of the value of words admit of ample illustration in his recorded sayings; thus when he distinguishes between his two strongly attached friends Hephæstion and Craterus, saying that the former is *philalexandros* (fond of Alexander) and the latter *philobasileus* (fond of the king); or

* Plutarch, *Vita Alex.*, ch. lxiv.

when, after his colloquy with Diogenes, he rebukes his companions' sneers at the philosopher by the assertion: "If I were not Alexander, I should be Diogenes," meaning thereby that an Alexander reft of fortune and power would by virtue of his independence and of his abhorrence for conventionalities, be a Diogenes.

His acquaintance with the methods and forms of dialectics, and a practised readiness which he showed in the current Greek sophistical banter stood him in good stead, for instance, on the occasion of his meeting with the Hindoo Gymnosophists (Brahmans). His questions were cleverly adapted to put the men to their trumps, and though smacking strongly of the sophistical, served, as such things always did with the King, a practical purpose in giving him a knowledge of their craft. Ten of these distinguished for their neatness and address in answering or rather parrying questions were led before him, and he made it worth their while to show the best of their art by promising that the first who answered badly should lose his life. As judge in the matter he appointed the eldest of them. The questions and answers according to Plutarch's account * were the following:

"*Alexander.* Which, think you, are the more numerous, the living or the dead?

First Gymnosophist. The living, for the dead no longer exist.

Alex. Which produces the greater monsters, the earth or the sea?

* Plutarch, *Vita Alex.*, ch lxiv.

Second Gymnos. The earth, for the sea is only a part of the earth.

Alex. What is the most intelligent of living beings?

Third Gymnos. Man has not yet found out.

Alex. Why did you stir up the tribe of the Sabbas to revolt?

Fourth Gymnos. Because I thought it better to live with honour than to die with honour.

Alex. Which was created first, the night or the day?

Fifth Gymnos. The day by one day.

Alex. How can one win the highest affection?

Sixth Gymnos. When he is the mightiest without inspiring fear.

Alex. How can a man become a god?

Seventh Gymnos. By doing what it is impossible for a man to do.

Alex. Which is mightier, life or death?

Eighth Gymnos. Life, which brings so much disaster in its train.

Alex. How long ought a man to live?

Ninth Gymnos. So long as he does not believe that dying is better than living."

Turning now to the umpire he called for his decision, and received the response that each had answered worse than the other. "Well, then," rejoined the king, "you shall be the first to die, so bad is your answer." "No, my King," answered the judge, "unless you will falsify your promise, for you said you would put to death the *first one* who answered badly." So the King dismissed them with presents.

Even if we had not the definite assurances of ancient writers on the subject, we should on *a priori*

grounds have little doubt that philosophical studies were included in the prince's curriculum. Philosophy was in the current view the very capstone of a liberal education. It represented, too, the dominant interest in the mind of Aristotle, to whom sooner or later all subjects became philosophy. Ethics, politics, metaphysics, as organised sciences, were virtually his creation. There never was a greedier collector of facts, but there never was one to whom their value was more directly associated with their place in a scheme of the whole of things. In all his teaching as in all his writing he was certainly first and foremost a philosopher.

Ethics and politics were for him but two sides of the same science. They both sought to determine and teach the highest good in life, the one in the life of the individual, the other in the collective life of organised society, wherein the activity of the individual finds its completest exercise and fullest satisfaction. The highest good is found in that happiness of life which arises from an activity of being that is true to the principles of virtue, or in accord with the nature of things. There exists between intellectual excellence and moral excellence the essential difference that the former is called into being and developed mainly by instruction, the latter by practice.*

"The moral virtues we go on acquiring by first performing acts which involve them, just as is the case with the other arts. . . . Men come to be builders, for in-

* Aristotle, *Nicom. Ethics*, ii., ch. i.

stance, by building, and harp-players by playing the harp. Precisely so we become just in performing just actions, through acts of self-control we become self-controlled, through courageous acts, courageous. . . . Again, every type of excellence is formed or destroyed, as the case may be, from the same causes and by the same means,—art, too, in like manner with the rest. I mean it is by playing the harp that the good and the bad harp-players alike are formed; so with builders, and all the rest. By building well men will become good builders, by building badly, bad ones."

It is evident that a teacher holding such views as these would not have pinned extraordinary faith to instruction in the mere theory of ethics, though such instruction would doubtless serve to direct the activity and spur on the noble purposes of one whose life was already prepared by good training for the appreciation of moral distinctions. This he says emphatically in more than one connection; thus *:

"In respect to moral action, not theories and views but action constitutes the real end. . . . If doctrine were of itself sufficient to make men good, many and great would have been its rewards, as Theognis says, . . . but in point of fact, while it clearly has the power to guide and stimulate young men of noble character, and to bring under the restraining influence of virtue any fine and really high-minded temperament, it is as clearly unable to lead the mass of men into upright and noble living. . . . Then as for reasoning and instruction, they, it is to be feared, will not avail at all, but it would seem

* Aristotle, *Nicom. Ethics*, x., ch. ix.

that the mind of the pupil, like the soil in which seed is to thrive, must have been prepared in advance, by the tillage of habitual practice, for receiving and rejecting as it should."

Aristotle therefore recommends private training as more likely to respect the individuality of the pupil. Lessons in the concrete addressed to the particular needs and circumstances of the individual characterised preëminently the ethical training recommended by the master. He also esteemed it desirable for the teacher to be acquainted with the general principles of ethics as representing what is applicable to all men and as affording a background against which the better to judge the special case. Foremost among these general principles stands the recognition that the genius of virtuous conduct consists in the observance of the true mean between the too much and the too little. This may be said to be Aristotle's most reliable test for the quality of an act.*

"First of all, we must observe that in all these matters of human action, the too little and the too much are alike ruinous, as we can see (to illustrate the spiritual by the natural) in the case of strength and health. Too much and too little exercise alike impair the strength, and too much meat and drink and too little, both alike destroy the health, but the fitting amount produces and preserves them. . . . So, too, the man who takes his fill of every pleasure and abstains from none becomes a profligate; while he who shuns all, becomes a stolid and insusceptible 'hayseed.'"

* Aristotle, *Nicom. Ethics*, ii., ch. ii.

Another test of the virtuousness of acts is their rationality or conformity to good sense. Thus virtue (*areté*) is defined *: "Virtue is a habit or permanent state of mind involving deliberate choices, conforming to the relative mean and determined by reason, *i. e.*, as a man of practical good sense would determine it." What the young prince learned from his teacher concerning virtue was that it was freedom, that it was temperance, that it was sanity. We cannot expect his conduct to show that his education eradicated or abolished his natural impulses. There was nothing in Aristotle's system that looked toward a crushing out or overpowering of individuality; quite the contrary: it was based upon the supremest regard for individuality, but sought to guide individual strength into the ways of sanity and self-control.

Alexander was unquestionably a strong personality. Passions, impulses, ambitions, will, were all in him at the highest tension. All the more distinctly in the record of his actions does the philosophic Alexander stand out in relief against the natural Alexander. Plutarch in his first essay on *Luck vs. Worth in the Career of Alexander* devotes a series of chapters to the influence of Aristotle's philosophic teachings upon the bent of his pupil's mind as illustrated in his acts. Though, he says, the visible means with which he undertook his expedition against Asia seem small, in reality no one ever had at his disposal a better equipment than he. "For Philosophy had equipped him for the expedition

* Aristotle, *Nicom. Ethics*, ii., ch. vi.

with loftiness of aspiration and largeness of view, keenness of mind, self-control, manliness; verily a fuller outfit was that he had of his teacher, Aristotle, than of his father, Philip." That he had published no works on logic or on the principles of philosophy, that he never strolled in the paths of the Lyceum or the Academy, these things do not, continues our author, deny him the epithet and character of a philosopher. This were possible only under the narrow definition which makes philosophy mere doctrine and not deed, for Alexander's deeds stamp him in the highest sense as a philosopher. Such are his endeavours toward educating in civilisation the barbarous peoples he conquered:

"he taught the Hyrcanians to live in wedlock, and the Arachosians to till the fields; the Sogdianians he induced to support their fathers instead of killing them, the Persians to honour their mothers instead of wedding them; yea, the marvel of a philosophy, at whose hands the Hindoo bows down to the gods of Greece, and the Scythian buries his dead instead of eating them!" "Plato wrote a book about the State, but could get no one to apply the doctrine of it. Alexander founded among barbarous peoples over seventy cities, spreading the seeds of Greek institutions throughout Asia, and overmastering its rude and beastlike life. Few read the laws of Plato; thousands *use* those of Alexander."

So, as he continues in substance, the Stoic Zeno taught the much-admired doctrine that mankind should not live in the separateness of cities and nations with their separate standards of justice, but that we should recognise all men as our clansmen

and fellow-citizens united in a common life under a common system of order. This Zeno wrote out as the dream or the theory of a philosopher; it was, however, in the achievements of Alexander an actuality. He did not see fit to select one class of men as the sole recipients of his favours, and to treat others as beasts or plants, thus making his rule a succession of banishments and insurrections, but, conceiving his mission to be that of a god-sent mediator and harmoniser of all, he led whom he could, the rest by force he constrained, to join in coöperation toward a common end, and,

"mixing as it were in one great loving-cup the various lives and standards of life and wedlocks and habits of life of all the peoples, taught them to regard the world as their fatherland and his camp as their refuge and citadel, to esteem all good men as their kinsmen, and only the evil as strangers."

The rhetorical ecstasies of Plutarch doubtless carry him and us somewhat far afield, but a very real basis they have after all. A strand of the philosophic runs through all the life of Alexander. Marks of its presence we see in the breadth of his sympathies, in the wider scope and higher purpose of his plans, as well as in his noble aversion to every form of pettiness and meanness, his efforts toward moderation and self-control, and his quickened moral sensitiveness. Alexander has been viewed by modern historians far too much as conqueror, too little as a man. His acts have been interpreted as the acts of a ruthlessly ambitious conqueror. The bur-

den of doubt has therefore been against him. Men in estimating him, have seemed to forget his youth, the conditions, moral and political, and the times in which he lived, his sudden and unprecedented success, his turbulent life, and have judged his action in the light of the one thing supposed to be certainly known of him, viz., his greed of conquest. Eager to conquer he was indeed, because he was, above all things, eager to act and eager to achieve. Conquest in itself, however, was not his supreme aim. What he did must be judged as are the deeds of other men. He was singularly frank and transparent of character. Concerning his motives we need never be in doubt, provided we have a reliable tradition of his own account of an action. In his openness of soul, as in many other things, he stands in strong contrast with his father. He was not underhanded, nor given to " ways that are dark."

We cannot undertake to review here in anticipation of their chronological order the many incidents of his career which afford us an opportunity of forming an estimate concerning his moral ideals. Some of them have been very differently interpreted by different historians, and each would have to be carefully discussed by itself. Those who hold the most unfavourable view arrive at it apparently through a distrust of our hero's frankness. Thus Niebuhr, who can find in Alexander no good thing, even goes so far as to accuse him of posing for effect, when he gave the wife and daughters of the conquered Darius his protection, instead of treating them as booty to his lusts. We have from independent sources ac-

counts from different periods of his life showing the cleanliness of his relations to women. In youth he was, as we have already seen, a model of chastity. As he came to young manhood, we have it on the authority of Hieronymus that his parents tried in vain to interest him in a beautiful courtesan. Plutarch, in the *Apophthegms*, says it was certain young colleagues of his who sought to bring him into a *liaison* with a married woman. This form of the story certainly relieves his parents of an odious charge,—yet neither version is out of accord with the possibilities of the times and the place. Plutarch's reflections on his behaviour toward Darius's wife are in place here *:

"They say Darius's was one of the fairest of queens, as was indeed Darius himself one of the tallest and handsomest of men. Their daughters, too, much resembled them. But Alexander doubtless thought it more kingly to conquer himself than to subdue his enemies, and therefore never approached one of them, nor did he have relations to any other woman prior to his marriage, except Barsine. As for the other female captives, Alexander, when he saw them, tall and beautiful as they were, took no further notice of them than to say by way of jest, 'What eyesores these Persian women are!' Holding up before himself as a countercharm to their beauty the beauty of self-restraint and sobriety, he passed them by as so many statues."

Conduct so at variance with the corrupt usages of the society in which he was reared, and so at vari-

* Plutarch, *Vita Alex.*, ch. xxi.

ance with what we should expect of his own passionate, impulsive nature, must seek its explanation in his education.

As the Prince left Aristotle's regular tutelage in his seventeenth year, it is hardly to be expected that the other branches of philosophical study should have been studied more than in general outline. Still we have from Plutarch an explicit statement, that seems to assure metaphysics and perhaps theology a place in his thought.

"Man's knowledge of God he esteemed to be dimly derived from observation of the movements of the soul when best freed, in enthusiasm or in sleep, from bondage to the body, and from observation of the firmament above us. His attitude toward the current faiths was not that of scepticism, for these were his data. They might be mere gropings, but they were not totally false. He showed no inclination to deny the validity in this sense of any human faiths, or to limit the possession of the oracles of God to any chosen tribe of people."

Alexander's religious attitude will be found throughout to be a consistent application of, or deduction from, the doctrine of his teacher. His reverence for the religious beliefs and usages of all the varied peoples among whom he came befits well the pupil of one whose precept was "Never is higher reverence due than in matters which concern the gods," or, to quote it in the words of Seneca: "Egregie Aristoteles, nunquam nos verecundiores esse debere quam cum de diis agitur."

CHAPTER IV.

THE APPRENTICESHIP.

340–336 B.C.

ALEXANDER had his first experience in public affairs in the year 340 B.C. In the summer of that year Philip set out on a famous enterprise, the attack on Byzantium, and left his sixteen-year-old son, as Plutarch puts it, "in charge of affairs and of the seal." The son, it appears, made a better summer of it than his father; for while Philip utterly failed of his purpose, and, what is more, drew a war with Athens down upon his head, Alexander, not wrapping his seal in a napkin, tried his hand at disciplining the insubordination of a restless mountain tribe on the upper Strymon. He did it thoroughly. He took their chief town by storm, drove out the inhabitants, replaced them by loyalists, and named the place, after himself, Alexandropolis.

The year of our hero's initiation into practical affairs was a most critical one in international politics. In order to start fairly with him, we must re-

view the political situation as it was when he first became a factor in it. The peace of Philocrates, concluded in June, 346 B.C., ended for the time Philip's struggle with Athens, and removed an important and long-standing check upon his activity. In July he passed Thermopylæ, ended the Sacred War, and occupied Phocis. In August he was made a member of the Amphictyonic Council. In September he presided over the Pythian games. His claim to recognition as a Greek was no longer slight, seeing that he was now master of Delphi, the national sanctuary, held a seat in the most important state council, and had been arbiter at the national games. His influence steadily grew, and the sphere of his activity rapidly widened. Up in the north, where now are Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Herzegovina, the force of his arms was felt. Thessaly, to the south, became his political ally. The issue of Macedon and anti-Macedon crept into the politics of all the Greek cities. In Athens it had been, since the peace of 346 B.C., the issue on which the party lines were drawn. The old conservative party, which during the Peloponnesian war had opposed the imperial or war policy of Pericles and Cleon, and, in consequence, had borne the odium of pro-Spartan tendencies, still held to its old platform of domesticity,—a city government for city interests,—and preferred a friendly acceptance of Philip's leadership in the military and imperial affairs of Greece to a policy of imperial self-assertion or aggression, for which, it reasonably argued, the institutions of its city-state were not suited or intended. Though

representing in general the more settled and respectable elements of the population, the conservative party had again to bear the odium of non-patriotism and even of treason, and was called the Macedonian party. The liberal party, with Demosthenes at its head, succeeding to the traditions of Pericles, was the party—according to the point of view—of patriotism or of Jingoism. From 342 B.C. on it was in full control of the state.

Steadily the Macedonian influence spread among the Greek cities, not by outward aggression, but by silent methods such as mark the onward flow of Russia's influence to-day in central Asia. In 345–344 B.C. Argos and Messene turned to Philip as an offset against Sparta's political aggressions. Demosthenes's *Second Philippic* is an echo of the conflict. The next year Epirus was absorbed. In Elis the Macedonian party gained the day. In Megara it barely failed. In 342 B.C. two of the leading cities of Eubœa, Oreus and Eretria, came under the control of political leaders, or "bosses," friendly to Philip.

In the summer of 342 B.C. Philip pushed his arms to the east through Thrace, and in the following year carried his conquests to the shores of the Black Sea and as far north as the modern Varna. Nothing separated him now from his goal, the Bosporus,—goal of conquerors ever since,—except Byzantium and the colonies that lined the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles. If he succeeded here, two supreme results were achieved: his route to Asia would be opened; Athens would be cut off from her food-supply in southern Russia, and robbed of one of her

chief grounds for political importance, the control of the Chersonese. In 340 B.C. he laid siege to Perinthus and Byzantium, and war with Athens was begun. It was the war that ended two years later at Chæronea.

In Athens ever since the peace of 346 B.C. the anti-Macedonian party with Demosthenes as its leader had been steadily gaining in strength. In 344 B.C. it was able to send into the Peloponnesus the commission which sought, though in vain, to check Philip's diplomatic advances in Argos and Messene. In 343 B.C., though unable to secure the conviction of Æschines, it was able to check the pro-Macedon movement on Megara, and to prevent Philip's advance into Acarnania. In 342 B.C. it was able to bring about the rejection of Philip's friendly advances looking toward a settlement of difficulties on the basis of arbitration and mutual concessions, etc. It caused new Athenian settlers under Diopeithes to be sent to strengthen the Athenian position in the Chersonese and a league was formed with Chalcis, calculated to check Philip's advance in Eubœa.

In the next year the issue between the two parties at Athens became still more sharply defined, and the relative strength of the anti-Macedonians was decidedly greater. Philip's reasonable complaints concerning Diopeithes's aggressions in the north were answered by Demosthenes in his two brilliant addresses, *On the Chersonese* and the *Third Philippic*, which voiced the ardour of the anti-Macedonian feeling at the time. They were a call for vigorous action and were heard. As far as

Athens was concerned, the anti-Macedonian party, with Demosthenes at its head, was now in full control. It had managed to fasten upon the leaders of the pro-Macedonians, at least in the minds of the masses, the stigma of treason, and they were politically disabled thereby.

The party divisions of Athens were now extended to all Greece. Corinth, Leucas, Corcyra, Acarnania, Achaia, Megara, and Eubœa declared against Philip and joined Athens and Byzantium in a league to resist his advances.

The coöperation of Persia in the league was solicited, and not in vain, so far at least as contributions of money are concerned. Persia's money usually played a part when the Greeks quarrelled with each other, and the money went with certainty to that side whose action would tend to cripple the effectiveness of Greece as a whole. The issue came soon enough. Philip's attack on Byzantium a few months later was the signal for war.

Philip would gladly have avoided war with Athens. His aim was the leadership of consolidated Greece against Persia. He wanted the coöperation of Athens as well as others, and he would have welcomed her as an ally. The concessions he offered to make to Athens in the affair of the Halonnesus show clearly his desire, even though we hear of his proposals only through the medium of Hegesippus's speech, delivered in the interest of rejecting them. Philip sought in and for itself no infringement upon the liberties of the Greek towns in things pertaining to their internal affairs; but his

policy did mean that he was to be dominant in all matters pertaining to the relation of the towns to the outside world.

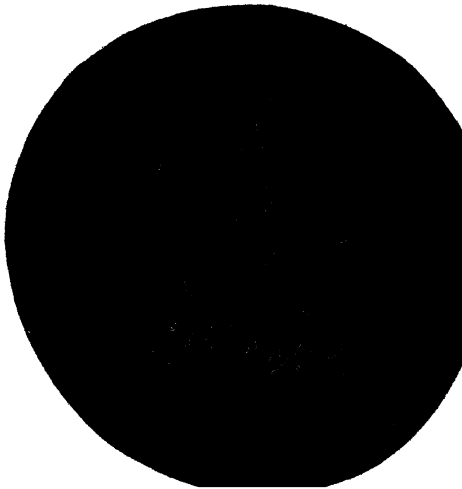
This the party of Demosthenes, and in consequence Athens, would not tolerate. It meant the merging of Athens in a governmental "trust," and that, Demosthenes was determined, should not be peacefully conceded. He was bent on war, for peace meant the ultimate success of Philip's plan. But so did unsuccessful war. Yet it is well that Athens fought. We know that the cause—*i. e.*, Greek particularism, as well as the war in its behalf—was from the start hopeless, but we rejoice that the fight was fought, and that Athens did not suffer Greece to relinquish without a struggle that which had made her to be Greece.

During the year 339, as well as 340 B.C., Alexander probably remained at home, in charge of the government. His father was occupied before Byzantium and in the Chersonese the greater part of the year. History, at any rate, has nothing to tell of Alexander until his appearance in the battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). Here he made himself a name for his bravery, and won from Philip the highest approval. Plutarch says that "this bravery made Philip so delighted with him that he even took pleasure in hearing the Macedonians say, 'Alexander is the king, Philip the general,'"—a thing they were very apt to say, seeing that for the two previous years Philip had been almost constantly away from home, and Alexander had been the regent. Four or five centuries after the battle, travellers were still shown, as

a reminiscence of Alexander's participation in it, an old oak standing out in the plain north of the battle-field, under which, tradition said, his tent had been pitched.

The battle had resulted in a most decisive victory for Philip. Thebes and Athens, with their Corinthian and Achæan allies, who had been arrayed against him, were the only states in Greece remaining hostile to him that had been able to express their opposition in terms of armies. These armies were now utterly crushed. Thebes made no further attempt at defense, but gave herself over to the mercy of the King. And scant mercy it was! Thebes had played him false and betrayed him. Therefore his feeling toward her was radically different from that toward Athens, which had cordially and consistently hated him. Thebes he proceeded to chastise thoroughly. He took from her the control of other Bœotian towns, set a garrison in the citadel, called back the Macedonian sympathisers who had been banished, made them the government, and condemned to death leaders who had been responsible for the city's action in forming the alliance with Athens.

Toward Athens, on the other hand, he showed a mildness of temper that seems to have been to the Athenians as great a surprise as it was agreeable. The first dismay at the tidings of the battle had been followed by a resolute determination to defend the city to the utmost. It was the resolution of desperation. The women and children were brought from the country districts within the shelter of the



ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

OBVERSE OF ONE OF THE GOLD MEDALLIONS OF TARSUS.

walls. Frontier guards were posted. An army of home defense was organised. Money was raised. Demosthenes was sent abroad to secure supplies of corn, in prospect of a siege. The proposition—a most extreme and dangerous one—was made to arm the slaves of the silver-mines, as well as the free alien residents, thus securing an additional force of one hundred and fifty thousand men. Many gave of their substance as a free-will offering to the state. Stringent laws forbade any one to flee the city; to do so was treason. All capable of bearing arms were enrolled in the army; all others became labourers on the public works, according as the authorities might direct. The walls were repaired, and new fortifications constructed. The energy of the work is echoed in the words of Lycurgus *:

"In those hours no age held itself aloof from the service of the state. It was a time when the earth contributed its trees, the dead their tombs, the temples their stores of dedicated armour. Some toiled in restoring the walls; some dug in the trenches; some were building palisades. There was no one idle in the city."

The Athenians were, however, entirely astray regarding Philip's purposes. He did not purpose to spend months and years in besieging a city whose cordial coöperation, and not whose destruction, he ultimately sought. Through the orator Demades, who happened to be among the captives, he found a convenient way of intimating to the Athenians their mistake. The result was an embassy to Philip,

* Oration against Leocrates, sec. 44.

composed of Demades, Phocion, and Æschines, all representatives of the Tory-Macedonian party. This Demades was the one who had rebuked the King as, in his drunken revel of triumph on the night of the battle, he lowered himself to jeer his captives. "King, fate hath assigned thee the rôle of Agamemnon, but thou doest the deeds of Thersites."

Philip received the ambassadors graciously. He agreed to release the Athenian captives without ransom, and to send to Athens the bodies of the dead, to be buried in their native soil. The terms of peace were proposed by a commission which he sent later to Athens, consisting of no less important persons than the son Alexander and the favourite general and counsellor Antipater. This commission arranged with the Athenians the following terms: Athens was to remain, so far as its internal affairs were concerned, entirely autonomous and free. No Macedonian army was to enter its territory, no Macedonian ship to enter its harbours. It was to be an ally of Philip. The parish of Oropus, on the north-eastern boundary of Attica, which it had always claimed, but which of late had belonged to Thebes, was to be added to its territory. On the other hand, it relinquished its monopoly of protecting commerce in the Ægean, and retained of its island possessions only Samos and Delos, Lemnos and Imbros. Its naval hegemony and Ægean empire were thus at an end. Furthermore, the clause which stated, in diplomatic phraseology, that "if the Athenians wish, it shall be permitted them to participate in the general peace and in the National

Council which the King proposes to create," thinly veiled the plain fact that the state was to be henceforth a member of a confederacy led and governed by Philip.

These terms were accepted by the Athenians, in the reaction from their first fright, with little short of enthusiasm. The treaty was also most satisfactory from the Macedonian point of view. It must, indeed, be regarded as fair to both parties, for it expressed reasonably the actual facts of the situation.

Alexander's first diplomatic work had been an eminent success. It gave a presage of the success which was, throughout his career, to attend his efforts in procuring accord and coöperation between diverse nationalities. But it was more than a presage: its success was based upon a principle which reappears as conditioning his later dealings with conquered peoples. By generosity in little and relatively unessential things, he made willing subjects and achieved his great essential purposes. We are not informed precisely what part Alexander bore in framing the terms of the peace, but we are inclined, from their character, to infer that it was no unimportant part. In the events of this period we seem to mark a transition from the canny cleverness of Philip to the imperial generosity of Alexander.

Toward the end of the year (338 B.C.) the Hellenic Congress, assembled at Corinth, gave shape and formal organisation to the new empire. Interstate peace and freedom of commerce constituted its basis. Each state was freely to conduct its own

local government, and to pay no tribute. Existing forms of government in the several states were to remain undisturbed. No Greek, even as a mercenary, was to bear arms against Philip. For executing the purposes of the compact was created a national council (*synedrion*), to be held at Corinth. The Amphictyonic Council was appointed to serve as the supreme judicial tribunal of the league. The quota of troops and ships to be furnished by each state for the army and navy of the league was definitely fixed, and Philip was made commander-in-chief of the whole, with the special and immediate purpose of conducting against the Persians a war of reprisal for the desecrated sanctuaries of Hellenic gods.

Macedonian garrisons occupied the two great strategic points, Chalcis and the citadel of Corinth, besides Ambracia and Thebes. All the states of Greece proper, except Sparta, participated in the compact. Sparta's refusal was mere helpless stubbornness. Girt about by strong states controlling all the passes into the Eurotas valley, and robbed of all her strength, she no longer weighed in interstate affairs. Philip's work, so far as international history is concerned, was now virtually complete. He had, with a political sagacity such as the world has rarely seen, combined the perversely individualistic elements of Old Greece into a new coöperative body, and thereby created the *pou sto* from which Alexander was to move the world.

In the year following the battle there arose a bitter family quarrel, which seriously disturbed the

hitherto kindly relations of Philip and his son, and for a time threatened the peace of the kingdom. It originated in jealousies consequent upon Philip's new ventures in wedlock as well as love. "The distemper of the harem," as Plutarch puts it, "communicated itself to the kingdom." We hardly require Plutarch's explanation that Olympias, Alexander's mother, was a "jealous, high-strung woman" to account for what followed; but it really would appear, from the account of Philip's attachments which we have in the extant fragments of Satyrus's *Life of Philip*, that Olympias tolerated it all until it came to his proposed marriage with Cleopatra, "of whom he was passionately enamoured." It may be suspected that it was something more than the dynamics of Philip's ardour toward his new acquisition that stirred Olympias's wrath. Cleopatra was a Macedonian princess, niece of the influential Attalus, and there was a chauvinistic spirit abroad that threatened to unsettle Alexander's claim to the succession in the interest of a possible heir of pure Macedonian blood. Here was explosive material in abundance; only a spark was needed.

At the wedding-banquet, Attalus, heated with wine, had in his toast to the new pair called on all good Macedonians to pray that the union might be blessed with the birth of a genuine successor to the throne—this in allusion to the Macedonian origin of Cleopatra, in contrast to Olympias's Molottan birth. That was more than Alexander could be asked to tolerate. Hurling his beaker at Attalus's

head, "You scoundrel!" he cried, "what do you think *I* am? Am I a bastard?" Philip rose from his couch to interpose, and sprang against his son with drawn sword. But his cups and his fury were too much for him. He slipped and fell. Then came Alexander's fearful taunt: "Here, gentlemen, is a man who has been preparing to cross from Europe into Asia; but he has upset in crossing from one couch to another."

Immediately after this occurrence, Olympias, accompanied by her son, left the country, and withdrew to her brother, the King of Epirus. From there Alexander went into Illyria, with the probable purpose of securing support against Philip, should he need it. Sympathy with Alexander was widespread also in Macedon, especially among the younger men of the court and the army. While things were in this sorry state, Demaratus, the Corinthian statesman, came to visit Philip at Pella, and to the King's first inquiry, whether the Greeks were living in amity and accord, answered as a friend and straightforwardly: "It ill becomes thee, Philip, to have solicitude about the Greeks, when thou hast involved thine own house in this great dissension, and filled it with evils."

Philip profited by the rebuke. Demaratus was commissioned to act the part of mediator. A reconciliation was effected, and Alexander returned to Pella. The causes of trouble had not, however, been removed. Olympias remained still in Epirus, implacable in her resentment of Philip's indignities, and hating with a hatred worthy of a woman both

high-strung and strong-minded. She sought to move her brother to take up arms and avenge her insults. She kept her son's suspicions alert. He must not tamely submit to being displaced in the succession by the son of one of the new favourites. It was a woman's jealousy.

We have no indication that Philip had any real intention of displacing Alexander. It is hardly thinkable that he had. We have, however, abundant evidence that he was suspected, not alone by Olympias, but generally among Alexander's friends.

Philip was now ready to advance into Asia, but he was unwilling to leave the soil of Europe before he had allayed the discontent of the Epirotes consequent upon his treatment of Olympias. This he undertook to do by arranging a marriage between his daughter, Alexander's own sister, and her uncle, the King of Epirus. The wedding was appointed for August of the same year (336 B.C.). It was to be held at Ægæ, the earlier capital of Macedonia, and the ancestral home of its kings. It was made the occasion of a gorgeous popular fête. Feasts, sports, and dramatic exhibitions were added to the more formal observances of receiving the guests and glorifying the King. Family feuds were ostensibly buried. Olympias returned from Epirus. Invitations were sent everywhere throughout Greece to the partisans and personal friends of the King. A vast concourse assembled. Not only came princes and statesmen, but many cities, among them Athens, were present by their representatives, and sent crowns of gold and series of resolutions to express

their loyalty, and to do the King appropriate honour. It became a truly imperial fête, the festal ratification of the newly founded empire; the hailing of the Emperor; but in the midst of it all Philip was foully murdered.

The perpetrator of the deed was one Pausanias, a Macedonian, member of the King's body-guard; the motive, private revenge. Pausanias had suffered a most degrading insult at the hands of Attalus, Cleopatra's uncle. He besought the King to give him revenge. This the King persistently declined to do, being influenced by Cleopatra, and by the consideration of Attalus's importance to him as a general. Pausanias's hatred turned itself now against the King. Vanity and envy were his consuming passions. In the murder of the King he found satisfaction for both. "How may one become most famous?" he asked, one day, in the course of a discussion with the sophist Hermocrates, whose lectures he was attending. "By making away with one who has done greatest deeds," answered the professor. Attalus, Cleopatra, Philip, had now become one in the eye of his wrath. To kill Philip was to overthrow Attalus, and put his niece at the mercy of Olympias.

The second day of the festival was to be signalised by gala performances in the theatre. Clad in a white robe, and attended by a stately procession, Philip advanced toward the gate. The place was already full. Long before daylight people had been crowding in to claim their seats. As an indication of the security felt in the good will of the people, the

OBVERSE. REVERSE.

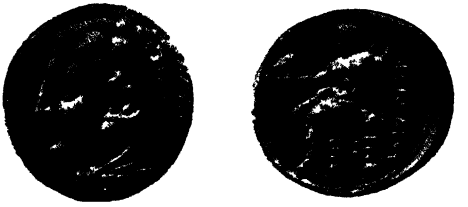
GOLD STATER OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, THE HEAD BEING THAT OF ATHENE.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

OBVERSE. REVERSE.

SILVER TETRADRACHM OF LYSIMACHUS (KING OF THRACE, B.C. 306-281).

OBVERSE, HEAD OF ALEXANDER. FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



OBVERSE. REVERSE.

SILVER COIN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN STRUCK DURING HIS LIFETIME. OBVERSE, HEAD OF HERCULES. REVERSE, ZEUS HOLDING THE EAGLE, SEATED. FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

King walked in the procession entirely unattended, and with a considerable space intervening between him and his body-guard. Right at the entrance to the theatre the assassin lay in wait for him. A single thrust of the sword laid the King dead at his feet. He sprang to his horse, and was off. The King's guards rushed in pursuit. But for an accident he would have escaped. As he galloped away, a tangling vine caught his foot; he was thrown from his horse, and, before he could rise, Perdiccas and the guards who were in pursuit had made away with him. But Philip the Great was dead—in the forty-seventh year of his age, the twenty-fourth of his reign.

The murder was purely an act of private and personal revenge, but the most various rumours and subtle surmises were current, connecting with the deed now the rival Lyncestian line; now Olympias and even Alexander; now the poor Shah of Persia himself. That Olympias should have been suspected was perfectly natural. Philip's death was undoubtedly quite acceptable to her. She was entirely capable of having abetted it. Her hatred of Cleopatra and Attalus seemed, furthermore, to form a bond of common interest between the assassin and herself. All these things serve, however, rather to explain how the suspicion arose than to prove its correctness. The strained political situation undoubtedly stimulated the murderous instinct of the doer of the deed, as was the case with the assassin of President Garfield; but more than this we have no right to infer from the evidence. The suspicions

affecting Alexander were most certainly baseless, as all his actions then and thereafter would amply prove, if there were need of proof.

Be it as it may, Philip was gone, and, to all appearances, his empire with him. His heir was a stripling of twenty years.

CHAPTER V.

THE OLD GREECE.

336 B.C.

THE life of Alexander was destined to become the efficient cause of changing an Old Greece into a New and Greater Greece. But before we can understand the meaning of the new Greece, or rightly appreciate the potency of the forces which brought it into being, we must have a clear conception of all that which in history, condition, thought, and life combined to form the essential characteristics of the Old Greece, or, the Greece of "classical" times. With this subject the next four chapters will be occupied.

Many histories of Greece, and, in fact, the interest of most students of things Grecian, end with the downfall of Greek freedom at the battle of Chæronea. It is not unreasonable, but, on the contrary, in the highest degree reasonable, that the historian should find here a convenient stopping-place. The history of Old Greece reaches here, at least in the outward form of the facts, a sudden and summary conclusion,

though it is a conclusion for which the inner facts have long been making their relentless preparation. With this event there begins the history of a New Greece, and he who undertakes to tell its story must thoroughly revise his standards of judgment and readjust his point of view. An entirely new class of historical factors and of political motives will claim his consideration, and radically different tests of national success must be applied. Except as the New Greece might serve to represent the practical application of the theory of Old Greek life to the broader life of the world, or as a transfer of the old life to a new and larger field, there is no sufficient reason why the historian should hesitate to choose as the end or the beginning of his task this plain boundary line which Philip's triumphs in Greece located, and Alexander's subjugation of the East made indelible.

The Old Greece was essentially a thing of small areas and dimensions. This is true alike of its territory, its states, its horizon, its scale of living, and its products. Its development was intensive rather than extensive. To obtain high figures we must replace our material units of measurement with spiritual ones. If the Greek states were merely great states in miniature we would not lay such stress upon this feature as to mention it in the first place. Greek communities were not merely diminutive. They were not dwarfs. Smallness was an *essential* characteristic of them, as it is of a keyhole. So of their life and their institutions,—they lost their character with enlargement.

REVERSE.

PHILIP II., FATHER OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

ONE OF THE GOLD MEDALLIONS OF TARSUS OBVERSE THE HEAD OF PHILIP II REVERSE, VICTORY IN A QUADRIGA

The total area of Greece proper, including Thessaly and Epirus, is only half that of the State of New York, and considerably less than that of Scotland. Its greatest length, from Mt. Olympus on the north to Cape Tænarum on the south, is two hundred and fifty miles, or about the distance from the Adirondacks to New York. Its greatest breadth, from Acarnania at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth on the west to Marathon on the east is one hundred and eighty miles, or about the breadth of Ireland. The State of Rhode Island has the better of Attica in land-area by some eighty square miles. The Gulf of Corinth, that divides Greece in two, taken in its entire length from the western sea to the harbour of Corinth, approximates the dimensions of Long Island Sound.

Sparta and Athens were relatively remote from each other in position as in character. For a century and a half in the intensest period of Grecian history they represented the boldest contrast in life, in political ideas, and in civilising tendencies, and were the nuclei of contrasted and belligerent interests. And yet in terms of almost any geography but that of Greece they were neighbours. Herodotus * tells us that the courier Pheidippides just before the battle of Marathon carried the news of the Persian approach in something less than † forty-

* *δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἐν Σπάρτῃ.*—Herod., vi., 106.

† Antistius and Philonides, two couriers of Alexander the Great, are said by Pliny to have covered on one occasion 1200 stades or 135 miles in twenty-four hours.

eight hours from Athens to Sparta. It was undoubtedly a great feat, and as such it was famed in after years, but the achievements in the "go-as-you-please" races of modern times prove that Herodotus may well have reported faithfully, for though the distance by the winding modern carriage-roads is two hundred and thirty miles or more, the foot-paths through the hills where Pan met him might well have offered the runner a much shorter course. As the crow flies, the places are less than a hundred miles apart.

Athens and her other ancient rival Thebes are, even by the modern carriage-road, nearer each other than Boston and Providence, and in a straight line they are only thirty-five miles apart. Ægina, which was for generations the commercial superior of Athens and her bitterest political foe, is a meagre island seven or eight miles long and wide, facing the entrances to the Attic plain, in plainest view from every part of it, and only thirteen miles away. The Acropolis of Athens looks out over the straits in which the battle of Salamis was fought, but three miles outside the harbour of the city. Corinth and Argos are connected by a modern railway of thirty-three miles' length. From Athens to Eleusis and back is an easy morning's drive.

The very fashion of the landscape protests against the vast and huge, and suggests on every hand fineness rather than grandeur, and elaboration rather than extension. The coast-line of this Mediterranean Norway represents a perpetual struggle of earth and sea. Narrow gulfs penetrate the land, or

miniature bays lead up to pleasant beaches fringing amphitheatred plains. Ragged headlands jut out audaciously into the sea, and lofty peaks descend abruptly to the shore.

The face of the country, too, is like a piece of crumpled paper. It seems as if it had been sought to comprehend the widest superficial area within the least extent. Fertile plains appear in rapid alternation with rugged mountain chains. The plain of Athens stretches back fourteen miles from the sea, but scarcely at any point exceeds five miles in width. The plain of Sparta is a narrow strip of fertile land enclosed by the mountain wall of Parnon on the east, and of Taygetus, reaching to an elevation of nearly eight thousand feet, on the west. So the plain of Argos, and of Tegea, and many another. Some are larger, some smaller, but they all have their history. Wherever in Greece you find a mountain-locked plain, most especially if it open to the sea, there you find the strong flavour of local history. Each has its story to tell, a story of peculiar institutions, peculiar traditions, and a peculiar life.

Islands, too, of every size and shape skirt the coast and are scattered in easy proximity to one another over all the face of the sea. From Attica to the southern coast of Asia Minor they form almost a natural bridge of stepping-stones.

Both plains and islands formed what was to early society a fortunate combination of isolation and intercourse. Some measure of isolation is an essential condition of the development of primitive

institutions, that they may have opportunity to crystallise into individuality. Reasonable intercourse secures the means of growth, which assures their vitality.

This leads us naturally to our second point in the characterisation of Old Greece,—the *particularism* of its communities. The civilisation which we call Greek is the resultant of various self-consistent developments about a large number of strongly localised centres. Within a radius of scarcely less than fifteen miles existed three strong and populous communities that differed most widely from each other in character, usages, dress, language, government, and even in blood. Megara was Dorian, Athens Ionian, and at least the prevailing element in Theban blood was Æolian. The people of each city had its own strongly marked and universally recognised characteristics. The Megarians were a plain, practical folk, but rude in the arts of life. The Athenians were alert, sociable, versatile, hospitable to men and ideas. The Thebans excelled the others in a command and use of the luxuries and refinements of civilised life, but their virtue went to brawn rather than to brain, and they enjoyed in contemporary opinion the unquestioned repute of a many-sided carnal-mindedness.

Nothing that characterises the mutual isolation of these petty cantons is more striking than the diversity of their languages. It was Greek indeed that they all three spoke, and they could undoubtedly make themselves readily understood by one another, but the dialects sounded as different as those of a

New England farmer and a southern negro. These dialects were not merely the vulgar idiom of the common people; they were the recognised standards of speech for the respective communities, employed as the language of public documents and laws, and inscribed upon public monuments.

Hundreds of inscriptions upon stone, which modern explorations and excavations have brought to light, testify to this marvellous diversity of speech, which is the finest and surest testimonial to the essential particularism of the Greek communities. Almost every little plain has left us, thus, traces of its particular speech. And not only do these idioms differ in their substance of vocabulary and sounds, but almost every one is marked by some peculiarity of writing, and some differ very widely in this regard, though all these forms of writing have their common origin in the Phœnician alphabet. It is in such a diversity of usage between two Greek districts, Chalcis in Eubœa and the Ionians of the Asiatic coast, that the difference between the two prevailing modern types of the Phœnician alphabet takes its rise, the Roman, which we use in common with Western Europe, and the Greek, which has merged its interests with the Eastern Church. In Chalcis the symbol X meant *ks*, in Ionia *ch;* in Chalcis H was *h*, in Ionia *ê;* in Chalcis the letter *l* had the form L, in Ionia *Λ*. This modern difference between the Roman and the Greek alphabets is an impressive monument to the vigour of the old Greek particularism.

One by one during the course of the fourth cent-

ury the states gave up their local types of writing, but still they clung tenaciously to the local *patois* as their only recognised standard of speech. They simply wrote it out phonetically with the newly received Ionic alphabet, just as if York, in England, and New Orleans, in America, while both accepting Dr. Sweet's phonetic alphabet, should insist upon printing their daily papers in a transcript of their daily, common speech. It was but slowly, and after centuries of resistance to the rising tide of cosmopolitanism, that these local dialects grudgingly yielded place to a common standard of speech. At first there came a dualism of standard. The community of feeling and interest, which the Achæan and Ætolian leagues represented, created for Western Greece a common standard, which till nearly the beginning of the Christian era maintained itself distinct from that Attic standard which the conquests of Alexander made the *lingua franca* of the Orient, and eventually the exclusive basis of the mediæval and modern Greek idiom. It has seemed best to speak of these facts of language history thus fully, because the sensitiveness of the Greek to his language has made them the exactest gauge of the transition of Greek life from particularism to comopolitanism.

Besides the diversities of speech various peculiarities of dress, manner, usages, and character impressed with a strong and universally recognised individuality the popular types of the different districts. The lavish and opulent cuisine of the Thebans made the " Bœotian appetite " as proverbial throughout the Grecian lands as the ill-famed

OBVERSE

TETRADRACHM WITH HEAD OF ALEXANDER
THE GREAT WEARING THE LION-SKIN
OF HERCULES.

" black soup " of Sparta, the Athenian beans, and the malodorous onions of Megara. Such local peculiarities afforded welcome material for the comic poets, as when in the *Acharnians*, Aristophanes imitates, with an exactness which is surprisingly verified by the modern discoveries of inscriptions, the brogue of the Megarian and Bœotian peasants whom he introduces as traders in the Athenian market-place, and represents the Bœotian in particular with a sack full of local culinary *olla podrida*. Thus lines 872 *ff.*:

"*Dicæopolis.* Ah! good day to ye, my nice little Bœotian, my little johnny-cake eater. What have you brought to market to-day?

Bœotian. A full line of Bœotian goods and goodies. Here's marjoram and pennyroyal, mats and lamp-wicks, ducks and daws, coots and teal, sandpeeps and partridge.

D. Why, you 've come to market like a regular spell of *fowl*-weather (*i. e.*, bringing the birds of passage from the north).

B. Yes, and I 've brought geese, hare, foxes, moles, hedgehogs, weasels, picties, meadow icties, and eels from Lake Copais."

In striking contrast hereto stands the classic frugality of the Spartan appetite, which is amply illustrated by Plutarch's anecdote of that man of Laconia " who once in a wayside inn, having bought a little fish, gave it to the host to have cooked, and on being asked for the cheese and the vinegar and the oil replied, ' Why, if I had those I would n't have bought the fish! ' "

The widely differing standards of dress may be forcibly illustrated by the fact that in the fifth century, long after the Athenian women had adopted into general use the linen chemise-like under-garment called the *chiton*, the Dorian women still wore the old-fashioned woollen *peplos* as their only garment. The dress as well as the armour and equipments of the Spartan men were also radically different from those in use at Athens.

The difference in educational standards is quite as marked. In an age when every Athenian boy of citizen parentage was taught to read and write as well as to have some acquaintance with the ancient poets, the most of the Spartans were absolutely unlettered, and the density of Bœotian ignorance was so great that some esteemed the Sphinx, who made such havoc among the Thebans, to have been no more nor less than an impersonation of illiteracy.

In the earlier history of the Greek cantons a great diversity in standards of weights and measures appears; thus among the standards of long measure the Attic stadion was approximately 582 feet, the Olympic stadion 631 feet, the Ionic stadion 689 feet. In the matter of weight the necessities of intercantonal trade early developed a tendency to adopt one of the three common standards, the Æginetan, the Olympian, or the Eubœan, but the variety in weight and fineness of the different coinages which the caprice, the dishonesty, or the particularism of scores of petty states put into circulation created a condition of things that was well-nigh hopeless to all except the easy honour of the money-changers.

Only the "turtles" of Ægina, the "owls" of Athens, and the "horses" of Corinth secured at different times anything like a general currency in the markets of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The isolation of Sparta from all interstate trade is emphasised by the ancient law of Lycurgus, forbidding the use of gold or silver money in trade. Even after Sparta came into the exercise of imperial power and levied tribute upon dependent cities, the possession of the precious metals was restricted by law to the state. Inevitable as was the ultimate failure of such a law under the freer intercourse of the fourth century, its failure implied and involved the collapse of the peculiar Spartan community system. The law in its integrity purported nothing less than the principle that Spartans as individuals should have no dealings except with Spartans.

The arrangements of the calendar show a like diversity among the different districts. Some began the year at July, as Athens, some at January, as Thebes, some at October, as the Achæans. There was the greatest disagreement as to the names of the month. Thus the month of March (approx.) was called Artemisius by the Spartans, Theoxenius by the Delphians, Prostaterius by the Bœotians, Galaxion by the Delians, and Elaphebolion by the Athenians, while the Achæans, and perhaps others, named their months by their numerical order as first (Protos), second, etc.

The very existence of a calendar among the primitive Greek peoples was due to the necessity felt for paying to the gods the reverence due them at the

proper season, and its diversities only reflect the diversity of religious usages and interests in the different cantons. To one who has learned of the Greek religion solely from the pages of Hesiod and Homer with their perfectly organised Olympian family of gods and definitely determined characterisation of individual divinities, the actual conditions of religious faith in the communities of European Greece will seem strangely confused and imperfect. Homer knows only a united Greece. Diversities of tongue and race, of usage and institution, sink out of sight. A unifying potency resides in the genius of the poet inspired by the contrasts of oriental barbarism. His gods are pan-Hellenic. One might suppose that every good Greek worshipped them all, and that the territories of their power were mutually well-defined and sternly recognised. This is in no wise the case. The theogony was an after-thought. It represented a consolidation and harmonisation of the favourite cults of various communities. As such it was a movement toward nationalism, and when in later centuries the poems of Homer had come to be recognised as a sort of pan-Hellenic Bible, their influence was very great, not only in shaping the popular theology, but also in quickening the national sentiment. As contrasted with their bland assumption of theological uniformity, the actual condition of religious practices in the Greek states of the historical period might well appear, though deceptively, to represent decadence and disruption.

Each village community had its own favourite

divinities. It is plainly impossible that in every community the whole corona of Olympian gods should be honoured with the peculiar service due to each. But what is more, the types of the different divinities differed greatly as understood and worshipped in different localities, very like the rival Madonnas of Spanish villages. Special titles signified the special attributes of the particular divinities which were emphasised in each locality, and these often gave rise to what were essentially distinct personalities. Thus Apollo was Carneus at Sparta, Pythius at Delphi. Artemis was known as Iphigenia in Hermione, as Orthia in Sparta. In Argos and Ægina chief honours were bestowed upon Hera, whose cult was but little observed, for instance, at Athens. Apollo and Artemis received most attention at Sparta. The Aphrodite and Poseidon festivals were the most celebrated at Corinth. So Hercules was the object of distinguished honour at Thebes, Demeter at Eleusis, the Graces at Orchomenos, Asclepius at Epidaurus.

The spirit of particularism identified itself most strongly with the peculiar features of these local cults. The largeness of hospitality toward many different worships which it was the peculiar pride of Athens to show, and which converted, as we hear, well-nigh every sixth day into a festival, indicates to us not so much the superior religiosity or pietism of the Athenian people as their broader spirit of toleration, their larger Hellenic interest, and their earlier grasp of those principles which proved the forerunners of cosmopolitanism.

It is evidently of importance for our present inquiry to estimate with some exactness the extent and freedom of intercourse between the Greek cantons. This certainly differed greatly with different states. Sparta looked with suspicious eye upon all intercourse. Spartan citizens were not allowed without special permission of the Ephors to travel outside the country, "lest they should become enamoured of foreign usages"*; and the visits of foreigners, to say nothing of attempts at settlement, were discouraged in various ways, sometimes by actual expulsion, "lest they might be teachers of evil."† Similar statements are made concerning the policy of other states, thus of the cities of Crete and of Apollonia in Illyria; and Plato proposed in his ideal state to forbid all citizens under forty years of age to travel. Athens among all the Greek cities enjoyed the highest reputation for its hospitality and liberality toward strangers, but even here the conditions bear no comparison to the freedom of modern cities.

The chief highway of trade in the historical age was the sea, for Greece had practically no navigable rivers, and its roads were few and difficult. Land journeys were made either on mule-back or on foot. Vigorous as was the trade by sea, it suffered constant restriction by the risks of war which made no distinction between private and public property. During a war between any maritime states, the coast trade must have been sadly disrupted; thus in the

* *Harpocration*, p. 159.

† Plutarch, *Instit. Lacon*, 19.

Peloponnesian war the Athenians maintained at Naupactus a blockade of the entire Corinthian gulf. Of still greater moment, however, was the multiform state interference with the natural course of trade. Athens forbade Athenian ships to bring grain to any other port, and compelled all grain-ships touching at the Peiræus to sell at least two-thirds of their cargo there.* Various states undertook also to regulate or even to prevent the exportation of certain commodities which they needed at home or wished to withhold from their rivals. In the Bosporus toll was frequently levied upon the grain-ships passing through, and at one time under Athenian control of Byzantium, we know it was as high as ten per cent. Duties for the purpose of revenue, though not of protection, were levied upon imports, and so universal was this practice that the inhabitants of Cyme, who not until three hundred years after the founding of their city began to levy harbour dues, were taunted with stupidity at not having learned before that their city lay by the sea.† Despite all such restrictions enforced by scores of petty states, a reasonably active trade existed between the coast towns and certainly such trade centres as Corinth and Athens were meeting-places for the most various sorts and conditions of men. The great religious fairs at Olympia, Delphi, Nemea, etc., gave also abundant opportunity for intercourse under the protection of a general armistice, and brought together

* Büchsenschütz, *Besitz und Erwerb im griechischen Alterthume*, pp. 549 *ff.*

† Strabo, xiii., 3, 3.

not only motley throngs of hucksters and sutlers, but representatives of the Greek cities and of all classes of society.

Except, however, for the purposes of trade, of attending the festivals, and of diplomatic missions, travel in the period of which we are dealing was practically unknown. The tourist pure and simple was a development of the Roman period, when it seems to have been, as Pliny says, a recognised part of the education of every Roman gentleman to have visited the historic soil of Greece at least, if not also of Egypt and Asia Minor.

The musicians, artists, playwrights, and rhetorical teachers, as well as those few, like Solon, Lycurgus, Pythagoras, and Herodotus, who undertook journeys for ethnological and sociological purposes, constituted brilliant exceptions to the general rule. Socrates had notably never been away from home except on military service. Why the Greek should have regarded the sentence of banishment as so severe a punishment as he did we can ably appreciate when we consider how utterly forlorn and unnatural was the condition of aliens in most Greek towns.

The history of Old Greece is evidently the history of small communities, and it is the self-consistent development of the community-life that constitutes its most prominent characteristic. Intercourse there was; some degree of mixture was not excluded, but these never exceeded the immediate capacity for assimilation. Herein it is that all the products of the classical age, whether of thought or form, acquire

their identity, and separate themselves unmistakably not only from the creations of modern civilisations, but from those of the Hellenistic and the Roman age in Greece. It is not a question of their superiority, but of their greater truth. The community-life, being homogeneous and self-dependent, yielded natural products. Their form is fresh moulded from life. Even the categories of literary form—the drama, the lyric poem, the oration, the philosophic dialogue—correspond directly to real activities, and whatever product of the times we study,—the literature, the sculpture, the architecture, the religion, the philosophy,—it opens a window that looks straight in upon the life.

CHAPTER VI.

OLD GREECE—ITS POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.

336 B.C.

NOTHING more definitely characterises the organisation of life in Old Greece than the notion it entertained of the state and the relation of the individual thereto. An exposition and analysis of this notion cannot be evaded here, without overlooking the supreme issue in the political significance of Alexander's career. When he appeared upon the scene, he found Greek society still organised upon the basis of the old theory. The thirteen years of his rule relegated that theory to the antiquities. The very existence of it, indeed, and its strenuous hold on life long past the period of its natural efficiency made the brilliant career of Alexander possible. The firm persistency of the old made the transition to the new more rapid, for when Alexander appeared, the times were ripe for him, and more than ripe.

With our strongly rooted modern prejudices concerning the place and function of the state, it is no

easy matter to reproduce and re-think the ancient idea of the same. Yet it is something precise and unmistakable. "The Greek states were essentially city states; modern states are essentially national states." So Bluntschli aptly expresses the plainest and most universally accepted distinction. The state was not territorial, nor was its individuality in any way identified with extent of land. Citizenship was not determined by residence within any particular territorial limits. There were *inhabitants* of Attica, but no *citizens* of Attica. So far as any of these had a political existence, they were known as "Athenians." The exercise of political functions such as voting was, for instance, possible only in the city. The idea of citizenship and the idea of the state associated themselves entirely with the city. The territory of the state was viewed as a body of land surrounding the city, dependent upon its control, and subserving its uses, while, in sharp contrast thereto, the modern conception regards cities as denser aggregations of population here and there in the territory of the state.

The Roman theory of the relation of the city to the state was in this regard not unlike the Greek, and even in its greatest extension the Roman empire was administered under the forms at least of a city government. Roman citizenship was citizenship of the city, Rome, and not of the empire.

The state was not to be identified with its territory, and still less with its population. "The citizen is not made a citizen by dwelling anywhere in particular," says Aristotle. The aliens or metics, who in

the latter part of the fifth century and in the fourth century were attracted in such numbers by the trading opportunities at Athens as to number by the census of 309 B.C. not less than forty thousand souls, were no part of the state. Except as one had chosen a patron or *prostates* among the citizens to represent him, and had become his ward in all political relations, he had no existence in the eyes of the state. The state was neither territory nor population. It was an ancient and sacred bond, or covenant relation, in which the participants were both gods and men, and in which the basis of affiliation was neither contiguity of residence nor consideration of mutual interest, but a community of worship that had its ultimate ground in a real or presumed community of blood.

The state in its idea, in its constitution, in its institutions, and in its source of authority was an outgrowth or enlargement of the family. The priestly and authoritative functions of the ancient head of the state were the counterpart of those of the father. The authority of the family preceded that of the state and was its type and its source, not the reverse. Citizenship is a projection of the family relations upon the broader background of the civic community. The individual approaches the state through the family. The child is shortly after birth carried in the simple rites of the *amphidromia* around the hearth of the home and introduced thereby into the society of the family and the family gods. A little later it is received with solemn rites and under the form of election into the larger circle of the

phratry, and by virtue of this membership in the phratry is at maturity (in Athens when seventeen years of age) enrolled as a member of the deme or parish, and so as a citizen of the state and a client of those loftier divine personages who guarantee its organisation and receive its honours and worship.

The state, therefore, was wholly religious in its character, but not in the sense of those modern states which maintain a church, for religion was not merely a department of the state; nor yet in the sense of Christian Rome, which, following the analogy of the spiritual and material constitution of the human individual, devised the theory of a dualistic state and made the chair of the Bishop of Rome the counterpart to the throne of the Cæsars. This was not so, for in Greece religion was never conceived as a phase of the state. Nor yet again was religion ever debased, as in pagan Rome, to be a mere tool or agency of the state, nor elevated, as in Israel, to be the all-containing aim and end thereof. Religion simply *was* the state, and the state was religion. Impiety was treason, and all treason involved impiety. The modern political conception of a "profane" state was absolutely inconceivable to an ancient Greek. Equally foreign to his conceptions was that distinction between legality and morality, to which the Romans were the first to give definite form through their determination of the purely legal character of the state. Modern civil law, following the lead of the Roman, has regard to the existing relations of human society and following the "line of least resistance," seeks by the

cleverest available compromises and by practical expedients to alleviate as far as possible conflicts of interest, and make the conditions of living together as tolerable and convenient as possible. In the modern state the standard of law does not match the higher standard of duty and conscience. In the primitive Greek state such a divorcement of standards was not recognised. The situation may be fairly summarised by saying that religion and ethics had not yet been differentiated out of the notion of politics.

Utterly at variance with our modern notion of the relation of the individual to the state was that which had currency in Old Greece. We hold that the state exists for the individual, for the protection of his interests and to render his powers effective. The individual has an existence, a meaning, and a purpose independent of the state. Bluntschli in his *Theory of the State* thus describes the Teuton's conception of his individual right: "He claims for himself an inborn right which the state must protect but which it does not create, and for which he is ready to fight against the whole world, even against the authority of his own government. He rejects strenuously the old idea that the state is all in all." With the ancient Greek the state is prior to the individual. It is not an aggregation of individuals, and its prerogatives are not the result of concessions made to it by individuals. The individual is an agency or tool of the state, not the state a convenience of the individual. "Man is a civic animal," *

* πολιτικὸν ζῷον.

says Aristotle in his *Politics*. He was created for the state. He is meaningless apart from it. "The state or the family," continues Aristotle, "is by nature prior to [*i. e.*, the condition of existence for] each one of us, for the whole must needs be prior to the part. Take away the whole, and the foot or the hand has no existence." One who is so constituted as through self-sufficiency to have no need of the state is no man, but must be "either a beast or a god." Over the life of the individual, his property, his talents, his service, the state possessed, as in modern democratic societies only "public opinion" can possess, *eminent domain*. There is much talk about the freedom of the individual in ancient Athens, but it meant no more, as Friedrich puts it well, than "the consciousness of being no more subject to force than each and every one of his fellow-citizens to the power of the law." * Undoubtedly the exercise of individuality was given freer scope at Athens than in any other Greek town, notably, for instance, in the much-boasted freedom of speech, but in reality anything that may from our modern point of view be called individual liberty simply did not exist.

No one was at liberty, for instance, to choose his religious faith, to select the gods he would worship, or to determine the manner in which he should worship them. He must follow the usage of the community into which he was born. We say this is not fair play. The individual was not consulted as to which community he should be born into. Hence

* Friedrich-Thalheim, *Griechische Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 28.

he was under no obligation to worship its gods until his free choice had dictated it. But herein lies the very difference between the ancient and the modern point of view. Ancient society did not consult the individual. He had no rights whatsoever, as against the state. The laws protected the individual against the individual, but not the individual against the state. This, and no more than this, it is that Demosthenes in a famous passage * claims to be the mission and purpose of the laws (*νόμοι*), not the defining or guaranteeing, but the equalising of rights:

"The life of men in its entirety, whether they inhabit a great city or a small, is regulated by nature and by laws. Of these two, nature is unconventional, inconsistent, and dependent upon the personality of the individual in question, whilst the laws are something that is universal, definite, and the same to all. Now, nature, if it be base, is often minded unto the evil, but the laws desire what is just, what is noble, what is profitable, and this they search after, and when it has been found, it is established as an ordinance of universal validity, equal and like unto all men," etc.

The life of the citizen was under perpetual mortgage to the state for military service, as his property was for the needs of the state in times of stress. The fundamental purpose of education was conceived to be the moulding of the individual into conformity with his environment, and adaptability to the uses of society and the state. Plato's opinion that the child belongs more to the state than to

* Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton*, i., sec. 15 *f.*

its parents was but a very slight exaggeration of the popular conception. Submission to authority, and respect for the powers that be, was the first thing a young Athenian had to learn. Menander's maxim, "Unflogged, uneducated," enjoyed thereby a large adherence.

The state intruded itself on every side and without compunction into the domain of private right, as private right is understood in Anglo-Saxon communities to-day. The so-called laws of Solon, in dealing with the minutiæ of private life, in giving directions concerning dress, occupation, funerals, etc., were not annexing new territory to the domain of the law, but kept doubtless in general to the sphere as well as the course of earlier legislation. Comparison with the scant reports we have of early law codes of other Greek states shows that special and sumptuary regulations were especially characteristic of them all. Plutarch reports concerning Solon's laws:*

"Regarding the appearance of women upon the street, and their participation in funerals and festivals, he made regulations suited to prevent everything loud and immodest. Thus, when they went upon the street they were to wear not more than three articles of dress, they were to carry with them of food or drink not more than an obol's worth, and to bear no basket more than eighteen inches deep. They were not to go about at night except in a carriage with a torch before them. The bearing and disfiguring of the body in lament, the wailing of pro-

* Plutarch, *Solon*, ch. xxi. *f.*

fessional mourners, and mourning for anyone at another's funeral he prohibited. He forbade the offering of an ox at the grave, also the burial of more than three pieces of raiment with the body, and made it an offence to visit the graves of other than one's own family except at the very funeral,—the most of which things are forbidden by our laws also. . . . He imposed upon the council of the Areopagus the obligation of investigating how each man earned his livelihood and of chastening the idle."

Concerning the Locrians we hear *:

"Among the Epizephyrian Locrians, if anyone drank his wine straight, except as a remedy, and upon the prescription of a physician, the punishment was death." *

Again, concerning the Corinthians †:

"This excellent law exists among the Corinthians: if we see anyone dining every day in sumptuous style, we examine into his occupation and source of livelihood. And if he prove to have property with income sufficient to meet the expenditures, he is allowed to continue in this style of living, but if he prove to be living beyond his means, he is forbidden to continue it."

A similar tendency is shown by the law of Solon forbidding a citizen on pain of disfranchisement to abstain from voting in times of political excitement, as well as by the institution of ostracism existing in various towns, whereby without hearing or trial a

* *Athenaeus*, x., p. 429 a.

† *Athenaeus*, vi., p. 227 *f.* (quoted from Diphilos).

citizen could be compelled to leave the town for the supposed good of the state. Sparta affords in its well-known communistic institutions only a fuller exemplification of this common and universal theory of the Greek constitutions. Plutarch summarises it well*:

"To conclude, he bred up his citizens so that they neither wished nor knew how to live by themselves, but like the bees, merging their identity always in that of the commonwealth, and clustering together around their leader, to become in their enthusiasm and public spirit all but lifted out of themselves, and for their whole being to be their country's."

The legal relation corresponding to this state of the facts may be summarised as follows. The individual as such was not a "subject of equity"; only the state and its parts received such cognisance, and it was only as a factor of the state that an individual was a subject of rights. That is to say, private law had not yet been differentiated from public law, just as ethics had not been differentiated from politics. This entire attitude of mind concerning the relation of the individual to the social and political body was a necessary corollary to the prevailing understanding of the nature of that body as an enlargement of the family relation. With the shifting of view which followed upon the disruptions of Alexander's age and the consequent rise of the new spirit of cosmopolitanism, came of necessity a readjustment in the status of the individual, not directly or suddenly, to

* Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, ch. xxv.

be sure, but as a gradual, though unmistakable, transition toward that fuller enunciation of the doctrine of rights which it was the mission of Teutonic peoples to infuse into the political thought of modern Europe.

Much is said, and indeed we have already said much, about the smallness of the Greek states, and their persistent tendency to remain so. We shall err greatly, however, if we seek the ultimate causes of this in circumstances such as the geographical situation, the character of the people, and the diversity of tribes. These were the occasions under which the cause was operative, and persistently operative, but they were not themselves the cause.* The Greek states were small, because smallness was a principle of their being. They could not have become large without a total change of character and constitution. Their institutions could not tolerate a citizen-list too large for assemblage in one town-meeting, or for common participation in the festivals of the gods of the state. The range of the herald's, the orator's, or the actor's voice fixed in a certain sense the limits of the state. The relation of the individual citizen to the state was immediate and personal. No complicated political mechanism

* "Doubtless physical nature has some influence upon the history of a people, but the beliefs of men have a much more powerful one. In ancient times there was something more impassable than mountains between two neighbouring cities; there were the series of sacred bounds, the difference of worship, and the hatred of the gods toward the foreigner. For this reason the ancients were never able to establish, or even to conceive of, any other social organisation than that of the city."—Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, p. 270.

intervened between him and the questions at issue. The statesmen of the day were personally known to him; he saw their daily life; he heard them present their proposals and make their defences. Political information and political doctrine nowhere assumed the impersonal garb. The living voice of the orator represented the editorial pages of the *Times* and the *Tribune;* the comic actor was *Puck* and *Punch;* the sophists were the current reviews. Dangers menacing the state menaced the individual citizen directly. The phenomena of the state were seen and felt. Aristotle's discussion of the nature of the state in his *Politics* is not so much theoretical as a generalisation upon the facts*:

"Many people seem to think a state must be large in order to be prosperous. But in so doing they ignore the true nature of a great city and a small one, for they identify the great city by the mere number of its inhabitants, whereas it were meet the rather to regard not mass but energy,† for a city has a definite mission, so that the one best able to accomplish that must be regarded greatest, just as you would say that Hippocrates was a greater,—not man, but physician, than one who exceeded him in bodily size. . . . No, a great city and a populous city are two very different things. Indeed, the facts of history show how hard, yes, how impossible, it is for a populous state to be well governed. . . . For what general can exercise authority over an army of abnormal size, or what herald can make himself heard, if not a regular son of Stentor? . . . For the proper administra-

* Aristotle, *Politics*, iv., chap. iv., sec. 3–8 (= 1326 *a*).

† δύναμις.

tion of justice, and for the distribution of authority, it is necessary that the citizens be acquainted with each other's characters, so that, where this cannot be, much mischief ensues both in the use of authority and in the administration of justice; for it is not just to decide arbitrarily, as must be the case with excessive population."

So, holding himself strictly within the limitations of Greek political thought that utterly ignored the possibilities of representative or of federative government and of all like forms of political mechanism, Aristotle comes to the conclusion that the natural "limit to the size of the state must be found in the capability of being easily taken in at a glance." *

It must be clear from the foregoing how unsuited was the organisation of the Greek states to the construction of an Hellenic empire, and what insuperable obstacles, indeed, their very existence offered to the establishment of any form of central power. So long as the old religious theory of the purpose of the state maintained itself as a real factor of the public consciousness, maintenance of sovereignty and maintenance of worship were but two phases of the same thing. The merging of two states in one was entirely foreign to all the profoundest instincts of ancient political thought. It might be easy to conquer a state, to ravage its fields, lay waste its towns, and reduce its population to slavery, but to annex it—a thing that never entered into the mind of an ancient Greek to conceive—would involve for the one party an abandonment of cults

* εὐσύνοπτος.

it was the most sacred duty to maintain, which was apostasy; and for the other an admission of strangers to divine fellowship where they had no right and no place, which was sacrilege. The only device known to the ancient for effecting such a union, the *synoikismos*, involved a union of communities through a uniting of their cults. In such a union as this we know that the Spartan state had its origin,* and so, too, around the central rock of the Attic plain, the Acropolis had been once in early times brought together the sanctuaries and the worships of the different communities that united to form the Athenian state. What had, however, in the case of these closely related petty parishes been accomplished only through a herculean effort of statemanship and probably of armed force that had left its recollection as the greatest event of early history to be perpetually celebrated in the most brilliant of all the Athenian festivals, the Panathenaea, was too difficult a measure to be often repeated, especially when it concerned the communities and the more complicated mechanisms of later days.

It is not to be supposed, however, that these little sovereign communities were never conscious of their weakness and isolation, and never sought protection and guarantee in any form of union with other communities. Treaties were often made between states with common political interests or threatened by common dangers. These treaties sometimes, though not commonly, extended to offensive as well as defensive coöperation, but they were

* Gilbert, *Studien zur altspartanischen Geschichte*, pp. 128 *ff.*

generally framed in view of a specific emergency, whether a menace of external force or a danger of internal disorder, and, rarely surviving the occasion of their formation, never involved any complete surrender of autonomy.

A more permanent and certainly very ancient form of league peculiar to the Greek states is illustrated by the Amphictyonies, of which the earliest history reports a considerable number. They appear as combinations of a few neighbouring towns or tribes for the one distinctive purpose of maintaining the worship of some temple and the observances of its cult, including generally the games and festivals. Thus seven states, Epidaurus, Ægina, Hermione, and others in their neighbourhood united in the maintenance of the Poseidon cult on the island of Calauria in the Saronic gulf. Similarly the worship of Apollo at Delphi, of Poseidon at Onchestus in Bœotia, of Apollo and Artemis at Delos, and others, was guaranteed by such combinations of states. These bound themselves to support the temple and its festivals, to enforce the truce at the time of the festivals, to protect the temple from molestation, and to unite in punishing any sacrilege committed against it. The opportunity of this combination might occasionally lead incidentally to the assumption of other functions, as in the case of the Delphic Amphictyony, but nothing like a confederation of states resulted from it. Each state was entirely free to levy war upon its colleague, so long as the festival truce was respected, and, at least in the case of the Delphic Amphictyony, the

simple oath was kept: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic towns; we will not cut off any Amphictyonic town from running water."

The Delian Confederacy, which came into being in the middle of the fifth century and for a time promised to be the nucleus of a great Hellenic empire, was probably the outgrowth of one of these ancient leagues; it certainly was constructed after their general pattern, and to this we may attribute the fact that it came quietly and naturally into being without attracting odium as embodying anything foreign to the spirit of Greek institutions. Its real political purpose, mutual protection against Persian power, was expressed in a religious form as the protection of Greek shrines, and preëminently that of Apollo at Delos, from the sacrilege of barbarians. Athens was originally regarded merely as the administrative head of the organisation. Administration, however, passed rapidly, though naturally, into domination. It was found to be simpler for the lesser states to make their contributions in money instead of ships. The collection of money often required force, and the contribution became a tribute. The treasury was removed to Athens and used as Athenian. The influence of Athens came to be felt in the political institutions of the several states. Its courts, which from the first had dealt with questions relating to the league, came to be recognised and utilised by most of the states as courts of higher or last resort, and finally, as if to confirm the league in its position as a consolidated state under religious guarantee, the allies were encouraged or even required to par-

ticipate in the Panathenaic festivals and bring offerings to the temple of Athena.

And so, in spite of the Greek political traditions, and yet by means of them and in harmony with them, it seemed as if the way were opened for the creation of an imperial state. For this, however, the conditions were entirely lacking. Greek political thought could not rise above the city. It could not conceive of a city-state so enlarged as to include many cities, because it could not conceive of the mechanism necessary to the administration of such a state. A Greek city could not relinquish its free right on the one hand to withdraw from any confederacy it might enter, nor, on the other, to cancel or revise any action which its delegates at any council might take, without abandoning its *autonomy*, and between autonomy and servile dependence Greek thought knew no mean.

For the other alternative of empire, the subjection of the states to its permanent leadership and rule, Athens, as, in fact, all the other Greek cities, was incapacitated by the nature of its institutions. At different times in Greek history the preëminence now of Sparta, less frequently of Athens, had been so far recognised by the other states as to admit of their assuming a hegemony or leadership in combined movements. This was no more than a title of precedence. Such a precedence was conceded by all the states to Sparta during the Persian wars, and was recognised again after the Peloponnesian war not only by the states of European Greece, but by the Asiatic Greek cities and the court of Persia.

The stronger military and monarchical organisation of Sparta gave it in this regard always an advantage over Athens, but the selfish narrowness of its policy, the provincialism of its population, and its essential isolation from the newer thought and larger life that was dawning upon Greece in the fourth century made it as a permanent leader, to say nothing of imperial mastery, an impossibility. Toward empire in any larger sense, indeed, Sparta seems never to have aspired. When it had levelled the way for such a career, it seems to have been satisfied to use it only in assuring within the separate cities, chiefly by garrisoning their citadels with its troops, a government, or at least a form of government, in sympathy with its own. A helpless and hopeless conservatism and lack of adaptability held it and its schemes unalterably fixed within the barriers of the old Greek particularism. Versatile Athens would readily have outgrown these, had the nature of its political institutions admitted of any consistency or security in its foreign policy. Herein lies the real cause of its failure to create a Hellenic empire, and as this failure proved the chief occasion for the subsequent career of Macedonia, it is reasonable that in closing this chapter we should briefly summarise those characteristics of the Athenian governmental machinery which affect its capacity for establishing and maintaining imperial power.

The Athenian state possessed no executive department. It had neither king, premier, nor president. The functions of the executive were variously fulfilled by three different factors of the government;

the town-meeting (*ekklesia*), the council (*boulé*), and the board of generals (*strategoi*). The sovereign power was in the completest sense lodged in the town-meeting. Almost every form of public question was settled directly by its vote. It passed general laws and special bills, elected public officials, admitted to citizenship, determined war and peace, voted on the size of armies and on the equipment of fleets, appointed the leaders of expeditions and heard their reports, voted money and determined methods of raising it, received the reports of the financial officials, concluded treaties, appointed embassies and listened to their reports, received and listened to the ambassadors of foreign states, and transacted a mass of miscellaneous business for which the forty regular meetings a year, as was the usage in the fourth century, seldom sufficed.

The device of representative government was unknown. The town-meeting was composed of the entire citizen body. As the great majority of the citizens lived, however, in the country districts, seldom more than five thousand, as Thucydides tells us,* ever met at one time. So the burden of political participation fell naturally upon the citizen population of Athens, and its harbour town, the Peiræus;—and they were mostly well-seasoned political characters, many of whom made it a livelihood to gather in the various fees that accrued for service on juries, and in the council, and for attendance at the town-meetings.† Except as we take into ac-

* Thucydides, viii., 72.

† This last only in the fourth century.

count this Athenian habit of political dissipation, the practicability of these peculiar institutions is to us, in an age of specialised activities, totally inconceivable. Much as a modern New Yorker or Chicagoan cultivates an interest in all the details and finesse of the game of base-ball, and the standing of rival teams, so the ancient urban Athenian was a crank and enthusiast in the details of current politics and law, the pending bills, the latest speech, the manners and style of the orators, the strange dress and demeanour of foreign ambassadors, the marvellous stories of returned commissioners, the reports of victorious generals, new plans for a fleet and for the building of docks at the Peiræus, the programmes of parties, the policies of statesmen, and the tricks of politicians.

Yet in spite of this, the town-meeting was not a body from which legislation in accordance with a permanent and consistent policy was to be expected. Opportunism was the prevailing policy. The appeal, as in the courts, was to the plain judgment, or too often the sentiment, of the meeting, rather than to precedent or constitutional standards. A constitution existed only in the form of the loosely codified body of general laws (*nomoi*), which were open to proposals for amendment at the first meeting of each year. The proposal of any measure conflicting with these laws exposed the mover to punishment. They formed, however, but a very insignificant check upon the inconsistencies of special legislation and the opportunism of the popular impulse. The town-meeting was evidently too cumbrous a body

for the initiation of legislation, and it was therefore not only a wise but a necessary provision that a measure which was to be discussed and voted upon in the meeting must be brought before it as a part of the order of business regularly prepared for it by the council (*boulé*). The council was essentially a committee for the transaction of the current business of the state, such as in well-governed modern states is left to the care of permanent officials. The most of its work was done by an executive committee of fifty members representing a single tribe, and holding office for thirty-five or thirty-six days.

It possessed a certain political significance, but this it was the tendency to restrict rather than enlarge, as is shown by an innovation of the fourth century, removing from the executive committee (*prytany*) the right of supplying the presiding officer for the town-meeting. Had the office of councillor been elective and of more permanent tenure, it is conceivable that the council might have become the executive department of the state, but, as it was, it formulated no foreign policy and contributed little to the much-needed coördination of the governmental activities.

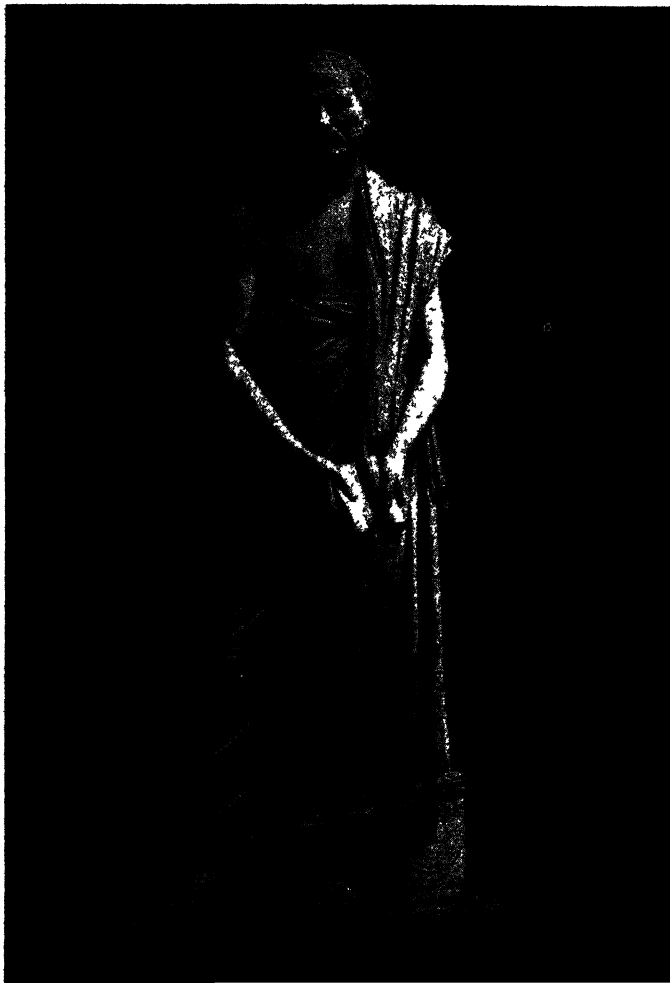
There was evidently no hope of arriving at a consistent state policy through the medium of either of these bodies, the town-meeting or the council. What opportunity was there of giving the power of the state expression through the voice and arm of a single man? The kingship was long since abolished, and the memory of it a popular bugbear. The

archonship which succeeded it, divided into nine offices filled by lot, had sunk into an effete and ornamental respectability. The constitution provided for no dictatorship like the Roman to represent the state in times of emergency. The democracy suspected the prominence of individuals, and had provided the institution of ostracism, which, during the fifth century B.C., while the ghost of monarchism still haunted the troubled dreams of the masses, served as a quasi safety-valve.

In this condition of things the only avenue open for the development of personal leadership was the generalship. This was in its original purpose a purely military office, but in the course of time the necessities of practical administration had given it a large sphere of influence in the arena of politics. The ten generals (*strategoi*) were elected annually by popular vote, and as this was the only prominent office so filled, its *personnel* was naturally the strongest and most efficient of all. The exigencies of military and naval affairs excused in the eyes of the people the personal prominence of the incumbents, and they were conceded the important privileges of consultation with the council, of precedence in addressing the town-meeting, and of convoking at pleasure special sessions of this meeting. The large range of their responsibilities, including proposals for the raising and equipment of troops, the building and manning of ships, the provision of ways and means, the inspection of the financial situation, propositions regarding war and peace, continual watchfulness concerning the plans and movements of

foreign powers, and conference with foreign legations, gave to the political position of this board in the fifth century B.C., the nearest approach to the significance of a government cabinet under the headship of a premier that Athenian institutions were ever capable of developing.

It was as the leading figures in this board that in their turn men like Themistocles, Cimon, Pericles, Cleon, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, rose to leadership in the state. The specialisation, however, of the military function, or, as we should call it, the development of the military profession, differentiated in the following century between the political and military activities, and, throwing the generalship into the hands of men like Chabrias, destroyed the political promise of the office. From that time it was either the orators as semi-professional politicians, or the incumbents of the newly developed office of Lord of the Treasury, who exercised the most prominent personal influence in politics. It was through this latter office that Eubulus, Demosthenes, and Lycurgus became in their time leaders of public policy, but Eubulus was never a premier in the sense nor to the extent that Pericles was. With the decay of the political prominence of the generalship, the last hope of the emergence of a cabinet and premier out of the jumble of Athenian official institutions disappeared forever. The days of the leadership of Pericles were the only days when Athens was the possessor of a consistent and continuous public policy, and Pericles attained his power not through the exercise of the functions of



DEMOSTHENES.

FROM THE STATUE IN THE VATICAN, ROME.

any recognised public office, but through extra-constitutional organisation. He was a boss.

The incapacity of the Athenian state for the permanent exercise of imperial functions must now be tolerably clear. There was no premier, no cabinet. There was no chance for a "government" to gain a firm existence. Incessant responsibility to the fluctuating moods of a town-meeting was infinitely worse than even the parliamentary responsibility of the ministry in modern France. The executive functions were nowhere classified out of the mass of general governmental functions. Each of the bodies in its way took a hand in foreign affairs. No office or board existed that could serve to coördinate their activities. There was no opportunity for any consistent and permanent public or foreign policy to develop itself, which either allies and foreign courts could trust, or enemies could fear.

CHAPTER VII.

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

404–338 B.C.

IT remains for us now, before continuing the story of Alexander's life, briefly to summarise the political history of the last days of that older and most typical form of Greek life, whose salient characteristics we endeavoured in the two preceding chapters to present.

A review of the events of this period, while detaining us still outside the limits of Alexander's life, is yet all-essential to an understanding on the one hand of the conditions which made his career possible, and on the other of the way in which the Macedonian Empire yielded, for the difficulties inherent in the old system of political organisation, a natural and not a violent solution.

The turmoils of the Peloponnesian war (431–404 B.C.) closed the record of the fifth century B.C. Its storm and stress had brought the tendencies of that period to a rapid solution. The "century of poetry" passd directly into the "century of

prose." The literary ideals of the fifth century B.C. expressed themselves through the great tragedians, of the fourth through Plato and Demosthenes. The exuberant naïveté of the olden time was checked. The understanding gained upon the imagination. Life and thought seemed to be sobered. Greece had come to its years of discretion. Men were settling down to plain dealing with the plain facts of life.

The political atmosphere was cleared. We hear no more of the old conflict between the aristocrats and the democrats. Popular sovereignty was established as an unquestioned principle. The orderly mechanism of the civil government and of the courts had asserted itself, and the romantic days of mob-rule and violence were over. War, too, had lost its romance. Military service, except in garrison duty and home defence, passed gradually into the hands of the professional soldiery, the mercenaries. After the year 424 B.C., no native Athenian army, unsupported by mercenaries or troops of other states, ever ventured into the field. The arts and practices of peaceful life occupied more and more the attention of the cities. Athens was developing into a busy manufacturing town. Trade and intercourse by land as well as sea increased.

In continental Greece, Corinth and Athens were the great centres of internationalism. Not only did merchants, diplomats, and travellers frequently visit them, but immigrants from the other states and even from non-Greek lands seeking a livelihood and attracted by the allurements of urban life, came thither

in great numbers to make their home. In Athens the retail trade passed largely into the hands of these aliens, who by the end of the fourth century B.C. constituted nearly one third of the free population. The intermixture of population and the predominance of material interests availed seriously to modify the ambition of the Athenian state, and what took place at Athens was coming also to pass, even if more slowly, throughout all the Greek communities. The tendency of public interest in the various communities was to make things snug and comfortable about them at home, and as the fourth century B.C. progressed it became apparent that sober-minded people were wearying of the old imperial question, at least as stated in its old form. So often and at such sacrifices had it been brought near to a solution, and so often had men been disappointed, that now the conviction of its utter hopelessness began almost unconsciously to shape itself in the public mind, and the efforts of statesmanship came more and more to concern themselves with adjustments of the balance of power upon the basis of the *status quo*.

At Athens the radical democracy, composed of the lower orders of the citizen population, continued to represent the strongest adherence to the old policy of acquiring or asserting Athenian leadership in Greek affairs by force of arms. War against Sparta, as the old-time enemy of democratic government, was always popular with them, and war in general was more likely to meet with their approval, seeing that, as a rule, they had nothing to pay and little to lose. Another reason for this state of things is also

to be found in the selfish interest of the popular leaders, whose political purposes were often best advanced under cover of the excitement of a war. Certain it is that the various wars of the earlier part of the fourth century B.C. owed their chief political support to this party of the extreme Left, and that when their fruitlessness or ill-success finally made them unpopular, they always received their quietus under a conservative reaction in politics.

The one important key to a correct understanding of the political situation which preceded the establishment of the Macedonian supremacy, and of the conditions under which a Macedonian and an anti-Macedonian party could divide the political arena during the eventful years between the peace of Philokrates (346 B.C.) and the battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.), is to be found in the essential continuation of the same political dualism of which we are treating. Demosthenes and his associates, Hegesippus, Lycurgus, Hypereides, as leaders of the popular party, in opposition to the party of the Moderates, represented by Eubulus, Phocion, and Æschines, were the direct political heirs of the great democratic leaders of the preceding seventy-five years, of Cleon, Alcibiades, Cephalas, Agyrrhius, and Callistratus. The sequence of political history was unbroken; however much the issues might seem changed in form, they remained in substance the same.

Although, in the absence of anything like party organisation, it is impossible to speak of Athenian parties with the definiteness which attaches to the word *party* in modern political history, still it may

in a general way be said that what came toward the middle of the century to be regarded as the Macedonian party was essentially the old Moderate or Tory party adapted to the particular issues presented by the times. The underlying principle of its political policy and the point of view which condition its attitude toward all public questions embodied an assertion of the ancient particularism in the form of persistent opposition to all warlike schemes of imperial aggrandisement.

It may reasonably be called "the peace party," because at all crises when public opinion was divided it was found to favour peace,—not peace, however, for its own sake so much as that a policy of war in the interest of foreign influence or imperial power conflicted with the very fundamental idea of the state and of its mission and possibilities which the citizens of this adherence, the more cautious and conservative elements of the population, entertained. It was in this sense that during the whole period from "Liberal" Pericles and "Tory" Nicias to "Liberal" Demosthenes and "Tory" Eubulus the *peace* party was essentially a *conservative* party.

Historical accounts of this period, which, following the naïve style of the chroniclers in classifying all kings as "good" kings or "bad" kings, boldly represent to us Æschines and Eubulus as traitors to their fatherland and Demosthenes as the ideal patriot, make indeed easy work of the matter, and adapt it finely for mnemonic purposes, but commit the twofold historical sin of interpreting ancient conditions in the light of modern ideas, and of at-

tributing to the partisan utterances of a single faction during a bitter partisan contest the serious value of historical documents.

It will assist us in appreciating the conservative point of view of this period with regard to the mission and functions of the state, if we take some account among other things of a remarkable monograph on the finances of the Athenian state written about this time * by a representative of the "Tory" party, apparently by the historian Xenophon. It is a little tract that can be printed upon fifteen duodecimo pages. Its propositions are naïvely crude, as belongs to its place in the very infancy of systematic national finance. We have no reason to believe that any of its specific suggestions were carried into effect, but it is with a theory of the state, which they plainly *presuppose*, that we are concerned.

The work issues from the discouraging times of the secession of the allies, Byzantium, Rhodes, Cos, and Chios (357–355 B.C.), and opens substantially with this question: Is the imperial system of collecting tribute from our allies, which has earned us so much odium, really the only resource for the maintenance of our citizens? Cannot a scheme be devised by which they shall "acquire their living from their own state?" The author begins his discussion of the question with a review of the unique advantages connected with the geographical position of Attica: its climate, its variety of agricultural pro-

* Xenophon, *On the Revenues* (*De Vectigalibus*), written about 356–355 B.C. *Cf.* Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, p. ^{2}698 (^{3}778), Anm. d.

duct, the fish supplies off its coast, its stores of marble and mineral, its immunity from invasions, its convenience to trade.

"Not without reason," he says, "might one conjecture that the city is placed at the very centre of Greece, indeed of the habitable world, for the farther one goes from it, the severer the cold or the heat one finds, and all who essay to travel from one extreme of Greece to the other, must needs whether in ship or on land pass by Athens as the centre of a circle."

Its harbours, as well as if it were an island, can be entered or quitted with every wind, and its position on the mainland renders it also accessible to overland trade.

If now, our author argues, shrewd advantage were taken of these natural endowments, the state might be made the means of earning a support for all its citizens. In the first place, it could do much by encouraging foreigners (*metics*) to settle in the city, "for these people, while supporting themselves and bringing to the city much advantage, exact no hire, but on the contrary yield an income through the tax they pay" (referring to the special tax levied upon resident aliens). But he carries his state-socialism farther, and proceeds to develop a scheme for utilising the state as a species of investment company, and especially recommends the investment in slaves to work the mines, in merchant vessels, in storehouses and exchanges for importers and exporters, in shops and booths for retailers, and in inns for the entertainment of travellers. He is not as definite

as we might wish regarding the financial details of his plan, but from the three illustrations of its workings he offers us, we infer that, while the investments, like the ancient special levies (*leitourgiai*) and modern doctor's bills, were to vary according to individual fortunes, yet the profits were to be the same to all.

These latter were, however, planned for so generously, that even the larger investors were likely to be perfectly satisfied. We give his own words:

"Nothing would bring them so good returns as the money advanced to this fund. For whoever contributes ten minas,* receives, reckoning three obols a day, nearly one-fifth profit (3 obols × 360 = 1080 obols = 1⅛ minas); whoever contributes five minas, more than one-third (*i. e.*, on 5 minas invested 1⅛ minas income). But the majority of the citizens will receive in a year more than they contribute, for those who advance one mina will have nearly two minas income; and that, too, with the state, which is of all human things the most secure and abiding."

In each of these illustrations it will be seen that a normal daily income of three obols (eight cents) is provided for, whatever the investment. This normal sum is doubtless chosen in reference to the customary three-obol fee for attendance at the courts and the town-meeting. This brings Xenophon's

* It is of little help to be informed that the comparative intrinsic value of ten minas is about $162 (or £33 6*s.* 8*d.*). Some suggestion of the multiple to be employed in estimating its real equivalence may be obtained from the fact that the wages of skilled labour at this time seldom exceeded 25 cents (=1*s.*) a day, and it was possible for a person to subsist on 6–8 cents (= 3–4*d.*) a day.

scheme into an evident relation with the current policy of the conservative party as represented at that time by Eubulus. It is further to be noticed that the sum of three obols constituted a reasonable allowance for the cost of subsistence of an individual. Two obols was the common food allowance for soldiers and sailors.

For the complete success of this scheme, finally, Xenophon urges that the state must be assured of continuous peace, and to this end proposes something very like a board of arbitration. All the experience of the past and all the probabilities for the future point to the conclusion that a condition of peace is more favourable to the growth and prosperity of Athens than war. After showing how everybody would be better off, and everybody hold a higher estimate of the real greatness of Athens, he turns to those "who, in their desire to regain for the city the leadership of Greece, believe this would be accomplished better through war than through peace," and shows them by reference to the history of their past how it had always been through the achievements and the methods of peace that Athens had won her largest influence in Hellenic affairs. Her empire in the islands founded in peace and by the methods of peace had been lost through a policy of war and through methods of warlike constraint. Surely the facts of history offer no gainsay to this opinion of Xenophon, that the "finger of Providence" indicated the mission of Athens to lie along the paths of peace rather than on the field of war. Popular history would fain make military

heroes of the Athenians, but the odds are all against it.

In the years immediately following the publication of Xenophon's pamphlet, Eubulus was destined to give a practical exemplification of the benefits accruing to Athens from a policy of non-intervention, that is, from a policy which restricted war to purposes of defence and directed supreme attention to material interests at home. Eubulus's political leadership was exercised peculiarly in the field of finance, and not, as was usual, through the office of general, but through the newly created office of treasurer of the distribution fund. A man of unimpeachable integrity and of untiring energy, and a financial genius of creative ability, he enjoyed the confidence of citizens like Phocion who constituted the soldier elements of society. On assuming office shortly after the close of the disastrous Social War (357–355 B.C.) he found the treasury utterly depleted. He left it after fifteen years in a condition that made possible the final effort against Philip as well as the brilliant administration of the succeeding treasurer, Lycurgus. The fleet had been doubled, public buildings repaired, roads built, aqueducts laid, naval storehouses and shelters for the ships erected, and various public works begun. It is of these, rather for the policy they represent, that Demosthenes speaks in his *Third Olynthiac* (349 B.C.) with such partisan disgust:

"Come, now, let some one arise and tell me by whose help than our own Philip has grown strong. 'Oh yes, I

admit [answers the supposed opponent], but yet the condition of things in the town is improved.' Well, now, what would one have to cite? The parapets we 've whitewashed and the roads we 've patched and fountains and—fooleries?"

It is not in absolute defence of the policy of Eubulus that we introduce this discussion here, but rather to show that the "peace policy" was not, as it is often and even usually represented, either a special and temporary outgrowth of the times or an end unto itself, but was part of a perfectly self-consistent and permanent policy grounding itself in a consistent and intelligible conception of the state and its mission. Isocrates, in a political essay entitled *On the Peace*, which appeared probably in the same year (356 or 355 B.C.) with Xenophon's *On the Revenues*, not only recommends the discontinuance of the war against the seceding allies, but bases his policy of non-coercion upon general rather than temporary considerations. He shows how the greed for imperial power has been the source of manifold evils not only for Athens but for Sparta as well. The debasement of the democracy at Athens is a direct result of the perversion of the state from its original purpose to one for which its institutions were unfitted.

"I believe," he says, "that we shall govern our city better and shall be better ourselves and make better advance in all our endeavours, if we give up our ambition for a maritime empire. For it is that which has brought us into our present unrest and has undermined that form

of popular government under which our forefathers were the happiest of the Greeks." *

No wonder that the uncompromising directness of this proposal called forth from one of the radical party a rejoinder, which, however, we only know from its title, *Isocrates Driving Athenians from the Sea.*

That the desire for peace and opposition to aggressive military operations had constituted for a century before this the normal attitude of the conservatives is known to every reader of the history of the fifth century B.C. What was present as a settled doctrine in the essays of Xenophon and Isocrates was a no less settled instinct in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. The cultivation of peaceful relations with Sparta was always a plank of the Tory platform, for this meant opposition to the aggressive foreign policy of the Jingoist Liberals. The opposition of Nicias to Cleon in the last third of the century reflected in this regard that of Aristides to Themistocles in the first.

It remains for us now to consider briefly the historical connections of what might be called the "socialistic" traits of Eubulus's policy. While it is evident that the tendency to look to the state for material benefits, especially in the form of largesses, had shown itself in a more marked and more dangerous form under the administration of Eubulus, it is equally certain that the practice of distributing money to the people on fête-days had its origin in

* Isocrates, *On the Peace*, ch. xxi.

the preceding century, under one of the popular leaders, Cleophon * or Pericles, † and had become a regular usage sanctioned by leaders of both parties. Payment for service on juries and in the council dates from Pericles, and for attendance on the town-meeting from about 393 B.C., but the idea underlying it is much older.

The history of the idea that Athenians might employ their citizenship as a means or opportunity for a livelihood has received a most important contribution in the recently discovered *Politeia* of Aristotle. To Aristeides "the Just" is attributed the origination of a plan (477 B.C.) whereby the citizens might live from the state through remuneration for public service. ‡

"And for the masses they [the Athenians] provided, in accordance with Aristeide's proposition, an ample means of subsistence. It resulted in there being more than twenty thousand supported from the tribute, the taxes, and the various contributions of the allies. There were the six thousand jurors, sixteen hundred bowmen, and the twelve hundred horsemen, then the council of the five hundred, the five hundred guards at the dock-yards and the fifty guards on the acropolis, further some seven hundred officials within the country and as many more without; besides this, when later they became involved in war, two thousand five hundred hoplites, ten cruisers, and ten other ships employed to convey the two thousand soldiers drawn for garrison duty, and finally

* Aristotle, *Politeia*, ch. xxviii.

† Plutarch, *Pericles*, ch. ix.

‡ Aristotle, *Politeia*, ch. xxiv.

the pensioners at the Prytaneum, the orphans, and the prison-keepers. All these were dependent on the commonwealth. So it was that the populace came to subsist from the state."

It is worthy of notice in this connection that according both to Herodotus* and Aristotle† the Athenians after the discovery of the silver mines in Laurion (483 B.C.) were about to divide among the citizens the accumulated earnings which sufficed for a dividend of ten drachmas per man, when Themistocles interposed and managed by clever politics to divert the money to the building of a fleet. The combination of these fragmentary reports not only throws new light upon the political differences between Themistocles and Aristeides, but offers us in some sense a rude counterpart or dim foreshadowing of the issue joined a hundred and thirty years later between Demosthenes and Eubulus.

Propositions such as that of Xenophon, that the state should invest largely in slaves, involved nothing revolutionary in theory. They arose naturally out of the ancient idea of the state as a community, and representing as they did an application of that idea to the special conditions of life in the fourth century B.C., constituted an essentially conservative position. Athens was not the only state where such plans were devised. Aristotle, in his *Politics*,‡ tells us that at Epidamnus all public service was performed

* Herodotus, vii., 144.

† Aristotle, *Politeia*, ch. xxii.

‡ Aristotle, *Politics*, ii., ch. vii.. sec. 13 (1267 *b*).

by state slaves, and that Diophantes, whom we know to have been a contemporary and partisan of Eubulus, proposed the same plan for Athens. Phaleas of Chalcedon, who demanded for all citizens likeness of property and uniformity of education, went further and proposed that all the labour necessary for private or public life should be performed by public slaves. The Helots of Sparta, whose labour enabled the members of the citizen class to devote themselves exclusively to the service and defence of the state, were the property of the state. Similar was in Crete the position of the Mnoitai, or public serfs, who tilled the commons of the various communities. At Athens shortly after the battle of Salamis, a police force consisting of three hundred public slaves was organised, and later this number was increased to twelve hundred. Slaves were also largely employed in the public offices as clerks and accountants, and the executioners, torturers, and labourers in the mint appear to have been of this class. At Sparta the communistic idea was embodied in the most strikingly peculiar form, a prominent feature of which was the daily common meal in which all citizens were compelled to participate. The primitive sacrificial feast of the community, of which this was a development, survived at Athens in the form of the daily meal of state officials at the Prytaneum.

In another important regard the position of the conservatives conformed to the older conception of the state. The old Greek communities were by very nature, as we have seen in an earlier chapter,

essentially particularistic. Neither in theory nor in fact were they suited to exercise imperial domination the one over the other, though the leadership of one was possible. The natural conditions were accurately represented in the relation of merely filial attachment through a moral and not a legal tie which the earlier colonies held to the parent-state. It was the final defeat of Athens's attempts to found her island empire on principles entirely at variance with this old-time idea, that encouraged conservatives like Isocrates * to advocate an empire founded not on force, but on respect and good will.

If the analysis of the political situation which we have here in outline attempted be in general correct, it is apparent that the conservative elements became in the vexed times of 350 to 340 B.C. a "Macedonian party," not through any wilful and satanic desire to "betray their fatherland," but simply through a consistent and natural application of their political principles, such as they were, to the existing political situation.

* *Cf.* Isocrates, *On the Peace*, ch. ix.

CHAPTER VIII.

LAST DAYS OF THE OLD GREEK POLITICAL SYSTEM.

404–355 B.C.

BY the middle of the fourth century B.C. it became apparent that the hope of creating a great Hellenic state out of a series of petty tribal republics was utterly vain, and it was equally certain that the old system of autonomous city-states had been hopelessly outgrown in the rapidly extending cosmopolitanism of the age. The city-state no longer represented the facts. When these states refused either to combine or to submit to the leadership of one, the natural historical solution was found in the supremacy of a state hitherto regarded as outside the Greek circle, but in which the preservation of the ancient institution of the kingship offered the means of a strong and continuous personal leadership to meet the evident lack and the convenient opportunity of the times. The advent of Philip signified the restoration to the Greek political systems of that ancient institution of the kingship,

which Rome had for emergencies preserved in the form of the dictatorship, but which the Greek republics had lost.

Let us briefly summarise the course of events which mark the last days of the old Greek system. The close of the Peloponnesian war (404 B.C.) ended the political dualism of Sparta *vs.* Athens. For a decade after, it seemed as if the supremacy of Sparta was impregnably established, but the narrowness of her policy created a reaction, and an uprising of the other states ensued (394 B.C.). During the war that followed (394–387 B.C.) Persian influence was against Sparta as the stronger, but the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.) which established the autonomy of the states on the basis of the *status quo*, was brought about through the transfer of that influence to the side of Sparta. In fact until the appearance of Philip the pitiful debility of the individual states allowed Persia to maintain consistently the balance of *weakness* among them. In 378 B.C. Thebes and Athens unite in war against Sparta (378–371 B.C.). Athens renews her empire in the islands. Thebes takes rank as a first-class power.

Three states are now matched for the leadership. By the victory of Thebes at Leuctra (371 B.C.) and the consequent development of the Arcadian cities, Sparta is permanently stricken from the list of Hellenic powers and reduced to the grade of a Peloponnesian state. Thebes rises to a brief preëminence that ends with Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas (362 B.C.). Philip ascends the throne in 359 B.C. Two years later (357 B.C.) the chief allies of

Athens revolt, and while her attention is occupied in the war that follows (357–355 B.C.), Philip opens his domain to the sea by seizing the harbour towns Pydna (357 B.C.) and Potidæa (356 B.C.). From 357 to 346 B.C. Athens is engaged in a desultory war with Philip, nominally for the possession of Amphipolis, but really in a broader sense for the maintenance of Athenian influence in the coast-towns of the north.

With the end of the Social War (355 B.C.) the political situation is as follows: Philip in the four years he had been upon the throne had firmly established his government at home by suppressing internal factions, had secured his frontiers to the north and north-west by conquering the Pæonians and Illyrians, and had made himself a factor in Hellenic politics by acquiring a seacoast and asserting his influence among the Greek settlements on the Chalcidian and Thracian coast of the Northern Ægean. Though but twenty-seven years of age his fame as an ambitious, intelligent, forceful political organiser and leader of men was spread far and wide throughout the Grecian world.

Thebes occupied a certain preëminence among the lesser communities of Central Greece, the Bœotians, Phocians, Locrians, and Malians, but since the death of Epaminondas (362 B.C.) lacked able leadership, and was generally distrusted and detested by the other Greeks.

Sparta, environed in the Peloponnesus by rivals old and new,—Argos, Megalopolis, Messene,—could scarcely maintain herself at home, and in national

affairs was no longer a name to be conjured with. Athens had just lost her allies, and, as we have seen, was in no mood for an aggressive foreign policy. The assassination of Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ (359 B.C.), had removed the only form of central power in Thessaly, and plunged the country in intestine strifes, which made it six years later an easy prey to Philip. In nothing is the weakness of the older centres of power, Sparta, Athens, Thebes, more clearly shown than in the emergence upon the field of history of the lesser states—Phocis, Locris, Elis, Messenia, Arcadia, Argos, Corinth. Greece was utterly disorganised. It had resolved itself again into its "prime factors." Never had the question of nationality seemed so far from a solution.

To add to the general disaster there began in 355 B.C. the "Sacred War" between Thebes, leading the lesser states of the Amphictyonic league, on the one side, and Phocis, with the moral support of Sparta and Athens, on the other. Its chief historical importance, however, lies in the fact that by a chance combination of events it involved Philip directly in the affairs of central Greece. One of the hostile factions in Thessaly had called in his aid. The opposite faction obtained the support of the Phocians, thus extending the Sacred War to the soil of Thessaly and making Philip one of the parties involved, and, what is more, enabling him to pose as the defender of the national sanctuary at Delphi, which the Phocians were regarded as having despoiled. After bringing Thessaly entirely under his power and after having made a vain attempt to

enter Greece by Thermopylæ (352 B.C.) he withdrew, but, as Curtius expresses it, "He had thrown the bridge across into Hellas, and calmly awaited till the hour should come for crossing it."

The war against Philip was continued by Athens in a half-hearted way until, after the fall of Olynthus (347 B.C.), it gradually became clear to men of all parties not only that the war was now purposeless and hopeless, but that in the entire political isolation of Athens an understanding with Philip was the better part of valour. Demosthenes, who at the time had a seat in the council, at first joined heartily with the conservatives in the movement for peace, and was indeed leader * of the envoys sent to confer with Philip. The events which followed directly upon the enactment of the peace (346 B.C.), especially Philip's summary dealings with the Phocians and his assumption of a commanding influence in Greek affairs given him by his newly acquired position in the Amphictyonic league, wrought a rapid change of opinion at Athens. Despite all Philip's attempts to show his friendliness to Athens, a friendliness which he afterwards on at least two occasions amply proved by sparing the city when it lay at his mercy, the anti-Macedonian sentiment rapidly revived, under what seemed the immediate presence of an appalling danger.

Demosthenes was the head and front of the movement. He was a man of intensity, seriousness, and eminent singleness of purpose,—one of those

* Æschines, *Oration on Embassy*, sec. 108; *cf.* Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, ii., 241.

men who see no hope for the world except it be organised upon their own favourite plan. By birth and association he belonged naturally to the party of "the respectables," but the bitter experiences of his early days, especially the litigation with his guardians, had not only given a tone of sombre seriousness to his whole character, but had served, it seems, to alienate him from the political circles to which his guardians had belonged and to press him into the ranks of the radicals. That he was a patriot no one can doubt. That his patriotism was often mistaken in detail, if not entirely in outline, is equally beyond doubt. The one objective point of his policy was to crush Philip. To this he was willing to sacrifice everything. He was unable to see that the purposes for which Athens existed as a state might be accomplished through an alliance with Philip. In his thought the primacy of Macedon and the extinction of liberty were absolutely inseparable. Although in his oration *On the Peace* (346 B.C.) he opposed, in view of the existing isolation of Athens, the immediate resumption of hostilities, he never lost sight of a conflict he believed must inevitably come.

The turn of events had made the Tory-peace party at Athens essentially a Macedonian party. The policy of its leaders was to maintain an alliance with Philip which, while recognising his leadership of Greece as against Persia, should respect the autonomy of the city.

It is interesting to note that this question of the primacy or hegemony always associates itself with

the relations to Persia. It was so with Sparta's position in the Persian wars, and with Athens's in the Delian confederacy. It was so at the end of the Peloponnesian war, during the Corinthian war, and in the peace of Antalcidas. On the other hand, the subservience of Thebes to Persia prevented the other states from conceding to it the hegemony, even when from 371 to 362 B.C. its military power was predominant.

Fear of the Persian and antipathy to orientalism constituted in the experience of four generations the one potent issue upon which the Greek states could be brought to united action. The opportunity of Philip in antiquity is repeated in the opportunity of Russia to-day. Her rapidly developing hegemony among the lesser nationalities of Southeastern Europe is based upon their feeling that she is the natural protector and leader of occidentalism and Byzantine Christianity against Mohammedanism and the Turk.

The general outlines of the peace policy of this time are well reflected in Isocrates's address to Philip (346 B.C.), from the closing paragraph of which the following sentences are quoted:

"So then it remains for me to summarise what I have said, so that you [Philip] may have before you in briefest possible form the substance of my proposition. I claim it is, namely, your mission to be both benefactor of the Greeks, and King of the Macedonians, and ruler of the barbarians far and wide. For in doing this you will win the gratitude of all,—of the Greeks for the benefits received; of the Macedonians, that you rule them as a king

and not a tyrant; of other men, that you have freed them from barbarian oppression and brought them under Grecian watch-care."

Philip himself was not inclined to war. The ends he had in view were best attained through peace. The leadership of Greece which he desired was not a thing to be extorted by force, but must come to him by voluntary concession of the states. That was the spirit of the old Greek hegemonies, and it was clearly hegemony and not subjugation that Philip had in mind. Such a hegemony Philip in the year 343 B.C. virtually held already with respect to more than half Greece. Thebes, Locris, and the lesser Amphictyonic states, Thessaly, a portion of the Eubœan towns, Ætolia, and, in the Peloponnesus, Argos, Megalopolis, and Messene, all looked to him for protection and political guidance.

It would not have been difficult for him at any time by appealing to religious prejudices to have united all the powers north of the Isthmus in a war against Athens. The part the city had taken in the Phocian war in support of what had now come to be regarded as temple-robbery could easily have served as a pretext. Furthermore, there was nothing now to relieve the utter political isolation of Athens except a certain understanding with Sparta, which in the present position of that state was practically valueless. Philip preferred, however, diplomacy to war. His communications with Athens are couched in conciliatory terms, every possible concession is made to the city's demands, and the nervous activ-

ity of the anti-Macedonian leaders in stirring up everywhere oppositions against him, is treated with a crafty patience in hope of avoiding conflict until a reaction of sentiment in his favour might set in.

Demosthenes developed during this period a most brilliant energy in the rôle of agitator. Wherever Macedonian sentiment seemed to be making progress, there he was present with warnings. Whenever the public mind seemed to be coming to rest and resigning itself to the Macedonian drift of things, he was ready with some new device for arousing the spirit of local patriotism. He caused public suits to be brought against prominent members of the Macedonian party. He made journeys into the Peloponnesus, Thessaly, Thrace, and even Illyria, addressing the people and conferring with political leaders. The cities of Eubœa were united in an anti-Macedonian league. An alliance was reëstablished with Byzantium, Rhodes, and Chios. Colonists were settled at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and their interference with Philip's rights recklessly defended against all his protests (341 B.C.). These complications, followed by Philip's movement against Byzantium (340 B.C.), finally created a condition of open war. It is the war that ended two years later with the battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.), and is Demosthenes's own undisputed handiwork.

Demosthenes's policy now turned itself toward effecting an alliance with Thebes. Thebes had been displaced by Philip in the leadership of the central states, and herein lay a basis of appeal, but in pursuance of this policy Demosthenes was led into a

ÆSCHINES

FROM THE MARBLE STATUE IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM

political error of the most far-reaching consequences. During the Amphictyonic session at Delphi in the spring of 339 B.C., an attempt of the city Amphissa, ally and friend of Thebes, to instigate a sacred war against Athens had been cleverly foiled by Æschines, one of the Athenian delegates, who, contriving to trump up a countercharge, caused a war to be declared against Amphissa itself. The opportunity thus offered Athens of assuming a leadership among the central states by putting itself at the head of this war was, however, disregarded, through fear of alienating Thebes. After the war had dragged on during the summer without result, Philip was called to lead it, and in the fall of 339 B.C. appeared in Central Greece at the head of an army. In later years Demosthenes sought to interpret the action of Æschines at Delphi as a deliberate and finely calculated attempt to open a way for Philip into Greece, but such a view of the case finds no warrant either in the known facts or the general probabilities.

The presence of Philip lent such weight at Thebes to Demosthenes's earnest appeals for joint action, that an alliance was finally effected, and vigorous preparations for war immediately commenced. Still Philip sought peace, and there were many of the wiser sort in both cities who were disposed to listen to him. At Athens, Phocion in particular earnestly * warned his countrymen against risking the chances of war; but the masses were now enthusiastic for war, and confidence in the strength of the new alliance dispelled all solicitude. The appeal to arms

* Plutarch, *Phocion*, chap. xvi.

was inevitable, and at Chæronea, in August, 338 B.C., the issue of a single day made Philip not only leader, as he had sought, but master of Greece. With his death two years later (August, 336 B.C.), at Ægæ, this leadership, coupled with responsibility for all the problems it involved, passed into the hands of his son Alexander.

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDER IN THRACE AND ILLYRIA.

336–335 B.C.

WHEN Philip fell at the theatre gates in Ægæ it seemed likely that his empire had fallen with him. It had been a creation of his personality, and that personality seemed essential to its continuance. In the opinion of the best political judges of the time, Macedonia's control south of the Cambunian range, the northern limit of Thessaly, was at an end. If Alexander had accepted the advice of his friends, indeed, he would have relinquished all thought of asserting himself in Greece proper, and have restricted his attention entirely to maintaining and securing his position at home. Here there were difficulties enough for a youth of twenty years to face. The Illyrian, Pæonian, and Thracian tribes, which bordered on three sides of the Macedonian territory, were ready to take quick advantage of any weakness, and throw off the yoke, or, as the case might be, overleap the restraint of Macedonian authority.

Even his claim to the succession did not remain unchallenged. Only a few days before Philip's death a son had been born to the King by Cleopatra. The marriage with Cleopatra had been not only a vigorous affair of the heart with Philip, but bore a decided political significance. Attalus, her uncle, was a leading personality in army and nation, and embodied in his connections and influence the old-fashioned Macedonian ideas and spirit. He was now, in conjunction with Parmenion, in command of an army in Asia Minor, and was sure, at the first news of Philip's death, to use his strength in supporting the claims of his niece's child. Also, a very considerable number of influential Macedonians favoured the claims of Amyntas, son of Philip's elder brother Perdiccas; while others would have preferred the Lyncestian line, which early in the century, in the person of Æropus, had held the throne. The popular prejudice against the foreign ideas, the new notions of life, manners, education, and, above all, the new ambitions and far-reaching imperial schemes which had been identified with the reign of Philip could be easily appealed to in the interest of preventing Alexander's accession. The voice of the chauvinists who demanded a Macedonian for Macedonians had already been heard, at the wedding-feast of Cleopatra, protesting against the succession of Alexander, the foreign woman's son.

Alexander gave opposition no time to formulate. He acted with decision and rapidity. The two Lyncestian princes who were suspected of being

accomplices of Pausanias were immediately put to death. Their only surviving brother promptly recognised Alexander as king, and was spared. Hecatæus, one of the young King's most intimate and trusted friends, was despatched with a body of troops into Asia Minor, with definite orders to seize Attalus alive, if he could; if not, to put him quietly out of the way. It was a dubious mission. Attalus had made himself singularly popular with the army. Parmenion, his associate in command, was his father-in-law, and he might naturally count upon him. The Athenians, quick to use their opportunity, had sent messengers to encourage him against recognising Alexander. A letter from Demosthenes himself gave the plot official status. The conspiracy took shape in support of the claims of Amyntas, Perdiccas's son. He was a likelier pretender than Cleopatra's infant son, and, like a Spanish Don Carlos, could raise a fair claim to legitimacy. But when Parmenion proved true to Alexander, and the tide set strong toward his recognition, Attalus showed the faint heart, and hastened to set himself right by sending Demosthenes's letter to Alexander, and protesting his loyalty. Too late. Hecatæus was gone on his mission, and no one moved to recall him. Before winter came Attalus had disappeared, and no record tells how. Amyntas and all the male relatives of Attalus and Cleopatra shared in Macedonia a like fate.

Antipater, the leading general at home, proved loyal to Alexander, and his aid in assuring the loyalty of the army was undoubtedly of importance;

and yet it must be remembered that Alexander had by his own activity already made himself favourably known to the army. There seems, at any rate, to have been no evidence of disloyalty among the regular troops concentrated about Pella, the capital.

But Alexander was in pursuit of bigger game than mere security at home. It was this, indeed, which determined the confidence of his action and assured his easy success. The affairs at home were treated as petty things, to be settled at a stroke and without the slightest doubt or hesitation, in order that he might be free to move out into the greater world where his real work lay.

Alexander declined to be a creature of small things. Within a fortnight after his father's death he had made it evident that he was to be either "the Great" or nothing. He declined to recognise defeat or failure. He took it for granted that he was to succeed. What men called failure he named, and made to be the prelude to, success. Men came to believe in his star. It soon became evident that he was either to be a brilliantly successful man, or a failure so colossal as to establish a classical standard.

Without waiting to reorganise his government at home or to reassure himself of the allegiance of the barbarous tribes that skirted his western and northern frontiers, and even before he had heard the result of Hecatæus's mission against Attalus, he set forth with startling suddenness into Greece itself. Here was the field where all was to be won or lost. The moment the news of Philip's death had reached the cities of Greece they had assumed themselves free

from all obligations to Macedonian authority. The Ambraciotes had expelled their Macedonian garrison. The Ætolians voted to admit into their land the Achæanian malcontents whom Philip had banished. The Argives, the Eleans, the Spartans, made official assertion of their independence. Thebes, despite its garrison, muttered insurrection, but nowhere was the news received with more unconcealed evidences of joy than at Athens.

A private messenger sent by Charidemus, who was at the time reconnoitring off the coast of Macedonia, first brought the tidings to Demosthenes. Though the orator was then in mourning for his daughter, who had died a week before, he put on a white festal robe and a crown of flowers, appeared before the assembled council, and in most dramatic fashion made announcement of the news as something communicated to him by Athena and Hero in a dream. Alexander he ventured in his ill-judged speech of congratulation to characterise as a cad, a genuine stuffed hero Margites, who for fear of his skin was not like to trust himself outside the precincts of Pella. The orator carried the council and the town-meeting with him, and on his motion the murderer Pausanias was proclaimed a public benefactor, and offerings of thanksgiving to the gods were decreed.

Demosthenes was certainly a master of sentimental politics. But in all this he reckoned without his host, as Greeks of this latter day have been known to do. The Macedonian army, twenty-five thousand strong, was already on the march. Unheralded by

bulletin or courier, unannounced and unnoticed, this black storm-cloud of war gathered at the north and swept down like the whirlwind. It was no locust horde of Scyths or Goths; it was the terrible machine of war that Philip had built, a superbly disciplined army massed in companies and battalions, moving in rank and file. War was no longer free-and-easy sport; Philip had made it a practical thing of machinery. There were no baggage-trains, ammunition-waggons, sutlers, or commissaries. Each man carried in a simple basket haversack his own frugal store of provisions—bread, olives, onions, and salt fish or meat. The heavy-armed horsemen alone were allowed a single attendant or groom. The stout yeomen of the phalanx, who made the mass of the army, trudged sturdily on, each bearing the small round shield and towering eighteen-foot pike, girt with the short sword, and wearing cap, cuirass, and greaves. And so they moved fast. The first day they passed through the plain and on by the shore of the sea, by Methone and Pydna. Philip had trained them to march thirty and thirty-five miles in a day. The second day they passed under the shadow of Mount Olympus and came to the mouth of the River Peneus, where the road turns west to enter Thessaly by the vale of Tempe. But still they kept to the seashore to avoid risk of giving the alarm, and, fording the river, pushed around the foot of Mount Ossa until they could force their way by a path of their own making over its southern slopes, down into the plain of Thessaly. Scarcely had the echoes of the thanksgiving festival died

away at Athens when they stood at the gates of Larissa.

In the face of a fact like this army the Thessalians experienced no difficulty in realising themselves faithful adherents of Philip's son. All Thessaly, a fifth of Greece, was his without a struggle, and with it came its famous cavalry, the most important contingent Greece ever furnished to his army.

Then he advanced quickly to Thermopylæ, seventy miles to the south, and possessed himself of this main gateway into central Greece. He found, we must suppose, the Amphictyonic Council assembled there for its September session. We know, in any case, that he received prompt renewal of the recognition it had previously given the Macedonian claims to leadership in Greek affairs. The council represented merely an association of twelve tribes or nations, most of them the lesser peoples of northern Hellas, organised in early times to conduct and protect the temple service and the temple fairs, first at Thermopylæ, then at Delphi; but it had the sanctions of long tradition and religion, and was almost the only organised form of union among the Greek states, and so its indorsement carried weight. In northern Greece the game was won.

Before central Greece was really aware of Alexander's approach, he had entered Bœotia and was encamped before Thebes, on the road joining it to Athens, forty miles distant. In the metropolis panic took the place of cheap confidence. The country population left the fields of Attica and swarmed within the walls. Hurried preparations

were made for defence. The town-meeting hastened to reverse its attitude, and promptly decreed an embassy to Alexander to apologise for their former action and sue for mercy.

The King was found in gracious mood. After chiding them for their impulsive disloyalty, he gave them assurances of peace and of a continuance of their local autonomy, and summoned them to meet him later in the National Council at Corinth. The same spirit characterised his treatment of the other cities. The King proved himself great in generosity of spirit before ever he showed himself great at arms, and on the return of their ambassadors the Athenians voted him a benefactor of the city, and awarded him two golden crowns of honour.

All semblance of opposition to the new authority had disappeared like dew before the rising sun. At Corinth, representatives of all the states speedily assembled and hastened to renew the league which they had made with Philip, and to proclaim Alexander the military leader of the Hellenic Empire. Sparta alone stood out in sulky stubbornness. To the summons for the council she sent the characteristic reply: "It is not our usage to follow others, but ourselves to lead them." Sparta was, however, now only a provincial village. She no longer counted in the affairs of Greece. Alexander could afford to smile and leave her in her sulks.

The right to lead Greece against the Orient, which had been to his father, we may surmise, little more than a politician's device for consolidating empire, had become to him a real and all-absorbing aim.

Toward that aim as a goal he proceeded with the fervid energy of a half-fanatic. His father had been rather a man of practical affairs, but Alexander was a man of ideas, and to him ideals assumed the form of realities. He was young, and the full flush of strength, the consciousness of power, and the love of action and creation, urged him nervously and relentlessly toward the fulfillment of his dream. Prudent men may well have shaken their heads in distrust, as they nowadays do in Germany at the restless energy and rash idealism of their young Kaiser. But it was of no avail. A century of intestine struggles had slackened faith in the old doctrines of states' rights and local independence, and the power was now hopelessly concentrated in the hands of one man, who could do what he willed.

This visit to Corinth brought the young autocrat, if gossip is true, one opportunity of learning a helpful lesson. All the men of note, soldiers, politicians, and sages, came to pay their respects to the young King. Only Diogenes, who dwelt in Craneum, a suburb east of Corinth, came not. All the more Alexander wished to see him. So he went where he was, and found him lying and sunning himself in the court of the gymnasium. Standing before him, surrounded by his suite of officers, the King ventured to introduce himself: "I am Alexander the King." "I am Diogenes the cynic," was the reply. Then Alexander, as the conversation made no headway, asked if there were aught that he could do for him. "If you and your men would stand from between me and the sun." And Alexander marvelled, and

on reflection was inclined to admire the man, saying, as the story has it: "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes."

From Corinth Alexander crossed to Delphi. The blessing of the Pythian priestess was all that he lacked for the beginning of his great enterprise. It was already late in November (336 B.C.). The sun-god Apollo had yielded his place in the sanctuary to the god of the slumbering vegetation, Dionysus, who held it for the winter months. The mouth of the oracle was by established tradition closed. But tradition was a slight matter to a man who has power and must. He caught the Pythia by the arm, and essayed to drag her to the tripod seat of augury; and to his compulsion the unwilling priestess answered in words he was glad to accept as the voice of deity and the sufficient blessing upon his mission: "My son, thou art irresistible!"

In the early winter Alexander returned to Macedonia. Here he found, to his shame and disgust, that his mother, Olympias, true to her savage instincts, had utilised his absence to sate her vengeful jealousy upon the helpless Cleopatra. She had caused Cleopatra's babe to be killed in the mother's arms, and had forced the poor woman herself to end her life with the cord. Displeased as the young King was at this act of cool savagery, the ethics and usages of the Macedonian "change of administration" tolerated and encouraged the "clean sweep," and, as occasion offered, he proceeded to make it, as we have already shown.

The Macedonian army in Asia, under command of

Parmenion, now occupied the extreme north-western corner of Asia Minor, bounded by a line stretching in general from Cyzicus to Pergamon. It had no mission of aggression for the present, but could serve to hold in check any possible movement of the Persian forces toward the north. Before venturing upon a campaign against the East, Alexander was bound to secure his northern frontier.

No single central power existed here, but only a mass of more or less warlike tribes with short memories and a consequent need of periodic castigation. Even those who had submitted to Philip required to taste the quality of the new ruler's power before being confidently assured that he was not merely "painted to resemble iron." Besides, there were the Triballi, snugly ensconced between the Balkans and the Danube, in what is now western Bulgaria, who had never been any too docile, and against whom a family grudge was still standing for the mischievous treatment they had once shown Philip, on his return in 339 B.C. from raiding the Scythians; for they had caught him at a disadvantage on his march, robbed him of a good share of the booty he had with him, and left him a wound that hurried him home. The busy years that followed had given Philip no opportunity to take his revenge; so Alexander assumed the responsibility as part of his inheritance.

In April (335 B.C.), therefore, Alexander set forth from Amphipolis, and moving up the valley of the Nestus, a march of 120 miles or so, crossed the pass between Rhodope and Dunax, which separate the

valleys of the Nestus and the Hebrus. He then crossed the valley of the Hebrus in modern eastern Roumelia, leaving Philippopolis, a secure Macedonian stronghold, at his rear; and in ten days from the time he had crossed the Nestus was at the foot of the Balkans, anciently known as the Hæmus range, prepared to force the narrow route between modern eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria, now famous since the Russo-Turkish war as the Shipka Pass.

Here he encountered from the Thracian mountaineers his first resistance, and Arrian's * graphic

* Flavius Arrianus, born in Nicomedia, on the coast of the Sea of Marmora, wrote his *Anabasis of Alexander* in the second century after Christ. If in the following pages his statements are cited more frequently and with more assurance than those of any other ancient biographer of our hero, it is not because he exhibits a finer sense for historical perspective, or displays a more exact appreciation of his hero's character, but chiefly because, in addition to furnishing a fuller account than any one else of Alexander's campaigns, he affords us a definite guaranty that he has carefully and methodically employed what he believed to be the most reliable sources of information. He was not a historian in the best sense of the word, but a plain soldier and a man of affairs, who undertook to rescue the story of Alexander's career from the haze in which rhetoric and marvel had enshrouded it by returning to the prosaic basis of fact contained in the records of Alexander's associates, Ptolemy and Aristobulus. These records are now lost to us, except as they are cited and used by others. When he uses materials from other writers he can, as a rule, be relied upon to indicate it by an "it is said." His rather cut-and-dried rule of critical procedure, coupled with his lack of dramatic power and of sense for historical horizon, leaves to his narrative only the charm which inheres in its own simplicity and truth. The soldier's interest in battle, manœuvre, and topography is apparent in every chapter.

Our other chief sources include Plutarch, Arrian's senior by some fifty years, who, with finer sense for the framework of personality

story of the way in which he overcame it offers a striking testimonial to that practical military gumption which characterised all his career as a general:

"Crossing the river Nestus, they say he reached Mount Hæmus on the tenth day. And there met him there, along the defiles as he ascended the mountain, masses of well-armed traders, as well as bands of free Thracians, who had made preparations to check the further advance of the army by occupying the summit of the Hæmus, where the troops had to pass. They had collected together their waggons and placed them in their front, not only using them as a rampart from which they might defend themselves, if hard pressed, but also intending to let them loose, where the mountain was precipitous, upon the phalanx of the Macedonians in its ascent. . . . But Alexander conceived a plan for crossing the mountain with the minimum of danger, and being resolved to take all risks, knowing there was no other possible route, he commanded the heavy-armed soldiers, whenever the waggons came rolling down the slopes, to open ranks so far as the width of the road permitted, and let the waggons run by; but if they were hemmed on either side, to huddle down in a mass and

and for dramatic interest of anecdote and the human element, and with larger confidence in his ability to sift the truth from many various accounts, composed the famous Life of Alexander; furthermore, Diodorus Siculus, Justinus, Trogus Pompeius, and Curtius Rufus, who represent, in general, a preference for the more romantic and rhetorically embellished accounts which had their chief source in the story of Clitarchus, dating from the early years of the third century B.C. They all contained undoubtedly much sound material of fact under the romantic guise; and especially Curtius Rufus, since it has been demonstrated how faithfully he used in the main his sources, is worthy of a larger credence than has often been accorded him.

lock their shields compactly together, so that the waggons by their very impetus should leap over them and pass on without doing hurt. And it turned out just as Alexander had conjectured and commanded. . . . The waggons rolled on over the shields without doing much injury. Indeed, not a single man was killed under them. Then the Macedonians, regaining their courage, inasmuch as the waggons, which they had greatly dreaded, inflicted no damage upon them, charged with a shout against the enemy."

The rest of the battle developed nothing more remarkable than the fleetness of foot of the Thracians, fifteen hundred of whom, however, fell in spite of it. Sending his booty off south to the seashore, where it would find a market, Alexander pushed on toward the Danube through the country of the Triballi. Not far from the river he met them in a formal battle, which proved how ill adapted were the loose, irregular methods of even these hearty fighters to cope with the order and discipline of a war-machine like the Macedonian phalanx, supported by cavalry.

Coming in sight of the Danube, Alexander conceived the desire of at least crossing it in order to convey if no more than the fame of his arms to the powerful tribes that dwelt to the north. On the north shore, in the territory known to the Romans as Dacia, and now occupied by the kingdom of Roumania, dwelt the Getæ, a powerful folk of Thraco-Phrygian connection, known to the Greeks chiefly through their famous Zamolxis cult, in which the belief in immortality received a peculiar emphasis. Arrian refers to them as "the Getæ,

who hold the doctrine of immortality." A small fleet of ships, coöperating with the Macedonians, had come around by the Black Sea and were now in readiness. With the help of these, and of rafts constructed of hides stuffed with hay, as well as of a lot of dugouts collected from the fishermen and river-pirates, he succeeded, under cover of the night, in landing a force of fifteen hundred cavalry and four thousand infantry on the other shore, thus surprising the enemy, who were collected in force to prevent a landing, and who had relied upon the mighty stream as a sufficient protection against the passage of any considerable number of Alexander's forces at one time.

The Macedonians had landed at a point where the bank was covered by grain-fields, and they were concealed for a while, as Arrian tells us, by the high-standing grain. This marks the time as the end of May. The Getæ, panic-stricken at the apparition of the wonder-working Southmen, as they emerged from the grain, made little resistance, and fled with all expedition to their fortified town three miles back from the river, only to abandon it shortly after, transporting upon the backs of their horses all that the animals would carry of women and children and goods, and making off for the steppes beyond.

Before night Alexander had recrossed the Danube. Embassies of the nations dwelling about came shortly to pay him homage and claim his friendship. There were first in line the well-humbled Triballi, who thenceforth became his vassals and furnished a contingent for his army. Some even came from the

Celts, who lived in the present Hungary and the lands to the west, and who in the next century (284–278 B.C.) were to make themselves known for a brief period, in the terror of Galatian desolation, to the whole Balkan peninsula, parts of Greece and of central Asia Minor. They were the same people, too, whom later history finds in occupation of France and the British Isles, and whose language still persists in the Irish of Ireland, the Gaelic of Scotland, the Welsh of Wales, the Manx of the Isle of Man, and the Bretonic of the French Basse-Bretagne. Arrian says that they were "a people of great stature and haughty disposition."

The young autocrat, in essaying for the gratification of his curiosity and his personal pride to catechise them a bit, met with a classic disappointment, which has given joy to the souls of free men ever since. He asked them, to quote Arrian's words,

"what thing in the world caused them special apprehension, expecting that his own great fame had reached the Celts and had penetrated still farther, and that they would say they feared *him* most of all things. But the answer of the Celts turned out quite contrary to his expectations; for, as they dwelt so far away from Alexander, inhabiting districts difficult of access, and as they saw he was about to set out in another direction, they said they were afraid that the sky would some time or other fall upon them."

Alexander dismissed them kindly, dignifying them with the title of friends and allies, but he retained his own private opinion of them, for he always

claimed to know that "the Celts are great braggarts."

Returning toward home, he passed by another route farther to the west, leading up the valley of the Isker by the site of Sofia, the present capital of Bulgaria, and coming into the territory of the friendly Agrianians and Pæonians, neighbours of Macedonia on the north, learned that the Illyrian chieftain Clitus, whose father, Bardylis, of bellicose memory, Philip had defeated and slain twenty-four years before, and who had himself, fourteen years before, required to receive severe chastising at the hands of the same King, had now again revolted, and had been joined by Glaucias, chief of the Taulantians, a people dwelling farther to the west, in the neighbourhood of the modern Durazzo in Albania. To reach Pelion, the chief city of Clitus, required a march of some two hundred miles, but Alexander did not hesitate. Accompanied by a considerable auxiliary force of Agrianians, he marched directly thither and laid siege to Pelion. Though almost caught here in a trap by the approach of Glaucias's army in the rear, he succeeded by a series of brilliant manœuvres in extricating himself, and then, three days later, in surprising and soundly defeating the joint forces of his opponents. The city was later evacuated and burned, and the enemy dispersed and driven back into the mountains of the west.

CHAPTER X.

ALEXANDER IN CENTRAL GREECE.

335 B.C.

FOR five months Alexander had been absent from the seat of government. He was now (summer of 335 B.C.) about 150 miles from home, and 300 miles from the centres of political activity in Greece, buried in the mountains, where communication was difficult and movement slow. It was a great risk to take in the first year of a reign. Already sinister rumours concerning the fortunes and fate of the young daredevil were coursing about in the cities of Greece. The report that he had been killed in battle obtained the more easily credence because for a long time no news had been received from him. The anti-Macedonian politicians certainly took no pains to check the circulation of these stories, and a considerable burden of responsibility for them is laid by concurrent testimony upon the good Demosthenes. Demades says he "all but showed the corpse of Alexander there on the bema before our eyes." This probably refers to an incid-

ent related by both Justinus and the Pseudo-Callisthenes, to the effect that the orator brought into the Athenian town-meeting as witness a wounded man who testified that Alexander was killed in the battle with the Triballi, and that he himself, according to the Pseudo-Callisthenes, actually had seen the dead body of the King.

The popular belief in these stories afforded to the malcontents of the opposition a most appropriate occasion for raising the flag of revolt. Already for several months the movement had been in preparation. After Alexander's successful descent into Greece, and the renewal at Corinth of the Hellenic league, Persia, reawakening to the danger, had immediately begun operations to check the ambitious schemes of the young aggressor. An army sent into northern Asia Minor had forced the Macedonian troops back into the Troad, and compelled a portion of them to recross into Europe. The chief reliance was not, however, placed in force of arms, but rather in the old approved method of manipulating the internal politics of Greece. The strife of internal politics in democracies always offers easy prey to autocrats when international policies are involved, and Persia had now come to learn by the experience of a century just how to proceed. During the summer of this year Darius had made proposals to different states looking to defections from Alexander, and had offered to supply money for the support of the revolt. The Peloponnesian war (431–404 B.C.) had been kept alive in part by means of Persian money supplied at the fitting time to what appeared the

weaker party, and since then Persia had often intervened to preserve a balance of power between the Greek states and to insure inaction.

None of the states, except Sparta, are known publicly to have accepted money, but the leaders of the anti-Macedonian parties in different cities were undoubtedly well supplied with it, and more was effected through them than by Sparta. Two years later, after the battle of Issus, Alexander, in his letter to Darius, rehearsing the offences which the Persian king had committed against him, and which had given open occasion to war, refers to this matter:

"You have also sent money to the Lacedæmonians and certain other Greeks, though none of the states accepted it except the Lacedæmonians. As your agents corrupted my friends, and were striving to dissolve the league which I had formed among the Greeks, I took the field against you, because you were the party commencing the hostility."

It was a well-known fact never denied even by his own partisans, that Demosthenes accepted from the Shah three hundred and fifty thousand dollars (three hundred talents) to be used as a corruption fund or as he might see fit. Eighty thousand dollars of this, according to Æschines's accusation, passed into the private purse of the great patriot, while the rest was set at its work in the Greek cities. The accusation cannot be proved or disproved. In the nature of the case, no account was rendered, and it would have been difficult in any case to determine where the line was drawn between the private and the

public use of such a corruption fund. Eleven years later we know by Demosthenes's own admission that he accepted twenty-three thousand dollars from the Harpalus fund, that he was unable to show that he had made any other than private use of it, and that he was condemned by the court, imprisoned, and fined fifty talents.

The Persian funds were variously used: part was sent to different cities, notably Thebes, to influence, through paid leaders, political action; part was doubtless used in procuring equipment and hiring mercenaries; part stayed at home to aid the party machinery; part, in the nature of things, stayed in the purses of the agents.

Demosthenes was a politician with a consistent programme, but a thoroughly practical politician, to whom it seemed well to do evil that good might come. His patriotism respected religiously the limits of his own platform, and he saw no treachery in entering into correspondence with the Persian satrap of Sardes, and planning with him the details of the plot. Plutarch tells us that Alexander later discovered at Sardes some of these letters of Demosthenes, which contained also evidence of the amount of money received. In doing as he did, Demosthenes merely adopted the orthodox methods of his day. His enthusiasm was doubtless genuine and grounded in public spirit. Our protest is directed therefore, not so much against him as against those versions of Greek political history which blacken the political motives of his opponents by assigning to them a monopoly of blackened methods. Demos-

thenes had now become more than an Athenian statesman; he was a politician at large. All Greece recognised him as the champion, almost the personal embodiment, of a political policy which defended the *régime* of old Greece, with its independent cities and its balance of weakness, against the policy of union in a military leadership.

As the summer proceeded, his plans, aided by the absence of Alexander, and later by the stories of his death, made brilliant progress. In Elis the Macedonian sympathisers were banished from the city. Various Arcadian towns were in ferment. The Ætolians were moving to revolt. Athens was arming. The open breach came, however, at Thebes. Here a large Macedonian garrison occupied the citadel. Any step that was taken was, in consequence, bound to involve open war. One night after the story of Alexander's death had assumed credible form, a body of Theban citizens who had been living in banishment at Athens quietly entered the town, proclaimed the supposed news as certain fact, and called upon the people to revolt. Amyntas and Timolaus, the one a Macedonian officer, the other a prominent Theban leader of the Macedonian party, were caught by the mob in the lower city and slain. A mass-meeting of citizens, hurriedly called, proclaimed the freedom of the city by unseating the officials appointed by the Macedonians and naming a board of *boiotarchoi* to assume the supreme control, as under the old constitution. The Cadmea was thereupon blockaded by a double rampart drawn about it to prevent the garrison from sallying out or

receiving reinforcements and supplies. Arms were supplied from Athens with the fund in Demosthenes's hands. The insurrection was an accomplished fact. Athens sent messengers far and wide to arouse the people to arms. An armed force was moving forward from the Peloponnesus. Athens stood ready to aid. The Hellenic Empire of Alexander seemed utterly undermined and tottering to the fall, and he was three hundred miles away, in the mountain wilderness of Illyria.

When the news of the insurrection reached him, he turned immediately from the pursuit of the Illyrians, and leading his army by forced marches through the rough lands of Eordæa and Elimiotis, through wildernesses, across rivers, and over the slopes of the great mountain ranges which separate Illyria from Thessaly; on the seventh day was at Pelinna, in the Peneus valley, not far from the modern Trikkala in northern Thessaly. Pushing on from there across the great Thessalian plain, over the pass by the modern Domoko, to Lamia and Thermopylæ, and then across the Locrian hills, he entered Bœotia on the sixth day from Pelinna, with 130 miles behind him. His approach had been entirely unheralded and unexpected. When the report reached Thebes that Alexander, at the head of a Macedonian army, was already within the district, the leaders of the revolt insisted that it must be Antipater, for Alexander was surely dead; or, if it was Alexander, it must be the other Alexander, the son of Æropus—a mere confusion of names.

Thebes was a city of some forty thousand inhabit-

ants. It stood on the lower northern slopes of a chain of flat hills, just where three brooks, two of them known to fame as Dirce and Ismenus, issue forth into the plain. Its walls inclosed a circuit of four miles. In the south-eastern part of the city a long, low hill, called the Cadmea, carried the citadel, and at its southern post was the Electra gate, where the road from Athens came in. It was a solid, rather staid old town, wealthy, and much given to ease and good living. We hear that the public square was surrounded by colonnades, and that there were various temples located throughout the city; but there were no wonders of architecture or art such as Athens had to boast. Theban interest did not run that way. We know of no single artist who came from Thebes. Pindar is the one great writer. Athens and Thebes, near neighbours, gave an easy opportunity of contrast, and no doubt the latter has suffered unduly for it in history. The Bœotians have come down to us labelled "Pigs," and everyone has heard of Bœotian stupidity; they are often called, too, "the Dutchmen of Greece," having been wronged in the comparison with the sprightly and quick-witted Athenians, much as the good people of Holland have been by the comparison with the French.

The next day Alexander advanced toward the city, but finally halted and made his camp at some distance from it, with the purpose of giving the Thebans opportunity to repent their rashness, and in the hope that the last moment might still effect a compromise and reconciliation. In this he was dis-

appointed, for the Theban forces showed themselves disposed to take the aggressive, and instead of ambassadors seeking peace, a body of cavalry and light-armed infantry shortly appeared before his camp and engaged his outposts. Even yet the King refrained from beginning hostilities. His desire was to have the Greek cities his allies and friends. He had better use for his arms than in destroying those who might be his co-workers. In perfect consciousness of power, he waited still. The next day, as the warlike attitude of the Thebans showed no relenting, he marched round to the south gate of the city, whence issued the main road joining the city to Athens, and took his position directly under the walls of the Cadmea, where he might easily come into communication with its beleaguered garrison. Still he hesitated to order an attack, and finally, as it would appear, only by half-accident and through the restlessness of one of his generals, Perdiccas, did the battle begin. Perdiccas, who was in the command of the advanced guard, becoming involved in a skirmish with the Theban outposts, was reinforced by other troops, and so a general attack was begun. After the advance forces of the Macedonians had been repulsed by the Theban forces defending the gate outside the walls, Alexander advanced with the solid phalanx, driving the Thebans in a confused rout back through the gates, and before they had time to close the gates, pressed in behind them. The garrison of the citadel now sallied forth to join the invaders. The defenders retired to the public square just north of the citadel, and

made a brief stand near the temple of Amphis; but the fight was hopeless. From this time on the battle became little better than a massacre.

Six thousand Thebans were killed, and the city and its wealth became the prey of the victor. To give it in Arrian's own words:

"Then indeed the Thebans, no longer defending themselves, were slain not so much by the Macedonians as by the Phocians, Platæans, and other Bœotians, who by indiscriminate slaughter vented their rage against them. Some were even attacked in the houses, and others as they were supplicating the protection of the gods in the temples, not even the women and children being spared."

At last, after much long-suffering, the strong hand of the Macedonian power, contrary to all its purposes and policy, had laid itself with violence upon one of the great Greek cities. Once and again it had forgiven, but Thebes had transgressed the bounds of endurance and could expect no mercy. She obtained none. The city was razed to the ground, only the house of Pindar being spared; the territory was distributed among the allies, and the inhabitants who survived, some thirty thousand in number, excepting only the priests and priestesses, the descendants of Pindar, and the guests, friends of Philip and Alexander, were sold into slavery, making a slave-market so vast that, as we hear, the standard price of slaves in the markets of the Ægean was seriously depressed in consequence.

The ordinary price for a slave was from twenty to

thirty-five dollars. Abundant supply kept the price low. Society was built on slavery. Slaves, or, as in Sparta and Crete, serfs attached to the soil, were the farm-labourers; in manufactories they took the place of modern machinery; they were a form of investment, being often rented out in gangs, as for work in the mines; large numbers were used, too, for domestic service, seven being an average number for an ordinary house. Corinth is said to have had 460,000 slaves, Ægina 470,000, and a census of the year 309 B.C. showed 400,000 in Attica. These figures have sometimes been doubted, but other known facts go to confirm them. Most of the slaves apparently came from outside Greece, as from Lydia, Syria, Bithynia, Thrace, and Illyria, but there were also among them Italians, Egyptians, and Jews. The supply from outside was maintained by the slave-traders, who obtained them either in barter or by robbery along the coasts of the Ægean and the Euxine. The slave-market was a feature of every city agora, and especially of the temple fairs. Captives in war were, like the rest of the booty, treated as merchandise. They were disposed of chiefly to the professional traders and sold mostly abroad. Thus men of culture and education often appeared in the condition of slaves. Employed as teachers, readers, secretaries, musicians, they often served the purpose of spreading the knowledge of art, manners, and life among other peoples, and aided in mixing the soils and forwarding the interests of cosmopolitanism.

It was a form of poetic justice that the conqueror

allowed the fate of Thebes to be spoken by the mouth of a tribunal composed of its neighbours, the Phocians, the Platæans, the Thespians, and the Orchomenians. The hatred engendered out of generations of oppression revelled in its opportunity for revenge. All Greece shuddered to hear the fate of this famous city, but it could not be forgotten that, in the day of the great distress when Persian hordes threatened utterly to submerge Hellenism, Thebes played the part of traitor and stood with the invader.

As prelude to the war of revenge against the Persians, it could not be without the sanction of the gods that the chosen leader had laid his hand upon the historic accomplice. So, at any rate, many chose to regard the matter. Alexander, later in life, seems to have regretted his summary treatment of the city; at least, his natural tenderness of heart asserted itself in a feeling of compassion toward the unfortunate inhabitants, who had been made homeless wanderers or slaves, and wherever he afterward met them he seemed inclined to show them consideration and do them kindness.

In 316 B.C. the city was refounded by Cassander, and a small population assembled in it, probably not over ten thousand. It never regained anything of its old importance, though it was for a time in the Middle Ages, a prosperous seat of silk manufacture. To-day it is a town of from thirty to thirty-five hundred inhabitants, occupying the old Cadmea.

How rapidly the scene had shifted! Only fifteen days had elapsed since Alexander heard the tidings

of revolt in the mountains of the north, and now Thebes lay in ashes. One terrible thunderbolt stroke, and the insurrection that seethed over all Greece was at an end. The Arcadian troops who were coming to the support of Thebes had halted at the Isthmus on hearing of the Macedonian approach. Now they hastened to pass sentence of death upon those who had instigated their movement. The Eleans recalled the Macedonian sympathisers they had banished. The Ætolians sent embassies to offer abject apologies.

The Athenians, when the news came of the fall of Thebes, were just on the point of celebrating the Greek mysteries (at the end of September). Panic seized upon the populace. The sacred rites were interrupted and forgotten. The country population, with herds and chattels, came swarming in to seek the protection of the walls. Preparations for defence were begun, and the collection of a special fund for war. But suddenly the whirligig of politics went round; the control of the town-meeting passed from the hands of Demosthenes and his anti-Macedonian partisans to those of the opposition. On motion of Demades, a commission of ten was appointed, composed of those friendly to Alexander, with instructions to congratulate the King upon his return in safety from the land of the Triballi and of the Illyrians, and upon his righteous punishment of the Thebans. No wonder Alexander's sense for nobility and straightforwardness shrank in disgust from such flunkyism. He is said, when the ambassadors first appeared before him, to have torn in pieces the

address they delivered to him, and to have turned his back and left them to their shame.

The embassy finally returned with the King's answer. He was willing to forgive the Athenians on condition of their expelling the Theban fugitives, and delivering to him the politicians and generals whom he regarded as responsible for the opposition which had culminated three years before at Chæronea, as well as for the more recent demonstrations against the Macedonian power. He especially named Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Mœrocles, Demon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus, and, according to other good authority, Hypereides and Diotimus as well.

The communication of the King's commands produced the intensest excitement at Athens. In the town-meeting, opinion was raised against opinion. To surrender its own citizens at the mandate of an autocrat involved self-humiliation and dishonour. And yet the fate of the city was at stake. In trying times no one was listened to with more respect than the old general Phocion, her "first citizen." Good, old-fashioned citizen and statesman that he was, he took the high, old-fashioned ground that the few ought to be willing to sacrifice themselves for the good of the many. Hypereides and Demosthenes pleaded for the assertion of national dignity and the recognition of the obligations which the state owed to those who had watched over its interests. Demosthenes recounted the fable of the sheep who made a treaty with the wolves, agreeing to deliver over to them the watch-dogs. He likened the case,

further, to that of "grain-dealers who carry about a sample in a bowl, by means of a few grains of wheat selling the whole mass; so in us you give yourselves all captive, but you see it not." *

When it appeared, after ample discussion, that the citizens were in no mood to assent to Alexander's humiliating proposition, a compromise offered by Demades was finally adopted. It provided that another embassy should be sent, asking Alexander's mercy in the matter of the men whose surrender had been demanded, and promising, should they be found guilty, to deal with them under Athenian law; and asking, furthermore, that they be permitted to retain the Theban refugees within their walls. In obtaining the King's assent to this compromise, the personality of Phocion, the chairman of the embassy, was an important factor. His advice that the King should now prefer to turn his arms against the barbarians was a view of the matter that Alexander was only too glad to accept, and making an exception only of the able and unscrupulous Charidemus, he wisely sealed the compact. Greece was at peace. The efforts of Persia to stir internal discord had met with signal failure. Within the entire extent of the Balkan peninsula no hand or voice raised itself against the leadership of the King of Macedon. There remained nothing now to do but to carry the war into Asia.

* Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, chap. xxiii.

CHAPTER XI.

ORIENT VS. OCCIDENT.

THE world toward which Alexander had set his face, and into which he was now preparing to enter, was the great, the old world of the Orient. From within that world people looked out upon young Greece with much the same vague understanding and disparaging sense of superiority as the Austrian nobleman or English country squire brings to his estimate of the American States to-day.

The boundary line between the two worlds has maintained itself with marvellous persistency throughout the entire course of human history. One who crosses the Ægean to-day and enters the confines of Asia is aware that he has passed from one world into another. What constitutes the difference may not always be easy to define, but it is there. Customs, dress, crafts, homes, and faith mark the difference, but these are only on the surface. The real difference is something so all-pervasive, so profound, that no casual mint-marks serve to identify it. It inheres in the moods of men, and in their attitude to the world about them. It abides at the heart of things.

PART OF THORWALDSEN'S "TRIUMPH OF ALEXANDER."

FROM A FRIEZE IN THE VILLA CARLOTTA, LAKE COMO, ITALY.

Where the boundary runs to-day, it ran in Alexander's time. Only a bare selvage of Hellenism formed by the Greek colonies skirting the western coast of Asia Minor interposed itself to push back the frontiers of the Orient. The Greek cities of the Asiatic coast retained in a measure their Hellenic character and kept alive the sense of union with Greece which a common language and common institutions were like to enforce. But, as a rule, whatever had come within the mystic bounds of orientalism had yielded to assimilation, and become absorbed in the great mass, no matter what the race or tongue.

The potency of superior culture, manifesting itself in permanency of life-conditions and of the social order, in fixed and well-determined moulds of thought, and entrenched in its ancient fortresses by the Euphrates, was too great for Phrygian, Cappadocian, Lycian, or Syrian to resist, and the mass became leavened with one spirit. The fixity of the old frontier is due, so far as history can determine, to the unique personality of the Greek and to the existence of a geographic furrow at the Bosporus and the Ægean.

The antagonisms which showed themselves at this frontier made the beginnings of European history, even where it first emerges in the form of myth. Such were the stories of the search for the Golden Fleece, and such were the songs about Troy and the war at its gates. The idealised valour of her heroes who first set her in antagonism to the great Eastern world outside and beyond gave Greece in her later

days the inspiration to a national consciousness and assured her of her mission as the champion of Western energy and personal freedom.

The Persian wars under Darius and Xerxes represented the natural reaction against the aggressions of occidentalism. The tide of orientalism swept out over its sea-wall till met by the solid dykes of Marathon, and Salamis, and Platæa. The story of these wars becomes the material for the first manual of history. Herodotus rejoiced, child of Homer as he was, to deal with the same old theme of which Homer had sung. He shaped his material in the form of a plot. The rebuke of overweening pride, the thing the Greeks called *hybris*, is the *motif*. The tale begins with the rise of the Persian power, gathering unto itself the strength of the barbarian world. It ends with Persia's failure and discomfiture at Salamis and Platæa. *Hybris* meets its *Nemesis*.

The presumption of Crœsus receives in the first book its rebuke from the Athenian Solon. The Persian power which rose to greatness on the ruins of Crœsus's power vaunted its pride in Xerxes's host and received, in the final book, its rebuke from the Athenian state. The story closes with an account of the expedition to Sestos, which determined the fact that Xerxes's bridge over the Hellespont had been destroyed and that Europe was rid of the intruder; the old frontier had reasserted itself. The closing words of the last book form an ideal conclusion to the whole work. They represent the older policy of the Persian in the good old days under Cyrus's leadership: "So the Persians, seeing

their error, yielded to the opinion of Cyrus, for they chose rather to live in a barren land than to sow the plain and be the slaves of others."

Thus Solon's rebuke of *hybris* at the beginning of the work is echoed from the lips of the great Persian at the end. The whole plan and conception of Herodotus's history is based on a recognition of the vivid antithesis between occidentalism and orientalism, and of the geographical frontier which marks their separation.

The invasion which Alexander planned was to be the retort and the revenge. He was himself to pose as a second Achilles. The epic must have a plot. History was still a drama, and, like the Attic tragedy, it clung fast to the old motives. The very national life of Greece took to itself form in the spirit of this unrelenting antagonism between occidentalism and orientalism.

The long-delayed retort to Alexander's onset came centuries later in the form of Islam. Turkey, as a hopelessly foreign body on European soil, is a standing witness to the reality of the antagonism, and the Eastern Question of to-day abides as a monument to the impulses which carried the young Alexander across the Hellespont.

The Hellenic spirit was characterised above all else by a consciousness of the individual right of initiative. The Greek's jealousy of every institution and of every man that assumed to interfere with the free exercise of that right is responsible for his leaning toward democracy, his envy of greatness, his frequent change of political position, and his failure

to create and operate elaborate and effective political machinery for any other than local government.

Whatever his view concerning the domain of the gods and their right to rule his world, he was in his practical philosophy a pluralist, not a monist, and the world of life was constituted out of free-moving, self-determining personalities. Only when they rose above the proper estate of men and intruded themselves within the province of the gods did the free exercise of personality amount to the *hybris* which merits and meets rebuke. Within the bounds of human estate the law of action is determined by the purposes and interests of the free personality and not from without or from above. The state is that within and through which alone the person exists and possesses its freedom. It is the very condition of existence. But it is not that which originates for the person the law of action.

To the Oriental, on the other hand, the universe as well as the state is conceived of as a vast despotism, which holds in its keeping the source and the law of action for all. Its mysterious law, held beyond the reach of human vision, like the inscrutable will of the autocrat, is the law of fate. Personality knew no right of origination or of self-determination; it was swept like a chip on the current. It knew no privilege except to bow in resignation before the unexplained, unmotived mandate of fate. The Oriental government of the universe was transcendental, the Hellenic, social.

The Hellenic gods were the chief citizens of the state, partakers with men in a bond which was made

sacred by their presence. To be associated with them was a privilege. They gave dignity and solidity to the society. To show them respect, to entertain them with feasts and shows and games was seemly and decorous. To show them disrespect was treason, and treason was essentially a discourtesy and insult to the gods.

The Greek was always human—very human. His humanity was never apologised for. It was the best thing he knew of. This sunlit life on earth was worth living for — indeed the only thing he knew of worth living for. Whatever was human, the body and the joys of the flesh, the delights of beauty, the triumphs of wit or of strength or of craft, all were good except in excess. Virtue lay not in abstinence but in self-control. As in the relations to the divine, all depended here, too, upon not crossing the danger-line.

All mutilation of the body the Greek regarded with horror, and in this regard felt himself estranged from the Oriental. The Oriental looked with a species of disdain upon all that belonged to the physical universe, even including the body. He was its lord. The Greek lived in the world of nature as part of it and good friends with it. In it lived his gods, and through its activity his gods revealed themselves. The Greek dwelt more with the world that was without him, the Oriental more with the world that was within him. With the former, thought and fancy tended to assume the objective cast, with the latter the subjective.

The Greek brought with him to every work the

freshness and naturalness of the child of nature. He lived face to face with nature, and allowed no barriers to be interposed, allowed himself not to be artificially withdrawn from the world of which he was a part. Asceticism, abstinence, and holiness by separation he knew nothing of. He was in the world, wholly and thoroughly; of the world, worldly, of the earth, earthly, of humanity, human.

His enthusiasms were those of an untrammelled child of nature rejoicing in life and beauty and light. The sedate Oriental seemed the offspring of an old and ripened civilisation, which had, in the generations through which it passed, seen and experienced all the great things, and so lost the effervescent freshness of youth. The Orient was really the old world. Hope was not so high. Effort was not as well worth while.

The Greek seemed to have the world before him. He could do what he would. Conditions could be changed. The right of initiative gave the right to change. The power of initiative imposed the duty to create. Life was composed of time, and time was measured by action. Action creates, and creation is progress. Action, aggression, achievement, progress, became, therefore, the spirit of the Greek; endurance, submission, quietism, stagnation, that of the man of the East. In all this the Greek was merely the full-developed type of the European Aryan, and Alexander a Greek of the Greeks.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

THE Orient which Alexander now confronted took its shape as a political organisation from the conquests of the Persian Cyrus, beginning about 550 B.C. The Eastern world was then divided among three great empires: the Median, standing since the end of the preceding century on the ruins of the Assyrian Empire of Nineveh, and having its seat at Ecbatana (modern Hamadan); the Babylonian Empire, occupying Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Lydian Empire of Crœsus, who controlled the whole of Asia Minor, and amassed from tribute and from the gold-mines of Pactolus such vast stores of the precious metal as the West had never dreamed of. To the temple at Delphi alone he made presents of gold bullion amounting to 270 talents ($370,000).

The Persians were an Iranian people, a branch of the Indo-European or Aryan race, who had long occupied, in almost unbroken connection with their Scythian kinsmen to the north of the Caspian, the highlands of Bactria and Parthia. Early in the seventh century B.C. these Iranian tribes began

pushing out toward the west and the south, and one of them, the Medes, had brought the Assyrian Empire to its fall. The Persians, pushing farther to the south, located their capital in Susa (Shushan), until, with the conquests of Cyrus, Ecbatana, and with it the Median realm, fell into their hands (550 B.C.).

Cyrus was the energetic, intelligent leader of a vigorous, warlike people, unspoiled by civilisation. His conquests meant that an Oriental, essentially Semitic, civilisation had submitted to the leadership of Aryan aggressiveness.

In 546 B.C., only four years after his victory over the Medes, he conquered Crœsus, King of Lydia, in battle, took Sardis, his capital, and absorbed his realm. In 538 B.C. Babylon also fell into his hands, and so the entire Eastern world became united under Aryan sway into one great empire, which, after the tribe of the conqueror, has since been called the Persian Empire. It was this empire which provided the passive soul of orientalism with an organised body and such will and fist to smite as it possessed. As army and as government it was the outward mechanism with which Alexander two centuries later had to deal, and so the brief story of its builders and their labours concerns us here.

Though there is a lack of thoroughly authentic accounts of Cyrus's life and deeds in detail, there can be no doubt concerning his character as a whole. The extraordinary nobility and generosity of his character are reflected, to quote the words of Eduard Meyer, "alike in the accounts of the Persians whom

he led to world-empire, of the Jews whom he freed, and of the Greeks whom he subjugated." His generosity toward defeated foes, his readiness to hear and accept advice, and his tolerance toward local institutions became a standard which his successors on the throne tended to follow. He was himself a pious adherent of the Ahura Mazda cult, the Iranian faith, since known to the world through the doctrines of its great reformer and purifier, Zoroaster; but he made no attempt to impress his religion upon the state. The traditional religions of each state or tribe were respected and even cultivated as the proper form for such state or tribe. Thus his attitude toward the Jahveh worship of the Jews was such as to warrant the Jewish chronicler in speaking of him as an adherent of the cult. (See Ezra i., 2.)

Cambyses, his son (529–522 B.C.), added Egypt to the empire, the conquest of which had been completed by the capture of Memphis (525 B.C.). Ethiopia and large tracts of northern Africa were also brought beneath his sway; but Carthage, which was then emerging as a controlling power in the western Mediterranean, was left untouched. The reports attribute his failure to advance against it to the unwillingness of the Phœnicians, upon whom he depended for a fleet, to coöperate with him against their own kin. In 522 B.C. he was recalled from Egypt by the revolt of the Pseudo-Smerdis, but, while on his way, died in Syria from the results of a self-inflicted but accidental wound. The usurper Gaumata, a Median of the priestly caste of the

Magi, who had falsely claimed to be Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses, a brother who, before the expedition against Egypt, had, as a mild precautionary measure, been secretly murdered at Cambyses's instance, now assumed the throne, and the succession of the Achæmenids seemed to be hopelessly lost. The very possibility of such an occurrence throws into boldest light the horrible perversions and the grim hazards to which a monster autocracy such as this empire was exposed.

A year after the death of Cambyses, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who was nearest heir to the throne, aided by six Persian noblemen, forced his way into the usurper's stronghold, Sikajauvati in Media, and slew him and all his attendants (521 B.C.). For nearly two years the empire was in turmoil. One after another, pretenders after the model of Gaumata arose in various parts of the realm, and at times the whole structure threatened to fall in pieces. Twice Babylon itself revolted, but otherwise the revolts were chiefly confined to the Aryan elements of the east and the north, the Medians, Persians, and Armenians.

At last, through the consummate leadership and military skill of Darius, the empire was, in 519 B.C., brought into quiet, and a majestic realm extending from the Hellespont to the Indus, and from the Jaxartes to the Upper Nile, and embracing on the modern map the territory of Turkestan, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey in Asia, northern Arabia, and Egypt, yielded obedience to a single man.

Darius, though not its founder, was really its

organiser and maker. His reign, extending from 521 to 486 B.C., marks the final consolidation of the Orient to meet the thrust of the Occident. Its organisation into a whole, and its very existence as a state, furnished the basis for the still greater edifice that Alexander was to rear.

The reign of Darius covers also a period of rapid change in the national life of Greece. When it began Athens was under the Peisistratids; when it ended, Marathon had been fought. By the reforms of Cleisthenes, Athens had become a homogeneous state founded upon the unified population of Attica. Through its commerce, its colonies, and its foothold on the Hellespont, it was coming to be a leading factor in Greek affairs, and already looked forth to the control of the Ægean. Sparta had established a positive control of the Peloponnesus by its absorption of Arcadia, Elis, Argos, and Ægina. This strong military state was to furnish the nucleus of a solid Greek force with which to meet the aggressions of Persia. The older dominant elements, Argos, Corinth, Chalcis, Thebes, the Ionians, had slipped into the background, and the period of the Athenian-Spartan dualism was begun.

The period represented a critical time for Hellenism. For three centuries since the reëstablishment of order and rebloom of civilisation after the dislodgments consequent upon the fall of the Achæan states, Greece had prospered and expanded almost without restraint. Her colonies had occupied the coasts and islands of the Euxine, Hellespont, Ægean, and central Mediterranean almost at will. The

control of the Mediterranean seemed to fall to the Greeks. But the rise of the Persian Empire on the east, and of the Carthaginian allied with the Etruscan power on the west, gradually set bounds to this extension. Between the upper and the nether millstones Hellenism was sorely threatened with extinction. The movement of a new intellectual life and a new spiritual consciousness, like the freshness of a stirring breeze, were just making themselves felt throughout the Greek world. It contained the hope of intellectual freedom for the world. The issue of the pending struggle was heavy with fate for the destiny of mankind.

During the thirty-five years of Darius's reign were set in array the forces for a great world-struggle—a struggle heavy with fate for the destiny of mankind. It is well said by Eduard Meyer: "Darius stands at the turn between two world-epochs. He closes the development of the old Orient; he gives the later time its shape. In the evening of his days the battle of Marathon marks the beginning of a new epoch in the development of the Mediterranean world."

The eastern and western frontiers of his empire were separated by a stretch of twenty-five to twenty-seven hundred miles—double the air-line distance from Paris to St. Petersburg, four times the distance from Paris to Vienna, and something more than the distance from San Francisco to Washington. The problem of organising the government of this vast territory, with its variety of races, languages, customs, religions, was a serious one. In dealing with

it Darius showed extraordinary wisdom, and his solution, defective as it may seem from the ideal point of view, was probably the only one possible at the time. It at least furnished a basis upon which might gradually have been built up a secure and effective structure. During the almost two centuries of its existence it proved itself well adapted to the conditions which it organised, and its only peril came from without.

Following the precedents set by Cyrus, Darius sought to disturb as little as was consistent with the maintenance of the imperial government the traditional customs, laws, and religion of the different nations and tribes composing the empire. The local forms of government were left as far as possible unchanged. The half-nomadic tribes retained their government by chiefs, many districts kept their native princes, the free cities might have oligarchy, tyrant, or democracy, as they pleased—all, so long as the tribute was paid and the military quota filled. No attempt was made to establish a law code valid for the entire empire, but each district, tribe, or nation was in general allowed to use its own hereditary laws. These general features offer in some regards a striking forecast of that which has been the greatest element of solidity in the English Empire.

The whole empire, for convenience of administration and oversight, was, however, divided into not less than twenty satrapies, or provinces, over each of which was set in control a satrap, or viceroy, directly and personally responsible to the King. It was the duty of the satraps to maintain the peace

within their several provinces, to represent and maintain the authority of the empire, to raise the tribute, to attend to the levies of troops, to have care for the public works of the empire, roads, harbours, canals, and to regulate the money standards. They possessed even the right of silver coinage. Within the provinces their authority was absolute, except as against the King. They were the judges of final appeal, and the only judges on issues between the cities, the tribes, the districts, and the native princes. In military affairs they were supreme. The actual details of local government were, however, left, as has already been said, to the local authorities, whatever they might be.

Unity of administration, so far as it can be said to have existed at all, was dependent upon the visits of the King to the various provinces, or of a confidential commissioner personally representing the King. Such an overseer was known officially as the "King's Eye." Only one person at a time, it seems, held the office. He corresponded neither to premier nor private secretary, but was something of both. He stood outside of and above the authority of satraps and army commanders, and through his subordinates scattered about the empire kept close watch upon the doings of all governors, officers, and officials, in the personal interest of the King. A system of spies known as the "King's Ears" also existed, probably in coördination with the same department. The department, taken as a whole, performed the function of a secret police service, or of the "spotters" employed by the treasurer of a

modern corporation. A Persian proverb said well: "The King has many eyes and ears." As a check upon the independent military authority of the satraps, the control of the great fortresses commanding important strategic points was kept in the hands of the central power.

The most effective expedient for maintaining union was found, however, in the system of great military roads, to the establishment of which Darius gave the keenest attention. While there is no evidence that they were elaborately constructed roads in the Roman sense, they were passable routes, provided with bridges. A courier-post system was maintained upon them for expediting communication between the different parts of the empire. At intervals of fourteen or fifteen miles post-houses and khans were located, at which postmen with swift horses were always in readiness to take up a letter and advance it to the next station. Herodotus (viii., 98) describes the service as follows:

"There exists nothing mortal more swift than these couriers. And this is the way the Persians have contrived it: There are as many men and horses posted at intervals along the road as there are days in the trip, one man and horse assigned to each day's run; and neither snow nor rain nor heat nor night prevents them from accomplishing the run assigned to them, and at the fullest speed. The first runner hands over his consignment to the second, the second to the third, and so it goes from hand to hand on to its destination, like the torch-race celebrated in honour of Hephæstus among the Greeks."

The roads were under strict military surveillance,

and travellers, in passing the stations, were compelled to give an account of themselves and their errand. Distances were measured and carefully indicated along the roads, and hence the ever-recurring "parasang" (English league, German *Stunde*, three miles) which lightened our way through Xenophon's

A famous road was the one which, as a life-artery of the empire, joined Sardis, at the far west in Lydia, to Susa, the capital. It was fifteen hundred miles long, and at the common rate of ordinary travel, three months were required to traverse it; but by the government couriers a despatch could be forwarded from Susa to Sardis within a week. Every fifteen miles there was a station, or khan, where travellers could find shelter and refreshment for man and beast. These were under royal control, and Herodotus, widely travelled himself, does not hesitate to call them "most excellent." The road made its way up out of Lydia, over the highlands of Phrygia and Galatia, across the Halys River, through Cappadocia, and over the mountain-passes of the Taurus, across the Upper Euphrates, and on into southern Armenia. Holding still to the east, it crossed the Tigris and the ancient trade-route from Trebizond and the Euxine, which in far earlier days had made Nineveh great, and, evading Mesopotamia, pushed on through the modern land of the Kurds, till, rounding the mountains, it turned south through modern Persia. All the diverse life of the countries it traversed was drawn into its paths. Carians and Cilicians, Phrygians and Cappadocians,

ACROPOLIS OF SARDIS.

staid Lydians, sociable Greeks, crafty Armenians, rude traders from the Euxine shores, nabobs of Babylon, Medes and Persians, galloping couriers mounted on their Bokhara ponies or fine Arab steeds, envoys with train and state, peasants driving their donkeys laden with skins of oil or wine or sacks of grain, stately caravans bearing the wares and fabrics of the South to exchange for the metals, slaves, and grain of the North, travellers and traders seeking to know and exploit the world—all were there, and all were safe under the protection of an empire the roadway of which pierced the strata of many tribes and many cultures, and helped set the world a-mixing.

The organisation and regulation of Alexander's empire was later made possible through the roads, and they were the conductors by which East and West were joined and the first cosmopolitanism brought into being.

The vastness and the resources of the Persian Empire of Darius can best, perhaps, be measured in terms of the tribute it was able to collect. Partial data for this are supplied us by Herodotus. The satrapy of Babylon furnished an annual tribute of 1000 talents (say $1,400,000, reckoning the Babylonian talent at $1400); that of Egypt, 700 talents ($1,000,000); Media, 450 talents; Syria, 350 talents; and so down to the lowest amount, that paid by the satrapy of the Sattagydæ of the far East, 170 talents. This was essentially a land-tax—a tax on the products of the soil. Babylonia, as having the most fruitful and best cultivated land, naturally paid the

highest tax. The tax was assessed upon the satrapies by the central government, and the satraps were responsible for its collection. This land-tax yielded for the whole empire an annual total of 7600 talents (about $11,000,000).

This was, however, only the beginning. None of this money was used for the maintenance of army, government, or court, each of which, it appears, was supported directly by contributions in kind. There were, too, various other forms of tribute, the amount of which it is impossible to estimate. Some examples may, however, be given. The Arabian tribes subject to the empire paid an annual tribute of 1000 talents of frankincense. The Colchians furnished annually 200 slaves. The gold-mines of the Himalayas paid 360 talents. The renting of the fishery rights on the Nile canal yielded 240 talents. Individual cities or districts had assigned to them burdens of honour. Thus, scattered through the narratives of Xenophon and Herodotus, we hear of one community that was under obligation to supply the Queen's girdle, another her necklaces, another her tiara, another the ornaments for the hair. The expenses of maintaining detachments of troops or armies, or of providing the table of the King and his suite when on journeys, were levied upon neighbouring cities or districts. Thus the city of Abdera was called upon to feed Xerxes's army, a million men, for one day, and the cost, as Herodotus tells us, was 300 talents ($360,000). The money tribute went chiefly to swell the treasure hoards, which on Alexander's capture of the strongholds proved so vast.

Thus in Persepolis he found 120,000 talents of gold and silver. This, if reckoned in talents of silver, means $175,000,000; if one-third was talents of gold, $800,000,000. The treasury of Susa yielded, besides this, 50,000 talents ($70,000,000 at least), and that of Pasargadæ 6000 talents ($8,500,000).

In addition to the land-tax, each satrapy was obliged to furnish a certain quota of men and supplies for the army. Thus Cappadocia provided annually 50,000 sheep, 2000 mules, and 1500 horses; Media, double this number. Cilicia furnished 360 grey horses, Armenia 10,000 foals, Egypt 120,000 bushels of wheat; Chalybon furnished wine for the court, Colchis sent an annual quota of Caucasian slaves, and Babylon 500 eunuchs for court service.

The empire embraced a territory of some two million square miles, three-fifths that of the United States, and its population may be estimated at fifty millions, about that of the same territory now.

Susa, and not Babylon, Darius made the capital of his empire. Here he built a great city, the circuit of which, Strabo says, was 120 stades, a stade being about a ninth of a mile. It was 250 miles farther to the east than Babylon, but still nearer the centre of the empire's domain. It was, furthermore, near to original Persian soil. Babylon was still an alien land, with an alien religion and civilisation. At Persepolis, 300 miles farther to the south-east, on his native soil, Darius also built a new residence city with strong fortifications, of which Diodorus says:

"The citadel of Persepolis was surrounded by three walls, of which the first was sixteen cubits [twenty-four feet] high, and encircled by turrets adorned with costly ornamentation. The second wall had similar ornaments, but was twice as high. The third wall formed a square, and was sixty cubits [ninety feet] high. . . . In the city were several richly adorned buildings for the reception of the King and the generals, and treasuries for the revenue. To the east of the citadel, at a distance of four plethra [one-half mile], lies a mountain called 'the Royal Mountain,' in which are the tombs of the kings."

Ecbatana, the ancient Median capital, was also used as a residence, especially in the heat of the summer, and at times also the kings resided at Babylon; yet Susa always remained the capital proper throughout the entire Achæmenid dynasty.

The court of the King was maintained with extraordinary dignity and splendour. The person of royalty was surrounded with everything capable of giving it elevation, dignity, and charm in the eyes of the masses. Surrounded by a vast body of attendants, body-guards, servants, eunuchs, and court officials, the King was removed as far as possible from the vulgar eye. He gave audience seated on a golden throne, over which was stretched a baldachin of purple, supported on four golden pillars glittering with precious stones. In his presence his courtiers prostrated themselves in the dust. Whoever stood in his presence to address him hid his hands in the sleeves of his mantle, as token of his abnegation of will to restrain or harm. He was never seen on foot. He sometimes appeared on

horseback, more often in a chariot. Guards and scourgers went before his car to open the way. There followed the chariots of Mithra, and Magi carrying the sacred fire. Around him and behind him were the staff-bearers and his body-guard. On solemn occasions the ways were purified with frankincense and strewn with myrtle. The King's attire was valued, Plutarch says, at 12,000 talents (about $17,000,000).

Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, ranked as the Queen of Darius. Among his wives of second rank the first place was held by the daughter of Gobryas, who had borne him three sons before he came to the throne. Below the secondary wives were the concubines, who formed a numerous body. Three hundred and twenty concubines of the last Darius (III.) were found among the captives after Alexander's victory at Issus. The stories which passed current among the Greeks concerning the extent of the kings' retinue and the lavishness of their court, and which come to us particularly through the pages of Xenophon in his *Cyrus's Education and Training*, and of Plutarch in his *Life of Artaxerxes*, are the natural tribute which the wonder of a plainer people pays to the grandeur, luxury, and circumstance of an older civilisation. The chief places in the army, in the government, and at the court were held by members of the Persian nobility. As a machine of government the Persian Empire west of the Zagrus Mountains was essentially a foreign domination. This showed itself in the diverse religious systems.

Darius was an earnest adherent of the traditional

Ahura Mazda cult of his fathers, in the form it had received through the teachings of the prophet Zoroaster (Zarathushtra), who not improbably lived and taught in Bactria in the days of Darius's father, Hystaspes. It was far from having the codified conventional form which it later received, preeminently under the Sassanid emperors (from the third century A.D.), when made a "book-religion" based upon the collection of sacred writings known as the Zend-Avesta, and organised into a formal state church. The religion still cultivated at this day by the Parsees of north-western India represents in further development the form given to it under the Sassanids. The Zend-Avesta, though undoubtedly containing as a nucleus older elements dating from as early as the sixth century B.C., took its shape as a collection and an authoritative sacred book presumably in the second and third centuries of the Christian era.

The Ahura Mazda religion of Darius and his successors was the religion of all the Iranian peoples, and, as such, a natural development out of the older Aryan faith, on the basis of which and under the control of the Brahman priesthood the early Indian religion known to us through the Vedic books was developed. Like its Indian parallel, this Iranian religion was administered exclusively by an hereditary priesthood. Only the priest could perform the ritual. In Media one branch of the priesthood became predominant over all others, and, receiving the favour and recognition of the new empire, became the famous caste of the Magi. The priests,

however, never acquired, as in India, political influence.

Fundamentally characteristic for the whole attitude and influence of the religion is it, that, as a system of practical-ethical, rather than speculative bearings, it had its relation not so much to the tribal or national whole, after the manner, for instance, of the Hebrew Jahveh cult, as to the life of the individual. It addressed itself to individuals of whatever race or tribe. Though the whole tribe joined in worship of the "Wise Spirit," it was as individuals that they followed out the principles of his being and the teachings of his law. Not as members of the tribe did they become his followers and devotees, but upon the doing of each one for himself did it depend whether he was to rank as a "follower of Mazda" in this life and to obtain immortality and blessedness in the world beyond.

Varuna, the heaven-god of the Indian Vedas, is this same Ahura Mazda. The Vedic pair, Mitra-Varuna, corresponds to the Iranian Mithra-Ahura, and it is not an improbable supposition that originally Mitra was the sun, Varuna the moon. This Varuna or Ahura is among both peoples not only a cosmological but also a moral force, but in Iran it is the moral side which receives the emphasis. He is indeed the maker and upholder of the world, the author of order in the movements of the universe, the source of all power as well as of all blessing, the representative of all power and majesty and intelligence, but as the god of order and light he is the embodiment and vindicator of all truth and of all

purity. The development of this symbolism of light by transferring its significance from the realm of nature to the realm of personal conduct—a transfer which is undoubtedly in large measure attributable to the influence of Zoroaster—gave to the character of the chief god Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), and so to his cult, the ethical bearing which distinguishes them so markedly from their Indian counterparts. Over against Ormuzd and his attendant genii of light and cleanness stand the powers of darkness, the evil spirits, the *daivas*, agents of darkness, death, and the lie. At their head is *Angramanju* (Ahriman), the great demon of darkness, uncleanness, and untruth.

Between the two opposing forces continued conflict goes on, and out of it issues forth the experience of individuals and the fate of peoples. Ormuzd uses the fire as his weapon. It gives light and it purifies. In the sacrifice the flame and the sacred formula or hymn give help, succour, and strength to the god in his struggle with Ahriman. He encourages the tilling of the fields, the growth of the flocks, and the prosperous, settled life of men. His devotees are the farmers and the herders. The nomads, who wander about without home or flocks, who burn and destroy, and disturb the peaceful life of quiet tillers of the soil are the creatures of Ahriman and agents of the *daivas*.

These are the simple, self-consistent elements of the religion as it existed in Darius's day, at least in the purer form known to the upper and more intelligent classes. In the faith of the folk-masses there

survived undoubtedly many of the forms of belief derived from the old Aryan religion, and these at times emerged to greater or less extent, asserting their place in the religious scheme. This, for instance, is notably true of the old Mithra cult, known in Vedic religion as the worship of Mitra, the god of sunlight, in close association with that of Varuna (originally the moon ?). The cult of Mithra as sun-god, especially after its official recognition by Artaxerxes II., came to assume an important place in the religion and combined with other secondary cults at times, and, until met by decisive reforms, threatened to impair the purity of the Zoroastrian faith. As it was, its popularity with the lower classes spread it in later times far and wide even beyond the bounds of what had been the Persian Empire, and accompanied by mystery forms it was widely introduced into Greece and Rome in the days of the Roman emperors.

Though Zoroastrianism was the recognised religion of the court, the great masses of the population of Mesopotamia remained faithful to the old Babylonian religion, which, though modified by centuries of Semitic domination, was essentially the product of the civilisation antedating the coming of the Semites, which we call by the name Sumero-Accadian. This was in substance a practical system of controlling and appeasing, by means of prayers, offerings, and incantations, the spirits or demons which are active in the world of nature. These demons, conceived of in weird forms of animals or men, or monstrosities embodying forms of both, are

the source of those strange types of griffins, dragons, unicorns, hippogriffs, chimeras, which later, through the medium of art, found their way to the Western world, and have since held standard place among the materials of artistic composition.

The great gods who held sway in heaven and earth were such as Anu, the heaven-god; Ea, the god of the depths, who resides in the water; Bargu, the god of the air, who sends the storm; Marduk, the city-god of Babylon; Nanâ, the goddess of Uruk, often identified with Istar; who are all sustainers of society and the order of the world, and in constant conflict with the demons. These powers that govern the universe betray their will in the movements of the stars, preëminently in those of the sun and moon and five great planets. Hence astrology and the holy number 7, together with astronomy and the numbers 12, 60, 120, based on the annual course of the sun by months through the constellations, and applied to the arrangement of weights and measures, came as a Babylonian contribution to the world's repertory of forms, sciences, and delusions.

After Darius's death, in 486 B.C., the empire he had organised, holding itself together by very inertia, despite the growing independence of the satraps, passed down in essentially the form he had given it, for a century and a half, through the hands of his successors: Xerxes (486–465 B.C.), whose famous expedition against Greece failed at Salamis (480 B.C.); Artaxerxes I., called Longimanus (465–424 B.C.); Darius II., called Nothus (424–405 B.C.);

Artaxerxes II., called Mnemon (404–358 B.C.), against whom arose the revolt of his brother Cyrus, failing at Cunaxa (401 B.C.); Artaxerxes III., called Ochus (358–337 B.C.), a ruler of great energy, under whom Egypt, after a period of independence, was rejoined to the empire (345 B.C.); Arses (337–336 B.C.); and when Alexander entered Asia, Darius III., called Codomannus, was upon the throne.

CHAPTER XIII.

CARRYING THE WAR INTO ASIA.

334 B.C.

IN the early spring of 334 B.C., Alexander was ready for his advance against Persia. The odds were great. Persia covered a territory fifty times as great as his own, and had a population twenty-five times as great. He had no ships that could be measured against the Phœnician fleet, which, in Persian service, controlled the Ægean. An Athenian fleet of 350 triremes lay idle in the harbours of Athens, but political expediency prevented him from calling for more than twenty of them. The plan of his campaign contemplated solely a test of strength on the land. He proposed, as the issue showed, to render the Persian supremacy on the sea a vain distinction, by robbing the fleet of a coast from which to operate.

With an army of 30,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry he entered a country which, under Xerxes, had sent a million armed men against Greece. By the terms of the league which Philip had made with the Greek

states at Corinth, he had the right of naming the size of the contingent which each state should furnish to the army. Though this agreement was renewed under Alexander, for some reason, which neither he has told nor any ancient historian surmised, he chose not to avail himself of it beyond a limited extent. He undoubtedly preferred a small disciplined army upon which he could absolutely rely. Except for a body of 1500 Thessalian cavalry under Macedonian command and from 5000 to 7000 infantry furnished by various states and called in the accounts the "allied infantry," his army was composed of men of the north, Thracians and Macedonians, tried and true.

The Persian state had at its control enormous resources of money. Alexander, after equipping his army, had in hand, to say nothing of his debts, which some say were abundant, only seventy talents (say $80,000), and, as Plutarch adds, no more than thirty days' provisions for his troops. Still he gave himself pains to know if all his friends were duly provided for in their outfit for the campaign, and whatsoever he found they lacked he provided—not with cash, but by assigning to them lands or villages or revenues from certain parts of his realm. At last, when he had in this wise apportioned almost all he had to give, Perdiccas, in some solicitude, asked him what he had left for himself, and he replied: "My hopes." "In these," rejoined Perdiccas, "your soldiers will be your partners," and thereupon refused, along with others, to accept what had been assigned him.

The relatively insignificant resources with which Alexander set out upon his task give a touch of the quixotic to his enterprise. Men have judged him a harebrained enthusiast whose successes were due to dash and luck. But he reckoned well with what he had to deal. Behind the appearance of reckless dash were concealed a careful estimate of conditions and a definite and consistent plan of action. He knew that Persia was weak in its vastness, and that its bulk gave it, through inertia, a continuance of existence only because no smooth stone was fitted to the sling.

With all Greece sulkily holding aloof from the war, and Greek mercenaries constituting the reliable strength of the Persian army, he called himself the leader of the Greeks, and entered the contest with a compact force composed of soldiers most of whom the Greeks would have called barbarians. But he knew his army. It was the best-disciplined force in existence. He had seen its action, and, small as it was, he could trust it. The weakness of Persia he had ample means of knowing. Had not the experience of the ten thousand Greeks who, sixty years before, entered to the heart of the empire and then retreated complacently and safely, proved it amply enough? A band of professional soldiers of fortune picked up in the soldier marts of Greece, they had pushed their way (401 B.C.), along with a dashing young prince who aspired offhand, as if it were a game of polo, to seize his brother's crown, seventeen hundred miles across the empire to within fifty miles of the gates of Babylon. Here, joined with a hun-

dred thousand Asiatics, they fought against half a million or more, and for their part won and would have gained for the young prince the prize he sought, had he not lost his life by the needless risks he took. Then when they found no other candidate willing to risk a throw for the crown, they turned back, made their way out to the north by Armenia, and found the shores of the Euxine well within a year from the time of first setting out. Xenophon has made a genial story of it all in his *Anabasis*.

The Persians had learned the value of Greek troops, and now, in Alexander's time, the only practical fighting strength their armies possessed were the Greek mercenaries. Alexander had thirty thousand of the latter to face at Issus (333 B.C.). Professionalism in war had developed itself in Greece with the Peloponnesian war (431–404 B.C.). Military methods suddenly outgrew the capacity of the old-fashioned citizen soldiery. War changed from sport to business. Political Napoleons like Dionysius of Syracuse, then Jason of Pheræ, then Philip of Macedon, came to see the need for their purpose of a standing army of trained, professional soldiers, and the free states were forced to keep pace with them. First were hired the supplementary troops, Rhodian slingers, Cretan bowmen, light-armed soldiers from the West and the North, while the hoplites, or heavy-armed, remained of the citizen class; but later even they yielded place to the professionals. Conservative Sparta held to the old way, but she found the times too fast for her, and went to the wall. Progressive, mercantile Athens took kindly to mer-

cenaries. Her citizens early tired of the game of war, and, as Hans Droysen remarks, "The last contests for the 'freedom' of Greece were fought mostly by mercenaries, hired with Persian money."

Corinth and Tænarum were the chief markets where soldiers were hired. Arcadians (the East-Tennesseeans of Greece), Achæans, Ætolians, Thessalians, furnished the most of the men. Like carpenters and barbers, they brought their own tools, but received pay and food, and, if all went well, a share of the booty. Strange to say, mercenary service seems not to have incurred the reproach of disloyalty, even when rendered to barbarians against a Greek state. Patriotism, for a Greek, did not go much beyond his own city. Political and military movements were now coming to concern mostly larger units than the city, but a patriotism had not been developed to fit the new scale. Love of the sport and a chance for gain were excuse enough for a young man who left home and fought in the armies of strangers. He was looked upon by his townsfolk much as a ball-player nowadays would be who should forsake his native Binghamton or Elmira to accept a position on the New York or Cincinnati nine.

In Macedonia Alexander left behind him a force of twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, just half the native army, under command of Antipater, the trusty sexagenarian, who was now made regent and the European representative of the King. He had enjoyed the fullest confidence of Philip, and was noted for his austere life and puritan-

ical ideas. The stories told about him characterise Philip as well. When Philip was starting in for a drinking-debauch, he would sometimes say, so Carystius reports: "Now we can go ahead and get full; it 's enough that Antipater keeps sober." Another is this: "Once Philip was playing at dice, when Antipater was announced. After a moment of hesitation, Philip pushed the board under the sofa."

Alexander, having once set out from Pella, advanced directly along the coast toward the Hellespont (Dardanelles), by way of Amphipolis and Abdera, and in twenty days had covered the 350 miles to Sestus, where the passage was at its narrowest (4400 feet). Here was the spot where, 146 years before, Xerxes had stretched his famous bridge of boats, and—any one may guess how many years before—Leander swam across to make his nightly rendezvous with Aphrodite's priestess, Hero.

The Macedonian forces under Parmenion, when, the year before, they had retreated from Asiatic soil, had prudently retained possession of Abydus, situated near the site of the modern Turkish fort Nagara, on a tongue of land opposite Sestus. Thus the opportunity of crossing at pleasure was secured. The greater part of the army was left to cross here under the oversight of Parmenion, at whose disposal for this purpose there were 160 triremes, besides a number of trading-vessels.

Alexander himself, now that the coast was clear, and no opposition to be expected in disembarking on the other side, was able to indulge his antiquarian instincts by arranging for a ceremonious landing a

little to the west, at the plain of Troy, on the very beach where Agamemnon had drawn up his ships. So, accompanied by a portion of the infantry, he moved farther along the northern coast to Elæus (modern Eski Hissarlik), about fifteen miles distant, where the breadth of the Hellespont (two and a half miles) is three times that at Sestus. After paying his respects at the tomb of Protesilaus, the first hero to land, as well as to fall, in the Trojan war, and offering sacrifices accompanied with a prayer for better luck, he started across. The flagship he steered with his own hands. In the middle of the channel he sacrificed a bull to Poseidon and the Nereids, and poured them a libation from a golden goblet. His ship was first to touch the land. From its prow he hurled a spear into the soil, and then leaped ashore in full armour, the first to land. Altars to Zeus, Athena, and Hercules were erected on the spot, as well as at the one where he had embarked.

Then he betook himself to the site of ancient Troy, and without suffering the perverting doubts of Demetrius or Lechevalier as to its location, he went straight to Ilium, the modern Hissarlik. Here he offered sacrifice in the temple of Athena, and dedicated as votive offering a suit of his own armour, taking in exchange some of the consecrated armour that, tradition claimed, had been there since the Trojan war. This he afterwards caused to be carried before him, by specially appointed shield-bearers, when he entered battle. He also sacrificed to Priam, who, according to one legend, was slain by Neopto-

lemus, in order to avert his displeasure from himself as Neoptolemus's descendant. Special honours he paid to the tomb of Achilles. "He anointed his grave, and in company with his friends, as the ancient custom is, ran to it naked and laid a garland upon it, declaring, as he did so, how fortunate he esteemed Achilles in that in life he found a faithful friend, and in death a great man to herald his deeds." His friend Hephæstion is said to have paid similar honours to the tomb of Patroclus. Games also were held. After receiving the felicitations of the dignitaries of the neighbourhood, including the picturesque Chares, an Athenian, but now a free-lance and lord of Sigeum, and after having ordered the rebuilding of Ilium and encouraged the assemblage of a population there by promise of freedom from taxation, he set out to join the body of his army, which was encamped at Arisbe, near Abydus. Of the infantry, 5000 were mercenaries, 7000 allies, 6000 tribesmen of the Thracian and Illyrian north, and 12,000 native Macedonians; of the cavalry, 1500 were Macedonians, 1500 Thessalians, the rest Greeks, Thracians, and Pæonians.

The highest standard of efficiency in the army was represented by the famous cavalry troop composed of Macedonian knights and called the *hetairoi*, or companions. It was at first divided into eight squadrons (*ilai*), one of them being composed of picked men and called the *agéma*. Though the numbers were not definitely fixed, it appears from incidental allusions that each *ile* contained about

150 men. The whole troop we may therefore estimate approximately at 1200. The term "companions," or "cavalry companions" (to distinguish them from the *pezetairoi*, or infantry companions), is sometimes applied to the whole troop, sometimes to the *agêma*, as the companions in the most restricted sense. They wore, like the Greek heavy cavalry generally, a metallic helmet, a cuirass of linen or leather covered with metallic scales, and high boots; they rode without saddle, and carried a short (blade about two feet), straight, two-edged sword, and a lance (six to eight feet) of cornel-wood or ash, shod and tipped with metal, but no javelins and no shield. The Thessalian cavalry was similarly equipped. Besides these were the light-armed cavalrymen, the Pæonians and the *sarissophors*, the latter armed with the long lance (eighteen feet).

The mass of the infantry, known as the *pezetairoi*, or infantry companions, constituted the phalanx, a solid defensive formation which Philip had created by modifications of the Theban phalanx. The men were armed with the eighteen-foot *sarissa*, or lance, which was held couched by the left hand grasping it about four feet from the foot, and supported by the right. The phalanx was drawn up in six battalions, or *taxeis*, generally eight men deep. When all the lances were levelled, and the men compactly massed, the lances of the rear rank reached nearly, if not quite, to the front rank, and the whole became a bristling mass of lance-points which no onset could penetrate.

A body of light-armed foot-soldiers, called the

hypaspists, originally developed out of the king's body-guard, formed the *corps d'élite* of the infantry. They were armed much like peltasts, with shield, long sword, and lance. A picked body of them, also known as the *agéma*, served with the cavalry *agéma* as body-guard to the King. Alexander's usual order of battle disposed the various troops as follows, beginning on the right: (1) bowmen and Agrianians; (2) the cavalry *agéma*, supported by the light cavalry of Pæonians and *sarissophors;* (3) the cavalry companions; (4) the *hypaspists;* (5) the *pezetairoi*, or phalanx; (6) the Thessalian and other allied cavalry. There was in reality no centre. The right wing was intended to smite, the left to stand firm. How Alexander used his line we shall soon see.

A Persian army had already assembled to meet them, about seventy miles to the eastward of Zeleia. Without hesitation, the Macedonians advanced. The cities of Lampsacus and Priapus hastened to offer their submission as the army came toward them. The Persians, in their turn, advanced and took a position on the east bank of the Granicus, fifteen miles from its mouth at the Sea of Marmora. In doing this the Persians had overridden the wise advice of their only competent general, Memnon, the Rhodian Greek. He had advised that the army should slowly retreat, devastating the country through which Alexander had to pass, and thus embarrassing him for lack of supplies. The Greeks, superior in their infantry and under the personal leading of their King, were certain for the present to have advantage in a direct engagement. Jealousy

of Memnon and pretended solicitude for the dignity of the empire led the Persians to reject this advice and adopt the plan of defending the ford of the Granicus.

They took their position above the steep eastern bank of the river, placing their cavalry in front along the bank, and the Greek mercenaries, who constituted the mass of the infantry, on the rising ground behind. The cavalry numbered about twenty thousand, the infantry somewhat less. The Persians, in setting their cavalry at the front to act on the defensive, committed a folly that Alexander appreciated the moment he arrived on the opposite bank, where he could see the enemy's line. He determined, though the day was already far advanced, to attack immediately.

Parmenion attempted to dissuade him from his purpose. He presented a strong case. It would be impossible to attack the enemy there except at great disadvantage. The stream was in places deep, and only at one ford could the troops pass through. Hence it would be impossible to meet the enemy with extended front. They would attack the column end as it emerged from the ford and attempted to climb the steep, muddy banks. A repulse at this juncture would put a damper upon the whole expedition. It was too much to risk. Rather let us encamp, he urged, and wait for the enemy to withdraw, as they are sure to do when they appreciate our superiority in infantry. The very prudence of this advice illustrates well how weak is logical analysis as against the sure, quick insight of genius.

Alexander had seen at a glance the advantage he had through the mistake of his enemy. The Greek mercenaries, the only part of the army he had to fear, were removed to a distance from the river. The cavalry suited to the onset was assigned to a hopeless defence. Alexander's answer to Parmenion was not, however, couched in terms of strategy: "I should count it a disgrace, Parmenion, after having so easily crossed the Hellespont, to be foiled by this paltry stream. If I halt now, the Persians will take courage and flatter themselves they are in some way a match for Macedonians." With these words he closed the discussion, and sent Parmenion to command the left or northerly wing, while he took command of the right.

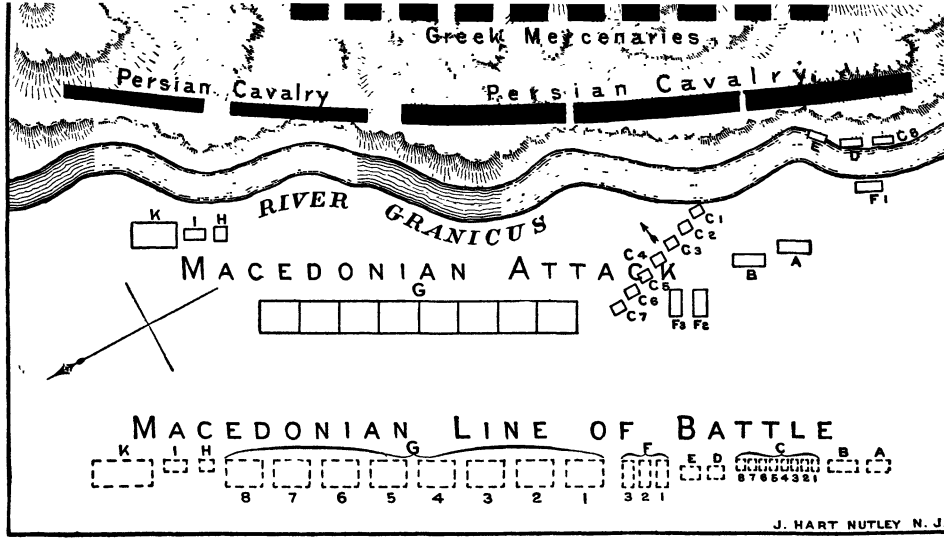
The glitter of his armour and the honours paid him by his attendants disclosed to the Persians, watching from the other bank, the position Alexander had taken, and they hastened to mass dense squadrons of horse upon their left wing, where his attack was to be expected.

Amyntas, in command of a skirmishing force of cavalry, and accompanied by one division of infantry, in front of which moved a squadron of the companion cavalry, was sent on ahead to attack the enemy's extreme left. The purpose of this movement was evidently to draw the enemy's line toward the left and so weaken their centre or open a gap between centre and left where Alexander was preparing to strike.

Then Alexander mounted his horse, called to his men to remember their valour, and gave the order

to advance. The blare of the trumpets echoed his command. The pæan to Mars resounded through the valley, and in they plunged. Alexander led the squadrons of heavy cavalry obliquely across and down the stream half left, in a sort of *échelon* formation, so that, on reaching the opposite bank, his line should present to the enemy as broad a front as possible. Showers of arrows fell upon them as they struggled through the ford. As the advance cavalry neared the shore, the Persians hurled their javelins down upon them from the high banks, or pushed down to meet them on the shore or at the very edge of the water. The Macedonians fought with spears, many of them still standing with unsteady footing in the water. The horses plunged and slipped as they gained the muddy shore, and the Persian horse rode down against them, pushing them back and rolling them over.

The first-comers fared hard. A confused, surging, pushing, slipping, struggling mass of men and horses covered the bank. But slowly and steadily, pressing their way through the ford and aiming at the enemy's centre, came the dense squadrons of Alexander's cavalry. The first rank gained the shore. Close behind and somewhat to the left came the second. They pushed their way relentlessly into the jumbled mass. The long Macedonian spears with their stubborn shafts of cornel-wood prodded their way before them. The short javelins (three feet long) with which the Persians fought lacked the range of the Macedonian *sarissas*. Slowly but surely Alexander's squadrons pushed



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS AS ARRANGED BY THE AUTHOR.

A, Agrianians with javelins.
B, Archers.
C, Companion cavalry, 1500, commanded by Philotas; **C1**, the cavalry agéma, commanded by Clitus, and attending Alexander; **C8**, the ile of Socrates, commanded by Ptolemy and sent against the Persian left.
D, Pæonian light cavalry, 400, } commanded by Amyntas.
E, Sarissophors, light cavalry, 500, }
F, Hypaspists, light infantry, 3000, led by Nicanor; **F1**, the taxis sent with Amyntas against the Persian left.
G, Heavy infantry, pezetairoi, and allies, 20,000 to 22,000; **G1**, commanded by Perdiccas; **G2**, commanded by Cœnus; **G3**, commanded by Craterus, son of Alexander; **G4**, commanded by Amyntas, son of Andromenes; **G5**, commanded by Philip, son of Amyntas; **G6**, commanded by Philip; **G7**, commanded by Meleager; **G8**, commanded by Craterus.
H, Thracian cavalry, 500, commanded by Agathon.

their way in, and the light-armed infantry mingled with the cavalry served a good purpose, too.

Alexander, upon his horse, was in the thick of the fight. His lance was shattered. So was that of Aretis, his aide, to whom he had called for another. Then Demaratus, the Corinthian, gave him his own.*

"No sooner had he taken it than, seeing Mithridates, the son-in-law of Darius, riding up at the head of a squadron of cavalry arranged in the shape of a wedge, he rode forward and, striking the Persian full in the face, threw him to the ground. Thereupon Rhoisakes charged upon Alexander and smote him a blow on the head with his scimitar. A piece was broken from the helmet, but it held against the blow. Then, in turn, Alexander threw him to the ground, driving his lance through his breastplate into his chest. And, just then, as Spithridates had swung his scimitar aloft to bring it down upon the head of the King, Clitus, the very one whom Alexander six years later in his anger slew, anticipating the blow, smote him through the shoulder, cutting off arm, scimitar, and all."

The Persians maintained a vigorous resistance, but the heavy cavalry of the Macedonians kept coming in from the ford, striking blow after blow on the already disordered centre of the enemy. Once an entrance had been effected into their mass, the opening in their centre grew greater and greater. The retreat began first in the centre, where the first blow had been struck. Soon the retreat turned to

* Arrian, *Anabasis*, i., 15.

a rout, and the wings, finding the centre broken, joined in the retreat, and speed turned into furious haste. Little attempt to pursue them was made; hence the cavalry loss, considering the decisive defeat, was relatively slight, not much exceeding a thousand, or about five per cent. of those engaged.

As the field cleared itself from the rout, the Greek mercenaries were disclosed still holding sturdily their place on the highland beyond. Thus far they had had no part in the battle. It was as if they had not been consulted. The solid strength of the Persian force, and what perhaps might have been its rescue, had been stupidly relegated to uselessness, and now, abandoned utterly by their employers and lords, were left dazed by the sudden turn of affairs, and were at the mercy of the Macedonians. The cavalry swept down upon their flanks; the phalanxes of infantry attacked them in front. They were surrounded, overwhelmed, annihilated. Two thousand were taken prisoners, but none escaped, except—to give it in Arrian's grim phrase—"such as hid themselves among the dead bodies."

The defeat was overwhelming. An important feature of it was the eminence of the Persians who fell. Among these were Arbupales, prince of the royal blood, grandson of Artaxerxes; Spithridates, satrap of Lydia; Mithrobuzanes, governor of Cappadocia; Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius; Pharnaces, brother-in-law of Darius; and Omares, commander of the mercenary infantry. Arsites, the governor of Phrygia, committed suicide after

the battle, because of his responsibility for the rejection of Memnon's advice.

The Macedonians had suffered a surprisingly small loss. Twenty-five of the *hetairoi*, or knights, the heavy cavalry that had carried the weight of the battle, and sixty of the other cavalry had lost their lives, making probably less than three per cent. of those actively engaged. The fact that the loss of the infantry in killed was only thirty shows how helpless had been the Greek mercenaries, against whom alone the heavy infantry had been engaged. They had evidently become a mere disorganised mob, and were simply massacred.

The Macedonian dead were buried next day with distinguished honours, wearing their arms and decorations to their graves. Their parents and children were granted freedom from all property-taxes, as well as from imposts on the produce of their fields, and relieved from all obligation to personal service. The court statuary, Lysippus of Sicyon, was ordered to make bronze statues of the twenty-five companions who fell, and these were afterwards set up in the Macedonian metropolis of Dion.

Those who had been wounded received the personal attention and solicitude of the King. He went from one to the other, looked at their wounds, inquired particularly as to how they had been received, and allowed them—what is dear to the soldier's heart, and especially to that of the Greek soldier—"to tell their tales and brag of their deeds."

Incidents like this betray in a striking way the

extent to which Alexander's leadership and his empire were a personal thing. The prisoners taken in the battle were sent away in chains to till the soil of Macedonia. They were Greeks fighting against the Greek cause, upon which the Congress of Corinth had set its seal of legitimacy, and though this had been so far, even to an almost ludicrous extent, matter of theory rather than of practice, it was time now to vindicate the seriousness of the theory. Some of these captives were Athenians, and the desire of the Athenian state for their release expressed itself in repeated official requests. An embassy sent to the King the next year at Gordium was refused. Not until three years after the battle, in 331 B.C., was the petition finally granted.

The rich booty of the victory Alexander divided among his allies. To Olympias, his mother, he sent some of the Persian rugs and ornaments, and the golden goblets which he had found in the enemy's tents. Three hundred full suits of armour were sent to Athens to be hung up in the Acropolis as a votive offering to the goddess Athene, and the following inscription was to be displayed above them: "Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks, excepting the Lacedæmonians [dedicate this spoil], from the barbarians dwelling in Asia." Where this offering was placed in the Acropolis we are ignorant; certainly not on the outside of the Parthenon, as was once supposed. The traces of letters on the eastern architrave, formerly believed to represent the inscription dictated by Alexander, have been recently shown by an American student to

belong to an inscription in honour of the Emperor Nero.

Alexander's act, in sending the offering to Athens and the form in which the inscription was couched, speak for his generosity of temper, and his persistent kindly feeling toward Athens and admiration of her greatness. A smaller man might well have resented in the moment of brilliant success the indifference and the slights shown him in the time of his need, and Alexander might well have been excused from naming the Greeks as copartners in his victories.

The question may be raised whether it was not a mere act of policy on his part, with a view to winning the coöperation of the Greeks, and especially of the Athenians. His need of a fleet might be mentioned in support of this view. A consideration of Alexander's character as a whole, however, and of his general course of action in achieving coöperation, does not admit of an interpretation of this act which would make it an ordinary politician's bid for an exchange of favours.

His desire to be regarded and to be a real leader and champion of Hellenism had passed from the range of dream and fancy and theory into that of fixed purpose and a practical plan of life. He wished the sympathy and, in a large way, the cooperation of Greece, but he had no idea of purchasing or beguiling specific favours. The coldness and the aloofness which the Athenians displayed toward one who, in his embodiment of all that was most characteristic of the Hellenic spirit, in his passion for the beautiful, in his respect for Greek institu-

tions, in his enthusiasm for the great things in Greek history and tradition, as well as in the brilliant charm of his person, might seem the very fulfilment of the Greek desire and the satisfaction of the national demand, can be explained only on the basis of a blinding political envy and a love of small things and narrow issues. Any fear that Athens might righteously have entertained for the security of her local institutions and the maintenance of her autonomy ought, after the experience of the preceding four years, in which both Philip and Alexander had repeatedly declined to avail themselves of good excuses for interfering in local matters, to be now entirely annulled. The world was moving. A new order was coming in. Athens saw, but she did not comprehend. So the world's history moved on thereafter without Athens.

CHAPTER XIV.

IN LYDIA AND CARIA.

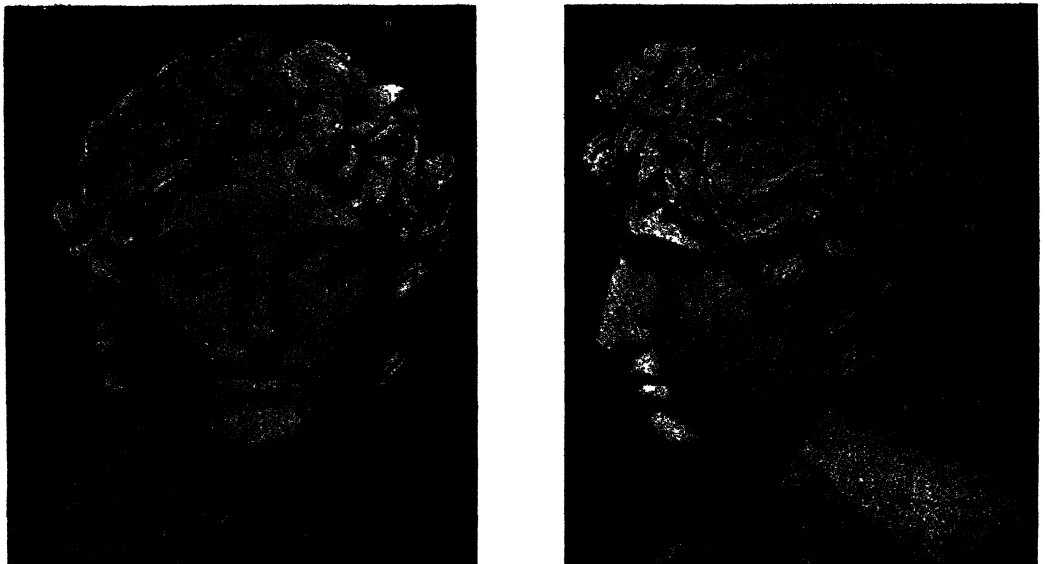
334 B.C.

TO say that Alexander had now the absolute confidence of the army would be too little; men trusted him, loved him, adored him. And no wonder. Men of any time would. He emerged from the battle-dust of Granicus a personality in which all was combined that inspires men's enthusiasm and commands their allegiance. In his twenty-second year, the flush and vigour of splendid youth upon him, no one called him a stripling; he wore the crown of success that genius, and not luck, had won him, and that age might envy. His character was as frank and open as the sky; indirection of every sort he abhorred. He could plan, organise, think; to will and to do he was quick and strong; in business affairs he was definite and orderly: but he had a heart, was loyal to friends, loved much, and was much beloved. Generous to a fault, and unconscious of self, meanness and fear were unknown to him. His respect for woman and his

moral cleanliness made him an exception to his times. Practical-minded as he was, he was swayed by ideals. He loved music and song, and the conversation and association of men; knew the charm of letters, and gave to the gods their due. Whatever his failings, these were his virtues.

Of the physical man Alexander, biographers and artists have left us a reasonably distinct picture. Lysippus portrayed him in bronze, the painter Apelles in colour, the engraver Pyrgoteles on gems; but the portraits made by Lysippus, men said, were the most lifelike. Through copies and imitators the portrait type passed on to the after-world, and survives to-day in a few such works as the Alexander bust of the Louvre, the Alexander Rondanini of the Munich Glyptothek, the Alexander in the Pompeiian mosaic representing the battle of Issus, but best of all, perhaps, upon the tetradrachm coinage of Lysimachus.

Alexander was of good stature and muscular, well-proportioned figure. He had the blond type of the old Northman Aryans, blue eyes and golden hair, which survived latest in Greece with the old aristocratic families. His skin, as Plutarch particularly emphasises, was clear and white, with ruddy hue on cheek and breast. A characteristic feature were the massy locks that rose up mane-like from above the centre of his forehead, and coupled with deep-set eyes and heavy brows, gave his face the leonine look to which Plutarch refers. The upward glance of the eyes, which had the soft, melting, or, as the Greeks called it, "moist" expression, that artists



HEAD OF ALEXANDER RONDANINI.

IN THE GLYPTOTHEK AT MUNICH.

(From Koepp's "Ueber das Bildnes Alexanders des Grossen.")

gave to the eyes of Venus and Bacchus, the strong, finely shaped, almost aquiline nose joined high to the forehead, the sensitive, passionate lips, the prominent chin—these complete the picture that pen and chisel have left. That he was beautiful to look upon all accounts agree.

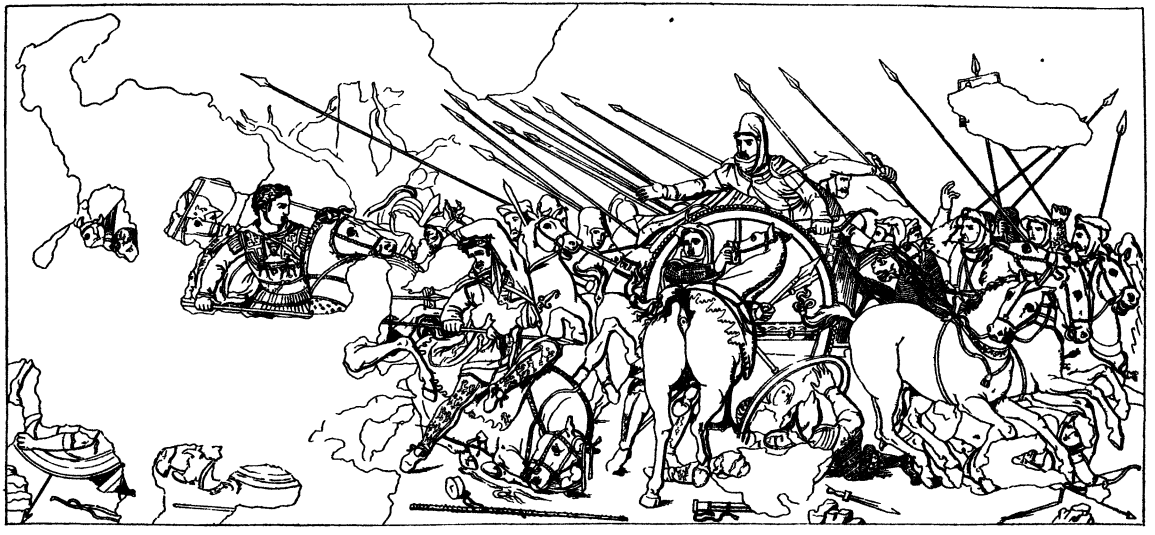
All the portraits represent him as smooth-shaven, except the Pompeiian mosaic, where a light growth on the cheeks perhaps serves to indicate youth, in accordance with Roman-Alexandrian usage. It is noticeable that the Capitoline bust commonly named Helios, but which at least has the Alexander type as a basis, and shows also an incipient beard, is a work of the second century B.C. But, after all, the Pompeiian mosaic may be a faithful copy of Helena's painting made directly after the Issus battle (333 B.C.), and so be a proof that Alexander began the practice of shaving later than that, and at some time during the Asiatic campaigns. We know that the fashion of shaving the face clean took its rise in Greco-Roman civilisation from imitation of Alexander. The Hellenistic kings always appear without beards, and in the third century B.C. barbers and shaving made their way into Rome. The Roman emperors down to Hadrian followed the style thus set by their archetype. Alexander had a habit, too, of carrying the head slightly inclined toward the left shoulder, and this, they say, all his generals and successors, consciously or unconsciously, imitated, and many would-be heroes after them.

The battle at the Granicus (May, 334 B.C.), insignificant as it seemed to be on the score of the

relatively small Persian force (from thirty-five to forty thousand) engaged, had now become a fact of great significance. It was one of the three great battles fought by Alexander in open field for the conquest of the Persian Empire. As its immediate result, the whole of Asia Minor north of the Taurus range—that is, north of Pisidia and Cilicia—was placed at the mercy of Alexander. No large Persian force and no competent Persian authority existed within that territory.

After appointing Calas, a young Macedonian who had commanded the Thessalian cavalry in the battle, governor of Phrygia, and sending Parmenion with troops to occupy Dascylium its capital, eighty miles to the east of the battle-field, he himself advanced into Lydia, toward its capital, Sardis. This city, from its central inland position, was an important point, as well as from its wealth, the strength of its citadel, and its command of the trade routes. Nine miles outside the city gates the Persian commandant, Mithrines, accompanied by the leading citizens, came to meet the conqueror and offer the surrender of the city.

On entering its gates, Alexander assured the citizens of their freedom, restored to them their ancient constitution and laws, which Persian occupation had set aside, and, as an honour to the city, announced his determination to erect a temple of the Olympian Zeus upon its citadel. In this connection an incident is related characteristic of the ancient meteorology. While Alexander was debating concerning the proper location of the temple there suddenly appeared in



MOSAIC OF THE BATTLE OF ISSUS (FROM POMPEII).

the sky—an unusual thing in the dry, placid climate of June—a heavy mass of clouds attended by thunder and lightning. There came, however, with the clouds only a few drops of rain, but what fell, fell upon that part of the citadel rock where in ancient times the palace of the kings of Lydia had stood. This was accepted as an intimation of the divine will, and the temple was located on that spot.

The government of the province of Lydia was not left in the hands of a single man, as under the Persian *régime*, but the former functions of the satrap were distributed among three different officials—one who attended to the collection of tribute and imposts, one who commanded the garrison, and one who conducted the government and had the title and honours of governor. All three were made directly responsible to the throne. This model Alexander followed in organising the government of other provinces as they fell into his hands. It was an important modification of the Persian system in the interest of solidifying and centralising the imperial authority. The wisest thing about it all was that the organisation of the army was thereby kept undivided.

Having so disposed of matters in Lydia, Alexander set out toward Ephesus, sixty-five miles to the southwest of Sardis, and so came again within the confines of Hellendom; for the true Hellas, as the habitat of the Greeks, was then, as it is to-day, not a tract of land, but the Ægean and its fringe of shores. The Asiatic Greeks were a third of all there were. In the most central position on the Asiatic

shore, directly opposite Athens, stood Ephesus, at the head of a bay along the shores of which, within a radius of thirty miles, were ranged at least ten prosperous Greek cities. Chios flanked the northern entrance to the bay, Samos, twenty miles away, the southern. Accessible to the inland by the Cayster valley, Ephesus formed the natural meeting-place for the Carian, Phrygian, and Lydian population of the interior with the Greeks and others who plied the sea. Long before there were any Greeks in these lands it had been a busy mart, and now, like the cult and the sanctuary of its famous Diana, herself a Hellenised Asiatic, it had become the most cosmopolitan of all the communities wearing the Greek guise, and, with its population of a quarter of a million, was the largest, wealthiest city of Asiatic Greece, Miletus being its only rival.

The Asiatic Greece of which Ephesus was the foremost representative inclined in general to the oligarchic form of city government and to a placid acceptance of the mild Persian sway. The young hero who bore the lofty title of captain-general of the Greeks surely found some disappointments to face. The cities of European Greece looked on with indifference as he toiled, and awaited the opportunity of some reverse openly to oppose him. The Asiatic Greeks he came to rescue did not wish to be rescued. The war for the present was Greek against Greek.

On the fourth day from Sardis Alexander was at the gates of Ephesus. The news of his approach had developed a panic within the city. Indeed, since the battle of Granicus the city had been in

HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

FROM A TETRADRACHM OF LYSIMACHUS.

continuous political turmoil. The Greek mercenaries who constituted, evidently in Persian interest, the garrison of the city, on the first news of the battle, in which the summary treatment accorded the Greek mercenaries must have particularly interested them, had seized two triremes and set off in flight. This was a serious blow to the oligarchic government which at that time, under Syrphax's leadership, was in control of the city. This government had sought to sustain itself by admitting into the city, after the battle of Granicus, the fugitive remnants of Memnon's army, an act which had been sorely resented by the popular party. The oligarchy was thus identified more closely than ever with the fortunes of Persia, and the retreat of the garrison, and Memnon's withdrawal to Halicarnassus, made it difficult for Syrphax and his associates to hold in check the rising tide of democratic revolt.

These internal conflicts apparently made all thought of resistance to Alexander impossible, for on his approach Ephesus was thrown open to receive him. He immediately identified himself with the democracy, recalled the political exiles, broke up the oligarchy and established a government of the demos, and directed that the tribute heretofore paid to Persia should be transferred to the goddess Diana. The moment the populace was relieved of its fear of the "first families" through Alexander's recognition of the demos, riot broke loose. The mob undertook to pay off a long list of old scores. The men who had let Memnon into the city, and those who had pillaged the temple of Diana, and thrown down a

statue of Philip standing within it, and others who had desecrated the grave of Heropythus, a former leader of the democracy—all these must now receive summary attention. First on the list came Syrphax, whom, together with his sons and his brother's sons, the mob had already dragged from the altars of the temple and stoned to death, when Alexander, to his great credit, interfered and reëstablished order by military force.

Magnesia and Tralles, cities in the Mæander valley, twenty and forty miles to the south-east, now sent deputations to announce their submission. The coast cities to the north in Ionia and Æolis, by overthrowing the oligarchies, testified their sympathy with the cause of Alexander. It is probable that Alcimachus, who was at this time sent out with a detachment of troops among the northern cities, aided in bringing these results to pass. The city of Smyrna, which since the days of the Lydian monarchy had lain in ruin or existed only in scattered hamlets, the King now ordered to be rebuilt. The Greek cities of the neighbourhood, such as Teos and Clazomenæ, seem to have welcomed the Macedonians.

The first opposition came at Miletus, the next important maritime city to the south of Ephesus. The commander of the Persian garrison, Hegesistratus, had at first written a letter to Alexander offering to surrender the city, but later, learning that the Persian fleet was in the neighbourhood, he took courage and determined to make a defence. The fleet, however, through its dilatoriness, disappointed his hopes.

Three days before it appeared, the Macedonian fleet of 160 triremes had sailed into the harbour of Miletus, and anchored off the island Lade, which commanded to the west the principal portion of the harbour, and which Alexander immediately proceeded to occupy with a strong detachment of his army.

The trireme of those times was preëminently a great ramming- or bumping-machine. Naval tactics were principally addressed toward disabling the opposing ship by shattering its oars and dashing in its sides. The development of speed was therefore a chief consideration, and, as sails could not be depended upon and steam-power was unknown, oars and man-power were the only recourse. Of the 200 men who constituted the normal complement of an Athenian trireme, 170 were oarsmen, and only from ten to fifteen armed fighting men. The oarsmen were arranged in three tiers or banks, in such wise, for economy of space, that the corresponding oarsmen of the next lower bank sat a little lower and a little behind. The vessel itself was long, narrow, and of light draft. The normal length appears to have been from 120 to 150 feet, the breadth from 15 to 18 feet, and that the draft could not have been much over three feet appears from the fact that cavalrymen have been known to participate in a sea-fight by riding out into the water among the ships. Xenophon, in the *Hellenica*, refers to such an occurrence off the beach at Abydus. In long voyages the trireme could avail itself of a favouring wind by hoisting sails on its two masts, but these masts were

lowered in clearing the ship for action. It appears that a speed of seven or eight miles an hour could be attained by the oars alone. The serious burden entailed by the maintenance of a fleet is apparent when it is seen that the 300 triremes regularly constituting the Athenian fleet demanded the service of 60,000 men, and the expenditure for rations and pay, to say nothing of the ships themselves and their outfit, from $250,000 to $350,000 per month. Imperial ambitions came too dear for most states. For a little state like Attica, with a population of perhaps a third of a million, at least half of whom were slaves, it would have been impossible without the tribute from its dependencies.

The Persian fleet, four hundred strong, shortly appeared and anchored at the opposite side of the bay, off the promontory of Mycale, six or seven miles away. Parmenion was desirous of risking a battle. They had everything to win and nothing to lose, he said; for the Persians, as it was, had the supremacy at sea. Alexander was of different mind. The loss of a naval battle would annul the prestige they had achieved by their victories on land, and would encourage the anti-Macedonian elements in the Greek cities to attempt revolt. The chances in a sea-fight, furthermore, were all against them. They were greatly outnumbered, and the Phœnicians and Cyprians were skilled watermen, while the Macedonians were relatively novices. He therefore wisely decided to keep his fleet on the defensive, and trust, as he had in the past, to his army for his conquests. The fact

that the Macedonian fleet already held the harbour constituted in itself a great advantage, for as long as it kept within the close harbour the Persians could bring aid to the city only by attacking the Macedonians at a great disadvantage, and where their superiority of numbers would not count.

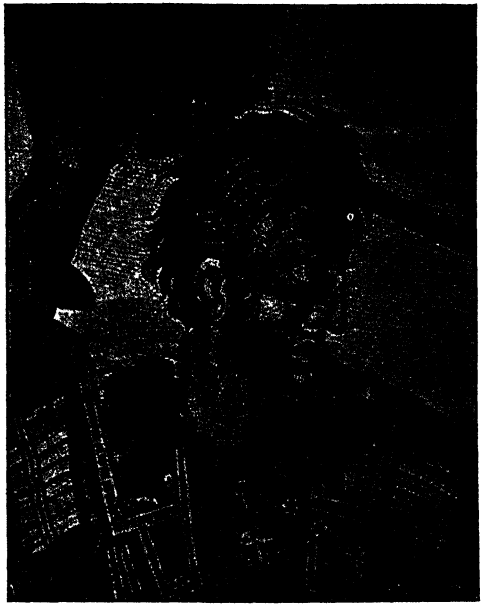
The readiness with which omens could be interpreted so as to harmonise with one's wishes and views is rather fitly illustrated by a competitive exercise in augury in which Alexander and Parmenion indulged on this occasion. An eagle had been sitting on the shore behind the Macedonian ships. Parmenion found in this a convincing indication of the gods that victory was with the ships. Alexander pointed to the fact that the eagle perched on the land, not on the ships, giving thereby the evident intimation that it was only through the victory of the troops on land that the fleet could have value. Alexander being the commander-in-chief, this was evidently the orthodox interpretation.

On his first arrival before the city, Alexander occupied the portion lying outside the walls, and established a close blockade of the inner city. Just as the decision had been reached to continue the siege without risking a naval encounter, there came to Alexander from the city one of its leading citizens, Glaucippus, bringing the proposal that he should raise the siege on condition that the Milesians should thereafter make their harbours and their walls free alike to him and to the Persians. Generous as Alexander was by nature, such good-lord, good-devil attitudes as this were always abhorrent

to him. Peculiarly exasperating was this notably academic proposition in that it implied the possibility of a Greek community assuming in this life-and-death struggle between Greek and barbarian a neutral position. He therefore informed the eminent citizen that he had not come thither to accept what men chose to grant him, but to accomplish his own will, and bade him get back into the city with all speed, and warn his people to expect an attack at daybreak. They had broken their word with him, and might count on punishment.

The use of siege-engines and artillery, which took its rise in Greek lands with Dionysius the Elder of Syracuse (in power 405–367 B.C.), before whom sieges had been mere blockades, was taken up by Philip of Macedon in his siege of Perinthus (340 B.C.) and Byzantium (339 B.C.), and rapidly extended during the wars of Alexander, especially in connection with the siege of Halicarnassus, Tyre, and Gaza, coming to its fullest development at the end of the century under Demetrius, who received therefrom his surname Poliorcetes, "the Besieger." Among the engineers who accompanied Alexander as experts were Diades and Charias, said to have been pupils of the Thessalian Polyeides, who assisted Philip at Perinthus. Others were Posidonius and Crates.

The most important types of siege-engines were already in use in Alexander's time—the battering-ram, the siege-tower, the borer, the movable shed for protecting the besiegers, known as the *chelōne*, or tortoise, and also the various devices for under-



FACE OF ALEXANDER.

FROM THE POMPEIAN MOSAIC REPRESENTING THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

(*From Koepp's "Ueber das Bildnes Alexanders des Grossen"*)

mining the walls. The battering-ram was an enormous beam, or composite of beams, provided with a ponderous metallic head or knob, which was either hung in a vertical frame and swung against the wall, or mounted on wheels and rolled against it. The dimensions of one of these ancient mechanisms, which has been described for us in detail, were as follows: length of the beam, one hundred and eighty feet; diameter of each of the eight wheels on which it was mounted, six and a half feet; thickness of wheels, three feet; weight of the whole, over two thousand hundredweight. A hundred men were needed to operate it. While this was undoubtedly more massive than the ordinary ram (commonly from sixty to one hundred feet long), it is evident that an effective mechanism for opening a breach in a stone wall from ten to eighteen feet thick required solidity and weight.

The borer was an engine not unlike the ram, but with pointed head and mounted on rollers.

The siege-tower was a mighty structure, mounted on wheels or rollers, which could be advanced before the city walls and afford opportunity for the besiegers distributed through its various stories to face the defenders of the wall on equal or higher level, and to reach the battlements by bridges. These towers reached a height, according to necessity, of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet, and contained from ten to twenty stories. The monster tower which Demetrius built in the siege of Rhodes had a breadth on the ground of seventy-two feet. The outside of the towers was usually protected

against weapons and firebrands by a coating of hides or of sheet-iron.

Various devices for undermining the walls were employed, the commonest being to approach by underground passages, excavate the foundations, and support the wall by beams which afterward could be burned away.

Though the various forms of the catapult, or mechanism for hurling arrows, stones, and bullets, had not reached their full development in Alexander's time, it is certain that he made use of the mechanical bow, or bow-gun, and he was probably also acquainted with the method of developing projectile power from the recoil of twisted ropes. Great arrows from four to six feet long, ponderous missiles, and fire-balls were in this way thrown to considerable distances, cases of from four to six hundred yards being cited.

The next morning after the visit of the embassy the assault upon the walls began. The battering-rams were set in action, and soon a great breach appeared, and a large portion of the wall tottered to its fall. As soon as Nicanor, the Macedonian admiral, saw the assault begun, he moved over from Lade, and sailing into the harbour and hugging the shore, moored his vessels close together in the narrowest part of the channel, with their prows facing the sea. They thus interposed an absolute barrier between the city and the Persian fleet. The naval superiority of the Persians was thus cancelled out of the situation, and Miletus became, so far as that factor was concerned, an inland town.

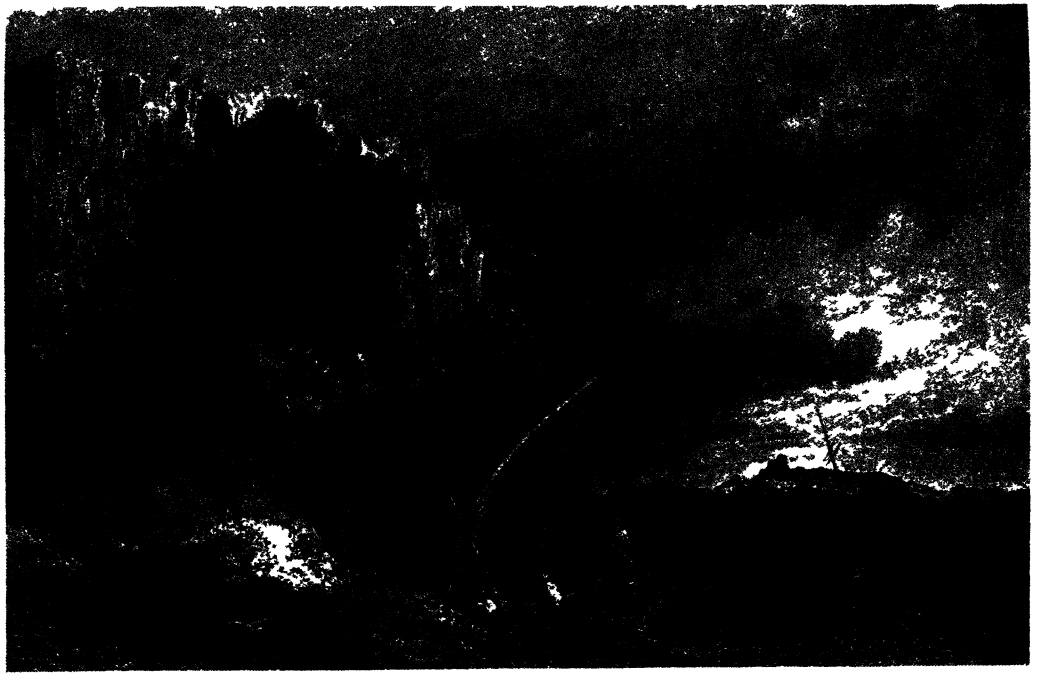
Through the breach in the wall, the Macedonians pressed in. The citizens and mercenary garrison took to flight. Some swam out upon their wicker-framed leathern shields to an island off the city; some in skiffs tried in vain to evade the Macedonian ships; but most of them were cut down within the city. Those who escaped death during the attack were given their life and freedom. The three hundred mercenaries who had taken refuge on the island were just about to be surrounded, and were preparing to sell their lives as dearly as possible, when Alexander, shrinking from the useless butchery, offered them their lives if they would serve in his army, a condition which they readily accepted.

There now appeared the first practical illustration of Alexander's plan of isolating the Persian fleet by robbing it of its harbours. The fleet lay yet off Mycale, but every day pushed out into the bay, hoping to tempt the Macedonians to an engagement. Their anchorage was inconvenient for the Persians, as they were obliged to go at least ten miles to the east, to the mouth of the Mæander, for their water-supply. To make their position still more uncomfortable, Alexander sent Philotas around the shore toward Mycale with a force of cavalry and three regiments of infantry. This made it impossible for the Persian sailors to land at all, and they found themselves cut off entirely from supplies of food and water, and as good as "besieged in their ships." They were therefore obliged to sail over to Samos, twenty-five or thirty miles away, and reprovision the fleet. Again they returned to Miletus and renewed their

former tactics, sailing up to the very entrance of the harbour, in hope of luring the Macedonians out.

Finally five of their ships ventured into the harbour between the island of Lade and the shore, thinking to surprise the Macedonian seamen, who were believed to be absent on shore collecting fuel and provisions. Many of them were absent, but enough were there quickly to man ten triremes and put out into the harbour. On seeing this, the reconnoitring squadron put about and fled; but a Carian ship from Iassus, being slower than the rest, was captured, men and all. This slight loss seems to have completed the discouragement of the Persians, and the whole fleet shortly sailed away.

Alexander now decided to disband his fleet. His policy of conducting, handicapped as he was on the sea, exclusively a land campaign had been thus far brilliantly vindicated. As he moved to the south along the coast, his fleet, had it followed him, would have gone farther and farther from its base and entered waters where the Phœnicians were at home. The summer was now coming to its close, and the fleet would soon at best be obliged to seek winter quarters. The cost of maintenance was also a serious item for his slender exchequer. One hundred and sixty triremes implied a force of over thirty thousand men to man them, and this matched or nearly matched the numbers of his army, without giving hope of accomplishing any results at all comparable with those of which the army had demonstrated itself capable. The money required for the pay of the men, reckoning this at two or three obols



SCENE ON THE COAST OF ASIA MINOR, NEAR ANAMOUR.

per day and double pay for officers, must have amounted to from sixty to ninety thousand dollars per month, and, if provisions could not be obtained without purchase, to as much more.

Alexander's conquests had not as yet effected any vast increase of his permanent revenues. The cities of Asia Minor had not been subjected to extraordinary tribute; many had been freed altogether. His decision was made, therefore, on the basis of reasons that can be appreciated. However, the decision was probably a mistake,—for it soon proved itself necessary to reorganise a fleet,—yet not a fatal mistake. It was an undue application of logic. But the most weirdly solemn thing about it all was,—and it must have been humiliating to the enthusiasms of the young leader who fought in the name of the Greeks,—that the Greek states offered no aid with their fleets, but left him to confess his helplessness on the seas.

The autumn was now beginning, but there remained one more stronghold on the coast, Halicarnassus, the old capital of the Carian kings, at the extreme south-eastern tip of Asia Minor. Here the forces of the opposition had assembled for a desperate stand. The Greek Memnon, ablest leader among the Persians, had recently been appointed by the Shah commander-in-chief of all his forces in Asia Minor, both by sea and by land, as well as governor of the country, and he was now in command within the city. With him were collected the relics of the Persian army.

As Alexander advanced, the cities of Caria hast-

ened to submit to him. Ada, the widow of Idrieus, a former king of Caria, who had been robbed of the throne, to which Carian law gave her the right, by her brother Pixodarus, came to meet him and offer her support. The present king, Othontopates, a Persian by birth, had within the preceding year succeeded to the throne of his father-in-law, Pixodarus. The kings of Caria, as important and almost independent tributaries of the Persian Empire, had for the preceding half-century developed great power and wealth, and had made their chief city a mart and stronghold of prominence. Mausolus, who had died two decades before, and who had been succeeded by his queen, Artemisia, had become at one time an important factor in Greek international politics, and was chief instigator of the Social War (357–355 B.C.), which more than anything else had wrecked the Athenian Empire.

The city was fortified on three sides by massive walls protected by a moat forty-five feet wide and twenty-two feet deep. On the fourth side it faced the sea. It contained three strong fortresses or citadels: the acropolis, or citadel proper, the fortress Salmacis, at the south-west, directly on the sea, and the king's castle, on a small island at the entrance to the harbour.

Alexander halted and encamped half a mile outside the city, and prepared for a systematic siege. On the first day of the siege a sortie from the city was easily repulsed. A midnight attack upon Myndus, a town some miles west of the city, impulsively attempted by Alexander a few days later,

signally failed. Then he set about the siege of the city proper with vigour. He first filled up the moat, in order to furnish a foundation for the movable towers from which the walls and their defenders were to be attacked, as well as for the heavy machinery used in battering the walls. Repeated sallies were made by the enemy, with the design of setting fire to the towers and engines, and after one of these there was found among their dead the body of Neoptolemus, the Lyncestian prince who, two years before, had fled from Macedonia on account of his supposed connection with the murder of King Philip.

The siege was continued day after day with varying fortunes, but gradually the force of the rams made itself felt. Two great towers and the wall between them had fallen; a third tower was tottering. Behind the breach the Persians had hastily built a crescent-shaped wall of brick, joining the two broken ends together. The Macedonians advanced their engines over the débris of the first wall, to make assault on the new inner wall. Alexander was superintending the work in person.

Suddenly there was a movement from within. Masses of men came pouring out through the breach, and off at one side, where no one was expecting it, by the gate called the Triple Gate, another rushing mass of soldiery appeared. Those who issued forth at the breach came stumbling on over the ruins, pelted by great stones and by javelins from the high wooden towers of the besiegers, at the base of which they now stood. The fight was

hand to hand, in the midst of ruins and falling walls. Men were continually pushing their way out of the city, but the breach was too small for the struggling mass to pass. The first-comers were cut down. The sally turned to flight, but the breach was clogged with men, and those who were already outside were caught as in a trap. Those who had issued out at the Triple Gate, met by a strong force under Ptolemy, were soon put to rout. The narrow bridge over the moat proved too slight for their weight. Hundreds were piled into the moat, to be trampled to death or slain by the Macedonians with javelins and stones from above. In the panic the gates were shut to, and hundreds more were left at the mercy of the besiegers.

The loss of the defenders had been terrible. One onset now through the breach, and the city would have been captured; but out of the din of the last struggle issued the trumpet sound recalling the Macedonian troops and ending the battle. Alexander was still unwilling to give the city, a Greek city of noble traditions, over to the fate of capture. The regrets of Thebes were still upon him. He hoped yet that better counsels would prevail and that the city would offer its surrender. Within the city that night a council of war was held. The situation was seen to be hopeless. For Memnon the thought of capitulation was impossible. It was decided to withdraw to the fortress, set fire to the city, and leave it to its fate. In the second watch a temporary wooden tower by the wall was set on fire, also the storehouses and arsenals and the houses

THE GYGEAN LAKE AND THE PLACE OF THE THOUSAND TOMBS, ASIA MINOR.

near the wall. The fire spread rapidly through the city. Alexander, apprised of the state of things by fugitives from the city, hastened to enter the walls and check the further spread of the flames. Those who were setting fires were slain, but orders were issued to spare all the inhabitants who kept within their houses.

When day broke he saw the strongholds to which the troops had retreated, and, determining not to spend time in the difficult and relatively useless task of besieging these, he made immediate preparations to withdraw. That night he buried the dead, and after despatching the siege apparatus to Tralles, razing the city to the ground, and distributing the populations in hamlets, marched away into Phrygia. Three thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry were left to guard the place and retain hold on the country, of which Queen Ada was now appointed viceroy.

It was now late autumn (334 B.C.). The campaign had reached a natural conclusion, and completed, almost as if by deliberate plan, a definite result. It had cleared along the entire western side of Asia Minor a strip of coast from twenty to fifty miles deep. This was Asiatic Hellas. Thus far Alexander had scarcely been outside the domain of the Greek tongue.

CHAPTER XV.

LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA, PISIDIA.

334–333 B.C.

THE winter of 334 B.C. was now approaching, and such campaigns as Alexander projected for the winter made no demand for large bodies of troops; he therefore dismissed on furlough many of his soldiers, designating for this favour the young men who had been recently married, and whose honeymoons had suffered eclipse through the march into Asia. Under the command of Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, one of the *agéma*, or royal body-guard, and of the two generals Cœnus, son of Polemocrates, and Meleager, son of Neoptolemus, themselves also benedicts of short standing, he sent them back into Macedonia, giving the generals instructions to enlist new troops and rejoin him at Gordium, in Phrygia, with the opening of spring. "By this act more than by any other," Arrian tells us, "he made himself very popular among the Macedonians." In any case, it served his purpose well in spreading the knowledge of his victories widely

and surely throughout his kingdom, and quickening at once the national loyalty and the desire for participation in his enterprises.

He also sent Cleander into the Peloponnesus, the great mart of mercenaries, with orders to enlist troops there. We hear of Cleander, thirteen or fourteen months later, as joining him at Sidon with four thousand mercenaries fresh from the Peloponnesus, and if that was the fulfilment of this commission, he certainly had done his work at leisure.

Alexander now divided his army, sending what appears to have been at least one-half, comprising all the Thessalian cavalry (originally from twelve to fifteen hundred), and the rest of the Greek auxiliaries, and one squadron of the companions, with Parmenion, into winter quarters in Phrygia. He himself was to advance by way of Sardis, leaving there the baggage-trains.

Accompanied by the rest of his army, he now marched to the eastward along the Lycian and Pamphylian coast. His surpassing energy did not permit him to lose the use of the first winter month, while still something might be accomplished in securing the coast-line and further isolating the Persian fleet. Once he had traversed the coast as far as the eastern limits of Pamphylia, where the Taurus comes down to the sea to effect the western boundary of Cilicia, he had made the mountain-range his eastern boundary clean across Asia Minor, and had completed a definite task.

The Lycians were a people, as we know with tolerable certainty, akin to their neighbours, the

Carians and the Lydians, probably also to the Pisidians and the Cilicians. They represented the original population of Asia Minor, that is, the population which antedated the incursions of the Phrygians and the Bithynians, who were Aryans and closely related to the Thracians. By virtue of their isolated position the Lycians had held more firmly to their original folk-character and language. The language, recorded by means of an alphabet borrowed from the early Greek type and enriched by some supplementary signs, has long been a puzzle for philologists, but is now recognised as certainly non-Aryan. The people are known in the Iliad as the population of the Xanthus valley. The name by which they originally called themselves was Tremili. In later times they had been gradually yielding to Greek influence in art and civilisation, and in the harbour towns Greek manners and the Greek tongue were standard.

The Pamphylians, on the other hand, if judged by their language, were of Greek origin. This language, as betrayed through a few imperfect inscriptions, appears as a peculiar and strongly divergent dialect of the Greek. The basis of the folk-stock was probably the same autochthonous people as that represented in the Lycians, but at a very early date it was absorbed, together with its language, into the mass of the Greek immigrants.

The frontier fortress of Lycia, Hyparna, which was garrisoned by a body of Greek mercenaries, Alexander easily took at the first assault. After this he met with no further opposition. Moving

along the coast through a populous district, he received in turn the submission of Telmissus, Pinara, Xanthus, Patara, and about thirty other lesser cities. Then turning up the valley of Xanthus, toward the north, he entered, though it was now the depth of winter, the mountainous country called Milyas. Here he received deputations from most of the Lycian cities, offering submission, and found it sufficient, in the case of most, merely to send officers who should assume formal possession; but Phaselis, a considerable city fifty miles to the east, the deputies of which presented him with a golden crown of honour, he visited, and made the opportunity of the first rest he had taken since leaving Macedonia in the spring. Here he took occasion, after his own way, to pay respect to the memory of the rhetorician Theodectes, a son of the city, and pupil of his own teacher Aristotle. Plutarch narrates it in this wise:

"While he was here, too, he saw a statue of Theodectes, recently deceased, standing in the town square, and one day after dinner, when merry with wine, he went out and danced about it, decking it with garlands in mass, thus honouring not ungracefully, in the form of sport, the pleasant association he had had with the man on the score of Aristotle and philosophy."

It was also while here that he obtained word from Parmenion of a plot against his life undertaken by the Lyncestian prince Alexander, the son of Aëropus. This young man, who had once been suspected of complicity with his two brothers,

Heromenes and Arrhabæus, in the assassination of Philip, had at the time so effectually demonstrated his loyalty to Alexander that he had been entirely acquitted and afterward honoured with positions of responsibility. He had now, since Calas was made governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, been promoted to the command of the Thessalian cavalry, at present connected with Parmenion's army. The evidence of the plot was the following: Darius had received a communication from the young cavalry commander indicating a possible inclination to treachery. He thereupon sent one of his courtiers, Sisines, to communicate, if possible, with the young man, and offer him a prize of one thousand talents and the throne of Macedonia if he would make way with King Alexander. Sisines, and with him his secret, fell into Parmenion's hands. A council, immediately called, advised the King to have the young prince arrested at once. Loath as Alexander was to believe the treachery, the evidence was such, and the danger so great, that the decision was confirmed.

So great was the peril regarded to be that the order was not even committed to writing. A trustworthy officer, dressed as a peasant of the country, made his way incognito three hundred miles to Parmenion's camp, and conveyed the order by word of mouth. The prince was immediately seized and put under guard. Four years later we find him still a prisoner with the army in Afghanistan. Lack of proof of his guilt, or deference toward his father-in-law, Antipater, had spared him thus far; but the excitement attending the discovery of Philotas's

plot called his case again to attention, and a jury of officers before whom he was given a hearing, less merciful than the King, deemed his stammering defence a confession of guilt, and ran him through with their spears.

After a long rest, interrupted only by an excursion to help break up a nest of Pisidian robbers in the mountains, who had been a perpetual thorn in the sides of the Phaselites, Alexander set out for Perge, in Pamphylia. The western boundary of this district is Mount Climax, which at the shore pushes itself out as a rugged headland into the very waters of the sea. Only at times when the strong north wind was blowing was it possible to make one's way around at its foot. Otherwise a steep path by a long circuit constituted the only means of communication between the two districts.

Alexander sent his army over the mountain, but determined himself, with his body-guard, to face the elements and force his way along the shore. It was winter-time, and the sea was rough, but he pushed his way through, sometimes up to his eyes in water, and always at great peril. The news of the successful passage set great stories afloat. The account we have given is that of Strabo, and probably the correct one. Alexander's own report of it, as quoted by Plutarch from one of his letters, says no more than that he "made his way through." But other stories made him go through dry-shod. Plutarch says that many historians speak of it as if it were no less than a miracle that the sea should retire to afford him passage. Even the sober Arrian tells

that the wind changed from south to north, "not without divine interposition, as indeed both he and his men explained it." The rhetoric of Callisthenes, the would-be biographer of the King, takes fire over the incident, and reports how the sea bowed low and did him homage. Even Menander's allusion shows that the matter was sufficiently subject of common talk to be used as illustration in the comedy: "But see how Alexander-like is this: if I want anybody, lo! there he stands, as if by magic; if I need to pass through the sea at any place, lo! presto change, it is open to my feet." The different forms of the story have, at any rate, their interest as betraying the beginnings of the Alexander romance.

In Perge Alexander again joined his army. From this point he went only about forty miles farther to the east, far enough to reach and occupy Aspendus and Side, and then, as the winter was now coming to an end, returned to Perge, and started northward toward Phrygia. Syllium, a garrisoned fortress near Perge, he was obliged to leave undisturbed, as it showed no sign of yielding, and he was by the nature of his expedition not equipped for a siege. His way took him through the narrow mountain defiles of Pisidia, up on to the great central Phrygian plateau, which lies from thirty to thirty-five hundred feet above the sea-level. The Pisidians were a people of independence, fond of war, and much occupied with feuds among themselves. Alexander had no ambition, especially at this time, to accomplish in detail a conquest of all these petty tribes and towns,

but all he wished for was passage through the country. Even this the Pisidians seemed inclined to deny him.

The first opposition was met with shortly after he had left the great amphitheatrical terraced plain nearly in the centre of which Perge stands. He chose the western exit from the plain, the highway leading to the modern Istanoz. Why this particular route was chosen does not appear, as a somewhat directer road to his goal, which was to pass behind Sagalassus, would have been found at the north-western exit. It is not unlikely that the western route offered a better road. Arrian says only, "His way led him past the city of Termessus."

The Termessians now were a troublesome people. Arrian takes pains to say they were "barbarians," which means that they clung to the native language and customs and had not been assimilated into the Hellenism; or rather Hellenistism, of the plain. Their city was located near a pass which easily controlled the road. Count von Lanckoronski, in his *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens,* confirms Arrian's description of the city's unusually strong position, and says of it: "It holds the most unique and the grandest position of any city in Pisidia which we visited." Alexander stormed the pass, taking advantage of a temporary withdrawal from a position of the full force guarding it, and encamped before the city. While here, a deputation came from Selge, a rival and hostile city well to the east, and claimed the friendship of the King on the score of their common enemy. A treaty made with these

people proved satisfactory then, and in later years as well, for they became faithful allies.

Termessus was now left undisturbed, and the march continued over the mountain-ridge, and then up a long valley toward the mountain-slopes forming the southern frontier of Phrygia and commanded by Sagalassus, the modern Aghlasun. "This was also a large city, inhabited likewise by Pisidians; and warlike though all the Pisidians are, the men of this city are deemed the most warlike of all," says Arrian. After a sharp action in front of the city, the Sagalassans were driven in and the city was taken by storm. After capturing several mountain strongholds and accepting the capitulation of others, Alexander passed over the watershed into Phrygia, not crossing the high range (eight thousand feet) to the north, which way, if passable for an army, would have taken him directly to Baris (Isbarta), but turning to the west and entering the landlocked basin of Lake Askania. This lake (the modern Lake Buldur), twenty miles long and five wide, and situated three thousand feet above the sea-level, has bitter, brackish waters, but they scarcely yield, as Arrian asserts, salt by crystallisation.

In point here are the observations of Professor Ramsay:*

"That excellent traveller and observer, Hamilton (vol. i., p. 494), observes about Buldur Lake that it is impossible that this can be the Lake Askania mentioned by Arrian. His argument is that the lake is not 'so

* *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 299.

strongly impregnated with salt as to enable the inhabitants to collect it from the shores after the waters had dried up.' But I myself have seen the shores, as they dried up, covered with a whitish incrustation, and the inhabitants scraping it together into great heaps and carrying it off. I thought the substance was salt, and when I inquired I was told that it was saltpeter. Either Arrian's account is founded on the report of an eye-witness in Alexander's army, who had made the same mistake as I at first did, and did not inquire so minutely into the facts, or Arrian has erroneously applied to Askania the description of the neighbouring Lake Anava, whose salt was used by the inhabitants."

Passing around the eastern end of this lake, the army traversed thirty miles of level land, then with a rise of from eight hundred to one thousand feet passed over another mountain saddle, and arrived on the fifth day from Sagalassus near the large and prosperous city of Celænæ, at the very sources of the Mæander River. Here, sixty-eight years before, the young Cyrus had reviewed his troops when just starting out upon his march toward Babylon. The citadel of Celænæ, built by Xerxes on his return from the unfortunate expedition into Greece, was now occupied by a force of one thousand Carians and one hundred Greek mercenaries, who had been left there in the lurch by the fleeing satrap Atizyes. Nothing short of a prolonged and systematic siege could have captured the citadel, and for this, in his anxiety, now that the spring (333 B.C.) was already opening, to meet his troops at their rendezvous in the north, Alexander had no mind. He therefore

was fain to avail himself of the businesslike proposition of the garrison that if expected aid did not reach them within a certain time they would surrender. Leaving fifteen hundred soldiers to fulfil his part of the contract, after a delay of ten days, he marched without further incident directly to Gordium, where he had directed Parmenion to meet him. Antigonus, who was destined in the later division of the empire to become king of all Asia Minor, he appointed governor of Phrygia, promoting Balacer, the son of Amyntas, to Antigonus's former position as commander of the Greek allies.

Gordium (Gordeion), probably called in later times Eudoxias, was situated at the site of the modern Yürme. The importance of its location was determined by its position on the Sangarius River, but more particularly by its position on the ancient road leading from Sardis to Susa, which, in its developed character as a Persian "royal road," we have previously described. It was also readily accessible from Byzantium. On arriving, Alexander found Parmenion awaiting him, and the men who had been allowed the winter's furlough in Macedonia also joined him, bringing with them a freshly recruited force of 3000 Macedonian infantry, 300 Macedonian horsemen, 200 Thessalian horsemen, and 150 Eleans.

It was here, too, that the King cut the Gordian knot. The incident is not without its value as interpreting the character of the man and explaining his prestige. Soon after arriving, Alexander expressed his desire to go up into the citadel, not only

to visit the palace of Gordius and his son Midas, but also quite as much to see the waggon of Gordius and its famous yoke-cord, about which he had heard so much talk in the country round. And this is the story of the waggon, essentially as Arrian tells it:

Among the ancient Phrygians there was a poor farmer named Gordius. He tilled a small plot of ground, and had two yoke of oxen. One of these he used in ploughing, the other to draw the waggon. Once, while he was ploughing, an eagle settled upon the yoke and stayed there till he unyoked the oxen. Seeking an interpretation of the omen, he drove in his waggon to the village of the Telmissians, all of whom, men and women alike, were gifted with the mantic power. Arriving there, a maiden he met at the fountain bade him go sacrifice to Zeus, in particular, upon the spot where the mystery occurred. This he did, and afterward married the maiden. A son, Midas, was born to them. Years after, the Phrygians, being in civil discord, consulted an oracle, and were told their trouble would end when a waggon should bring them a king. Just then Midas arrived, driving with his father and mother in the waggon, and stopped near the assembly. The people thereupon made Midas their king, and he, putting an end to their discord, dedicated his father's waggon, yoke and all, to Zeus, as a thank-offering for the sending of the eagle. Then the saying went forth concerning the waggon that whosoever should loosen the cord which, wound around the yoke-pin, bound the yoke to the pole, was destined to gain the empire of all Asia.

The cord was made of cornel-bark and was so tied that neither end could be seen. As Alexander, after looking at the knot, could find no way to open it,

"and yet was loath to leave it unloosed, lest even this should start some disturbance among the masses, he, as some say, smote the knot with his sword and cut it asunder, and called that loosing it; but, as Aristobulus tells it, he drew out the pin of the pole, which was a peg driven right through the pole, serving to hold the knot together, and then drew the yoke off the pole. Exactly how Alexander managed it with this knot, I cannot with confidence affirm, but, at any rate, they left the waggon, both he and his associates, as if the oracle about the loosing of the knot had been fulfilled."

While Alexander had been making his way northward from Pamphylia in the early spring, the Persians, under Memnon, had been preparing a new and vigorous movement. Their plan was reasonably conceived, and contemplated nothing less than cutting Alexander entirely off from his connection with Europe and isolating him and his army in Asia Minor. A chief factor in this plan was the acknowledged predominance of the Persians on the sea. The Macedonian fleet, indeed, had been entirely disbanded. The crafty Memnon was well aware of the partisan divisions existing in the Greek cities, and also of the wide-spread, though now slumbering, aversion to the Macedonian hegemony throughout all Greece. If he could detach from Alexander the allegiance of some of the cities of the Asiatic coast,

particularly of the islands, which were more at his mercy, and then, in the glamour of success, appear off the Greek shores with his powerful fleet, he might, under the leadership of Sparta, which had persistently held aloof from all participation in Alexander's doings, call out the entire force of anti-Macedonianism to revolt.

Leaving his post at Halicarnassus, Memnon advanced first with his fleet and a considerable army of mercenaries to Chios, a hundred miles to the north. Here the leaders of the oligarchic party, playing the part of traitors, betrayed the city and the island into his hands. The government of the oligarchy was then restored. It is significant how, throughout all the Greek cities in Asia Minor and on its coast, the party lines between the oligarchic and the democratic tendencies had been made to conform to those dividing the Persian sympathisers from the Macedonian. The old party lines were the real and permanent facts. The new situation, which, one might have supposed, would, at least for a time, beget new interests and obscure the old lines, was merely utilised by the old, rooted partisan feeling to gain partisan success. The practical politician of all times is wedded to his party beyond the power of issues or principles to dislodge him.

In the cities of European Greece the oligarchic factions or those with oligarchic tendencies had, in general, constituted the pro-Macedonian party, while the democratic party had been the chief means of resisting Philip's advance. That the exact opposite came to be the case among the Greek cities of

Asia was due to the circumstances there existing. The Persians had uniformly favoured the interests of the oligarchies. When a city came under their control, they generally placed its government in the hands of the few. When Alexander appeared in the country it was the democracy which hailed him as a deliverer, and hence it was the democratic leaders who became his partisans. Macedonian interests were therefore safer in the hands of the demos, and consequently this form of government was incidentally favoured by Alexander. His enthusiasm for democracy was purely a matter of business interest, somewhat as certain trusts in the United States are Republican in one State and Democratic in another.

From Chios Memnon proceeded to Lesbos, where all the cities except Mitylene surrendered to him. This, the leading city of the island, relying upon its Macedonian garrison, dared to refuse submission. A vigorous siege was begun. The city was completely shut off from the land side by a double stockade extending from sea to sea, and invested by five military stations. On the side toward the sea the fleet maintained an absolute blockade, intercepting all the trading-vessels that sought to make the port. The city was thus reduced to severe straits. The news of Memnon's success spread rapidly through Greece. Embassies came from some of the Cyclades Islands, proposing alliance. The cities of Eubœa were in consternation because of a report that they were to be taken in hand next. Persian money had found its way again into Greece,

and there were many already who expected overturnings in the cities. The Spartans were believed to be ready to welcome the Persians.

Just at this crisis the Persian cause met with a serious disaster through the death of Memnon, which occurred during the siege of Mitylene. The operations were continued in Lesbos, after his death, by Pharnabazus, his nephew, to whom, in dying, he had committed the supreme command, pending the Shah's further orders. Pharnabazus was assisted by Autophradates, probably in the capacity of admiral of the fleet. The siege of Mitylene was finally brought to a successful conclusion. It capitulated on the conditions that it should restore the banished to citizenship, destroy the slabs upon which its treaty with Alexander was recorded, and be confirmed in the status which it formerly possessed as a dependent of the empire under the treaty of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). This latter condition the Persians, after gaining the city, disregarded, for they established Diogenes as tyrant, placed a garrison in the citadel, and laid the community under tribute.

After accomplishing this, Pharnabazus, taking with him the Greek mercenaries, who had been of great service in effecting the reduction of Mitylene, sailed for the Lycian coast, probably with the purpose of recovering the districts which Alexander had traversed the preceding winter. Autophradates remained with the most of the fleet in the neighbouring islands. Meantime the Shah, having heard of Memnon's death, had found himself forced to

assume active measures in meeting Alexander's aggressions in Asia. Memnon's plan was evidently regarded as having died with its author. A messenger from the Shah met Pharnabazus in Lycia, announcing to him his appointment as Memnon's successor, and directing him to send his mercenaries to join the main army now being formed in Persia. This decision, robbing the western expedition of its support in land forces, ended once for all the prospect of any large success on the line originally planned by Memnon. Nevertheless, Pharnabazus, on his return to the fleet, proceeded as if the plan were intact. He sent Datames with ten ships to reconnoitre among the Cyclades, and himself, in company with Autophradates, sailed with a hundred ships to Tenedos, about thirty miles north of Lesbos, and forced it to yield on terms similar to those of Lesbos. Tenedos was only a dozen miles from the entrance to the Hellespont. The aim of the Persians was evidently directed at this.

Even before matters reached this pass, Alexander had come to regret his impulsive action in disbanding his fleet five months before. Memnon's activity had given him great solicitude, and while still at Gordium—for it was after leaving there that he heard of Memnon's death—he had commissioned Hegelochus and Amphoterus to go to the Hellespont and collect a provisional fleet, even by pressing trading-vessels into service, if necessary, a proceeding which, as a breach of the treaty guaranteeing free passage of the Hellespont, called forth later a protest from Athens, and nearly occasioned a

rupture. Antipater, also, the regent in Macedonia, had received moneys from Alexander for a like purpose, and had sent Proteas to collect ships in Eubœa and the Peloponnesus to use as a protection for the Greek coast.

This Proteas, hearing now of the ten Persian triremes under Datames as moored off Siphnus, set out by night from Chalcis with fifteen ships, in hope of surprising them. Arrian says he was "at the island of Cynthus at dawn." As it was a run of ninety miles, this implies a speed of at least eight miles an hour, not an impossibility with a favouring wind, such as Proteas would likely have taken advantage of for a sudden descent. Spending the day there, in the following night he sailed over to Siphnus, thirty-five miles farther, and just before dawn fell upon the Persian ships, capturing eight of them. The Persian fleet continued to operate in the neighbourhood of Chios, ravaging the Ionian coast, but no further movement against Greece was made until autumn.

When Alexander heard of Memnon's death, as he did shortly after leaving Gordium, all his solicitude seems to have been at an end, and sharply turning his back on Europe and its affairs, he pushed out into his larger world.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM PHRYGIA TO CILICIA.

333 B.C.

IT was now the spring of 333 B.C. Alexander, in the middle of his twenty-third year, had been two and a half years on the throne. One fifth of the short period allotted him to reign was past. Of his first year as sovereign, the first half had been occupied in establishing title to his father's estate in Greece at the south, the second half in doing the same thing among the tribesmen at the north. His second year opened with the return to Greece and the destruction of Thebes (September, 335 B.C.). In March, 334 B.C., he set out into Asia. In May he had won the battle of the Granicus; in June had occupied Sardis, capital of the Lydian satrapy, and chief of the inland cities of Asia Minor; between July and November had swept down the coast and occupied the three chief cities of the Asiatic Greeks —Ephesus, Miletus, Halicarnassus; in December and January he had traversed the turn of the coast by Lycia and Pamphylia, and cut a return swath

back inland to Phrygia. In one year he had thus subjugated a tract of country about two hundred and fifty miles square, and added to his dominion an area about equal to that of New England and about double that of European Greece.

The experience of the year had amply displayed the general indifference of the Greek states to his enterprise. So far from laying upon them any of the burdens of the war, he had left them free from tribute and all other forms of imperial taxation, and was thankful enough if they could be kept from open opposition. Every question which concerned them was regarded as sensitive and was handled with gloves. The shields captured at Granicus had been sent as a present to Athens, in the hope of infusing some warmth into the stony heart; but there was no response, and when, nine months later, an Athenian embassy asked for the return of some Athenian captives taken among the mercenaries at Granicus, they found the King in wary mood, and were bidden to call again. The prisoners were as good as hostages, and the situation made the holding of hostages convenient. Yet Alexander was ostensibly captain-general of the Greeks, and claimed to be fighting as their "liberator." At Miletus he had rejected Parmenion's advice to risk a sea-fight, lest in case of a defeat "the Greeks might take heart and start a revolution." Greece and Greek opinion still loomed up large in his horizon. A year later, as his new standing-ground broadened, they dwindled, and soon passed almost out of view.

During the winter of 334–333 B.C. the movement

of the Persian fleet under Memnon's command up into the Ægean had given him great solicitude. Well it might. It menaced the Dardanelles. Once he was cut off from Europe, who could vouch for the loyalty of the Greeks? Sparta was already waiting to join openly in coöperation with the Persian fleet. The death of Memnon (February, 333 B.C.) was, therefore, a severe blow to the Persian cause and a veritable deliverance for Alexander. It produced a radical change in the plans of the Shah. Up to this time he had relied upon the Greek aversion to Macedonia, and the Persian and Greek control of the sea, ultimately to foil and smother the military strength of Alexander. His plan had been that which Memnon represented in the council of generals before the battle of the Granicus, namely, to avoid a battle and by skilful retreat to draw the young adventurer across devastated countries until his strength was spent, but on the sea to take the aggressive. The plan was wise, but Memnon's shrewd counsel had been overruled by the military arrogance of the Persian princes who accompanied him, and the colossal mistake of fighting at the Granicus had been committed. After that there was no hope for any plan on land, and Memnon's death palsied the plan by sea.

So Persia herself was forced to intervene with her own armies led by the Shah; and this gave the second year of Alexander's campaigns in Asia a new character, and led up to the battle of Issus. This year and the results of this battle open a new phase in the young conqueror's career. Thus far he had

been the son of Philip, inheritor and executor of his father's plans. He was a Macedonian leading Macedonians to war against Persia in the name of Greece. His ideals and ambitions were still in accord with those of the simple country folk he led; he belonged still to their little world. But after his eyes had once beheld the magnificence of Persia itself, as they saw it in the pomp and state of Darius's army and camp, a new world opened before him, infinitely grander and richer and wider than that in which he, plain son of poverty and simplicity, had been reared; and behold, he had eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Then the ways began to part between him and his Macedonians, between the new Alexander and the old. It was merely the beginning: no one remarked it; it did not show itself in specific acts; years elapsed before men really knew that they knew it. The change came on as slow as it was inevitable, but as we look over the whole life-story of the man, and mark the trend of motive that lay behind the outward form of act, we cannot fail to see the impulse to the new departure in the experiences of this second year in Asia. These experiences came, too, just at a time when Greece, by persisting in her indifference despite his achievements, and sinning thus against love, had, as it were, finally cast him adrift, and brought the ideals of his youth to their first disappointment. If Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta had gone with him in heart and hand, if Greece had adopted him as her own, surely history would have been written differently, and more of the real Hellas

would have been embodied, whether for good or ill, in the empire which he left; but, be that as it may, when we note in his later years an absence of all inclination to return to Greece, and find him ready to adopt Oriental manners and become a half Oriental, we see why we need not wonder. The only wonder is that we find in his later attitude toward Greece and Greek things so little of that bitterness which comes to men whose motives have been misconstrued and whose help has been disdained.

When Darius, after hearing of Memnon's death, saw that nothing was now likely to prevent Alexander from attempting to push his conquests farther, even into the heart of the empire, and that a serious effort to resist him must now be made, he is said to have summoned a council of war and laid before it the question, Shall the Shah take command in person? Most of his advisers urged him to raise a large army, and, leading it himself, to make short, quick work of annihilating the upstart invader. In earlier days the Shah had always been expected to lead the army in war, but now, with the establishment of peaceful, luxurious life, it had become the exception. For the Shah to go indicated that a supreme issue was at stake.

But there was present in the Persian council a Greek, of better military judgment than all the courtiers, and who knew whereof he affirmed. It was the crafty old Charidemus of Eubœan Oreus, the most experienced professional soldier of his day. For thirty years or more he had been continually in evidence in Greek affairs, as pirate, freebooter,

mercenary soldier, and general, or diplomatic agent. He had been in the service now of the Persian satraps, now of Thracian princes, now of Athens, for a time perhaps of Philip himself; often he had been in business on his own account, but in his later years he had been mostly with Athens, and had done no small mischief to Philip's cause. It was through him that the first news of Philip's death had been sent to Demosthenes, and either from suspicion that this indicated complicity in the deed, or on account of some of the man's many military sins, Alexander could never forget or forgive him; and when, in 335 B.C., he forgave Athens and withdrew the black-list of politicians he had at first assigned to punishment, he made exception alone of Charidemus. So the old man had taken refuge in Persia, and was serving now as military expert and general adviser at the court of Susa.

When now the question came to him what had best be done, he gave advice that differed radically from that of all the rest. The Shah, he said, ought not to stake his empire on a single throw. This he would do, however, if he took command in person. An army of one hundred thousand, one third Greek mercenaries, under the leadership of a competent general, was large enough. It was not wise to give the Macedonians battle at the first; better retreat slowly before them until they became ensnared in the vastness of the country.

The King at first inclined to accept the advice, but his courtiers stoutly opposed. They suspected Charidemus of desiring the command for himself,

and perhaps they were right. They went so far as to accuse him of treacherous designs, and savagely resented his insinuation that the Persians were not a match for the Macedonians. Charidemus lost his temper, and proceeded to express without further use of diplomatic language his high estimate of the Persian cowardice. Therewith his doom was sealed. The Shah "seized him by his girdle," and he was led forth to death. As he left the royal presence, he exclaimed: "The King will rue this, and that soon. My revenge is at hand. It is the overthrow of the empire." The action of the Shah was followed by quick but still too tardy regret.

Such is the story of Charidemus as Diodorus and Curtius Rufus tell it, and though Arrian knows nothing of it, there is no reason on that account to reject it. The official Macedonian sources from which Arrian draws his materials seem to belittle the danger that menaced Alexander, not only in Memnon's plans, but in all that the Greek opposition, passive or active, involved.

Darius sought in vain for the man competent to fill Memnon's place. He finally decided to take command himself and follow the advice of his counsellors. A mighty army was forthwith assembled at Babylon, and without delay the march into Upper Syria began. Hope ran high. The proudest empire of the earth marshalled its strength in all the pomp and circumstance of ancient warfare. Sixty thousand native soldiers, the Cardaces, formed the nucleus of the host; one hundred thousand horsemen were there, the pride of Asia; four hundred

thousand foot-soldiers, Persians, Medians, Armenians, Babylonians, and hardy soldiers from the far North-east, made up the mass. Princes and chiefs, vizirs and satraps, men great in fame and high in station, were the leaders. It was as if the nation itself, not its army, were gathered together in grand review; and all had its centre in the person of the Shah himself. His court, with all its state—queen, daughters, harem, hordes of attendants—forms, luxury, paraphernalia, and pomp, attended him, as if to remind that it was the empire itself, and not a mere machine of war, that went forth to meet the invader.

Babylon itself, from the gates of which they issued forth, was a standing witness to the stability and might of the empire. It was the grand old wicked Babylon. For twenty centuries it had been the great mart and imperial city of the river-plain. For three centuries the great structures with which Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar had endowed it had made it the talk and wonder of the world. Its walls of brick, seventy-five feet high and thirty-two feet broad,—so broad that two four-horse chariots could pass each other in the roadway that followed the top,—inclosed an area ten miles square. Almost diagonally across the square plan of the city flowed the Euphrates. Xenophon reports its width as two stades (nearly a quarter of a mile), though at present it is scarcely five hundred feet. Canals diverged from it in various directions, to serve, in addition to the broad thoroughfares, as highways through the city. In the north-western quarter of the city, on both banks of the river, were the royal palaces and

the citadels. On the east bank were two vast palaces, each built on a half-artificial elevation, and made to serve as a citadel, one the work of Nabopolassar, the other of Nebuchadnezzar. Hard by the former and to the south rose the mighty pile of Ê-sag-il, the temple of Belus, a lofty, tower-like structure lifted in eight gigantic terraces from a foundation six hundred feet square. Across the river was the great royal park, in the midst of which stood another tall mass of palace structures, within which, ten years later, Alexander was to find his death. Adjoining at the north and close by the river were the famous "hanging gardens," lifted on piers of brick and rising in terraces to a height of seventy-five feet. The whole area within the walls was not, at least in Alexander's time, closely built and populated. Curtius Rufus somewhere found the statement, which he reports to us, that part of the land in the outskirts was farmed, and that the compact city had a diameter of eighty stades, not the whole ninety (ten miles) of the walled inclosure. The great mounds of ruins that to-day cover the plain for five or six miles to the north and to the south of Hillah testify to the essential correctness of the singularly accordant statements which ancient writers have left us concerning the city's extent, and yield at the same time a sad comment on the hopes and confidence of nations that, like those of Babylon, stay themselves in bricks and bigness.

When, sometime in midsummer, 333 B.C., the news of Darius's advance reached Alexander, he was still in northern Asia Minor. He had chosen Gor-

dium as his spring rendezvous, in part because of its situation in relation to the great roads leading into Mesopotamia. At Ancyra, sixty miles farther east, the two great routes diverged, the one, the northern route by the "royal road," leading through southern Armenia, the other leading through Cilicia. Until Alexander received news of the Shah's advance, and an indication of his route, he remained in the north, keeping Ancyra as his base of action. From this point he subjugated the western part of Cappadocia, and received there the embassy from the Paphlagonians to the north, offering their submission and begging him not to invade their land. When finally word came—probably in the form of information concerning the appointed rendezvous of mercenaries employed for the Persian fleet—that Darius was believed to be advancing into Syria, Alexander took the southern route, leading between Lake Tatta and the Halys direct toward Cilicia. He moved with tremendous rapidity, forcing the marches by day and by night. All forms of opposition melted away before him, and almost before the enemy knew he was in motion he swept down from the mountains into the city of Tarsus. He had passed without striking a blow the famous Gates of Cilicia —a pass so narrow that a camel must unload in order to get through, and which, from Cyrus's times to Ibrahim Pasha in this century, has been regarded as the key to the country,—and the Taurus range, the great outer wall of defence for Mesopotamia and Syria, was now behind him.

A severe illness befell him at Tarsus. Aristobulus,

one of his companions on the expedition, who afterward wrote his biography,—a work now lost, except for the abundant citations, preserved especially in Arrian,—attributed the illness to the fatiguing toils of the march and of war. Other authorities to which Arrian had access attributed it to a bath taken while overheated in the cold waters of the Tarsan river Cydnus. Not improbably both authorities were right, the one reporting the cause, the other the occasion. The illness was characterised by high fever accompanied by convulsions and inability to sleep. All the physicians despaired of him except Philip the Acharnanian, who proposed to check the course of the disease by administering a purgative draught. While Philip, it is said, was preparing the medicine, a letter came to Alexander's hand from Parmenion, the first general, warning him of Philip, who, he claimed to have heard, had been bribed by Darius to poison him. Parmenion was a trusty old officer, a rock-ribbed Macedonian of the old-fashioned type, narrow-minded and suspicious, especially when it concerned his master's dealings with the Greeks. This incident, where his jealousy of non-Macedonians who found favour with the King first comes to light, has been recorded by the associates of Alexander, and was, as other references to Parmenion tend to show, probably intended to bear its part in explaining the later estrangement between the two. We cannot, however, believe that Parmenion invented the story. Such suspicions were common in those days, and Parmenion's temper made him easy prey.

When Philip passed Alexander the cup containing

the medicine, Alexander handed him the letter, and while Philip was reading it, drank the potion. This action expressed his desire to banish from his environment that atmosphere of small personal suspicion which haunts the presence of autocrats, and to replace it with a generous spirit of friendly confidence. How hard it was for him to carry the desire consistently into effect, the story of his stormy life will tell; but behind all the mistakes of his impulsiveness and the constraints and temptations of his unnatural position there can always be seen as a permanent background of character, as the true Alexander, a yearning for loyal, trustful friendship, and an ambition to be worthy of it.

Cilicia, a strip of land about two hundred and fifty miles long and from thirty to seventy-five miles broad, shut in by the Taurus range on the north, the Amanus on the east, and the Imbarus on the west, is really the vestibule to Mesopotamia and the East. It is naturally divided into two portions, the mountainous, rough Cilicia (Isauria) to the west, and Cilicia of the plain to the east. The latter contains much open land, the extreme southern part of which constitutes the famous Aleian plain, where legend, in deference to a folk-etymology which made the name mean "the plain of wandering," had placed the forlorn roamings of Bellerophon after he fell from Pegasus's back. It is watered by three rivers, the largest of which is the Pyramus. In summer its heat is excessive.

After sending troops under Parmenion to occupy the passes of the Amanus Mountains on the east, Alexander made an excursion to the westward,

occupying first the city of Anchialus, and later Solœ, a city the people of which spoke a Greek so bad as to earn in our modern word "solecism" a lasting monument. The Greek element in these cities probably constituted only a small proportion either of the population or of the blood. A fine of two hundred talents of silver which Alexander imposed upon the citizens because of their Persian leanings was afterward in part remitted.

News came here of the success of the Macedonian forces left in Caria and Lydia in an encounter with the Persian commander Othontopates, who still held the citadel of Halicarnassus. A thousand of his men had been taken prisoners, and seven hundred and fifty killed. In celebration of the victory, as well as in recognition of his own restoration to health, Alexander arranged a great fête, including athletic sports, a torch-race, a musical contest, a review of the troops, and offerings to the gods—a genuine Hellenic festival. When things went well with the Greeks, they knew no better way to signalise it—and perhaps no better way has yet been found—than to give the gods, as first citizens of the state, a banquet and invite themselves, and then provide for the gods an entertainment such as their own tastes pronounced the most delectable — contests of skill and strength and craft and art, in which man was pitted against man, and the best man won the crown. No scenic or festal display that did not stir the blood with the zest of competition was worthy of men and gods.

After the games were over, seven days were occupied in a raid upon the mountain tribes in the neighbourhood. Then marching back by way of Tarsus, Alexander sent the cavalry through the Aleian plain, while he, accompanied by the infantry and the guards, moved along the coast by way of Magarsus to Mallus. Here he found Greek traditions, for the inhabitants claimed to have been originally a colony from Argos. As his family also made a great point of claiming an Argive root for their family tree, the opportunity of welding a friendship was not neglected, all the more in view of the sentimental nature of the claim.

At Mallus he learned that the Persian army was camped only two days' march from the other side of the mountains. A council of war, immediately called, decided to advance directly to attack Darius where he was. The next morning the march was begun, and the army proceeded along the coast to Issus. From here two routes led into Syria—one to the north by the so-called Amanic Gates (the modern Topra Kalessi), a pass two thousand feet above the sea-level, and another, apparently the more usual, though the longer, by way of the coast as far south as Myriandrus, and then through an opening in the mountains into Syria. Alexander chose the southern route, and, after passing the so-called Cilician Gates, advanced as far as Myriandrus. Just as he was about to cross the mountains, he was fortunately detained by a heavy autumn storm, for before he was again ready to move, important tidings came, which changed all his plans.

CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLE OF ISSUS.

333 B.C.

MEANWHILE Darius, who had chosen a plain in the neighbourhood of Sochoi as suitable for the operations of his army and so a favourable place for a meeting with Alexander, had become impatient at Alexander's delay. Already his courtiers began to suggest the welcome theory that Alexander was afraid to face the might of the great King. He probably was appalled at having heard that the great King was there in person. He surely would never dare to cross the mountains. It would be necessary for the Shah to go over and destroy him. The theory was speedily quickened into faith. Surely against so mighty an array as this the handful of Macedonians would have no chance or hope. Under the prancing feet of the vast squadrons of the world-famed Persian cavalry the little band would be trampled into destruction. Confidence ran high.

All over the Greco-Persian world it was the same.

The word went out that the disturber of the world's peace was now safely locked up within the mountains of Cilicia, and that he would soon be buried beneath the Persian avalanche. Demosthenes at Athens only voiced the hope and the expectations of all enemies of Alexander when he read to his friends the letters he had just received from the East, and confidently predicted the speedy downfall of Alexander. It made the great orator, to be sure, easy prey in after days for the taunts of Æschines*:

"But when Darius came on with all his force, and Alexander, as you [Demosthenes] claimed, was locked up in Cilicia and in sore straits, and was going to be, as your phrase had it, 'speedily trampled underfoot by the Persian horse,' then, with the city not big enough to hold your swagger, you pranced about with epistles dangling from your fingers, pointing people to my countenance as that of a miserable, despairing wretch, and called me a bull ready for the sacrifice, with gilded horns and garlands on the head, the moment anything happened to Alexander."

New courage, as the autumn months came on, had been inspired into the Persian fleet off Chios. A hundred of the best ships had been sent over to Siphnus. Here Agis, King of Sparta, came to parley with the leaders, asking for money to begin a war, and urging the Persians to send an army and a fleet to the Peloponnesus. All this was going on in Greece just at the time when Darius, in November, 333 B.C., was halting before the mountains of Amanus and querying what had become of Alexander.

* Æschines against Ctesiphon, sec. 164.

There was at least one man in Darius's camp who did not lose his good judgment. This was Amyntas, a Macedonian noble, who, for some reason not known to history, had fled the court at Pella a few years before, and whom we hear of as being with the Persians at the battle of the Granicus, and afterwards as fleeing from Ephesus before the approach of Alexander's troops. He was now in command of the Greek mercenaries, and we shall hear of him again. He advised Darius most earnestly to remain where he now was, on the Assyrian side of the mountains. He need have no doubt that Alexander would come to him. The narrow defiles and uneven land of Cilicia offered no favourable opportunity for the Persian army, with its cavalry and its great masses of troops, to utilise its strength. But, as Arrian has it, "the worse advice prevailed, forsooth because it was for the moment the pleasanter to hear."

Having sent all the unnecessary baggage, the treasure, and the harems of himself and his satraps to Damascus, 250 miles to the south, Darius crossed the mountains, and came to Issus on the same day that Alexander arrived at Myriandrus, scarcely thirty-five miles away. They had missed each other by less than a day, for Arrian says that Alexander arrived at Myriandrus on the second day from Mallus, and Issus was far beyond the half-way point. Plutarch even reports that the two armies passed each other in the darkness of the night, a statement which is, however, quite improbable. Darius's army, coming down through the hills at the north,

would not have been seen from Issus until within four or five miles of the town. The haphazard methods of obtaining information concerning the movements and position of the enemy, which made it possible for the Macedonians thus placidly to march out of the plain just as the enemy, from five to six hundred thousand strong, was entering it close behind them, offer a striking contrast to the methods of reconnoissance employed in modern warfare. That Alexander should have taken the risk of marching off to the south and leaving the way open for the Persian to come in at the north, without even seeking to inform himself concerning the possibility of such a movement, reflects, however, no discredit on his strategic insight. There was nothing he presumably desired more than that Darius should enter Cilicia, and it was in hope of enticing him in that he had tarried so long. The narrow plains of Cilicia were his chosen field for battle, not the open land of Syria. A vast army, too, like that of Darius, would find slender chance of subsistence once it had crossed the mountains. Alexander's only mistake was in not rating high enough his opponents' folly.

When Alexander heard that his enemy was close by him and in his rear, he could scarcely believe the news to be true; so he embarked some of his guard in a thirty-oared boat and sent them back along the coast to reconnoitre. Without going the whole distance to Issus, the reconnoitring party was able to descry the camp of the Persians. Alexander then called together his chief officers, and, aware that a supreme

moment in his affairs was at hand, reviewed the whole situation with them, summing up the grounds of confidence that a victory was now in their hands: They were to meet a foe whom they had met before and vanquished. They were themselves used to toil and danger; their enemy were men enervated by luxury and ease. They were freemen; their enemy were slaves. There was, finally, evidence that God was on their side, for he had put it into Darius's mind to move his forces to a place where his vast multitude would be useless, whereas the Macedonian phalanx had room enough to display its full power. The rewards of victory, too, were great. The whole power of Persia was drawn up against them, led by the Shah in person. In the event of victory nothing was left for them to do but to take possession of all Asia and make an end of their toils. He reminded them of their many brilliant achievements in the past, both as an army and as individuals, and recounted their deeds, mentioning them by name. With due modesty, too, he told of his own deeds, and ended by telling the story of Xenophon and his famous ten thousand, who, without Thessalian or Macedonian horsemen, without archers or slingers, had put to rout the king and all his forces close before the walls of Babylon itself. The word was that of a Greek to Greeks. The enthusiasm of battle laid hold on them all. They thronged about him, clasped his hand, begged him to lead them forthwith against the foe. His army was consolidated on one thought and ambition, and that was the thought and ambition of its leader.

Alexander then ordered his soldiers to take dinner, for evening was now approaching, and sent a few horsemen and archers back to occupy the Cilician Gates, the narrow passage eight miles north of Myriandrus, between the sea and the hills, through which he had passed only a few hours before, and which he would be obliged to repass in returning to the plain. After nightfall he led his whole army to the pass, and encamped there at the southern limit of the plain of Issus.

The Persians, on entering Issus, had found some wounded Macedonian soldiers in the lazaretto, and forthwith massacred them. The prevailing opinion was at first that Alexander was avoiding battle and was now caught in a trap, shut off from retreat. The Persian host stood full in the way between him and Greece; behind the only escape was the enemy's land. Darius evidently thought at first that his enemy had passed over into Syria, for we learn from Polybius (xii., 17), who cites the authority of Callisthenes, that when Darius, after his arrival in Issus, "had learned from the natives that Alexander had gone on as if advancing into Syria, he followed him, and on approaching the pass encamped by the river Pinarus." This would account for the position of the Persians nine miles beyond and to the south of Issus. Darius, however, soon saw, as Plutarch says, that he was in no position for a battle. The mountains and the sea hemmed in his army, and the river Pinarus divided it. He planned, therefore, to withdraw as soon as possible; but this Alexander sought to prevent, by forcing an immediate battle.

He saw at a glance his advantage. A field had by fortune been given him in which the tremendous preponderance of the Persian army counted for little.

Early the following morning—it was about the beginning of November, 333 B.C.—Alexander led his army on toward the Persian position, twelve or thirteen miles distant from the pass where he had spent the night. The plain of Issus stretches along the shore of the sea, which bounds it on the west, for a little over twenty miles, gradually widening from the Cilician Gates, at its extreme south, to the neighbourhood of the city of Issus, which lies some five miles from the present coast-line in its northern extreme. The Persians had encamped on the north bank of the river Pinarus, which flows across the plain in a westerly or southwesterly direction, about nine miles south of the city. We have it on the authority of Callisthenes that the width of the plain at this point, reckoned from the foot-hills of the mountains to the sea, was, at the time of the battle, fourteen stades, *i. e.*, somewhat over a mile and a half. Since then the alluvium of the mountain streams has carried the shore out until the plain is nearly five miles wide. A similar change has made the battle-field of Thermopylæ unintelligible to the modern visitor. What was anciently a narrow path of fifty feet between sea and cliff is now a marshy plain two or three miles in width. The harbour of Miletus, in which the naval movements we have lately recounted took place, is now a plain in which the island of Lade is lost as a knoll.

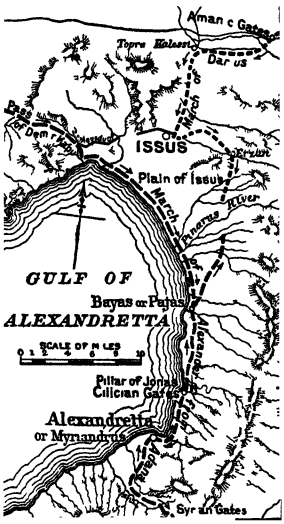
As long as the plain remained narrow, Alexander, as he marched forward, kept his troops in column; but as it opened, he gradually developed his column into a line filling the whole space between the hills and the sea. Gradually the order of battle took shape. It was always his usage, so far as possible, to march upon the battle-field in the order to be there assumed. His caution in filling the width of the plain was due to his fear of being outflanked by the superior numbers of the enemy. Slowly the battle-line spread itself out. The infantry battalion swung up from the column to the front. The cavalry, which had held the rear, moved out to the wings. Upon the right, next the hills, were placed the Thessalian and Macedonian heavy cavalry, flanked by the lancers and Pæonians and the light-armed Agrianians and bowmen; next came the *hypaspists*, or light infantry, and their *agéma*, or picked squad; in the centre the phalanx; on the left were the allies, the Cretan bowmen and the Thracian troops of Sitalces. The left wing was placed, as usual, under the command of Parmenion, who was specially instructed to keep close to the shore in order to prevent any attempt to outflank him.

Opposite was now visible the line of Darius's army. All told it is said to have contained from five to six hundred thousand fighting men. Against this the little Macedonian army of perhaps thirty thousand men, led by a stripling twenty-three years old, seemed hopelessly lost. They were shut off from their own world by the hordes of the Persians,

locked into the narrow plain, with the only line of retreat, in case of defeat, leading into the enemy's country. Darius had thrown a body of thirty thousand cavalry and twenty thousand light-armed infantry across the river as a shield while his army was assuming battle order, but before the battle began they were slowly withdrawn to the wings. His centre was composed of the thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, his best fighting troops, which were thus offset against the Macedonian phalanx. At each side of these he set his best native troops, the Cardaces, as they were called. His left wing, stretching out along the hills, the line of which curved about to the south, overlapped the Greek right, and menaced its flank. His right wing was composed of the mass of the cavalry, for the ground along the shore offered the greater freedom for cavalry action. The great multitudes were arrayed line behind line to an unserviceable depth, the front being too narrow to give effectiveness to the mass of the army.

After inspecting the arrangement of the enemy's line, and appreciating the superior strength which the enormous masses of superb cavalry gave to its right wing, Alexander gave orders to transfer the Thessalian cavalry from his right to the left wing. This change was quietly made, the squadrons moving rapidly across behind the phalanx, and taking their position beside the Cretan bowmen and the Thracians.

Before the battle opened, Alexander sent a body of light troops—Agrianians, bowmen, and some



PLAIN OF ISSUS (PRESENT CONDITION)

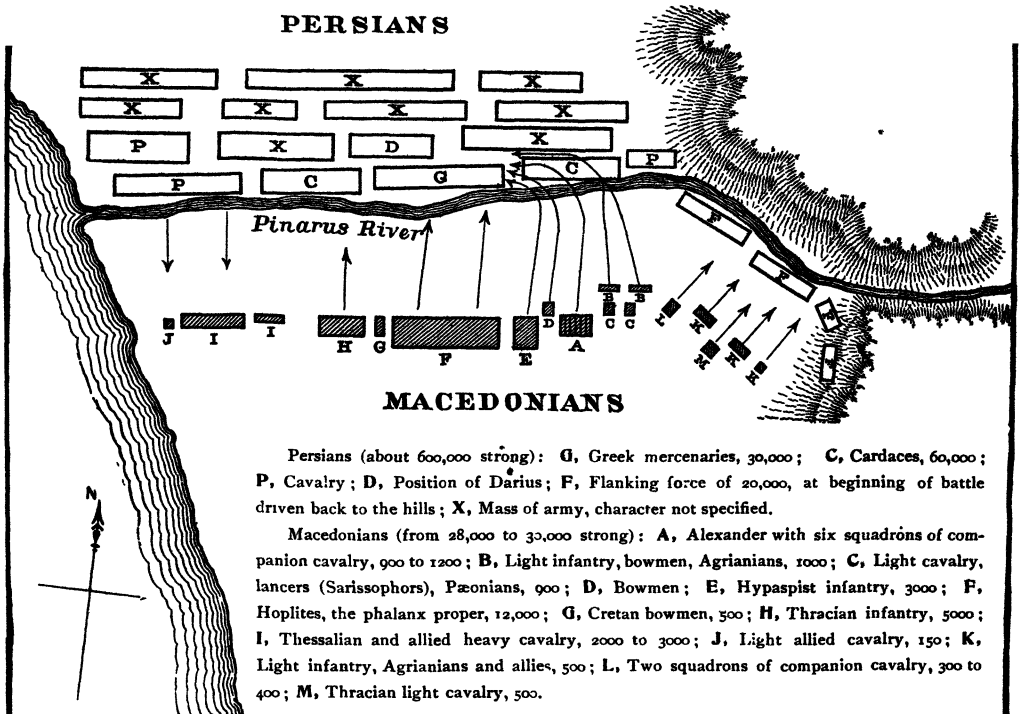
THE ANCIENT COURSE OF THE PINARUS FOLLOWED
THE RIVER CHANNEL NEXT TO THE NORTH

cavalrymen—to dislodge the force which was menacing his right on the foot-hills to the east. The movement succeeded, but as a permanent protection to this wing he detached two squadrons (three hundred men) from the companion cavalry, posting them far out upon the right.

For a while the two armies faced each other in quiet. Darius planned to use the river bank as a defence. Where the bank was not abrupt, stockades had been placed to make it so. Alexander was glad of an opportunity to rest his troops, and was determined to advance very slowly and keep his line in perfect order. With mechanical precision every arrangement was effected and every movement made. There was no nervous bustle or disorder. When everything was ready, Alexander rode down the line, briefly exhorting his men, appealing to each regiment in terms of its own peculiar ambition and pride. To the Macedonians he named their battle-fields and victories; to the Greeks he spoke of another Darius their forefathers had met at Marathon. Tumultuous cheers greeted his words wherever he went. The fervour of battle was on. "Lead us on! Why do we wait?" they cried; and the dogs of war tugged at the halter. Then with measured step, in close array, the advance began. As soon as they came within range of the darts, however, the double-quick was ordered. On ahead galloped the magnificent squadrons of the companion cavalry, twelve hundred strong, with Alexander at the head to open the attack, and drove itself, a compact body, into the Persian left. This

yielded at once to the tremendous onset. No military force had ever yet proved able to check the dash of the Macedonian heavy cavalry.

On the Macedonian left the Persian cavalry had the advantage. Vastly superior in numbers, and the flower of the Persian army, it found to oppose it the scanty squadrons of the Thessalian cavalry, supported by the infantry allies. The Persian line here crossed the river, and, with charge after charge in fearful struggle, slowly forced their opponents back. In the centre the phalanx had found rugged opposition. It was here Greek against Macedonian. The line of the phalanx had been broken in crossing the river, and Alexander's sudden advance with the heavy cavalry had left its right unprotected. High on the river bank before them the Greeks held their vantage-ground, driving their weapons down into them, pushing them back as they clambered up. Even the long *sarissas* failed to open a way. The tremendous mass of the Persian centre stood like a rock. The Macedonian phalanx was for once held in check. The battle threatened to go against them. But Alexander already held the key to success. The rout of the Persian left had brought him round upon the flank of the Greek mercenaries, who formed the centre. He tore in upon it, rending it asunder. The Shah, seated in his four-horse chariot in the centre of the host, became his goal. The story of the combat waged at this point is graphically told by Curtius Rufus, and as its chief details are confirmed by Diodorus, it probably was drawn from Clitarchus (second century B.C.):



Persians (about 600,000 strong): **G**, Greek mercenaries, 30,000; **C**, Cardaces, 60,000; **P**, Cavalry; **D**, Position of Darius; **F**, Flanking force of 20,000, at beginning of battle driven back to the hills; **X**, Mass of army, character not specified.

Macedonians (from 28,000 to 30,000 strong): **A**, Alexander with six squadrons of companion cavalry, 900 to 1200; **B**, Light infantry, bowmen, Agrianians, 1000; **C**, Light cavalry, lancers (Sarissophors), Pæonians, 900; **D**, Bowmen; **E**, Hypaspist infantry, 3000; **F**, Hoplites, the phalanx proper, 12,000; **G**, Cretan bowmen, 500; **H**, Thracian infantry, 5000; **I**, Thessalian and allied heavy cavalry, 2000 to 3000; **J**, Light allied cavalry, 150; **K**, Light infantry, Agrianians and allies, 500; **L**, Two squadrons of companion cavalry, 300 to 400; **M**, Thracian light cavalry, 500.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF ISSUS, AS ARRANGED BY THE AUTHOR.

"Alexander was doing the work of a soldier no less than that of a leader. For there stood Darius towering aloft in his chariot, a sight that prompted alike friends to shield him and foes to assail him. So then his brother Oxathres, when he saw Alexander rushing toward him, gathered the horsemen of his command and threw them in the very front of the chariot of the king. Conspicuous above all the rest, with his armour and his giant frame, peer of the best in valour and loyalty, fighting now the battle of his life, he laid low those who recklessly surged against him; others he turned to flight. But the Macedonians grouped about their King, heartened by one another's exhortations, burst in upon the line. Then came the desolation of ruin. Around the chariot of Darius you 'd see lying leaders of highest rank, perished in a glorious death, all prone upon their faces, just as they had fallen in their struggle, wounds all in the front. Among them you would find Atizyes and Rheomithres and Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, all generals of great armies; piled up around them a mass of footmen and horsemen of meaner fame. Of the Macedonians, too, many were slain, good men and true. Alexander himself was wounded in the right thigh with a sword. And now the horses attached to Darius's car, pricked with spears and infuriated with pain, tossed the yoke on their necks, and threatened to throw the King from the car. Then he, in fear lest he should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, leaped out, and was set on the back of a horse which was kept close behind against this very need. All the insignia of the imperial office, with slight respect for form, were thrown aside, lest the sight of them beget a panic. The rest is scattered, and melts away in its terror. Wherever a way is open, there the fugitives of the army burst through. Their arms they throw away—

the very arms which they a little while before had taken up to shield their lives. Such is fear, it shrinks even from the means of rescue."

The battle was now soon over. The Persian cavalrymen on the right, seeing the centre in flight, left their success and joined the rout. The very mass of the Persians became their destruction. The horsemen jostled and threw one another. Thousands were trampled to death. Men ran against one another's naked swords. They stumbled in the descending darkness. Heaps of writhing bodies filled the ditches. Ptolemy tells how Alexander in his pursuit crossed a ravine on a dam of corpses.

The night alone stopped the pursuit. Alexander, contrary to the usage of those before him, always pressed his success to the utmost. Only when he and his men could no longer find their way through the gathering darkness did they relent and turn back over the field of ruin they had made. A hundred thousand Persians had fallen. Three victims were counted for each one of Alexander's men engaged. The mountain-sides were full of scattered fugitives making their way over into Syria. Others fled into the mountains of Cilicia, to become there the prey of the mountain tribes. Eight thousand Greek mercenaries, under the lead of Amyntas, were the only ones to preserve a semblance of order in retreat. They crossed the mountains into Syria, and made for Tripolis, the port where they had landed when brought to the country. Here they found the ships in which they came still in the harbour, and seizing what they needed, and burning the rest, they sailed

away as soldiers of fortune to Cyprus, and thence to Egypt, where they made themselves a terror until overwhelmed and slain, leader and all, by the Egyptian troops. The Shah, pushing on with rapid changes of horses, did not stay his flight till he had passed the mountains and reached Sochoi, in the Syrian plain beyond. From his whole army only four thousand fugitives assembled here with him. They quickly moved on to Thapsacus, to put the Euphrates behind them.

Upon the field was left all the equipment of the camp—the luxurious outfit of the court, four millions of treasure, precious things in robing, fabrics, utensils, armour, such as these plain Macedonians had never seen before; and the Shah in his hasty flight had left behind him not only his chariot and his bow, but, most pitiful of all, his mother, wife, daughters, and little son, all at the rude mercy of the victor.

The Macedonian loss had been not over 450 killed —150 from the cavalry, 300 from the infantry. No battle more decisive in its issue was ever fought. In its historical results it ranks among the world's few great battles. It shut Asia in behind the mountains, and prepared to make the Mediterranean a European sea.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM CILICIA INTO SYRIA.

333–332 B.C.

DURING the four months which intervened between Alexander's hasty departure from Ancyra (July, 333 B.C.) and the battle of Issus (November), the old world of Greece and the Ægean, upon which he had so coolly turned his back, went on its way and even essayed to construct a play of its own, with Hamlet left out. As summer passed into autumn and the consciousness quickened that the ambitious young *Störenfried* was now well out of sight and reach behind the Taurus, opposition took breath again and began to gather its strength and lay its schemes in hope of the final disaster that Darius's overwhelming armament might well be counted to have in store for the harebrained intruder.

The Ægean was still in control of the Persian fleet. Alexander had not ignored the fact or its significance. He knew well enough that the embers of the opposition slumbering behind the ashes

of temporary defeat waited only for encouragement to burst again into flame, and that some decided action or some striking success on the part of the fleet might furnish such encouragement; but when, early in the spring, the news came to him at Gordium of Memnon's death, he recognised, with his quick power of summarising a situation, that no central personal force was left to give coherence to the elements opposed to him, and so he took his risk and turned eastward, determined to win what further recognition he was to receive at home by quick and decided success in the far outer world.

The various movements of the Persian fleet which began in midsummer and were continued throughout the autumn we have referred to incidentally in the foregoing, but it is well to summarise them here, so far as the scattered references of the historians, made without much suggestion of chronology, permit it to be done. The siege of Mitylene in Lesbos, continued after Memnon's death (February, 333 B.C.), resulted in the capture of the city, and Tenedos, an island off the entrance to the Hellespont, soon after submitted to superior force. There was no land force coöperating with the Persians, and so their field of action was limited to the islands, except that here and there a descent upon some coast town served their purpose for foraging, plunder, and destruction. Nowhere, however, did they gain, or apparently seek to gain, a foothold on the mainland. An expedition of ten ships under Datames's command, which during the summer had slipped across the sea and anchored by Siphnos, as if to test the

temper of the Greeks and give some chance encouragement to the anti-Macedonian elements in the coast cities, or perhaps enter into dealings with the Spartans, who through it all had remained open opponents of the league with Macedon, had come to grief, and eight of the ships had been captured by a Macedonian squadron organised at Eubœa, to the north. Hegelochus was by this time getting together a Macedonian fleet in the Hellespont, and when a portion of the Persian fleet ventured to extend its operations in this direction it was driven back. The Macedonians could not afford to have the main route cut that led from Macedonia into Asia. In the early autumn Hegelochus and his fleet grew bolder, and venturing out of the Hellespont, recaptured Tenedos; but when, in their assurance, they assumed so much control of the waterway as to lay embargo on Athenian freighters that brought the precious cargoes of grain down from the Black Sea, they drew forth a storm of resentment from Athens that for the moment menaced outright war. It had been already voted to send a hundred ships to defend Athenian interests in the Hellespont, and a rupture that would have cost the Macedonian interests sore and given the Persian fleet its perfect opportunity was all but completed, when diplomacy and worldly wisdom prevailed, and Hegelochus released the ships in question. How near at hand the materials for an explosion lay, this incident, coupled with minor indications afforded by stray allusions in anecdotes and speeches of the time, amply suggests. These were the days when Æschines and his

partisans of Macedonian sympathisers were "jollied" about their long faces and their gloom as they strolled among the gossipers of barber-shops and market-place, and when men of the other persuasion felt fine and fit, and looked at one another with mysterious, knowing looks; for had they not got the straight tip from their leader, the grave and reverend Demosthenes, who always had "inside" news and knew it as it was, and now had letters to show, that told how Darius was on his way from Babylon with a force so mighty that Alexander's little band of marauders would be trampled out of sight under the horses' hoofs? And the "water-drinker" himself had relaxed somewhat from his owl-like seriousness, and had taken on a buoyant, jaunty air, yes, even joined a bit in the jests of the market-place at Æschines's expense.

In the midst of it all news came that a hundred ships of the Persians had crossed the sea and lay in the harbour of Siphnos, ninety miles to the south, ready to take advantage of the expected event. Agis, the wily old Spartan king, sailed over to them with a single trireme, and laid before them, like many a Spartan king before him, a plan for saving Greece, themselves, and sundry other things, by giving him much gold and many ships. No one may say in what the conference might have ended, for while it still was pending came hurrying across the seas the grim tidings from the field of Issus. Instantly the whole scene changed. Complicity with Persian interests lost all charm. The Athenians might well deem themselves fortunate that they

had gone no further toward the brink of revolt. For the Persians it was only a question whether they could save what they now had, and Pharnabazus, taking with him fifteen hundred mercenaries, hastened back with ten ships to head off a possible revolt at Chios. The rest of the fleet soon followed, distributing itself among various stations on the coast of Asia Minor,—Agis, of whom and of whose mischief-making we shall hear more later on, going with it,—then with the spring it began to melt away. The Cyprians and Phœnicians belonging in the fleet could not be retained after Alexander's advance down the Syrian coast once began directly to threaten their own homes. Thus step by step Alexander was winning the Ægean by fighting his way on land around its coasts.

On the night of the battle of Issus, Alexander, returning from the pursuit, found the luxurious camp of Darius awaiting him, and in the Shah's tent he dined and made ready to pass the night. The booty left behind was far less than it would have been, had not the march over the mountains caused the Persians to discard much of their paraphernalia. All the grandees except the Shah had sent their harems to Damascus, where also a vast mass of treasure had been collected, together with the heavy baggage. Still, there was left enough of the luxurious appointments of the camp to dazzle the eyes of Macedonians and Greeks, and three thousand talents of gold, found with the rest, was not the least acceptable surprise.

Plutarch tells this story:

"Here when Alexander beheld the basins and water-pots and bath-tubs and ointment-flasks, all of gold, wondrously wrought, and smelled the divine odours with which myrrh and spices filled the room, and from thence passed into a pavilion marvellous for its height and breadth and for the magnificence of its couches and tables and the feast that was spread, he turned to his companions, and said: 'Well, this, I take it, is royalty.'"

Darius, too, in his haste, had left behind in his camp wife, mother, and children. The various stories of Alexander's treatment of them, as told in the different ancient accounts, are all of one tenor, different as they may be in detail. The consideration shown the women and the self-restraint exhibited by the young soldier were novel things in those days, but they were sure marks of a nobility which all contemporary opinion united in recognising. The simplest account is that given by Arrian, as embodying the statements of his highest orthodox authorities, Ptolemy and Aristobulus:

"Some of the biographers of Alexander say that on the very night when he returned from the pursuit, after entering Darius's tent, which had been apportioned to his use, he heard the wailing of women and other like noise not far from the tent. On inquiring who the women were, and how they happened to be in a tent so near, he received the following answer: 'King, the mother and the wife and the children of Darius, since it was told them that thou hast the bow of Darius and the royal mantle, and that the shield of Darius has been brought back, are lamenting him as slain.' When Alexander heard this he sent Leonnatus, one of the companions,

with a message to them: 'Darius is living; in his flight he left in his chariot his arms and his mantle: this is all that Alexander has.' Leonnatus entered the tent and told them the message about Darius, and added that Alexander would allow them to retain the retinue becoming their rank, and other forms of state, as well as the title of queens; for not out of personal enmity had he made the war against Darius, but he had conducted it in a regular manner for the empire of Asia. These are the statements of Ptolemy and Aristobulus."

Plutarch gives essentially the same account, with his usual moralising embellishments, subsidiary to which the following is added:

"Nevertheless, Darius's wife is said to have been far the most beautiful of all princesses, just as Darius himself among men was the handsomest and tallest; and the two daughters were worthy of their parents. But Alexander, as it seems, esteeming it more kingly to govern himself than to conquer his enemies, neither touched these women, nor indeed had intercourse with any other woman before marriage, except with Barsine, Memnon's widow, who was taken prisoner at Damascus."

Arrian adds with some hesitation another story, which with greater profusion of details is also told by Diodorus and is referred to by Curtius Rufus and Justinus. This represents Alexander as having visited the tent of the women on the following day, in company with Hephæstion, and given them personal assurance of his protection. Diodorus goes so far as to give his professions the somewhat aggressive form of a promise to see the queen's daughters better married than if Darius had attended to it

himself. Darius's little son, only six years old, he is said to have noticed; he kissed him and gave him the time-honoured assurance that he was a fine boy. But Arrian's doubt about all this seems well founded. Plutarch quotes from a letter of Alexander to Parmenion, written later, in which he says that he had "not so much as seen or desired to see the wife of Darius, no, nor suffered anyone to speak of her beauty in his presence." Hansen's, and even more particularly Pridik's, careful examination * into the authenticity of these frequent citations from letters of Alexander has tended to give them enhanced authority, and the fact that it is not until later in Alexander's career that Hephæstion appears as his intimate, serves to confirm Plutarch's quotation by throwing suspicion on the story of the visit to the tent.

The day after the battle was devoted to burying the dead with full honours of war. The loss Diodorus gives as 450 killed; Curtius Rufus, 452 killed and 504 wounded; Justinus, 280 killed. Arrian tells only that in the struggle between the Macedonian phalanx and the Greek mercenaries opposed to them in the Persian line 150 Macedonians fell. This lends confirmation to the figures given by Diodorus. The number of wounded, 504, as it stands in the present text of Curtius, appears small, and a slight correction would enable us to read, as the editor Hedicke has done, "4500." This figure is in itself more reasonable, but the next

* R. Hansen, *Philologus*, xxxix., 295; E. Pridik, *De Alexandri Magni epistolarum commercio* (1893).

sentence of Curtius is discouraging: "At so small expense was a mighty victory won." Ancient statistics regarding the number wounded in battle are rarely given, and must, in the nature of the case, be incomplete and unreliable, as there was no regularly organised hospital service. The ratio of wounded to killed in modern battles General Dodge gives as about seven to one, and the ratio in ancient battles he believes to have been considerably higher, perhaps ten to one. Though this is, by reason of the weapons used, inherently probable, it must be confessed that the scanty data we have are indecisive. Thus, during the night sortie at Halicarnassus, the Macedonians lost 16 killed and 300 wounded; in the siege of Sangala, 100 killed and 1200 wounded. In both cases, however, the conditions were probably abnormal. In the battle of Parætacene, on the other hand, Eumenes lost, according to Diodorus, 540 killed and 900 wounded, while Antigonus, who was defeated, lost nearly as many killed as wounded.

In respect to the number killed, the loss of the defeated army was, in ancient battles, out of all proportion to the victors' loss, on account of the massacre which followed the unprotected retreat. At Granicus, Alexander lost 115 killed in an army of 35,000, while the Persian cavalry of 20,000 lost 1000 men, and the division of Greek mercenaries, 20,000 in number, was entirely scattered and destroyed. At Arbela, Alexander, from an army of from 45,000 to 50,000 men, lost from 300 to 500 killed, while the loss of the Persians was so enormous as to leave room only for the wildest estimates.

Curtius sets it at 40,000, Diodorus at 90,000, and Arrian reports a hearsay estimate of 300,000! Their army numbered, by concurrent testimony of Arrian and Diodorus, about 1,000,000. Of the 600,000 Persians engaged at Issus 100,000 were slain, against 450 of the 40,000 or 50,000 Macedonians. In the battle of Megalopolis, two years later (331 B.C.), the defeated Spartans and their allies lost 5300 of their 22,000 men, while the victorious 40,000 Macedonians lost only 1000 (Curtius). A loss of one man in four, such as the Spartans there suffered, is a terrible ratio, but one to be expected among Spartans, if defeated. At Leuctra they lost from four battalions, numbering about 2400 men, 1000 killed, and of 700 Spartiatæ—*i. e.*, genuine Spartan citizens—400 were killed. So at Lechæum they lost 250 out of 600. While ancient battles, therefore, contrast a loss of from one to two and a half per cent. among the victors with one of, say, from ten to twenty-five per cent. among the conquered, modern battles with their completer organisation show a much closer relation of loss. Thus, for instance, at Gettysburg, the Union army numbered about 93,500 men, of whom about 89,000 actively participated in the fighting. The Confederate force was about 70,000. The former lost 3072 killed, 14,497 wounded, 5434 missing; the latter, 2592 killed, 12,709 wounded, 5150 missing, making the proportion of killed for the Union forces three and five tenths per cent., for the Confederates three and seven tenths per cent. At Waterloo the French and the Allies each lost about five per cent. in killed.

Among the dead, after the battle of Issus, was Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, commander of one of the infantry divisions. Alexander himself had been slightly wounded in the leg. He was, nevertheless, able, the day after the battle, to pay his visits of sympathy to the wounded, and of congratulation to the victorious camps of his troops. Gifts of money were distributed among those who had distinguished themselves in battle, the dead received heroes' burial, and as monuments to their sacrifice and memorials of victory altars were erected on the river-bank to Zeus, to Hercules, and to Athena.

Without attempting to pursue Darius, Alexander adhered to his original plan of campaign and kept to the coast, for the Ægean was still controlled by the Persian fleet. He sent Parmenion, however, with the Thessalian cavalry and other troops, around behind the mountains to occupy Damascus, two hundred and fifty miles to the south, and seize the royal treasure deposited there. His own march led him first to Marathus, on the coast opposite Cyprus. While Alexander was here, Darius sent ambassadors to him, asking for the return of his wife, his mother, and his children, and offering him his friendship and an alliance. He reminded him of the friendship which had existed between the two countries under Philip and Artaxerxes, and of the way in which that friendship had been gratuitously broken by Philip after Artaxerxes's death, and how now without any reason Alexander had entered his domain with an army and wrought much damage to his people, stating that his own appearance in the field against

him had been merely in defence of his country and for the preservation of the empire of his fathers.

Without making oral answer, Alexander sent the following letter, the authenticity of which there is no good ground for calling in question:

"Your forefathers came into Macedonia and other parts of Greece, and did us harm, without any previous injury from us. Now I, having been appointed leader of the Greeks and having a mind to punish the Persians, have crossed over into Asia, after hostilities had been commenced by your people. For you and yours sent aid to the Perinthians [on the Sea of Marmora], who were dealing unjustly with my father, and Ochus sent an army into Thrace, which was under our sway. My father was killed by conspirators whom your people instigated, as you yourselves have boasted to everybody in your letters; and after you, Darius, had slain Arses with Bagoas's help, and wickedly and in defiance of all Persian law seized the throne, yes, and wronged your subjects, you go on to send unfriendly letters about me to the Greeks, urging them to make war upon me, and send money to the Spartans and to other Greeks as well, though none of them took it, except the Spartans. Then, as your agents had corrupted my friends, and were trying to disrupt the peace which I had secured for the Greeks, I took the field against you—you who had begun the hostilities. Now that I have conquered in battle, first your generals and satraps, then you and your army, and am by gift of the gods in possession of your country, I am giving protection to those of your men who escaped from the battle and have taken refuge with me, and they of their own accord stay with me and have joined my army. As, therefore, I am lord of all Asia, come to me; but if

you are afraid you may be harshly treated in case you come, send some of your friends to receive pledges of safety from me. Come to me, then, and ask for your mother and your wife and your children, and anything else you will. You shall have it. Nothing shall be denied you that is just. And for the future, whenever you send, send to me as the King of Asia, and do not address me as an equal; but if you have need of aught, speak to me as one who is lord of all your possessions. Otherwise I shall conduct myself toward you as an evil-doer. But if you dispute my right to the kingdom, stay and fight on for it; do not play the runaway, for I shall march against you, wherever you may be."

While at Marathus he learned of the success of Parmenion's mission to Damascus. He had taken the city and overhauled the fugitive Persians under Kophen, who were carrying off the baggage and treasure of Darius. Curtius Rufus reports that there were captured 2600 talents in coined money, 500 talents of silver, 30,000 men, 7000 beasts of burden, besides masses of valuables and fair women without number. Athenæus quotes from a letter of Parmenion to Alexander on the occasion: "I found flute-girls of the king, three hundred twenty and nine; men who plait crowns, six and forty; cooks, two hundred seventy and seven; boilers of pots, twenty and nine; makers of cheese, thirteen; mixers of drinks, seventeen; strainers of wine, seventy; makers of perfumes, forty." This serves as an expression of the wonderment which filled the eyes of the victors.

From Marathus the army proceeded to Byblus

and Sidon, which gladly surrendered, in hatred of the Persian. Their hereditary kings, in accordance with Alexander's principle of local government for cities, were left in power. At Tyre a determined resistance was met. At first the city offered to surrender, but when Alexander expressed his desire to enter the city in order that he might worship in the temple of Hercules (Melkart), whom he claimed as ancestor, the answer was returned that the city would obey any other command of Alexander, but would admit within its walls neither Macedonian nor Persian. It was the pride of the city, and one that its position had made it possible to assert, that it had never admitted foreign troops at its gates.

Twice for long periods (701–697 B.C. and 671–662 B.C.) the Assyrians had beset the city in vain, and a century later Nebuchadnezzar the Babylonian had for thirteen years (585–573 B.C.) maintained a fruitless siege. Securely placed on a rocky island a little over two miles in circuit and less than half a mile from the mainland, it had, from the earliest dawn of history down to the time when Greek energy in the seventh century B.C. asserted its right, controlled the trade of the Mediterranean. When in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. the first Greek settlers came to the Asiatic coast and to Cyprus, it was with Phœnician traders who had been there at least three centuries before them that they came in competition, and it was from them that they learned trade, seamanship, arts, and even the art of writing. Greek competition in the Ægean drove them out into the wider field of the Mediterranean. Sicily, southern

Spain (Tarshish), and the northern coasts of Africa became their markets. Their roamings marked the wanderings of their national god Melkart (Hercules), and at Cadiz (Gades) were the "Pillars of Hercules." Utica, Leptis, and Carthage, in Africa, were their colonies. Throughout all the period of the Phœnician bloom, from 1200 B.C. to 700 B.C., Tyre was the Phœnician metropolis. Sidon, though the older city, played the second rôle. All the commodities of the world tributary to the Mediterranean passed in those days through the hands of the Tyrian traders as distributing agents.

Though writing in the days of Tyre's decline, the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel (586 B.C.), who, like the other Hebrew prophets, forgetting the old-time friendship between Solomon and Hiram, King of Tyre (969–936 B.C.), now looks upon Tyre, the world's Vanity Fair, with all the aversion that the man of the prairie can in this day spend on the bankers of Wall Street, tells in his curse the story of its greatness:

"O thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea, which art the merchant of the peoples unto many isles, thus saith the Lord God: Thou, O Tyre, hast said, I am perfect in beauty. Thy borders are in the heart of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir-trees from Senir: they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make a mast for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood, from the isles of Kittim [Kition in Cyprus]. Of fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was thy sail, that it

might be to thee for an ensign; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah [coast of northern Africa] was thine awning. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad [Sidon and Aradus] were thy rowers: thy wise men, O Tyre, were in thee, they were thy pilots. . . . Tarshish [Spain] was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded for thy wares. Javan, [Ionia, Greece], Tubal, and Meshech [modern Armenia], they were thy traffickers: they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass for thy merchandise. . . . And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and lament over thee, saying, Who is there like Tyre, like her that is brought to silence in the midst of the sea?"

This twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, from which we cite, contains among all the records of the past the fullest and most accurate account of the trade and the trade relations of the famous city. It was written during Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre, and while Ezekiel was a captive at Babylon. The doom which the prophet saw impending over the city was fulfilled, not through the hosts of Nebuchadnezzar, but by the arms of Alexander, and more yet by the city which he built to be its rival and successor, Alexandria in Egypt. Though Nebuchadnezzar's siege had not resulted in the capitulation of Tyre, a compromise had been made by which the city retained its entire autonomy while recognising the supremacy of Babylon. Thus the nominal relation of vassal to the Babylonian Empire, continuing after that empire passed into the hands of the Persians, had made the fleets of Tyre and of the other

Phœnician coast cities a main dependence of the Persians in asserting their Mediterranean influence. The relation had been, on the other hand, of great advantage to the trade of Phœnicia, particularly of Tyre, which during recent years, and especially since the downfall of the Athenian maritime empire, had stood in trade as mediator between the great domain of Persia behind it and the open Mediterranean before it.

Alexander's theory of his campaign came here to the test. To attempt the capture of Tyre seemed, in the light of historical experience, quixotic. To leave it behind untouched meant to leave the Persian fleet its best rendezvous and, in the Phœnician ships, its central strength. The capture of Tyre would disable the Persian fleet, throw Cyprus into Alexander's hands, and make the occupation of Egypt an easy sequel. The Mediterranean would then be Macedonian, and the hope of sedition represented in Greece by Sparta would lose its last support. Secure thus in the rear, the army could then turn with confidence to its final work, strike into the heart of the continent, and march toward Babylon. It was determined, therefore, cost what it might, to take this city by force.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SIEGE OF TYRE.

332 B.C.

THE time was now January (332 B.C.). The siege lasted until August. Of the ten brief years which Alexander had allotted him for his conquests in Asia, more than half of one was thus devoted to the capture of a single city. If it had meant the city alone, it would not have been worth while, but the result proved the wisdom of his general plan, and brought the reward to his patience and thoroughness.

The island upon which the city was built was separated from the mainland by a channel about twenty-five hundred feet wide, near the shore shallow and swampy, but over by the city reaching a depth of eighteen feet. Being without ships, Alexander proceeded to build a dam, or mole, across the channel by driving piles and filling in with earth and stones. Diodorus claims to know that the mole was given a width of two hundred feet. It remains to this day, broadened out by the silt of the sea into

the isthmus that joins the little modern city of Tyr to the mainland. The story goes that the King himself carried and threw in the first basketful of earth; then amid shouts of enthusiasm the Macedonians, men and officers, laid hand to the work. The abandoned houses of old Tyre, situated on the mainland opposite the island, provided a convenient quarry, and the hills of Lebanon, hard by, furnished timber for the piles and the siege machinery. At first the work went on well, until it came into deep water and closer under the walls of the city, and so within range of its artillery.

The ships of the Tyrians, too, had now become a factor. Manned with archers and slingers, they swarmed about the head of the pier, driving the labourers from their work. Battle took the place of building. The work went slow. Barricades were built to shelter the workmen. Great towers, filled in all their stories with catapults and mechanical bows, and protected against missile and torch by thick layers of hide, were set to hold the ships at bay; but against these the fertile devices of the Tyrian seaman found resource. A monster scow, which had served as a transport for horses, was fitted out as a fire-ship. It was filled with dry twigs pruned from the vines and with fagots of pitch, and its bow, boarded up high, was loaded with bundles of straw and shavings and fagots mingled with masses of brimstone and pitch. Two derrick-like masts mounted on the bow carried long yards upon which hung caldrons filled with oil and molten pitch. Then loading the stern heavily down with ballast so

as to throw the bow high out of water, they pushed it in before the favouring west wind by vessels made fast to the after-sides, and running it well up on to the mole, set fire to its load, swung the yards out forward, emptied the caldrons upon towers and stockade, and made off in boats or by swimming as best they could. The Macedonians who essayed to check the flames were a helpless target for the fire poured in upon them from the ships that hung about the pier. In an hour the whole work of weeks and months was undone. Towers and stockade were destroyed, the head of the pier dismantled and scattered, and the hope of the builders dismayed. But Alexander's energy was undaunted. He saw only the need for larger and more determined effort. First of all, he planned to lay a wider mole capable of supporting larger works of defense, but without the aid of a fleet he saw that even this was vain. So leaving his engineers to begin the larger work and rebuild the towers, he hastened off with a body of guards to see what could be done at Sidon toward collecting a fleet.

Fortune favoured him. Spring was just opening, and the Phœnician ships that had been with the Persian fleet in the Ægean were beginning to desert, and taking advantage of the weather, were finding their way back home. Issus was beginning to bear its fruit on the sea. First came to Alexander's standard the ships of Aradus and Byblus and Sidon, cities that had long before opened their doors to the conqueror. Then came ten from Rhodes, three from Solœ and Mallus, Cilician towns, and ten from

Lycia; but best of all came sailing into the port of Sidon a little later one hundred and twenty ships with which the kings of Cyprus expressed their anxiety to get upon the winning side. "Unto him that hath shall be given," and Alexander found himself now suddenly possessed of a superb fleet from two hundred to two hundred and fifty strong. From this time on the siege of Tyre became a different undertaking. Heretofore Alexander could approach it only by land, and even that he had to make. Now he could outmatch Tyre in ships and could blockade it, chief city of ships as it was.

While the ships and the engines of war were being prepared for the new campaign, Alexander utilised the time for a ten days' raid through the mountains of Antilibanus, which lay between Sidon and Damascus, and which, stretching for eighty miles in a line parallel to the Lebanon range from Mount Hermon, source of the river Jordan at the south, commanded the highways leading from Cœle-Syria to the sea. The Ituræan tribes who inhabited the region, and who, under the name of Druses, have maintained a distinct existence down to the present day, readily submitted to the Macedonian sway, and assured it thus a widened hem of conquered coast. Minor enterprises like this show not only how unremitting was his zeal, but how methodically thorough his conquests were. In a picture of the whole the brilliancy of hazard and hap yields homage to a central scheme on which the genius of plan and forethought has set its stamp. On his return to Sidon a welcome surprise awaited him.

Cleander, who more than a year before had been sent off to the Peloponnesus to enlist mercenaries, had arrived with four thousand soldiers, a timely reinforcement for the little army of invasion.

The day on which Alexander set forth from Sidon with his newly acquired fleet marked for him a new era in warfare. Thus far he had reached in conquest only what his footing on the solid land allowed; now he stood upon the seas as well. A few hours' sail brought the fleet off the northern harbour of Tyre. There it halted, drawn up in full array, challenging to battle. The Tyrians had been preparing to meet it, but when from the battlements they counted the number of the ships, they saw, to their surprise and dismay, for they had not reckoned on the accession of the Cyprian ships, that they were outmatched. Then it became for them merely a matter of defending their harbour, and they hastened to block the mouth with triremes set closely side to side and facing the sea. Three of these that protruded beyond the rest were rammed and sunk in the onset of Alexander's ships, but that was all. The newcomers now withdrew to moorings along the shore of the mainland on each side of the mole. Tyre had two harbours, two almost circular pools with narrow entrances, one at the north called the Sidonian harbour, the other at the south called the Egyptian. The Cyprian ships of Alexander were moored now by the shore to the north of the mole to watch the northern harbour, and the rest of the fleet to the south to guard the other.

Meantime the preparations for the siege were

pressed forward with renewed vigour and on a vastly greater scale. Mechanicians and engineers had been summoned from all Phœnicia and Cyprus; great engines of war of every description and device were in construction; the mole was widening and pushing up closer and closer toward the city walls. Under protection of the fleet the workmen were safe from attack by sea, and the work throve. Already they were coming almost under the shadow of the massive eastern wall; its battlements lifted themselves in dizzy height one hundred and fifty feet above the water's edge; above these rose the mighty towers. The walls were of hewn stone set in cement. Thousands of armed men swarmed the top and manned the towers. Engines of war, the crude artillery of the time, were set to hurl their missiles of death—great stones, iron-shod shafts, balls of fire—down upon the workmen and their works. Now the besiegers began to ply the rams, great, metal-weighted beams that swung out across the water-gap and thudded against the solid masonry. Every day the battle drew closer its lines. Not only from the head of the pier were the siege-engines brought against the beleaguered town; great scows and transport-boats were used as floating foundations for siege-towers and engines. These the Macedonians tried to push close to shore under the walls, but great boulders pitched down from the walls blocked the channel and forbade approach. Ships with wrecking apparatus, lifts, and derricks were sent to remove them, but Tyrian triremes, covered with leather screens to protect their men

from missiles, slipped in and cut the cables, leaving the ships to drift away before the wind. Then the Macedonians set a line of like leather-armored ships as a barrier before those that were clearing the channel, but still the Tyrians found a way. Divers swam under the barricade of ships and cut the cables. Then chains of iron were used instead of cables, and slowly the work went on. One by one the boulders were lifted with cranes and discharged into the deeper water, and finally an anchorage was cleared close under the walls. At a dozen places now instead of one the wall was beset. Every day the zeal of battle grew, every day the hope of the beleaguered sank. In vain they strained their eyes each morning to see against the western horizon the sails of the promised Carthaginian fleet of rescue. At last came only one ship bringing the thirty commissioners who were to offer the annual sacrifice in Melkart's temple and pay the honours due the mother-city—vain honours now, when help was needed. But Carthage had her excuse: her hands were full at home. She was beginning to feel the competition of Sicilian Syracuse, which two decades later was to become a peril.

As thus one by one every hope and device failed before the persistent energy of the besieger, the Tyrians determined in last resort to try issue with the fleet. Their ships, divided between the two harbours at extreme ends of the city, could not be massed for united action, neither could they, except at great disadvantage, venture out through the narrow mouth of either harbour. They awaited, there-

fore, an opportunity when the enemy were off their guard. One noonday, when the Cyprian ships that guarded the northern harbour were moored over by the mainland north-east of the city, and many of the sailors had gone ashore in quest of water and provisions, and off to the south of the mole, as men could see from the city wall, Alexander had retired to his tent, no doubt to enjoy his siesta, it seemed clear that the Tyrians' chance had come. Thirteen of the best ships—three quinqueremes, three quadriremes, seven triremes—manned with the pick of the oarsmen and the best-armed fighting men, lay ready at the harbour's mouth. Smoothly, silently, without boatswain's pipe, they glided out in long single file straight to the north. Not till they had swung about toward the east in battle front, and, scarcely more than half a mile distant from the Cyprian ships, broke the silence with creak and splash of hurrying oars, and shriek of the pipes, and shouts of the men who cheered the rowers on, did the men by the shore take the alarm. Five minutes and they were there. At the first onset the Tyrians bored through the great five-banked galley of Pnytagoras, King of Cyprian Salamis, and sank Androcles's ship and that of Pasicrates of Curium. Others were driven ashore against the rocks. Some of the one hundred and twenty ships were entirely empty of men. The Tyrians scurried over the sides of their ships to slash and batter and scuttle their helpless prey. The work of destruction went merrily on. But quickly the sailors who were left with the fleet rallied to hold them in check; others came

hurrying back from the land, and help, too, was already coming—the fleet on the south. Alexander, after retiring to his tent, had not, it seems, remained there long, but for some reason, and contrary to his wont, had returned to the ships by the shore. When the alarm was given he was ready to act. With a few quinquiremes and five triremes he immediately pushed out upon the sea, ordering others to follow as fast as they could be manned. The mole intervened between him and the scene of action. So he sailed out to the west to make the circuit of the city, determined at the least to cut off the retreat of the enemy. He had about two and a half miles to go before reaching the mouth of the northern harbour. In twenty minutes he could do it. The Tyrians, who crowded the battlements of the city walls to behold the spectacle, saw the movement of Alexander's ships and appreciated its purpose. They saw, what they had not expected, that Alexander was in person present. Exultation turned to dismay. Hundreds of voices were raised to warn the Tyrian ships of their danger and call them to return, and "as their shouts could not be heard for the din of those engaged in the fight, by various signs and signals, first this, then that, they urged them to come back" (Arrian). Too late the men saw their danger. They hurried back toward the harbour, but Alexander caught them off the entrance. Many of the ships were shattered or sunk by ramming; their crews jumped overboard, and most of the men escaped by swimming ashore. A few of the ships slipped by into the harbour, but one quinquereme

and one quadrireme were captured outright in the very mouth of the harbour. All of this happened within an hour, inside a petty area scarcely two miles wide, and immediately under the eyes of besieged and besiegers; but it was the last dying struggle of the Phœnico-Persian power in the Mediterranean, and it was Alexander's *only* sea-fight. He made on land his conquest of the sea.

With nothing longer to fear from the Tyrian fleet, the besiegers now more boldly than ever pushed their attack upon the walls. The engines on the end of the mole still made poor headway against the massive walls which there confronted them; the walls at the north-eastern corner proved equally invulnerable against the transport-engines concentrated there: but a weak spot was found one day in the southern wall hard by the "Egyptian harbour," a narrow breach was opened, and an attack was made by a storming-party, only, however, to be sharply repulsed. The breach had not been wide enough; the attack had been made on too small a scale. The Tyrians hurried to cover the breach from within, but the vulnerable spot had been found, and Alexander awaited only the opportunity of fair weather and a quiet sea to renew the onslaught, and this time to support it by a general attack at every vulnerable point in the circuit of the wall.

On the third day the opportunity came. The main attack was directed against the southern wall. Here the engines soon tore and raked a wide, yawning gap. The moment their work was complete two

great ships crowded with armed men pushed their way in to displace the engine-transports. In one was Alexander himself and the light guards called the *hypaspists*, whom Admetus commanded; in the other were picked men from the phalanx. Long bridges like gang-planks were thrown across from the decks to the debris of the ruined wall. In an instant they swarmed with hurrying men. Admetus was the first to reach the wall, and, transfixed with a spear, the first to die. Sharp and bitter was the struggle. From a handful the intruders grew to scores and hundreds. They fought to avenge their slain captain, and the presence of their King inspired them. The Tyrians fought for the last hope of their homes. Never before had foemen set his foot on the island soil of Tyre. Step by step the besiegers won their way. Some scrambled up the ruin and gained the battlements of the wall at the right; others followed, and with them Alexander, at the head, pushed on along the rampart platform toward the north, till, reaching the palace, which communicated with the wall, they found a way down by its stairways into the heart of the city.

Meanwhile the city had been attacked on every side. Vessels equipped with artillery and filled with bowmen and slingers had sailed up to close range under the walls, and poured their fire in upon the defenders of the walls, distracting their attention and dividing the defense. Simultaneously also the entrance of both harbours had been forced by the fleets, and the Tyrian ships shattered, scuttled, driven ashore. From the northern harbour, where

the defense was weaker, the approaches to the city had been captured, and here a force of soldiery entered to join those now pouring out through the palace doors into the narrow alleys of the town.

The Tyrians, who had now forsaken the wall, rallied for their last stand before the shrine of Agenor, and here the battle resolved itself into massacre. The rest of the story may follow in Arrian's own words:

"The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw it in the enemy's hands, but rallied opposite what is known as the Agenor shrine, and there faced the Macedonians. Against these Alexander advanced with his *hypaspists*, slew those who fought there, and pursued those who fled. Great was the slaughter also wrought by those who had already entered the city from the harbour, as well as by the detachment under Cœnus's command; for the Macedonians spared nothing in their wrath, being angry at the length of the siege, and particularly because the Tyrians, having captured some of their men on the way from Sidon, had taken them up on the top of the wall where it could be seen from the camp, and there had slaughtered them and thrown their bodies into the sea. About eight thousand of the Tyrians were slain; of the Macedonians, besides Admetus, twenty of the *hypaspists* fell during the assault, and in the whole siege about four hundred."

The city was at the end captured more easily and quickly than the Macedonians had expected. This is evident from an anecdote of Plutarch's:

"One day when Alexander, with a view to resting the

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

FROM THE BUST IN THE LOUVRE

great body of his army from the many hardships recently incurred, was bringing only small bodies of troops against the walls, and that more to keep the enemy busy than with any prospect of advantage, it happened that Aristander, the soothsayer, was engaged in sacrificing. After inspecting the entrails he announced to the bystanders with all assurance that the city would be surely taken within that month. This produced considerable merriment and derision, for the day happened to be the last day of the month. The King, seeing the embarrassment of the soothsayer, and being always anxious to maintain the credit of the predictions, gave orders to set the calendar back one day, and sounding the trumpets, made a more serious attack than had been originally planned. So brilliant was the assault that the other troops in the camp could not deny themselves joining in; whereupon the Tyrians gave way, and the city was taken that day."

Though many of the inhabitants had left the city, a great many—according to Diodorus more than half the population—escaping to Carthage, there was left a great mass of old men, women, and children to pass into the hands of the slave-dealer. Diodorus says thirteen thousand; Arrian, who reckons men and mercenaries too, and who also omits mention of two thousand men-at-arms, put to death, as Diodorus says, by hanging, gives the number of those sold into slavery at about thirty thousand. The entire population of the city before the siege was probably not less than from seventy-five to one hundred thousand.

Those who had taken refuge in the temple of Hercules, including the King and the magistrates, as well

as the Carthaginian envoys, were given their freedom. After sacrificing to Hercules, and dedicating to the god the engine with which the wall had been battered down, and the Tyrian sacred ship, which had been captured, Alexander celebrated his victory with a grand military parade and naval review and with the inevitable athletic sports and torch-race—all this in honour of Hercules (Melkart), Tyre's patron saint, an old friend of Greeks and Macedonians, now found again, and this time on his native heath.

Some time before the capture of Tyre, Darius had sent a second embassy to Alexander, making more attractive propositions than the first. They included offers to cede all territory west of the Euphrates, to pay the sum of ten thousand talents, to give the hand of his daughter in marriage, to become an ally and friend, while all that was asked was the return of his wife, mother, and children. When these proposals were first announced in the council of the companions Parmenion is reported to have been greatly impressed and to have said: "If I were Alexander, I should be glad to secure peace on these terms and end the continual risk." To this Alexander replied: "So should I, if I were Parmenion; but as I am Alexander, my answer is what it is." When Darius received the answer, which was virtually a repetition of the former one, he saw there was no hope of coming to terms, and so began fresh preparations for war.

Alexander, however, continued his plan of keeping to the coast, and advanced into Palestine. Here

all the cities readily submitted except Gaza, which prepared for determined resistance. This city, one of the five ancient cities of the Philistines, about one hundred and fifty miles south of Tyre, was located about two miles back from the sea, on the old trade-route between Syria and Egypt, and was, as it is to-day, one of the most important points in Syria. It was garrisoned by a body of Arabian mercenaries, and provisioned for a long siege. Built as it was upon an elevation in the plain, its walls rising from an artificially prepared foundation sixty feet above the level of the adjacent terrain, it appeared impossible to bring the siege-engines to bear. Alexander's experts informed him that on this account it would be impossible to take the city by force.

The conqueror of Tyre and candidate for the world-empire could not afford to recognise an impossibility. He therefore proceeded to construct on the south side, where the wall appeared weakest, a gigantic mound from which to operate the siege-engines. This mound was carried to the astonishing height of two hundred and fifty feet, to support which a breadth of twelve hundred feet was given it at the base. During a sally made by the defenders in order to destroy the siege-engines, Alexander was severely wounded by an arrow from a catapult, which passed clean through his shield and his cuirass, and penetrated his shoulder, but spared his life. Gradually the wall was battered down or undermined. Three assaults were repulsed, but finally, after two months of siege, the city was

taken. Nearly the entire male population perished fighting to the death. The women and children were sold into slavery. The city was repeopled from the neighbouring population, and made a permanently garrisoned fortress.

While Alexander was at Gaza he received notice of the action of the council of the Greek States at Corinth, held on the occasion of the Isthmian games of that year, which had voted to send to him by fifteen special commissioners a golden crown in recognition of the victory at Issus—a recognition tardy enough, and almost too late to be longer of consequence or value to the conqueror of Tyre and lord of the Ægean, or for the Greeks themselves a testimony to aught but their own fickleness.

The Jewish writers, particularly Josephus, report that after the capture of Gaza Alexander went to Jerusalem, was received by the high priest, and offered sacrifice in the temple. The absence of all allusion to this in any of the historians of Alexander, as well as of any mention of the Jews either by them or the historians of the next century, coupled with the self-contradictions and improbabilities of the narrative, makes it unlikely that the story is anything more than an invention of the Hellenists of the first century B.C., who sought to establish in this way, as in others, an early connection with Greek history.

It was November (332 B.C.) when Alexander set forth along the coast to enter Egypt. An entire year since the battle of Issus (November, 333 B.C.) had been spent in Phœnicia and Palestine. The

task of isolating Persia from the Mediterranean was advancing, however, toward its completion. At Sidon and Tyre he had dammed the ancient channel by which the trade and civilisation of the Euphrates valley, following the reverse of the river course, had found an outlet into the western sea. The Ægean had become almost an inland sea of Alexander's Macedonian empire—a Greek sea instead of a Greek boundary.

CHAPTER XX.

ALEXANDER IN EGYPT.

332–331 B.C.

SINCE the conqueror had entered Asia two and a half years had elapsed. One-third of his brief reign was spent, but the land area of his conquests included yet scarcely more than a tenth part of what they were to be. It was not, however, land that he was now conquering: it was the sea—the sea included between Greece, Asia, Egypt, which the fates of geography had made to be the central mart and meeting-place of all the civilisations which his world could know. To it were tributary the two great river valleys in which had shaped themselves the two types of ordered life that summarised the beginnings of human civilisation. Egypt found its natural outlet with the Nile; Mesopotamia, reversing the currents of the Euphrates, poured in its influences through the broad delta of Tyre and Sidon, or let them slowly sift through the sands of Asia Minor. In this sea the culture of Egypt and Assyria, as the passive element, met the aggressive

will of occidentalism, which was to shape and apply it, and out of the union was begotten the history which up to the present century, neglecting the world-half of India and China, we have been wont to call the world-history. It is because Alexander conquered first this sea and then its tributaries that his career is the navel of history.

As far as the land is concerned he had thus far traversed three areas of human life and habitation: first, the western hem of Asia Minor (from May to November, 334 B.C.), where the Greek spirit, language, and blood were predominant; second, the central and southern districts of Asia Minor (from November, 334 B.C., to November, 333 B.C.), where, with all variety of tribe and tongue, Carian and Phrygian elements predominated, but no national unity existed or ever had, except such as the Lydian Empire of two centuries before achieved; third, the narrow coast selvage of Syria (from November, 333 B.C., to November, 332 B.C.), where the Semitic spirit and the Semitic tongue were in full sway, and the name of Phœnicia set the standard.

Next in his way lay Egypt. The march of his phalanx took thus in review, one after the other, the nations and civilisations of men. Hitherto he had seen, though, only the middlemen who were handing on what they had received; now he was coming to a fountain-head. If an established order of civilised life anywhere in the wide world can be identified as born alone of the soil where it abides, that can be claimed most confidently for the

civilisation which clings to the banks of the Nile. "Egypt is the Nile, and the Nile is Egypt," and the long experience of generations of men, whose lives the hungry desert bound to the river-line, as to a life-line in the waste of waters, had taught these men to tolerate one another, and created for them a scheme and polity of existence so well confirmed that innovation found no hope. By virtue of its very longness Egypt could not be rid of itself. So it tolerated itself and abode stable.

The real Egypt, the fertile Nile valley from the first cataract to the sea, though stretching out in a length equal to the distance from Richmond, Virginia, to Portland, Maine, is in area scarcely one fourth the size of Pennsylvania, and of this area more than half is included within the Delta. Above Cairo it is merely a strip of verdure, rarely more than from four to eight miles broad, sharply bounded by the bluffs which bear the desert. Within this narrow band Egyptian life took its shape, coming to a focus now at Memphis, the old metropolis of Lower Egypt, across the river from modern Cairo, now at Thebes in Upper Egypt. Long centuries of almost undisturbed isolation fixed it in moulds of custom, thought, and religion firmer, perhaps, than human life has ever elsewhere known. It was an intensely practical life. Realism coloured all its thought. The solidity of its religious institutions, guaranteed by a powerful priesthood which swayed society and state and held the reins of the Nile, was no product of imagination or of fervour, but a witness merely to its unfaltering conservatism. Even

the yearning for the life beyond expressed itself in crude practical device, not in visions or in speculations. The typical Egyptian was then, as he is to-day, a man of peace, averse to rudeness and brutality, courteous, patient, practical, and prudent. The Greek thought him effeminate, and, from Herodotus on, the Greek writers refer with abhorrence to a development of "women's rights" in Egypt which made men the subjects of the women. It is indeed a fact that under Egyptian law married women had independent property rights and rights of contract. Wealth, too, it appears, was often largely in the hands of women. Egyptian history persistently refuses to speak in terms of dates, but sure it is that the civilisation into which Alexander was here to be introduced represented an antiquity before which all that he had seen, had heard of, and had read of in his native Macedonia or Greece, or in the lands through which his march had brought him, was paltry modernity itself. Even the Trojan days, with which Homer had inspired his youthful idealism, reached back at the best but a fourth or fifth of the way to the building of the Pyramids, and of the centuries that looked down from those hoary heads upon Napoleon and his men two out of every three were there to look down upon Alexander. It was not likely that a man of Alexander's temper and of his keen susceptibility to all that spoke, whether in the language of religion, art, or custom, with the authority of antiquity and through the forms of ancient culture, should pass by this all unmoved and unchanged. He was a youth fresh from

the New World, alert-minded and sensitive; here was his London and Rome.

From Gaza the one way leading into Egypt was the old caravan route along the shore, by which through the ages Palestine and Egypt had been joined. In seven days it brought Alexander and his army to Pelusium, the "key of Egypt," a strongly fortified city near the easternmost mouth of the Nile. A few miles to the west of its site passes now the track of the Suez Canal, approaching its exit at Port Saïd. The city opened its gates to the conqueror. Nowhere, indeed, in all the land was opposition awaiting him. The Persian satrap Masakes, who had been appointed successor of Sabakes, slain a year before in the battle of Issus, found himself utterly without resource in fleet, army, or good-will, for a defense. The people of the land with one accord hailed the coming of Alexander as the coming of a liberator. For almost two centuries they had borne the detested yoke of Persia, and the victor of Issus they had esteemed to be their own avenger. Masakes, therefore, hastened to offer surrender of the land, and so without the striking of a blow Alexander added to his empire a domain almost equal in extent to all his previous conquests. With this act the long, strange history of ancient Egypt was closed. Egypt was merged in the world-all, and a new Egypt began its life.

From Pelusium the Macedonian army proceeded in triumphal march along the east bank of the Pelusian arm of the Nile. The fleet which had been in waiting at Pelusium attended it. Most of the

way led through the "land of Goshen," Israel's place of sojourn a thousand years and more before, and brought the army, after a march of a little over one hundred miles, to the famous old Heliopolis (On), the "City of the Sun," whence tradition says that Joseph had his wife, Asenath, daughter of Potiphera, a priest of the sun (Gen. xli., 45). Here were still standing, as they had been for thirteen hundred years, along with others of their kind, doing honour to the god as guards about his temple, the two obelisks which three centuries later were transplanted by Augustus Cæsar to Alexandria, and now in these latest years, following the track of empire, have come to find Northern homes, the one on the Thames Embankment in London, the other in Central Park, New York.

A few miles beyond Heliopolis Alexander was at the site of modern Cairo, the apex of the Delta. Then crossing the Nile, now the undivided river, he approached Memphis, the capital.

On the terraced bluffs which marked the sharp frontier between the life of the plain and the desert of death were arrayed in stately order, relieved against the sands and the western sky, from Gizeh southward fifteen miles to Dahshûr, the Pyramids, which, mingled with countless humbler habitations, marked the world's greatest city of the dead. Below in the plain stretching itself out in miles of continuous streets and homes, was Egypt's greatest city of the living. Its focus was found in the temple of its local deity, the god Ptah, the world-builder, who was worshipped in the form of a living bull called

Apis. In the life of a bull chosen by his priests Ptah found his ever-recurring incarnations, and received the most distinguished honours. At death the bull was buried with most elaborate and costly obsequies, and the Serapeum, constructed for the tombs of the long succession, still remains in monstrous vaulted ruins, where no less than three thousand monuments of different wearers of the Apis honour have been found. The city of the dead has far outlived the city of the living, and Memphis, enormous as it was, has yielded to centuries of spoilers, and all but vanished off the face of the earth. The founding of Alexandria marked the beginning of its decline.

On entering the city, Alexander hastened to pay the honour of special sacrifice to Apis. Nothing was more likely to win him the sympathy of the people, especially as his action stood in severest contrast with the traditions of Persian sacrilege—of Cambyses, who with his own hand had wounded to the death a sacred bull, and of Darius Ochus, who had caused one to be slaughtered. Diodorus says: "The Egyptians, in view of the fact that the Persians had violated their holy rites and had domineered rudely over them, welcomed the Macedonians gladly." *

In this action Alexander was thoroughly consistent with himself. Wherever he went he treated with respect the local religion. He was evidently by his practice a believer in home rule—in matters of religion. In this he was not acting merely the

* Diodorus, xvii., 49.

part of a clever politician. His attitude toward faith was never that of easy unconcern. He was no agnostic. A vein of deep religious mysticism, perhaps inherited or learned from his mother Olympias, ran through his nature and coloured all his conduct. He stood with awe and respect, though never with terror, in the presence of supernatural power controlling a realm of which the world of ordinary things was only a feeble part, and controlling it with foresight and intelligence, though by ordinary men but feebly discerned. He was no eclectic in matters of religion. The foresight and purpose of the power outside and beyond betrayed itself through many a rift in the veil, and he had learned no canons of criticism, not even the common one called prejudice. He had too much emotional insight to be an agnostic, and had in a short life seen too much of the world to be a bigot.

Nowhere in the world has the religious factor played a larger part in the life of a people than in ancient Egypt. No wonder that even the four months of Alexander's stay exercised so powerful an influence in shaping and stimulating his religious sensibilities. He was, as it were, in a great temple, always in the presence of the religious expression, and the weird issue of his visit to the sanctuary of Jupiter Ammon must be judged and interpreted in the light of this experience.

The mass of the army, which could not have numbered altogether much above twenty thousand men, was left in winter quarters at Memphis. Alexander, accompanied by the *hypaspists*, the archers,

the Agrianians, and the *agéma* of cavalry, in all perhaps four or five thousand men, sailed down the river to Canopus (modern Abukir), at the mouth of the westernmost branch of the Nile. From here he passed into the Mareotis Lake, then a large body of water fifteen miles wide, navigable for the largest vessels, but now little more than a swamp. In Strabo's time it was fed by numerous canals from the Nile, and was the all-important means of communication with the inland. Now, cut off from the Nile, its waters are salt, and the fertility which in antiquity lined its shores and yielded the wines which Horace and Virgil extol is displaced by sandy dunes. At a spot about thirteen or fourteen miles south-west of Canopus, on the long, narrow strip of sandy land separating the Mareotis Lake from the sea, Alexander went ashore, and, being deeply impressed by the favourable location, decided to build a city. The place seemed to be the meeting-point of the whole Nile region with the Mediterranean world. On one side was the lake-harbour connected with the Nile; on the other were two sea-harbours, sheltered from the open sea by the island Pharos, four-fifths of a mile offshore, the one opening to the west, the other to the east. Here was to be equipped the only safe harbour open for ships on the six-hundred-mile stretch of Asiatic and African coast from Joppa to Parætonium. The neck of land itself was about a mile to a mile and a half wide. A city built upon it would be reasonably protected from land attack and yet accessible from the land. Through the Nile and the old canal of Pharaoh

Necho, connecting it with the Red Sea, the commerce of Egypt, Arabia, and India could here be brought to meet the commerce of the Mediterranean.

There are no indications that Alexander set out on this particular excursion through the lake with a view of seeking a city site, but there can be little doubt that the idea was more than the impulse of a moment. Tyre was destroyed. The coast of Egypt offered no convenient harbour suitable to intercourse on a large scale. The encouragement of intercourse and mutual understanding between the nations was already developing as his dominant idea. The Greek element had long since come to make itself felt in the Delta, and Naucratis, a thriving Greek settlement tolerated by Amasis in the sixth century B.C., was only fifty miles to the southeast. The custom introduced in the seventh century B.C., by Psammetichus I., of employing Greek mercenaries to do the fighting, toward which, with the decay of the warrior caste, the Egyptians themselves had become so averse, had served to bring Greeks into the land. What more probable than that Alexander had already framed the plan, and that unexpectedly the discovered site fitted it? In any case, his selection was a good one, as the event proved.

The Alexandria which rose on the spot became speedily a great city, and not by artificial stimulation, though it certainly was most fortunate in its first ruler, Ptolemy Soter, who succeeded Alexander, but through the operation of natural conditions. It proved a convenient exchange for the joint use

of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Hence it naturally became the metropolis of the great world of free and open markets which Alexander's conquests created, the capital of the Hellenistic civilisation which for three centuries passed current as Greek, and an amalgamation point for the peoples such as the conqueror's dream had desired. Seventy-five years after Alexander's death it had become, after Carthage and Antioch, the greatest city of the Western world. By the year 60 B.C. it had grown to a population, as Diodorus tells us, of three hundred thousand freemen,—that is to say, reckoning the slaves, of approximately half a million,—so that it was commonly regarded the greatest city of the world. In the first century after Christ its population was undoubtedly far greater—perhaps three quarters of a million or more—but for this definite data are lacking. Rome, which in Augustus's time had at least, according to Beloch's conservative reckoning, from eight hundred thousand to one million inhabitants, was the only city which had outstripped it.

Up to Alexander's time there had been no monster cities. The city population of Athens proper, together with its harbour town, was probably about 175,000. Syracuse, in the fourth century B.C., was only a little larger. Corinth at the same time had, according to Beloch, who, however, reckons the slave population certainly far too low, about 70,000; Sparta, Argos, and Thebes, from 40,000 to 50,000; Selinus, from 20,000 to 25,000; Tyre and Sidon, not over 40,000 each.

By the first century B.C., a time whose literature

affords us, through stray allusions, the first means of forming an estimate, the international trade of Alexandria had grown to enormous proportions. From the interior of Africa, from Arabia and India, caravans and fleets of merchant ships brought hither the rarest and most precious products which the new luxury of the West was demanding of all the lands—the spices and perfumes of Araby, gold-dust, precious stones, and fine fabrics from India, pearls from the Persian Gulf, silk from China, gold and tortoise-shell from the coasts of the Red Sea, ivory from Africa, and grain from Egypt. Annually 120 ships, on an average, left the inner harbour for the long voyage by canal and sea to India. This was but a fragment of the commerce. The industries too of Alexandria were spurred to their utmost to provide wares for the return cargoes. Foremost were the products of the loom, for which the city was famed, and which were distributed far and wide over the world, even to far Britain. Especially were sought the fine linens from the famous native flax, and the many-coloured textures of wool, wrought in artistic patterns and with figures of animals and men—rugs, portières, and tapestries. The manufacture of paper from the native papyrus almost monopolised the trade of the world. Then there were the glass-blowers, whose artistic products commanded a price like that for cups of gold, and perfumers, and makers of toilet-oils and essences, whose repute matched that of the Parisians of to-day. No one in this busy city, so wrote Hadrian in 134 A.D., was without a craft and occupation. Even the blind

and the gouty were busy. "Money is their god; him worship Jews, Christians, and all alike."

It was a centre of learning and culture, as well as of industry and trade. About the university, called the Musæum, and its famous library, a foundation of the wise Ptolemies, was assembled the best learning of the world. The savant, or *philologos*, is indeed, so far as Western civilisation is concerned, a distinctive and original Alexandrine product. It was through Alexandrine learning, and chiefly in Alexandrine guise, that Rome, and so the European world, received the wisdom and culture of Greece. Letters, philology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, music, law, medicine, received here their professional mould as branches of skilled and learned activity, and in such mould were transmitted and kept, until the Renaissance brought fresh life from the fountainhead. But we must return to the days of the beginnings.

Alexander, after conceiving his scheme, immediately proceeded to mark out the plan of the city, including the sites for market-place, streets, public buildings, temples of the different deities, each of them being especially assigned, and the circuit of the wall. The basis of the plan was made two main streets crossing each other at right angles, each, so says Strabo, one hundred feet wide, and lined with colonnades. Other streets, running parallel to these, laid out the whole in regular squares covering a length of about three miles and a width of about one. The excavations and investigations conducted by Mahmud Bey and completed in 1867 found the

city plan essentially as Strabo describes it. The two broad central avenues—that running east and west called the Canobus avenue, that north and south the Dromos (Corso)—were found with traces of the splendid colonnades which lined them. In the centre of these avenues was found still in place a pavement of grey granite blocks forty-six feet wide, which served as the carriage-way. In the parallel streets this pavement was only half this width. The private houses were low, flat-roofed, and of stone. The circuit of the city proper was found to be a little less than ten miles. For definite knowledge regarding the location and character of the great public buildings we must await the further revelation of the spade. Meantime we must be content with Strabo. Near the centre of the city lay the royal buildings, occupying, with their gardens, a fourth of the city's area. Here, besides the palaces, were the Musæum and the Sema, the latter the great mausoleum in which lay inclosed in its alabaster coffin the body of Alexander. The site of the Paneum, "an artificial circular mound resembling a rocky hill, to which a winding way ascends," and from which a commanding view of the whole city and its harbours was obtained, can now be identified with the knoll, 112 feet above the ordinary city level, which carries the reservoir of the modern Alexandria. Near by, on the Dromos, lay the Gymnasium, stretched out, with its pillared porches, in a length of a stadium (one-ninth of a mile). The island of Pharos was joined to the mainland by a wide mole, called the Heptastadium,

about three quarters of a mile long, in which were two bridges over channels communicating between the eastern and the western harbours. This mole has now widened out into a neck of land almost a mile in width, on which stands the greater part of the modern city. At the eastern end of the island was built by Ptolemy Soter and his son, and completed about 282 B.C., the famous Pharos, one of the "seven wonders," which became the prototype of all the world's lighthouses.

A story of the first rough planning, given by all the sources, may best be presented in Plutarch's statement:

"As chalk-dust was lacking, they laid out their lines on the black loamy soil with flour, first swinging a circle to inclose a wide space, and then drawing lines as chords of the arcs to complete with harmonious proportions something like the oblong form of a soldier's cape. While the King was congratulating himself on his plan, on a sudden a countless number of birds of various sorts flew over from the land and the lake in clouds, and settling upon the spot, devoured in a short time all the flour; so that Alexander was much disturbed in mind at the omen involved, till the augurs restored his confidence again, telling him the city he was planning was destined to be rich in its resources, and a feeder of the nations of men."

The work of founding the city he left in the hands of workmen under the direction of the architect Dinocrates, who was certainly not a man of small ideas. He is the same man who once proposed to

carve Mount Athos, the peak which rises abruptly sixty-five hundred feet out of the Thracian Sea, into a colossal statue of Alexander, which should bear in one hand a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and from the other should pour in bold cascade a great mountain stream into the sea beneath. Another plan of his, to build in memory of Philadelphus's queen, Arsinoë, a temple with ceiling of lodestone, so that the iron statue of the goddess-queen might hang suspended in the air, we learn, to our regret, failed of fulfilment through his inopportune death.

CHAPTER XXI.

VISIT TO THE TEMPLE OF AMMON.

332–331 B.C.

AT about this time—it was midwinter of 332–331 B.C.—Alexander was visited by Hegelochus, the commander of his fleet in the north, who brought welcome intelligence concerning the final dispersion of the Persian fleet and the recovery of the island cities lost during the spring of 333 B.C. The Tenedans had revolted from the Persians and returned to Macedonian rule. Mitylene had been wrested from the hands of Chares, and the other Lesbian cities had voluntarily submitted. Another revolution in Chios had placed the democracy, friendly to Alexander, at the helm, and Cos had surrendered to a fleet of sixty ships sent to it at its own suggestion. Pharnabazus was a fugitive. The Ægean was therefore clear, and entirely in Alexander's control, as was also, with one sole exception, the complete circuit of lands contributing to its waters, the entire world with which Greece and the Greeks had dealings east of Italy and Sicily.

Sparta alone remained incorrigible. We have seen how, four years before, she answered Alexander's summons to accept his leadership, "It is not tradition with us to follow others, but ourselves to lead others." Ever since she had been waiting for opportunity to lead revolt. Spartan ambassadors were all the time at the court of Darius. When the tidings of Issus reached Greece (November, 333 B.C.) we remember that the Spartan King Agis was in conference with the Persian admiral at Siphnos. While the Persian power in the Ægean was steadily melting away, Agis's stubbornness, fed upon desperation, lifted itself into aggression. During the months that Alexander was busy at Tyre, Agis and his Spartans were making Crete a stronghold of the opposition, in hope of contesting through that the control of the sea. Some of the Greek mercenaries who had escaped from Issus found their way into Crete, and gave him the nucleus of an army. During the winter of 332–331 B.C. Agis raised openly the standard of revolt in the Peloponnesus. The Eleans, the Achæans, and, excepting Megalopolis, the Arcadians, joined him. A small Macedonian force that sought to quell the revolt was annihilated. Through the summer of 331 B.C. the movement grew. A revolt of the Illyrians kept Antipater, the Macedonian regent, busy at the north, and from week to week his much-needed coming was delayed. The flame threatened to become a conflagration. When news of the trouble reached Alexander he was far away in Mesopotamia. "While we are here conquering Darius," he said,

" it seems they are having a war of the mice in Arcadia." The composure of his faith received its reward. The next tidings told how Antipater had at last appeared, had found the Spartans besieging the walls of Megalopolis, and there on the plain before the city, in a fearful battle which left fifty-three hundred of the enemy, among them King Agis, lying on the field, had utterly broken and humbled all resistance (October or November, 331 B.C.), and received at last the submission of Sparta. This was a blow from which the Spartan state never recovered.

But our story has carried us almost a year beyond the point where we left Alexander just committing the building of his city to his architect's hands. From the site of Alexandria the King turned his face suddenly toward the west, and began a march along the African coast. The Western world, which now lay before him—a world in whose history Sicily now occupied the central post—has thus far occupied none of our attention, and will not hereafter, for it was as yet a world by itself, engaged with problems of its own, into which Alexander's brief career was destined not to intrude.

Sicily was just recovering from its struggle to hold the Carthaginians at bay, and the Greeks of Italy were now beginning to feel the pressure of Rome from the north. In 326 B.C. Naples passed into Roman hands. Carthage had been too seriously occupied in the effort to maintain herself in the western Mediterranean even to bring help to her mother-city Tyre, or to take any part in the great

conflict now going on between the Greek and the Oriental, direct as her natural interest was. This fact kept her outside the range of Alexander's notice, and left her to be dealt with later by Rome (first Punic War, 264–241 B.C.). Alexander's present movement westward had no designs on Carthage; that, for the time, belonged in another world.

For two hundred miles he followed the dreary coast, until at Parætonium he came to the domain of Cyrene, a Greek city four hundred miles farther on. Here met him a Cyrenian embassy offering presents and asking alliance, and this marked the western limit of his conquests. He was now left free to indulge his sense for the romantic. The necessities of war, for the present, no longer claimed him. He turned suddenly aside upon an errand he could hardly have planned from the first, as the route he had taken may fairly prove, and took his way across the desert toward the famous sanctuary of Ammon, nearly two hundred miles away.

It was a difficult task he had undertaken; "for there were no landmarks along the road, nor mountains anywhere, nor any trees, nor any elevation of any sort by which a traveller might shape his course as sailors do by the stars" (Arrian), and often the wanderers seemed to have lost the way. Memories of the hardships and risks, the strange experiences, the uncanny surroundings, the unexpected deliverances, grew in later days into stories of the miraculous. One tells that two serpents glided in front of the line, showing it the way; another, that two

ravens flew before them " and waited for them when they lingered and fell behind; but the most marvellous thing is what Callisthenes tells, that if any went astray by night, they would call to them and keep up a croaking until they brought them back on to the trail again." These are samples of that atmosphere of the marvellous which came to surround this whole adventure.

On arriving at the oracle, which was situated in the oasis of Siwah, a tract four or five miles wide, blessed with olives and palms in abundance, a spring of water, and the refreshment of dew, Alexander hastened to show his respect for the oracle, and at the same time to gratify his curiosity by asking certain questions. He first asked, so report has it, whether any of his father's murderers had escaped punishment, whereupon the priest is said to have rebuked him and charged him to speak with more respect, seeing that his father was not a mortal being. Changing his question, he then asked if Philip's murderers had all been punished. Being assured that they had been, he then inquired whether he was to gain the empire of the world. Of this he also received assurance.

" This," Plutarch says, " is what most authorities give concerning the responses of the oracle; but Alexander himself, in writing to his mother, says there were certain secret responses, which he himself would tell her alone on his return. Some say the prophet, wishing, by way of courtesy, to address him in Greek, and intending to say '*paîdios*' (' my boy '), made a slip on the last sound, and said '*paî Diós*' (' son of Zeus '). Alexander, they

say, welcomed the blunder, and the word went out that the god had addressed him as son of Zeus."

Diodorus and Curtius Rufus report much the same, without indulging in the grammatical reminiscence. Arrian keeps on solid ground with the simple remark: "Having heard what was, as he said, agreeable to his desire, he set out on his way back to Egypt." In all probability the older authorities, Aristotle and Ptolemy, whom Arrian follows most closely, reported nothing concerning what passed between Alexander and the priest. Callisthenes, indeed, says that Alexander was entirely alone when he consulted the oracle. The later authorities probably dressed out the incident with various ornamentation, and all that remains of solid material seems to be the tradition that the priest addressed him as "son of Ra," or "son of Ammon," which really meant no more, in the language of the place and time, than "king." The famous response of the Delphic Pythia to the Spartan King Lysander,* "I know not whether to call thee god or man," illustrates how even in the Greek sense the heroic blended into the divine.

Modern historians have given to this incident a great importance in estimating the development of Alexander's character. Grote† speaks of it as marking "his increasing self-adoration, and inflation above the limits of humanity," and the same writer credits him from this time on with a belief that Zeus

* Herodotus, i., 65.

† See also Kaerst, *Historische Zeitschrift*, lxxiv. (1895), pp. 1 *ff.*, 193 *ff.*, who follows in the track of Grote.

was his real father—" a genuine faith, a simple exaggeration of that exorbitant vanity which from the beginning reigned so largely in his bosom." With this it is customary to connect a deliberate purpose, maintained throughout his life, of establishing the worship of himself as a god, and a number of incidents are cited in support of such a view. It is, furthermore, claimed that the trip to Siwah was undertaken with the premeditated purpose of obtaining the sanction of the oracle for his ambition.

While we are unquestionably dealing here with the folly of an abnormally successful and very young man, it is still worth while to seek an exact determination of the limits of this folly. This surely cannot be done if the subject of it is isolated from all connection with his own traditional conceptions and his own peculiar prejudices, and treated as an absolute, sterilised specimen.

The confidence in an ultimately divine origin was an essential part of every family tree among the noble families of the older Greece. All the great heroes were sons of gods. If Minos was the son of Zeus, Theseus must needs, as Bacchylides's pæan (xvii.) shows it, prove himself Poseidon's son. The gods were, as ancestors, dignified to be the citizens of honour in the state. That was what made the state and gave it its dignity. It was a fraternity in which great immortals known as gods, were members—as we should call the, " honorary members." Alexander had always traced his origin, with pardonable pride, to Hercules and Perseus. He had not, on that account, felt himself less human than other

BUST OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

men. He had probably thought himself more "select."

His fondness for the stories of Homer, and his choice of Achilles, who was goddess-born, as a prototype, quickened his fancy for the marvellous in genealogy. He was now in Egypt, subject to the profound religious impressions its sturdy faith and plodding piety were likely to beget. Its Pharaohs had always, on ascending the throne, presented themselves at the temple of Amun-Ra (Ammon) to receive his recognition: Alexander was now a Pharaoh, and he would do the same, choosing not the sanctuary at Thebes, but the one at Siwah, to which his great ancestor Hercules had gone.

His mother, the fanatical, corybantic Olympias, had always been haunted with the delusion that her son was begotten of a god. That Alexander gave himself to such a whimsical vagary with any real or practical faith in sober moments is certainly to be doubted. It was a satisfaction to his mother that he visited the oracle and received such a response. The words of the priest made an impression, too, on his mind, sensitive as it was to the mystical, and under the glamour of his marvellous success meant something to him in a mystical way—but how much in practical substance? Plutarch's remarks are in point here:

"He is said, in listening to the philosopher Psammon in Egypt, to have been most pleased with this remark of his: 'Every man is ruled by a god, because that which is at the head and which has the strength in each man is *ipso facto* divine.' Even more profound was the teaching

which Alexander himself laid down on this point, to the effect that, though God is the common father of all men, in a particular way does he claim the noblest as his own."

He tolerated and even demanded among the Persians the adoration (*proskynesis*) characteristic of their court etiquette, and at times even committed, it appears, the odious folly of asking it from Macedonians, and that, too, when it was given him as a divine being. Yet this was no settled plan with him; it rather appears as an occasional vagary, though one that provoked much irritation and disgust among those who were his most loyal friends. It was the old Macedonians, not the Greeks, who made the chief protest against these notions of the King. The Greeks, accustomed to such mythological conceits, could understand how little was really meant by them; to the Macedonians they were bold, prosaic claims of fact. It is furthermore, to be noted that the Macedonians' protests arose in connection with their jealousy of the King's leanings toward a new cosmopolitanism, which, in their view, threatened to alienate him from them and rob them of the fruits of victory.

Plutarch says of him:

"Toward the barbarians he conducted himself altogether with sternness, as one fully persuaded of his divine origin, yes, and parentage too, but toward the Greeks more reasonably and with less affectation of divinity. . . . Once, being wounded with an arrow and suffering much pain, he said: 'This which is flowing

here, my friends, is blood, not ichor,' and, citing a verse of Homer: 'Ichor, such as flows from the immortal gods.' At another time, when there was a heavy clap of thunder and everybody was frightened, Aristarchus the professor, who was by, said to him: 'Whether *you* could n't do something of the sort, seeing you are the son of Zeus?' With a laugh he answered: 'I have no mind to be a terror to my friends, as you would have me, who despise my table for being provided with fish instead of with the heads of satraps.' . . . From what I have said it is evident that Alexander was not mentally affected or insanely puffed up, but was merely seeking to maintain authority over others through the claim of divinity."

The idea that he undertook to establish a formal cult of himself, and to impose it upon the nations under his rule, particularly upon the Greeks, lacks all foundation. The story that after his return to the West he issued a decree demanding of the Greek cities the payment of divine honours to himself has been carefully examined by Mr. Hogarth,* and found to rest upon no sound basis.† That after his death he was recognised widely as divine is undoubted. It is noticeable that it is not during his life that his portrait appears upon the coinage to displace the traditional representations of the gods. After his death he appears on the coins as the genius of the Macedonian Empire, the personified bond of unity.

* *English Historical Review*, 1887, p. 322 *ff.*

† A like result is reached by Benedictus Niese, *Historiche Zeitschrift*, lxxix. (1897), p. 1 *ff.*

That the Alexander cult, which is found in various places and survived down into the Roman imperial age, was not a creation of Alexander's lifetime could not be more distinctly demonstrated than by the fact that its institution at Alexandria itself is due to a successor, Ptolemy II., fifty years or more after the hero's death. The notion that Alexander utilised the doctrine of his divinity as a fundamental and constitutive principle for his empire is so utterly at variance with the plain historical facts, so utterly lacking in support from any known facts, as to possess no interest except for its absurdity. It is a mere nightmare of some schematising historians.

After making rich gifts to the temple, Alexander returned to Memphis, where he found various delegations from Greece awaiting him. There were Chians and Rhodians to ask withdrawal of the garrisons from their cities, delegates from Mitylene to seek reimbursement for their expenditures in resisting the Persians, Cyprians and Athenians and many others to bring congratulations and ask this or that remission or favour. All of them he sent away satisfied.

Recruits for his army began, too, to come in from Antipater, and others were to meet him on his outward march at Pelusium. The month left him in Egypt he devoted to the organisation of its government. Repeating the plan he had applied in other provinces, the first illustration of which we saw in Lydia, he divided the administration among different departments, carrying, however, the division, as was suited to the greatness and complexity of

Egyptian population and resources, much further than in any previous case. The administration of Egypt and the government of its native population was separated from that of the Greeks and other resident foreigners. Libya and Arabia were made distinct administrative districts. The military and the financial administrations were also kept distinct. Garrisons were left in Pelusium and Memphis.

Early in the spring (331 B.C.) he returned with his army into Phœnicia, and made halt at Tyre to effect the last governmental arrangements before turning his back on the West. Here came to greet him and pledge anew the loyalty of their city Athenian ambassadors, borne in the sacred state trireme, the famous old Paralos. Their renewed request for the release of their countrymen taken prisoners while serving the Persians at Granicus was finally granted. At the end a great athletic and musical fête was inaugurated. Singers and actors came from various Greek cities. The Cyprian kings supplied the choruses. Stately sacrifices were offered to Hercules, the god of the place. A genuine Hellenic festival; in reality the funeral games of the old Hellas! When they were over, Alexander's army turned its back upon the Grecian sea, the hem of which had hitherto been its battle-ground, and plunged into the heart of Asia.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BATTLE OF GAUGAMELA.

331 B.C.

THERE is no record of the time at which Alexander's army left Tyre, but it must have been in June or July (331 B.C.), for not until late in July was the Euphrates crossed at Thapsacus, nearly 350 miles to the north-east. Curtius Rufus trespasses on credulity, and claims that the actual march from Tyre to Thapsacus occupied only eleven days. A company of engineers had been sent in advance to construct bridges over the river, probably light, temporary structures of wood, or pontoons; and when Alexander arrived at Thapsacus, he found two bridges nearly complete, but they had not been carried entirely to the farther shore, because a Persian force of five thousand men was posted there on guard. At the approach of Alexander, these troops, however, fled, and the bridges were speedily finished. Thapsacus, near the modern Rakka (Nicephorium), where the Euphrates is to-day about 750 feet wide, was in antiquity a usual place of crossing; nowadays

the caravans cross the stream a little farther up, at Bîr, on their way to Aleppo, a hundred miles or more to the west from Rakka.

It was now in the heat of midsummer, and Alexander, in the interest of the health of his troops, avoided the plain of Mesopotamia, and instead of moving south-east toward Babylon, marched to the north, keeping the Euphrates on his left, until he reached the highlands at the foot of the Armenian mountains. This route, in addition to the advantage of climate, afforded better means for provisioning his army. Persian scouts who were taken prisoners here told that Darius had left Babylon and was now encamped, with his army, on the eastern side of the Tigris, by Gaugamela. He had surmised that the march of Alexander would bring him to the Tigris near this point, and had taken his position there with a view to defending the ford.

The spot he had chosen lay near the village of Gaugamela, but vulgar tradition has always associated the name of the battle that was to follow with Arbela (modern Erbel), a city some fifty miles to the east. Near this point the great routes of inland communication met and crossed, as they do to-day, at Mosul, hard by on the western bank, and as they had done from the dawn of history, when Nineveh, whose unheeded mounds were now almost in sight of the camp, was the goal of all the caravans. Here passed the great road joining Susa to Sardis and the far West, and here met it the eastern route from Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), farther Asia, and India, the southern route from Babylon

and the Persian Gulf, and the northern from Armenia and the Euxine at Trebizond.

The trade routes between India and the Western world were in antiquity, as they have been ever since, the great arteries of the world's wealth.* They gave life to the lands through which they passed, as the sweet Nile waters do to the deserts traversed by their branches and canals. Their changing courses have all through the ages determined the flow and deposit of wealth and the location of empire. The lands and the wealth Alexander was to conquer had been enriched by the overland trade which for centuries had found its outlet through Phœnicia to the West. His later discovery of the sea route from India to the Persian Gulf offered the suggestion of another route, which, with the breaking up of his empire, made for a while the shorter land way up the Euphrates valley, on the line of the mediæval and modern Busrah, Bagdad, and Damascus, the preferred highway. But as the Parthian empire (second century B.C. to the third century A.D.) rose to throttle this, another way prepared by Alexander, that by the Red Sea, Egypt, and Alexandria, came in to take its place, and in Roman times Egypt was the great distributing centre. Then for a while Constantinople, then the Mohammedan rulers of Egypt and Persia, controlled the trade, until, with the close of the crusades and the increase of the European demand for

* For the suggestion of the ideas embodied in the following paragraph I am largely indebted to my former colleague, Professor Morse-Stephens.

luxuries, it passed into the hands of those who from the north coasts of the Mediterranean distributed to Europe, and Venice and Genoa emerged into greatness and wealth. Then came, with Vasco da Gama's discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope (1497), a violent diversion from the old channels. Lisbon became the distributing centre for Europe, and the riches of India poured into the lap of Portugal. The Dutch and English were content to play the part of middlemen, and to distribute from Lisbon to northern Europe, until Spain laid her hand on Portugal, and the folly of Philip II. in closing the port of Lisbon to Dutch and English vessels sent first Dutch (1595) and then English ships (1601) direct to India, and destroyed the monopoly of the Indian trade which Portugal for a century had maintained. The result is the wealth and empire of England. Now, in these latter days, the opening of the Suez Canal has brought the trade route back to one of its old channels, and made it essential for England to hold Egypt. It will not be long before a railway connecting the Levant with the head of the Persian Gulf will reopen another route, and recent movements indicate that Germany aspires to this task. A third route through Persia or Turkestan and Afghanistan lies before the eyes of Russia. The iron rail is a firmer bond than the tracks of ships, and the old caravan routes will yet reassert themselves.

When Alexander heard that Darius was awaiting him, he advanced directly toward him, and coming to the Tigris, crossed it immediately by a ford

which, to his surprise, he found unguarded. The place of crossing was probably near the modern Jesîre, some eighty miles above Gaugamela, where the river, broadening out to a width of a thousand feet, offers an easy ford. After the troops had passed the ford there occurred an eclipse of the moon, which at first inspired apprehension; but when Aristander, the prophet, interpreted it as implying disaster to the Persians, and reported that the signs from the sacrifices were propitious, they moved forward. This eclipse occurred, as the calculations of modern astronomers have shown, on the evening of September 20, 331 B.C. Alexander must have spent, therefore, nearly two months in Mesopotamia. The direct distance between Thapsacus and Gaugamela would have been no more than 250 miles.

The army of Darius had been brought together of the most various elements composing his vast empire. The remotest nations and tribes had furnished their contingents—Scythia, Bactria, and Sogdiana, Arachosia, Arabia, and Armenia. For a year the host had been assembling. By constant drill and careful organisation it had been brought to a grade of effectiveness supposed far to surpass that of the mass which met Alexander at Issus. Its numbers the cautious Arrian puts at one million infantry and forty thousand cavalry. The scythe-bearing chariots, a peculiar Persian institution, of which one naturally hears nothing at Issus, were here brought into play to the number of two hundred. They consisted of the ordinary two-wheeled battle-chariot, equipped with long sword-blades extending from the

axle-ends, generally with a cant toward the ground, also from the body of the axle toward the ground. Sometimes these blades were also attached to the pole and to the body of the chariot. The apprehension which this mechanism caused in advance among the opposing troops seems not to have been justified by the result. Darius, taught by the experience of Issus, had carefully selected a place level and wide enough to give his army free play. Where the ground was uneven he had, for the benefit of the chariots and the cavalry, levelled it out; in fact, he had prepared a graded battle-field.

Alexander advanced with great caution to meet him. There was nothing of the reckless dash which characterised the approach to Granicus. He was now in the heart of the enemy's country, hemmed in by river and mountains, in the face of a vast and well-organised army encamped on a battle-field selected for its own advantage. Everything was staked on the issue of this single conflict. On the morning of September 21st he broke camp and advanced, keeping the river on his right and the mountains on his left. On the fourth day, the 24th, his scouts reported the appearance of hostile cavalry in the distance on the plain. It proved to be a body of about a thousand horsemen, who quickly fled when attacked. From the prisoners taken it was learned that Darius was near by. Alexander, for the purpose of resting his army, made a fortified camp, and remained quietly there four days. On the 29th the preparation for advance was again begun, and in the middle of the night the army, leaving behind in

the camp all the baggage and the non-combatants, advanced, expecting to join battle at daybreak.

On their approach the Persians assumed battle array. The Macedonians, climbing a low range of hills, suddenly came in sight of the vast host filling the plain before them, less than four miles away. They were just beginning to descend the hills; a short hour more, and the great battle would be on. Suddenly the order was given to halt. A council of war was called. Should they attack immediately? The battle ardour was already awake with the sight of the foe, and many said yes; but Parmenion and the cooler heads thought it best to reconnoitre. It was untried ground. Who knew if concealed ditches and stakes had not been set to hinder and entrap the advance? Was it wise to attack without studying the disposition and arrangement of the enemy's line? Parmenion's view prevailed.

The army encamped in order of battle. Alexander, with a body of light infantry and the *hetairoi*, set out to reconnoitre the field. So the forenoon passed along. Alexander returned and called another council. Careful instructions were given to all the officers. Each was to carry a word of exhortation to his command. The Persian army all this time remained under arms, in nervous expectation of an immediate attack. The afternoon wore away. Still no order to advance was given. Dinner-time came, and after dinner the men were sent to rest. The night of the 30th of September drew on. Still the Persians remained mistrustfully at their arms in the plain below.

It is a striking picture, brilliant in contrasts, which Plutarch gives us in his account of the night and its scene: the quiet and dark of the camp on the hill, offset against the hum and glare from the plain; on the one side, Parmenion and the staff, from their sombre outlook surveying the world of fact about them; on the other, Alexander by the altar-fire before his tent, seeking communion with the inner world of mystery.

"On the eleventh night after the eclipse of the moon, which occurred in the month of Boëdromion, and about the beginning of the mysteries-fête at Athens, the two armies lay in full sight of each other. Darius, with his troops under arms, was passing about among the lines and holding review by the light of torches; Alexander, his Macedonians asleep, was busied, out before his tent, in performing, with the help of Aristander, the diviner, certain mysterious rites, and in sacrificing to the god Fear. Meanwhile, the King's staff, and especially Parmenion, when they beheld the whole plain between Niphates and the Gordyæan mountains all agleam with the lights and fires which were made by the barbarians, and heard the confused, indistinguishable sound of voices and the noise arising out of the camp like the distant roar of a vast ocean, were overwhelmed with amazement at the thought of such a multitude, and expressed among themselves the opinion that it would be a most serious and hazardous venture for them to engage battle with so vast an army in open daylight. They therefore waited on the King when he came from sacrificing, and besought him to attack the enemy by night, and so conceal with the cover of darkness the fearful

peril of the coming battle. To this he gave them the memorable answer: 'I steal no victory.'"

In this Parmenion spoke the professional, Alexander still the amateur. Battle was to the latter still a form of sport, and there were rules to the game, and a standard of sportsmanship to be observed. And yet, as Arrian estimates, his decision was also based on proper calculation of advantage. He was unwilling to take the chance of such accidents as would be incident to a night attack. He had confidence in his own military superiority, and he preferred a regular game accurately played.

One result of his continued delay was that his soldiers gained the night's rest, while the Persians entered the battle, the next morning, wearied by a night's watching and worrying. If the battle had been ordered on the morning of the 30th, when the troops first arrived on the scene, the conditions would have been the reverse. The Macedonians had been marching half the previous night.

Late at night, after the generals had left him, Alexander

"lay down in his tent, and slept the rest of the night more soundly than was his wont, to the great astonishment of the generals who came to his tent at dawn, and were obliged to take upon themselves the unusual responsibility of ordering the troops to breakfast. At last, when the time was pressing, Parmenion went to his bedside, and called him twice or thrice by name till he awakened him. Then Parmenion asked him what was the matter with him, that he should sleep the sleep of a

victor, rather than that of a man who had before him the mightiest battle ever fought. With a hearty laugh, Alexander replied: 'What! Does n't it seem to you as if we had already conquered, now that we are at last relieved of the trouble of wandering around in a wide, waste country, hunting for the battle-shy Darius ?' "

On the morning of October 1 (331 B.C.) the two armies stood arrayed against each other. The Macedonian force numbered about forty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry. It sufficed only to oppose the centre of the enemy's line. Far out beyond either wing, ominously menacing the flanks, this line extended. Not by force of numbers, however, nor by weight of masses was this battle to be won, but by disposition of troops and direction of the thrust. The full, accurate, and perfectly intelligible account which has survived to us makes it possible to appreciate distinctly the reason for the result. The splendid tactics of the battle of Gaugamela, even if nothing else were known of him, would mark Alexander as a master of military science.

To protect his line from being surrounded, Alexander set a reserve column in rear of each flank, so that by facing about it could meet an attack on the flank or rear. He prepared as usual to open his attack by a charge of the picked cavalry, the *hetairoi*, against the left of the enemy's centre. The question was one of finding precisely the point to strike, and he watched his opportunity with the eye of a hawk until the point developed. He began by a sidewise movement of his line to the right. The

Persians followed suit, shifting toward the left and keeping their left wing still far beyond his right. Soon the movement threatened to bring the Persian line beyond the ground which had been specially levelled for the chariots, and Darius, to check it, opened the battle by sending his Scythian and Bactrian cavalry around the Macedonian right wing for a flank attack. The detachment of Greek cavalry sent to meet them was at first repulsed, but others came to their aid, and after a sharp engagement, in which Alexander's men lost heavily, the enemy was held in check. Meanwhile the scythe-bearing chariots had come on at a gallop against the phalanx in the centre. This was intended to break up the solid mass of the phalanx, but the attempt proved a failure. Many of the chariot-horses were disabled by javelins, many were caught by the reins, and their drivers killed with the sword before ever they reached the phalanx line; such as escaped passed through the lines of the phalanx, which, in well-disciplined response to previous orders, opened to receive them, and then quickly closed again.

The shifting of the Persian line to the left had opened a gap in their front. Alexander saw his opportunity at a glance. Massing his attacking force, a part of the phalanx, headed by the *hetairoi* cavalry, by a quick manœuvre, into a flying wedge, he turned sharply with an oblique movement to the left, smote at the opening, and burst into the midst of the very centre of the host, straight toward the spot where the Shah was posted. It was sudden and relentless as a bolt from the clouds. Nothing

could withstand, as nothing ever had withstood, the furious onslaught of this matchless cavalry squadron, backed by the long pikes and solid front of the phalanx. The Shah, whose charioteer was pierced by a spear, turned and fled for his life. The first rank reeled back upon the second, which in the sudden panic gave it no support, but was instantly in confusion and directly in flight. The whole centre and the left, struck by the cavalry of the right wing, melted away.

Meanwhile the Parthian, Indian, and Persian cavalry of the Persian right had burst through the opening in the Macedonian line made by Alexander's sudden attack, and cutting his left wing entirely off from the army, burst through upon the camp behind. The left was now entirely surrounded, and, under the furious attack of Mazæus, leading the Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry of the Persian right, was threatened with extermination. Parmenion sent to Alexander for aid.

The reserve column behind the Macedonian right now faced about, and with a sharp attack routed the Parthians and Indians, driving them back through the gap by which they had come. As they scurried back, they met Alexander with his *hetairoi*, advancing across the field to the aid of Parmenion on the left. Here arose a furious fight, the flying cavalrymen seeking to cut their way through to safety, the *hetairoi* stubbornly holding them in check. In the few moments of the struggle, sixty of the *hetairoi* lost their lives, but of the enemy only a few cut their way through. Meantime the

Thessalian cavalry of the left wing, second in prestige only to the *hetairoi*, had brought the onslaught of Mazæus to a check. A few moments of standstill, then came the break and turn, and before Alexander had reached the scene the Persian right had joined the rest of the vast army in furious, confused, disgraceful flight.

Now the pursuit began. Thick clouds of dust, out of which came the sound of cracking whips and the beat of hoofs and the confused voice of fright, concealed the panic-stricken rout. The Macedonians plunged in, and slaughter held its carnival until night took pity on the vanquished.

Alexander pressed on beyond the river Lycus, and halting there to give his men and horses rest, started again at midnight and forced his march through to Arbela, fifty-five miles from the battle-field, in hope of overtaking Darius. But the Shah had allowed himself no rest. The loss of time which Parmenion's call for help had cost had saved the Shah from capture. He was now miles beyond reach, and the victor must be content, as at Issus, with the empty symbols, the chariot and the spear and bow. The Shah, accompanied by his body-guard and an escort of Bactrian cavalry, had fled far to the east into Media. His army was scattered to the four winds. Thousands upon thousands were captive. The slain no man could count. The greatest battle in the record of the ancient world had been fought. The issues of centuries had struck their balance in a day. The channel of history for a thousand years had been opened with a flying wedge.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FRUITS OF VICTORY: OCCUPATION OF PERSIA—DEATH OF DARIUS.

331–330 B.C.

LEAVING the Shah for the time being entirely out of account, precisely as he had after Issus, Alexander recrossed the Tigris and started directly south on his three-hundred-mile march toward Babylon. Here he was received without opposition, probably with genuine welcome, and, as in Egypt, he manifested always kindliest consideration for the feelings of the population. He allowed them to show him the wonders of their city, and gave orders to restore the temple of their great god, Belus; he accepted the instructions of the Chaldean priests, and, in careful regard for their advice and directions, offered his worship at the altar of Belus. The sight of Babylon and the consciousness of what it meant to be its lord quickened in him the growth of the idea to which Tyre and Egypt had given the first impulse—the idea of a world, now so diverse in its outward expression, ultimately united in and

through the person of him whom the course of events, if not the purpose of fate, was now making its universal lord.

From Babylon he advanced to Susa, the capital proper of the Persian Empire, which, with its enormous treasure, fifty thousand talents ($65,000,000), fell without a blow into his hands. Still leaving Darius and the North-east unheeded, he pushed out into Persia proper, forcing his way through the Uxians, whom he subjugated and put under tribute, and scattering the army of the viceroy, Ariobarzanes, who ventured to oppose him. Persia now lay open to him. The royal cities, Persepolis and Pasargadæ, were promptly occupied, and here again the heaped-up bullion of the empire revealed itself in enormous stores. If Curtius Rufus and Diodorus are to be trusted, one hundred and twenty thousand talents were found in the former city, and six thousand talents in the latter. The stories of the other treasures found in Persepolis became for aftertime the typical dreams of Oriental wealth and abundance. Jewels, furniture, rugs, utensils in the precious metals, enough to load ten thousand pairs of mules and five thousand camels, Plutarch says, were found at Persepolis. These objects must have come chiefly from the royal palace, which seems to have constituted the principal part of the city—if indeed it was a city at all, in the ordinary sense.

Before leaving Persepolis, where, according to Plutarch, he tarried four months (the winter season), Alexander caused the palace to be burned. The different accounts are somewhat at variance as to

the degree of premeditation involved. Plutarch, Diodorus, and Curtius Rufus tell a story which represents the thing as the outcome of a particular carousal. This is Plutarch's tale:

"When he was about to set forth from this place against Darius, he joined with his companions in a merry-making and drinking bout, at which their bona-robas were present and joined in the debauch. The most celebrated of them was Thais, a girl from Attica. She was the paramour of Ptolemy, afterward King of Egypt. As the license of the drinking-bout progressed, she was carried so far, either by way of offering Alexander a graceful compliment or of bantering him, as to express a sentiment which, while not unworthy the spirit of her fatherland, was surely somewhat lofty for her own condition. For she said she was amply repaid for the toils of following the camp all over Asia that she could this day revel in mockery of the haughty palace of the Persians. But, she added, it would give her still greater pleasure, if, to crown the celebration, she might burn the house of the Xerxes who once reduced Athens to ashes, and might with her own hands set the fire under the eyes of the King; so the saying might go forth among men that the little woman with Alexander took sorer vengeance on the Persians in behalf of Greece than all the great generals who fought by sea or land.

"Her words were received with such tumults of applause, and so earnestly seconded by the persuasions and zeal of the King's associates, that he was drawn into it himself, and leaping up from his seat with a chaplet of flowers on his head and a lighted torch in his hand, led the way, while the rest followed him in drunken rout, with bacchanalian cries, about the corridors of the palace.

And when the rest of the Macedonians learned of it, they were delighted, and came running up with torches in their hands; for they hoped the burning and destruction of the palace was an indication that his face was turned homeward, and that he had no design of tarrying among the barbarians." *

This story, though not mentioned by Arrian, is probably true; at least, such a scene as this probably attended the setting of the fire; but it is not necessary to suppose that the idea originated in the mind of Thaïs. Arrian's statement shows it was premeditated by Alexander, and discussed beforehand with Parmenion, who opposed it. It was planned and put upon the scene as a great symbolic act representing, in the form of a revenge for Xerxes's destruction of Athens, an announcement to the world that the empire of Persia was finally humbled and destroyed. This was Alexander's idea, but it appears to have been a poor one. We are not apprised that the deed was attended with political gain, and the general sentiment must accord with Arrian's, who says: "Alexander does not seem to me to have acted on this occasion with prudence." This was also Alexander's opinion later.

Though Alexander had now in possession the capital, the treasure, and the family of the Shah, and had burned his chief palace, the Shah himself

* The princes applaud, with a furious joy,
And the king seized a flambeau with zeal to destroy;
Thaïs led the way
To light him to his prey,
And, like another Helen, fired another Troy.
—Dryden, *Feast of Alexander*,

was still at large and the tiara erect. At Ecbatana, five hundred miles north of Persepolis, he had taken up his residence, and quietly waited there, ready to take advantage of any change which might arise in Alexander's fortunes, or, in case Alexander should advance against him, to avail himself of the way of retreat open behind him into Hyrcania or Parthia, that which is to-day north-eastern Persia. In preparation for the extreme necessity, he had sent the women, his treasure, and other property, together with his covered travelling-carriages, on to the mountain pass called the Caspian Gates. For Darius to pass the Caspian Gates meant that he forsook the domain proper of the Persian Empire; for though his sway had extended over Bactria and Sogdiana, and in a half-recognised authority over the nomads of the North, still he would be a fugitive headed toward the uttermost frontier, and at the mercy of roaming Scythian tribes outside the pale of orderly civilisation and state.

When the spring opened (330 B.C.), Alexander began his march toward Ecbatana. As long as there was still a shah, the conqueror's title to exclusive empire was not beyond dispute. Alexander's ambitions had grown with the months, and he no longer was satisfied to be the leader and unifier of the Greeks. There arose already before his mind the vision of a world-empire united in the person of one who was neither Greek, nor Egyptian, nor Assyrian, nor Persian, but a world-man, above the limitations of nations and blood, above the conventions of usage and religion. This ambition could be

fulfilled only when he had the person of the Shah within his control.

At first he heard the Shah was planning to give him battle, and proceeding cautiously, prepared for battle, he was after twelve days within the bounds of Media. The word came that the King, disappointed in his reliance upon aid from the Cadusians and Scythians, was preparing to flee. When but three days distant from Ecbatana, Alexander learned that the Shah, taking with him seven thousand talents of money and accompanied by about nine thousand troops, had fled the city five days before. The final and decisive reason for the abandonment of his plan of resistance was a division of counsels among his generals, whereby one party, headed by Nabarzanes, the commander of the Persian cavalry, and Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, insisted on a transfer of the military authority to Bessus and a withdrawal into Bactria, with hope of bettering their fortunes. The partisans of Bessus urged the hopelessness of resistance, and the popularity of Bessus among the Bactrians and their Scythian neighbours, in support of their scheme; but the Shah, while compelled, in his helplessness, to accede to their plan of flight, still clung to the tiara and the name of king. Our knowledge of these incidents rests solely on the authority of Curtius Rufus, the main features of whose story must represent a historical basis, though some of the details, perhaps, are dreamed. After entering Ecbatana it became evident to Alexander that conditions had assumed a new and final form. Darius was no longer Shah,

but a fugitive without city, army, or throne, at the mercy of the satraps of the North-east, and no longer dangerous, except as a symbol or an article of barter in their hands. It became now merely a task of rescuing him from them.

An important step which the King took at this time indicates the ripening of the new status. He dismissed the Thessalian cavalry and the other Greek allies, sending them back to the sea and making preparations for their transportation to Eubœa. Each man was paid for his full time reckoned to the date of the arrival home, and two thousand talents was given for distribution among them all. Such as wished again to enlist were allowed to do so. Those who did entered upon a new career. The original plan of the great expedition was completed. Now there lay before them the uncertainties of a venture out into the dark of the unknown North-east. They were no longer following the standards of the Hellenic champion; they were attaching themselves to the personal cause of a leader whose schemes transcended the vengeance due upon Xerxes, and who no longer could act the simple rôle of a young Achilles.

With the burning of the royal palace at Persepolis the work which Alexander, five years before, at the Congress of Corinth, had bound himself to perform, was given its spectacular finale. The allies, whose presence in the army was a standing testimony to the contract and alliance framed at Corinth, were now dismissed in token of the completed work. Throughout all the campaigns up to this time it is

to be noted that the allied infantry had been employed only for garrison duty or reserve. The allied cavalry, among whom the Thessalians constituted the most trusty element, had served in battle, but under Macedonian leaders. Whether the Greek States had wished to furnish troops or not, it is evident that Alexander had no great desire for them and probably little confidence in them. Enough were used to keep up the appearance of an alliance; but now that the news of Antipater's victory at Megalopolis had come, no further solicitude for Greek coöperation was felt, and the guise of alliance could be dropped. So Greece was finally retired from the partnership, and henceforth sank into the background. It was now four years since Alexander had left Europe (in the spring of 334 B.C.), and he was destined never to see it again; the remaining seven years of his life were to be occupied in subduing the eastern half of the Persian Empire. Rapidly the ties slackened that bound him to the West. The dream of his youth melted away, but a new vision in larger perspective arose with ever-strengthening outlines in its place. The champion of West against East faded away in the mist, and the form of a world-monarch, standing above the various worlds of men and belonging to none, but moulding them all into one, emerged in its stead.

Leaving six thousand men of the phalanx as guard of the treasure now assembled into Ecbatana, he started out on his new campaign. With him he took the old reliable elements of his army, the *hetairoi* cavalrymen, the archers and Agrianians,

the mercenary cavalry under Erigyius, and the remainder of the phalanx. Now began a series of rapid forced marches to the east. Men and horses dropped by the way in fatigue. On the eleventh day he was at Rhagæ, near the modern capital of Persia, Teheran, two hundred miles from Ecbatana. Here he heard that the Shah had already passed the Caspian Gates. This was, at the rate Alexander had been going, only a day's march distant; but relinquishing for the time the hope of overtaking him, Alexander gave his army five days' rest.

Darius's little escort was evidently melting away, for many deserters came into the Macedonian camp, and rumour said that many others had betaken themselves to their homes. Then setting out again, after passing the Caspian Gates, Alexander was met by Bagistanes, a Persian noble who had deserted from the camp of Darius, and who brought the astounding news that Darius was no longer a free man. As the fugitive band moved along their discouraged march, and every day brought new despair, Bessus's plan grew into one of treason. Only the Greek mercenaries, two thousand in number, who still followed, faithful as the Swiss Guard, the declining fortunes of their employer, remained loyal, but they soon found themselves shut off entirely from communication with him either in his tent by night or in his carriage by day. Bessus and his troop rode close about him on the road, rather as keepers than guard. The suspicions of the Greeks were aroused. Their leader, the Phocian Patron, forced his way up to the carriage, and speaking in Greek, which the

Shah, but not Bessus, could understand, warned him of his peril, and besought him to intrust himself to the hands of the Greeks. Bessus, who understood the purport, though not the words, of Patron's proposal, hesitated no longer. At the first halt the Bactrians surrounded the tent of the Shah, and in the quiet of the night he was put in chains, to be carried off a prisoner into Bactria. A few of the Persian troops accompanied the Bactrians, but Artabazus and his sons, who had remained true to Darius as long as they could aid him, now joined with the Greek mercenaries and pushed north into the shelter of neighbouring mountains.

When the information reached Alexander, he took with him the *hetairoi* cavalrymen, the skirmish cavalry, and the strongest and lightest of his infantry, and without waiting even for the return of a foraging party, which had been sent out under Cœnus's command and with only two days' provisions, started on a rapid march toward the scene of the recent events. He marched the whole night and until noon of the next day; then giving his men a short rest, pushed on again the whole night, and at daybreak reached the village where the mutiny had taken place. Here he learned that the mutineers had left there several days before, taking Darius with them in a covered carriage; that the supreme command had been lodged in Bessus's hands by virtue of his near relationship to the Shah, as well as of his local rights as satrap; and that, furthermore, it was the purpose of Bessus and his men, in case Alexander pursued them, to use the

Shah's person in barter for their own immunity; in case he turned back, to raise an army and establish a government on their own account.

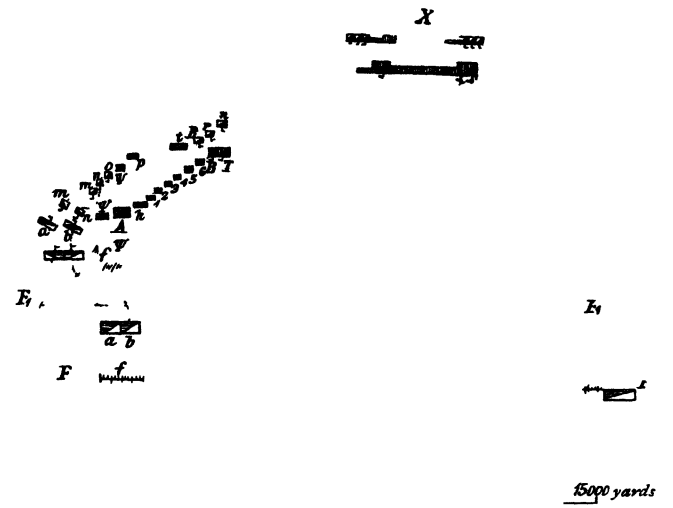
There was no time for delay. Men and horses were already fatigued by the forced marches, but there could be no halt. It was a race for a prize Alexander had set his heart upon gaining. On they went again over hill and valley, through the night and on until noon. Then they came to a village which the party had left only the day before, but with the intention of travelling by night. Still they were twenty-four hours ahead. Alexander's troop was almost exhausted. Did the villagers know of no shorter road? There was one, but through a desert country, with no water for horse or man. Quickly transferring five hundred selected infantrymen to as many horses taken from the cavalry, and directing the rest of the infantry to follow by the main road, he set off on the canter by the desert road. Men fell by the way, horses foundered, but all night long the mad chase was forced. Nearly fifty miles had been covered. Then in the grey morning light was discovered on ahead the straggling caravan. There was no preparation for defence. One glimpse of those dreaded horsemen, and then a wild scramble for life. The few who stayed to fight were cut down. Bessus and his aides had tried to induce the captive Shah to mount a horse and flee, but he stoutly refused. Then they drove their javelins into his body, and scurried off.

On down the dismantled line of the caravan the Macedonian riders came, no more than threescore

able to keep pace with the leader. "They rode over abundance of gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passed by chariots full of women which wandered here and there for want of drivers, and still they rode on, hoping to overtake the van of the flight and find Darius there" (Plutarch). But nowhere was Darius to be found, until at last a rider, straggling away from the rest, found a waggon far away from the road, by a valley pool where the frightened, unguided mules had dragged it. In it lay the dying Shah.

"Still he asked for a little cool water to drink, and when he had drunk he said to Polystratus, who had given it to him: 'Sir, this is the bitter extremity of my ill fortune, to receive a benefit which I cannot repay; but Alexander will repay you. The gods recompense to Alexander the kindness he has done my mother and my wife and my children. I give him through you this clasp of the hand.' With these words he took the hand of Polystratus and died. When Alexander reached the spot, he was pained and distressed, as one could see, and he took off his own mantle, and laid it upon the body, and wrapped it around" (Plutarch).

Thus died at fifty years of age (July, 330 B.C.), an honourable and kindly man, a courtly gentleman of the old school. He would have been a capable administrator in time of peace, but, to his misfortune, the date of his accession matched that of Alexander. Though he certainly lacked the aggressiveness of will and the daring essential to a great soldier, under ordinary conditions, and with the game played



BATTLE OF ARBELA

A, The preliminary actions **B**, The battle **X**, Alexander s camp The same letters used for Alexander s divisions **f**, The scythe chariots, sent to attack his advance by the Persians **a**, **b**, The Bactrian and Scythian cavalry which attacked his advancing right wing **c**, **c** Arachosians and Dahæ cavalry forming left wing of the Persians **d**, Persian and Indian cavalry which broke Alexander s centre and separated his infantry **e**, Cappadocian cavalry which attacked the Macedonian left and rear **D**, The position of Darius **F**, **F**, **F2**, The successive fronts of the Persian army

It is plain from these plans that Alexander was here in imminent danger of defeat on Map B, his successive positions are marked **I II, III**, showing how he had to wheel about to succour his defeated wing when Darius fled

according to the old rules, he might not have been discovered in his weakness, and might have passed for a tolerable military head; but with the Macedonians had been introduced a new art of warfare, with Alexander a new standard of generalship, and the pace was too fast for him.

Alexander's sorrow at the sight of the lifeless body may have been mixed with vexation and chagrin that his wearisome chase had yielded so meagre a quarry, but when viewed in connection with all we know of the hero's real warmth of heart and resources of sympathy, we must reckon it better than that. The sight of one who four years before was undisputed monarch from the Hellespont to the Indus, now left to a lonely death, empireless, forsaken, and betrayed, was a sight worthy the pity of harder hearts than his.

With all the honour due his state, Darius was carried to his grave. He was gathered to his fathers, for they buried him in Persepolis.

> "Quæ ducis Emathii fuerit clementia Poros
> Præclarique docent funeris exsequiæ." *

* "What was the mercy of Macedonia's prince, let Porus tell, and the pomp of funeral rites [accorded to Darius]."—Ovid.

CHAPTER XXIV.

IN AFGHANISTAN.

330–329 B.C.

IT was in July, 330 B.C., that Darius came to his end. Alexander's fearful race with treachery and death had carried him along the borders of the great salt desert of Khorasan in the scorching heat of an inland summer. The route which the fugitives followed had been the main highway from Media eastward into far Bactria. It was the same which leads to-day from Teheran, by way of Semnan, Damaghan, Shahrud, and Meshed, out of Persia, into the land of the Turkomans and the border realms of the Czar. On the right lay the salt steppes; on the left rose the mountains which to-day mark Persia's frontier and offer a temporary check upon the inevitable advance of the Russian glacier. Close behind these mountains trails already the line of the Transcaspian Railway, and it cannot be long before a branch will find its way through the hills and strike across toward the Persian Gulf.

The place where the Shah was murdered was not

far from the site of the modern Shahrud. Here join to-day, as they did of old, the eastern route and the road from Asterabad (ancient Zadracarta), fifty miles to the north, in the Caspian basin. An English officer * who visited the place in 1896 remarks upon its position:

"An army stationed at Shahrud would at once command the approaches from the sea, and at the same time effectually prevent any junction between forces operating in Khorasan and the west. It is only fifty miles from Asterabad to Shahrud, and with a little skilful engineering the road could easily be made passable for artillery, or at any rate for light field-guns. No doubt the Russians realise its strategic importance. The whole place is dominated by Russian influence."

After allowing his soldiers a short rest at Hecatompylus (near the present Shahrud), Alexander moved to the north, through the Elburz Mountains, into the narrow strip of country called Hyrcania, which skirts the southern shores of the Caspian.

The sea, when it first came in sight, was evidently a surprise to him. He saw before him, as Plutarch says, the bay of an open sea not much smaller apparently than the Black Sea, but with somewhat sweeter water than in most seas. He was unable, however, to gain any certain information about it, and concluded it must be an arm of the Sea of Azov. Plutarch, with his superior geographical knowledge, implies that he might have known better, for before

* Clive Bigham, *A Ride through Western Asia*, p. 193 *ff.* London, 1897.

his time scientists had already located it as the northernmost of the four great gulfs descending into the continent from the outer ocean. In asserting this, however, Plutarch is almost certainly guilty of an anachronism, for the common opinion of Alexander's day connected the Caspian as an inland sea with the Euxine. Not until Patrocles, in the early part of the next century, explored the coasts of the Caspian, did the mistaken theory of its connection with the northern ocean make its appearance. Accepted then by Eratosthenes, it held its place in the vulgate geography until the time of Ptolemy (second century A.D.). Alexander's soldiers identified the Jaxartes with the Don (Tanaïs).

While in Hyrcania, he subjugated the various tribes of mountain and plain, and received the submission of the two satraps Phrataphernes, governor of Hyrcania and Parthia, and Autophradates, governor of Tapuria, both of whom, in accordance with his principle of respecting and utilising existing institutions of government, he forthwith reinstated in their authority. Many others also, high officials and noblemen, came to offer their surrender, among them the fine old Artabazus, whom, in recognition of his rank and his loyalty to his sovereign, as well as for old acquaintance' sake, he treated with distinguished consideration, and attached to his personal staff of aides and advisers. This Artabazus, through long experience, as general, governor, and rebel, in the affairs of Asia Minor, as well as a seven years' (352–345 B.C.) residence as a political fugitive at Philip's court in Pella, had made himself familiar

with Western ideas, and was a cosmopolitan far beyond the measure of the ordinary Persian grandee.

There came also to surrender themselves fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, last vanishing remnant of the Greek contingent in Darius's army. In receiving their submission Alexander saw fit to make a distinction—and it is worthy of note that he did—between those who had enlisted in the service of the Shah before the Congress of Corinth (336 B.C.) had proclaimed the Greek war against Persia, and those who, in quasi-disloyalty, had enlisted later. The former were discharged free, the latter compelled to reenlist. With the mercenaries were found a number of sadly stranded Greek ambassadors, who, for some reason or other, had been in attendance at Darius's court at this most untimely season. One who had come from Chalcedon and a delegation from Sinope were set free; they might be considered outside the pale of responsibility; but the five Spartan ambassadors, who furnished in their presence one last testimonial to the incorrigible stubbornness of their little State, were kept in duress.

From Asterabad, where, after the work was over, Alexander had given his army a fortnight's rest and the delectation of a fête with the usual games, he returned (early autumn of 330 B.C.) into Parthia, and passed thence along the Bactrian road eastward until he came to Susia, a city of Aria, near the site of the modern Meshed, at the extreme north-eastern frontier of modern Persia. Meshed, only fifty miles from the present line of the Transcaspian Railway, stands near the junction of the Persian, Afghan, and

Russian frontiers, and hard by the gate which Russia must choose in entering Afghanistan as a vestibule to India. At Susia the satrap Satibarzanes submitted to him, and rejoiced to be confirmed in the government of his province. News of Bessus's activity in the East soon, however, caused the new convert to backslide, and Alexander, who was already on his way toward Bactra, Bessus's capital, turning sharply to the south, and in two days' marches pushing through the seventy miles that separated him from the rebel's stronghold at Herat (Artacoana), proceeded to cleanse the land of every vestige of opposition, and then to place a trustier man, Arsames the Persian, in the governorship of the land. Satibarzanes had meanwhile fled to join Bessus at Bactra (modern Balkh). At the foot of Artacoana's citadel arose later one of Alexander's famous Greek cities of the East, Alexandria-Areion, which survives to-day as Herat, for two centuries past the apple of discord between Persia and Afghanistan. It stands where the ways part, the great eastern road by the Heri-Rud valley across Afghanistan to the east, and the route which the caravan trade from the remotest antiquity to the present time has always followed from northern Persia and the Caspian, by way of Herat, Kandahar, Ghasni, and Kabul, on into India. This is the route that all the great conquerors have trod whose hosts have entered the gate of India—Mahmud the Great (1001 A.D.), Genghis Khan (thirteenth century) and Tamerlane (1398) the Mongols, Nadir Shah the Persian (1737), Alexander the Macedonian. It is the

well-known "Key of India," and when Afghanistan passes under Russian control, it will be still better known.

The revolt of Satibarzanes had determined Alexander to secure this important route and the country adjacent to it, the present western and southern Afghanistan, before penetrating to Bessus's lair at Bactra (Balkh) in northern Afghanistan. So continuing his march southward from Herat, he entered the province of Drangiana, the district about the great Hamun swamps (Palus Aria).

Here, probably at its capital city, Phrada (Prophthasia), came to light an ominous conspiracy in the very heart of his own camp. No less a person was involved than Philotas, the commander of the famous companion cavalry, and son of Parmenion, the commander-in-chief; and the sudden emergence of the trouble just at this time seems to be connected with a change in Alexander's relation to his men and to his mission that was now beginning to be felt, and perhaps with a change in the bearing of Alexander himself. The occurrence has received much attention from modern * as well as ancient historians, and a fair and correct understanding of its significance is important for an estimate of the conqueror's whole mind and attitude at this determining period of his career.

Parmenion, now seventy years of age, had been

* The most recent and the fullest discussion of the subject is found in an article by Friedrich Cauer, "Philotas, Kleitos, Kallisthenes," *Jahrbücher für Class. Philol.*, Supplement-Band XX. (1894), pp. 1–79.

from the start the most faithful reliance of the young conqueror. It was he who had assured him the loyalty of the army in Asia on his father's death, who had among all his generals favoured most unreservedly the plan of Asiatic conquest, and who, through all the hardships, difficulties, and triumphs of the four years past, had been his nearest adviser and most important military aide. His apparent lack of energy in the battle of Gaugamela, and his premature call for reinforcement which had so unfortunately diverted Alexander from the pursuit, had left an unpleasant impression upon the young King's mind. Perhaps it was through weariness of his conservatism or suspicion of his senility that he had been left behind now in command of the garrison at Ecbatana.

His influence had always been great among the Macedonian soldiery. He had originally had three sons in the army, two of whom had lost their lives in service. One of them, Nicanor, had held the important post of commander of the *hypaspists;* another was Philotas, in a like or even more important command. His son-in-law Cœnus and his brother Agathon were also in important commands. Many of his kinsfolk held minor positions in the army. This group formed an easy nucleus about which should shape itself into expression the rising discontent with the new order of things. There was uneasiness abroad in the Macedonian camp. The older men were beginning to feel that the Alexander with whom they had left Europe was gradually drifting away from them. He had begun to

show a liking for Oriental manners that was not to their mind. The talk about his assumption of divinity had not been met with favour by them when it first cropped up nearly two years before in Egypt. Little had been heard of it since then, but since Darius's death there had been a growing tendency to assume the court manners of an Oriental despot. He had not yet, as he did a year or two later, gone so far as to exact of his Macedonians the Oriental etiquette of prostration in his presence, but even the acceptance of it constantly from the Orientals themselves was not a good omen for the future. Then, too, Persian noblemen, like Artabazus, were being admitted to his court and confidences in increasing numbers. Persian satraps were being restored to the control of rich provinces, and native officials of lower grade retained in authority. What wonder if the old Macedonians who had borne the toil of war saw in all this only the victor robbed of his spoils!

Alexander had also begun, at least on state occasions, to assume the Oriental dress, not in its extreme form, tiara and all, to be sure, but with a compromise between the Median and Macedonian styles. Plutarch * speaks about it thus:

"From here [Hyrcania] he marched into Parthia, and, as he had not much to do here, first put on the Median dress, probably with a desire to accommodate himself to the usages of the country, in recognition of the influence which conformity to the usual dress and costume has in

* Plutarch, *Alexander*, xlv.

the work of civilising a people; or perhaps it may have been a way of insinuating upon the Macedonians the usage of prostration through accustoming them to tolerate this change in the conduct of life. He did not, however, assume the ultra-Oriental style of dress, with all its odious barbarian features, the trousers, the sleeved jacket, or the tiara, but a compromise between the Persian and the Macedonian, more quiet than the former, but yet more imposing than the latter. At first he wore this only when meeting barbarians or with his friends at home, but later he appeared in it publicly, when he drove out, and at public audiences—a sight which caused the Macedonians much pain."

We should not, from what we know of national prejudices even in the present enlightened days, expect to find charitable judges of Alexander's growing cosmopolitanism among the hardy warriors of homely Macedonia. His great idea of a cosmopolitanism expressed in a world-empire, and created by the breaking down of barriers, so that each part might contribute of its own, was just beginning to intrench itself in his mind, at the expense of the old idea of exploiting the East for the good of the West, and must be his excuse to those who give him charitable judgment. All know, however, who have observed individual specimens of humanity undergoing the process of cosmopolitanising, with how great risk to character it makes its way, and how frequently it is itself an evidence of loss of anchorage and of moral decay

Parmenion and his kin were evidently patrons of the old school. Rumours had reached the ears of

the King, two years before, of things Philotas, in unguarded moments, had said which involved criticism of the King. Through Philotas's mistress, a fair woman of Pydna who had been taken among the captives at Issus, word had come that one day in his cups Philotas had boasted that all the great deeds were really those of his father and himself, though the benefit of them, kingship and all, accrued to Alexander alone. The King had apparently forgotten it, but still he watched Philotas.

This was the state of things when in the late autumn of 330 B.C., at Phrada, in Drangiana, word suddenly came of a plot. A young man named Nicomachus had been incited by a friend, one Dimnus, to join in a conspiracy planned against the life of the King. He, through his brother, had sent word of the danger to Philotas, who had failed to carry it to the King, though in constant communication with him. Two days elapsed, when the matter was by another route reported to the King. This brought Philotas under suspicion; and others, influenced to some extent by prejudice against him, now appeared with positive accusations. He was immediately put under arrest, and, in old-fashioned style, put on trial before the army, with the King as his accuser.

We have no way of estimating the evidence. The method of procedure was certainly not such as to guarantee the dispassionate hearing worthy of a court. Philotas had gained many private enemies by his overbearing manner and his tendency to indulge in luxury and ostentation. Even his father

had once rebuked him: "My son, to be not quite so great would be better." Whatever the proofs were, the army-court declared him a would-be regicide, and clamoured for his execution. In judging of the probable justice of this verdict, it is to be noted that another general, Amyntas, who was accused of complicity in the same conspiracy, was by the same tribunal acquitted. Arrian says Philotas was convicted by clear proofs. The presumption is that he was guilty. There is nothing inherently improbable in the belief. It was always the fate of autocrats to be conspired against by those nearest them.

Still Alexander was not absolutely satisfied. Philotas had insisted on his innocence, and excused his failure to report the alleged conspiracy by saying that he had discredited the report of its existence. He was therefore subjected to torture, in the hope of extorting a confession. The torture was administered in private by Hephæstion, Craterus, and Cœnus, the three most intimate associates of the King; and Alexander himself, in order to take personal cognisance of every detail, was close at hand, hidden by a curtain. When Philotas, under stress of torture, showed an unexpected lack of fortitude for a tried soldier, Alexander is reported to have said from his place of concealment: "What, Philotas, sensitive and craven as that, and yet engaged in a design like this?" He is said at last to have confessed and to have implicated his father—this, however, on the authority of Curtius Rufus only. He was then put to death, and trusty messengers

were sent swiftly across to Ecbatana to order the assassination of his father also, which was forthwith accomplished by the hands of his officers. This was a high-handed and outrageous act. It seems impossible that Parmenion could have been guilty, but the mere fact that the King could have thought it necessary showed how sensitive he had become to the possibility of an opposition centring about the family of Parmenion.

The command of the companion cavalry, formerly held by Philotas, was now divided between Clitus, the son of Dropides, and Hephæstion, the latter of whom had of late advanced rapidly in the esteem of Alexander. It is remarked, for instance, that he among all the Macedonians showed most sympathy for the new ideas of the King. It was a period of transition in Alexander's life, and the friendship of Hephæstion marks the new period.

It is evident that Alexander could have spent but little time in Drangiana. Late * in October or early in November he advanced through the country of the peaceable and hospitable Ariaspians dwelling along the lower courses of the Hilmend, on the western frontiers of the modern Afghanistan, and thence turned his line of march toward distant Bactria, where Bessus was still maintaining the emblems of authority of the old Persian Empire. The route chosen led up the valley of the Etymandrus (Hilmend) toward Ghasni, then down into the Kabul

* Hogarth's attempt (*Philip and Alexander*, Appendix B) to revise the chronology of this period fails of satisfying Arrian's account of later movements in Sogdiana.

basin, and thence northward over the passes of Paropamisus (the modern Hindu Kush). Opposition faced him at every turn, but he fought his way rapidly through to the foot of the Paropamisus.

At two points at least on the route he founded colonies, probably marked by the modern sites of Kandahar and Ghasni, and near his halting-place at the foot of the mountains a third, not far from the modern Kabul. Once during the year word came of trouble in the outer world. An army from Bactria had invaded Aria and was seeking to detach the district from its allegiance. Not to be himself diverted from his projects, Alexander sent a strong force under Artabazus the Persian, which not without difficulty accomplished the defeat of the intruders. Alexander's way up the Etymandrus valley led at times through deep snow, and bitter privations were suffered. The winter was coming on, and when he reached the foot of the mountains by Kabul it must have been late in December (330 B.C.).

With the opening of spring (329 B.C.) he crossed the passes of the Hindu Kush at an elevation of over thirteen thousand feet, and came to the city of Drapsaca in Bactria. After a little rest he pushed on in pursuit of Bessus, who gradually retired before him, and crossed the Oxus (Amu-Darja) into the territory of the modern Bokhara. The Oxus, which now flows into the Sea of Aral, was in Alexander's time, and even down to as recent a period as the sixteenth century, a tributary of the Caspian. If a plan recently proposed by Russian engineers of restoring it to its ancient course should be realised, it

will provide a waterway from the Caspian into north-eastern Afghanistan, direct toward the gate of India. When Alexander came to the Oxus he found it a mighty stream swollen with the melting snows; and in default of boats, or wood with which to build them, he sent his men across on "life-preservers" improvised out of their leather tent-coverings stuffed with straw. Five days were expended in the crossing. Hounding Bessus down, he finally found him with a few soldiers in a fortified village, forsaken and betrayed by his generals and his army. Now Darius could be avenged. Stripped naked, with his neck in a heavy wooden yoke, Bessus was made to stand by the roadside while the army marched by. When Alexander came up to where the wretched man was placed, he caused his chariot to halt, and asked him why he had betrayed his King, who was his kinsman and benefactor. He answered that he had not done it alone; others had planned it with him, and they had done it in hope of winning Alexander's favour. The King showed his appreciation of the answer by ordering him scourged and sending him in chains to Bactra (Balkh), his capital, whence, in the following winter, he was brought to Zariaspa (Charjui), and there, by a court of his peers, condemned in due and proper Median form to suffer the death of a regicide. They cut off his ears and nose, and sent him to Ecbatana to be put to death by the native authorities. So, though Greek and Macedonian shuddered at the horror of mutilation, the lord of the East was avenged by the East, and in genuine Eastern style.

Arrian,* in passing, cannot restrain his Hellenic instincts from volunteering the remark: "I do not approve of this harsh punishment of Bessus; nay, rather, I regard the mutilation of the body as a barbarian trick, and agree that Alexander was led into imitation of the ways of the rich Medo-Persians, and especially of the way, characteristic of their kings, of treating their subjects as inferior beings." But the larger significance of the event he does not note. Viewed as an act of political prudence, it left the East to bear the burden of the Shah's death, and cleansed the hands of Alexander. Viewed on still larger perspective, it presented a first glimmering of that idea of empire and law which was gaining hold upon the mind of Alexander, whereby peoples were to find the rule and order of life in the beaten track of their own usage and faith, and empire, wrought out from within rather than imposed from without, was to be more a thing of levelling the barriers of distrust and misunderstanding than of impressing a foreign will and sway.

The complete conquest of Bactria and its adjoining country, Sogdiana, Bokhara, and southern Turkestan, was to Alexander a necessary condition of assured peace. Here was the very centre of the Persian religion, the scene of Zoroaster's teachings. The valleys of the Oxus and of the Jaxartes evidently formed then the seat of a strong, well-developed civilisation that had been able to assert itself against the nomadic tribes of the western desert and against the Scythians of the north, and

* Arrian, *Anabasis*, iv., 7.

supported a population, we have reason to believe, considerably denser and more settled than that of to-day. Here Alexander found the sturdiest opposition he had met with since entering Asia. The people he was dealing with were of the Aryan stock pure and undefiled, and uncontaminated by the refinements which had their seat in the old settled life of Mesopotamia. Evidence enough of the difficulties encountered is found in the fact that over two years (April, 329 B.C., to May, 327 B.C.) were occupied in reducing to complete submission a district three hundred and fifty miles square, while in a single year (July, 331 B.C., to July, 330 B.C.) he had overrun Syria, Assyria, Persia, Media, and Parthia, a domain one thousand miles in width.

CHAPTER XXV.

IN BOKHARA AND TURKESTAN.

329–327 B.C.

AFTER the capture of Bessus Alexander tarried in the rich plains of the Oxus long enough to rest his army and to replenish his supply of horses, which had suffered terribly in passing the mountains, and then pushed rapidly across Sogdiana to the north-east, and occupied its chief city, Maracanda (modern Samarkand). Since crossing the Oxus he had been upon soil which to-day is under Russian protection, or is Russian outright. Samarkand, the most important ancient city of the Transcaspian region, and the city where Tamerlane received his crown, is now an important station of the Transcaspian Railway, and represents in its schools of theology the strong fortress of Mohammedan orthodoxy. It is the "head of Islam, as Mecca is its heart." From here Alexander pushed on a hundred miles and more farther to the banks of the Jaxartes (modern Syr-Darja) at the modern Khojend. Suddenly the flame of revolt burst out in his

rear. The whole frontier was ablaze with defiant opposition. The last remnants of the Persian power, under leadership of Spitamenes, joined with the frontier population, and the roaming tribes of the North arose as by concerted signal to sweep across the path by which he had come and to shut him off from the world. First he turned back against the seven frontier cities which, in close proximity to one another to the west of Khojend, formed the barrier against the northern steppes. These in quick succession he reduced to subjection. Then he turned back eastward to Khojend.

A great force of Scythians (Sakai) had now gathered on the opposite bank of the river, apparently awaiting their opportunity to invade the country. Their insulting challenges hurled across the river dared the Macedonians to cross and find out how different Scythians were from the effeminate peoples of Asia. Alexander had hitherto had no purpose to carry his arms farther, but this was too much for his sense of sportsmanship. In order to give them a sample of his mettle he did just what he had done six years before (335 B.C.) at the Danube: he made a sudden passage of the river, using the same means as at the Oxus, drove the Scythians before him, and penetrated a day's march into their land, until the bad water of the country, which in the excessive heat he had drunk too rashly, came to the rescue of the fugitives and demonstrated the great chieftain's bowels to be mortal.

On the borders of the stream he founded a city, the Alexandria-Eschata marked by the present site

of Khojend. Within twenty days its walls were built, and it was settled with the Macedonians who had become unfit for service, some of the Greek mercenaries, and people from the neighbourhood who volunteered for the new enterprise. During his two years' stay in the North-east at least eight such colonies were founded,—according to Justin, twelve, —and these became afterward important factors, as outposts of Hellenism, in assuring the unity of the empire and in leavening the lump. In no wise was Greece so effective as in the city form. Her civilisation was at the heart social and human, and urban life was its *sine qua non.*

The site of Alexandria-Eschata (Khojend) was given its importance not only by the bend which the Syr-Darja makes at this point toward the north, but preëminently by its command of the eastern route into far central Asia. Hence the beaten track leads on through the rich province of Ferghana by Osh to the mountain-passes descending to Kashgar, the gate of China. All these regions are so deep in the heart of the continent, here at the "roof of the world," where to-day Russia, China, and India meet, that the rivers all weary of seeking the open sea, and die in the land.

The Jaxartes, which Alexander seems to have supposed was the Tanaïs (Don), had been the recognised boundary of the Persian Empire, and Alexander regarded it as a proper limit of his own conquests. His geography, as we have already seen, regarded the Caspian as connected directly with the Sea of Azov or the Euxine. Strabo, three centuries later,

held it, in accordance with the vulgate opinion since Patrocles and Eratosthenes (third century B.C.), to be a gulf of the great northern ocean. The region of the Rha (Volga) was entirely left out of calculation until the second century after Christ, when the river Volga duly appears in the map of Claudius Ptolemæus as a tributary of the Caspian, and the Caspian resumes its place as an inland sea, as it had been treated by Herodotus. The Jaxartes was regarded by Alexander as the boundary between Europe and Asia. A later expression of his suggests that it may have been his intention, after completing the subjugation of Asia, to return and effect the conquest of the Scythians by way of the Hellespont and the Black Sea; but this was no part of his initial purpose, which was certainly limited to a conquest of the Persian Empire proper. The Hindu Kush range, which he had crossed on entering Bactria, he believed to be the Caucasus, and this an extension of the Taurus range, running east and west directly through the centre of Asia. The southern half of this Asia he understood to be occupied by Assyria, Persia, Ariana, and India (Penjab), the latter bounded on the west by the Indus, and constituting on the east the south-eastern limit of the continent. At the Jaxartes, therefore, his conquests found a natural halting-place. Having seen the river, he retreated, but his name and memory he left to survive in the "tradition of the mouth" through the turnings and overturnings of more than twenty centuries. Nowhere in all the lands he conquered is the direct tradition of his greatness, strange

to say, so vivid to-day as among the mountain tribes about the Ferghana. Their chiefs claim still direct descent from Alexander, and, as a recent explorer * testifies, "everything great and grand they still couple with the name of Alexander."

From the Jaxartes he turned back now to quell the insurrection that still prospered in his rear. At Samarkand his garrison had been beleaguered in the citadel. A detachment of his army sent on in advance had been sadly defeated. He came on, an avenging storm, drove Spitamenes, rebels, and raiders fugitive into the far steppes of the North, and then turned back to waste with fearful fury the whole pleasant valley of the Sogd. More than a hundred thousand lives were sacrificed in expiation of the revolt. Then there was quiet. This ended the year's work. It was already the depth of winter, and he returned to winter quarters in Zariaspa, the site of the modern Charjui, where the Transcaspian railway now crosses the Oxus (Amu-Darja).

The year 328 B.C. was spent again in Bokhara, where persistent hostility still asserted itself at many points. The mountains were full of retreats where opposition found a refuge, and the sturdy, warlike character of the people gave Alexander the sorest trial he was called upon to face in all his military career. Bactria, too, was again in danger, and Craterus, who represented Alexander in his absence, was only after a sharp engagement successful in again relegating Spitamenes and his half-nomad following to the wilderness of the west. Not until

* Franz von Schwarz, *Alexanders Feldzüge in Turkestan*, p. 97.

later, when an attack led by Alexander was threatened, did these followers bow the knee and pay their tribute to the great King in the form of Spitamenes's head. At the end of the season Alexander returned again toward the boundaries of Bactria. He spent the most of the winter at Nautaka (Shachrisabs-Shaar in central Bokhara).

During the campaign of 328 B.C. in Sogdiana occurred at Samarkand one of the most grievous misdeeds chargeable against Alexander's personal record—the murder of his friend Clitus. The incidents connected with it, stated and discussed fully as they are in all our sources, afford so clear a revelation of our hero's mood and inner life, and so complete a picture of the man off his guard, that they are worthy of fullest recital.

Clitus had been the captain of the cavalry *agéma* but after the death of Philotas was promoted, along with the new favourite Hephæstion, to the command of half the chosen immortals, the *hetairoi* cavalry. Unlike Hephæstion, he had remained a stalwart Macedonian in tastes and sympathies, and had long regarded with apprehension and concealed vexation the Medo-mania of his King; and yet he was a loyal friend, and all might have gone well, but for the madness of wine. One night, on the occasion of a festival of Dionysus, the symposium had been protracted to abnormal length, and the potations had been deeper than was the wont even with these fervent devotees of Bacchus. In the depths of a Greek drinking-bout, small talk and banter were apt to find their common pabulum, not in politics

and the weather, but in the finesse of the Greek mythology, about which everybody knew something, and the tantalising variations of which offered themes as unlikely of final settlement as either the tariff or determinism. This night the conversation turned on the problem of the paternity of Castor and Pollux, and the unhappy impulse of some one, who was at once a modernising realist and a vapid flatterer, brought it down to earth and turned it into a comparison of Alexander and the aforesaid demigods. Surely the conqueror of Asia had wrought greater deeds than these provisional worthies. It is forsooth the perversely narrow-minded people who see no good and great thing except in old times and in the Old Testament, and utterly ignore the great movements and great men of their own day.

There were many seconders. Courtier zeal strove to outbid itself. Alexander's deeds were extolled as greater than the labours of the widely travelled Hercules. The old-fashioned Macedonians were shocked at the impiety, but held their peace; only the impulsive Clitus raised his voice in protest. As the conversation, however, developed into a comparison of the achievements of Philip and of Alexander, to the disparagement of the former, the issue between the new school and the old became still more sharply drawn, and when the revellers came to amuse themselves by singing the serio-comic verses of Pranichus, which chaffed the old Macedonian officers for their defeats in Sogdiana, the last straw was added to the burden. Clitus's indignant protest against exposing worthy veterans to ridicule as

cowards was answered by Alexander, who had thus far quietly treated the whole discussion as bacchanalian nonsense—and answered, it appears, with a jest: "Clitus seems to be pleading his own cause." But the jest carried a sting to the half-drunken advocate, and anger and wine drowned humour. "You ought to be the last one to name me a coward —you who at Granicus, fleeing from Spithridates's sword, owed your life to my hand. These Macedonians, whom your creatures ridicule, have bought with their blood your fame." Alexander had thus far preserved his composure, but now a sensitive point had been touched, and he rebuked Clitus. Such talk, he said, served only to stir up animosities and sedition. But Clitus was in no mood to heed the injunction of silence. "Why do you ask freemen to dine with you at all, if you are unwilling they should speak their minds? You 'd better associate altogether with your lickspittle Persians, who bend the knee to your white tunic, and say only what you want them to." Alexander's temper could tolerate an indefinite amount of mythological controversy, but this approached dangerously near to twitting on facts. Anger came quick and strong. He seized the first object that lay at his hand, hurled it at the offender, and reached to find his sword. A prudent guard had hidden it out of his sight. Friends gathered about seeking to soothe and restrain him, but he broke from them, and shouting loud to his guards in his native Macedonian idiom —indication of return to first, savage principles—he bade the trumpeter blow the call, and smote him

with clenched fist when he hesitated to obey. Clitus's friends, in hope of preventing a collision, hurried him out of the room, and Ptolemy led him away out of the citadel and beyond the moat; but his fate and the folly of wine drew him back. In a moment he had entered at another side of the banqueting-hall, and raising the portière that hung before the door, stood definantly there, chanting in tone of reckless challenge Euripides's verses of discontent from the "Andromache":

"Alas, in Greece how ill things ordered are!
When trophies rise for victories in war,
Men count the praise not theirs who did the deed,
But give alone to him who led the meed."

A few words brought the import of the well-known passage. The apparition at the doorway was sudden as the challenge was insulting. Quick as a flash the impetuous King snatched a spear from the hands of a guard and hurled it at the figure by the raised curtain. The deed was done. The friend of his childhood, his life-companion and rescuer, lay gasping out his life.

Quick came the rebound from the fury of anger in a passion of remorse. Alexander bent by the side of the prostrate body, drew out the fatal spear, and would have turned it against himself, but his companions seized him and led him away by force to his chamber. There he lay through the night and through the day, writhing in the torment of remorse and self-reproach. Now he would call Clitus by name as if to awake him from death, now implore

his forgiveness, now chide himself as murderer of his friends, now call the name of his nurse Lanice, Clitus's sister, and, as if she were present, abuse himself in self-accusation before her: "How ill have I repaid thee, kindly foster-mother, for all thy care in rearing me! Thy sons thou hast given to die fighting in my behalf; thy brother I have slain with mine own hand." When the first storm of grief had spent itself, he lay still upon his bed, neither eating nor drinking, nor uttering a word.

So for three days, until the fear spread through the camp that he might become demented. Men came to plead with him that he should face his work and put his grief behind him; but he listened to none of them, till finally "specious platitudes of kismet and predestination began to soothe, and a sophistic Greek infused a baleful balm, reminding the successor of Darius that emperors stand above obligation and above law." * Still the deed remained a burden upon his soul, and the memory of it seems to have embittered the remainder of his life. Perhaps it added something of the hardness we cannot fail to note creeping in upon his temper during the latter years. Continuous life in the hard experience of war, coupled with the unnatural excitements of risk and enormous success, might well have been expected to show their effects in his character; but this incident alone cannot be made, prominent as it has been in the accounts of his life, to carry the whole argument.

A man who aspired to rule the whole world had

* Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander.*

shown himself unable to rule his own temper. His weakness stood out in the powerful light of one terrible demonstration. He saw it himself and despised himself. He hardened himself against his shame and grew harsh. So our ideals slip away from us, as we discover our weakness, and paint their substitutes over "to resemble iron." Yet we shall do Alexander injustice if we attribute his unhappy act to a radical decadence of character, or see in it an indication that his relations to his men and his attitude as a sovereign had suffered radical change. He was a human being, and the incident helps to show how very human he was; but still the Alexander who hurled the spear at Clitus and then bowed in instant repentance over the prostrate body is, on the whole, the same Alexander whose impulsive violence and impulsive generosity and love have all through the story of his life given an individual colour to a character shaped in strong lines of sagacity, idealism, and force. The significant thing is that he could still repent. Arrian says well: *

"Alexander is the only one I know of among the kings of olden time who from nobility of character repented of the errors he had committed. The majority of men, even when themselves convinced they have done wrong, make the mistake of thinking they can conceal their sin by defending their action as just. But, as I look at it, the only cure for sin is for the sinner to confess it and to be visibly repentant regarding it."

If the Clitus incident is to serve any didactic purpose beyond that of a temperance lecture, it can

* Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii., 28.

only be used as a further illustration of the Macedonian envy, which had two years before shown itself in the conspiracy of Philotas, and which still maintained a smouldering life behind the ashes. The old-fashioned Macedonians could not reconcile themselves to the sight of their King hobnobbing with Persian grandees and toying with Oriental fashions and manners. His reconstruction policy of reconciliation and amalgamation found no real favour in the hearts of these Stalwarts; they believed in robuster things. Warrior-like, they resented any curtailment of the doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils.

The murder of Clitus occurred at Samarkand in the year 328 B.C. In the following spring (327 B.C.) another thing occurred which furnishes further indication of the same unreconcilable spirit of stalwartism. In the train of Alexander had been since the beginning of his campaigns in Asia the Olynthian Callisthenes, nephew and pupil of Aristotle, a man of great personal dignity and scholarly refinement, and distinguished alike by his frankness of speech and by his skill as a writer and speaker. He was the literary man of the court, *par excellence*, and he had accompanied the army with the express purpose of recording and glorifying the great deeds of his sovereign. The rescued fragments of his *Persica*, which covered the period down to Darius's death, betray him to have been more rhetorician than chronicler.

Intimate as his relations had been with Alexander, his brusqueness of speech, addressed not infrequently

against the new cosmopolitanism, had of late brought him into some disfavour. His independence of manner, too, manifesting itself now in declining invitations to social entertainments that most men eagerly sought, now in a churlish and disgruntled air that seemed to speak disapproval of all he saw, and cast a gloom over the company of which he was a member, had served to brand him as a malcontent, so that Alexander is said once to have mildly expressed his disapproval of his conduct by quoting a verse of Euripides: "I hate the sophist who is not *sophos* [wise] for himself: physician, heal thyself." On one occasion, being called upon at the King's dinner-table to make an extempore speech in praise of the Macedonians, he did it with such fervour of eloquence that all rose from their seats to applaud, and cast their garlands upon him as a tribute. Thereupon Alexander, with the remark that so good a theme makes eloquence easy, bade him test his skill by turning the subject about and criticising the Macedonians, to the end that they might know their faults as well as their virtues. Callisthenes accepted the challenge with all vigour, and proceeded to score them with a boldness and skill that well-nigh provoked an outburst of disorder. He spared not even Philip, who, he dared to say, had grown great out of the discords of the Greeks—"in civil strife e'en villains rise to fame." His effort may have been an artistic success, but as a contribution to the spread of peace and good-will among men it was a failure. It certainly made the author thoroughly disliked, and Alexander expressed the

opinion that he had "given a sample of his ill will rather than of his eloquence." Of his churlishness there seems to have been no moral ground for doubt.

It was Callisthenes, too, who at about this time provoked a "scene" at a state banquet by ostentatiously declining to perform the act of *proskynesis* (prostration), which had been introduced as a form of etiquette from the Oriental usage. Stories were circulated, also, of the wild things he had said about resistance to tyrants, and defiance of arbitrary power, and rejection of foreign usages. Particularly among the young men of the court his bluntness and apparent fearlessness of speech had won him a certain admiration. He was suspected of having much influence with them. Hence when a conspiracy against the life of the King, originating in the personal grudge of one who had been severely punished, was one day discovered among the pages of the court, suspicion turned to him. Whether there was any real evidence against him we shall never know. The chief culprit, Hermolaus, was his intimate, and openly confessed sympathy with his views. Despite the express statements of Aristobulus and Ptolemy that the pages named him as their instigator, equally explicit statements of other authorities to the contrary are probably correct. He was put in chains, and died some months later, still a prisoner. This all happened at Balkh, in the spring of 327 B.C. The coldness which is supposed to have grown up between Aristotle and Alexander is commonly brought into some connection with this occurrence.

In the early spring of 327 B.C., Alexander had entered the mountain country at the extreme east of Sogdiana, to subdue the last relics of resistance which lingered still in the mountain fastnesses. The Bactrian chieftain Oxyartes, a former associate of Bessus, had withdrawn, with the families of several of the Bactrian nobility under his protection, into an extensive and well-nigh impregnable fortress located on the peak of a precipitous mountain-rock (Baisun-tau). There he sat in cool defiance and presumed immunity until three hundred Macedonian soldiers performed the impossible, climbed up the face of the almost perpendicular cliff commanding the citadel, and so forced a surrender.

Among the captives was Roxane, daughter of Oxyartes, who, Curtius Rufus says, possessed "surpassing beauty and a grace of bearing rarely seen among barbarians." Her beauty won a victory in the hour of her father's defeat—the first victory Asia had won over its conqueror. Thus far Alexander's breastplate had proved impervious to Cupid's arrows. Before the storied charms of Darius's wife and daughters he had stood unmoved. Except for his intimacy with Barsine, Memnon's widow, who was taken captive at Damascus, he had never been known to pay the slightest heed to the attractions of women. But now it was a case of love at first sight, and declining to use the right of a conqueror, he proposed an honourable marriage. Oxyartes thus became his ally and friend, and through his mediation the remaining opposition of the country was rapidly conciliated.

This was a further decided step in the King's policy of conciliation and amalgamation, which, to the disappointment of the old-school Macedonians, had been steadily unfolding itself of late. They looked decidedly askance at the marriage, but no one ventured a protest. The situation was becoming too strong for them. The Oriental element, arrayed with the Greeks who sympathised with the new idea, was already powerful enough to set the tone, and behind him Alexander had the unflinching loyalty of the army.

For the next four years we hear, strange to say, nothing further about Roxane. Shortly after the King's death (323 B.C.) she bore him a son, who became a disturbing factor for a while in the problems of the succession, until Cassander put him and his mother out of the way (311 B.C.). She plays, therefore, small part in the story of Alexander, but the lonely record of the marriage stands to mark the progress of the new idea of fusing races and nations in a world-empire—the one idea which we are justified as associating with Alexander's conception of what his conquests might be made to mean.

Some have claimed it was his main purpose at the end, as at the beginning, to carry Greek sovereignty and Greek ideas over the East; others have chosen to view his career as shaped alone by a restless, insatiable greed of conquest that should bring the whole world beneath his arms. He surely loved conquest, because he loved to achieve; he was restlessly active, because he loved to create and shape and do; but the one dominant purpose toward which

all his achievement looked, and in which all the facts of his life and all his expression and action find consistent explanation, is this ideal of establishing, in the organised form of empire, coöperation and a common understanding between those two great elements of the civilised life of men around which, as spiritual nuclei, had been shaped the dualistic history of mankind through all the time and within all the horizon that he and men of his day could explore and know—the life of the East and the life of the West, orientalism and occidentalism.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE INVASION OF INDIA.

327–326 B.C.

TWO full years had now been occupied in effecting the subjugation of two remote north-eastern provinces of the Persian Empire. The conquest of all Assyria, Persia (proper), and Media had cost but one. The reason for the contrast is to be found not in the difficulty of the terrain, or in the remoteness of the country, but in the people. In Bactria the Macedonian had met his Indo-European kin. The Medes and the Persians, who, as representing the forward waves of the great Iranian influx, had for three centuries controlled Mesopotamia, and had given their name to its empire, were now so thoroughly absorbed in its civilisation that they could no longer be counted as Indo-Europeans. In Bactria and Sogdiana the blood and the spirit of the Iranians remained in uncorrupted vigour. The union between Alexander and Roxane was therefore the joining of two streams of Indo-European blood. In the movement of Indo-

European migration and influence toward the south-east, from Europe into Asia, the routes by the north of the Caspian and by the south had met, though the kinship of the wayfarers betrayed itself only in the stubbornness with which they fought each other when they met.

There remained now of the Persian Empire for the conqueror to traverse only the extreme southern portions. Next in his way lay the satrapy of India, directly to the south. If he should conquer this, descend the Indus to its mouth, and then return to Babylon through Gedrosia, he would have fairly completed the circuit of the Persian world. Since the days of Cyrus and Darius Hystaspes, a certain district in the northern and western part of the Indus basin had been a nominal dependency of the Persian Empire, yielding its annual tribute of 360 talents of gold-dust, and furnishing its contingent of troops to the army. The host which Xerxes led into Greece contained, as Herodotus * reports, "Indians clothed in raiment made of wood [cotton or bast ?], and carrying bows of bamboo and bamboo arrows tipped with iron." In the battle of Gaugamela had appeared a force of Indians, "neighbours of the Bactrians," and some fifteen elephants "belonging to the Indians who live this side of the Indus" (Arrian).

India was still to the outer world a land of the unknown. Cyrus is not certainly known to have entered it. Darius had merely sent an army into the northern districts, and caused ships to be sent

* Herodotus, vii., 65.

(509 B.C.) down the course of the Indus to find its mouth and ascertain the possibility of a water-route around to the Red Sea. Herodotus tells all that we know of this expedition:

"Wishing to find out where the Indus, the second river known to produce crocodiles, empties into the sea, he sent an expedition of ships under charge of Scylax, of Caryanda [a city in Caria,] along with others upon whom he could rely to bring a true report. They started from the city of Kaspatyros [Kaçyapapura] and the Paktyan country, and sailed down the river toward the east and the sunrise into the ocean, and then through the ocean in a westerly direction, until, in the thirtieth month, they came to the place where the King of Egypt had sent off the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa." *

The little which Herodotus had to tell about the land may well have had its remote source in Scylax's reports. It all is vague and unreal, most of it dressed in the garb of the fabulous. Monster ants that delve in the vast sand-deserts bounding the land to the east bring to the surface the gold-dust which Persia receives in tribute. No people are known to live beyond them toward the sunrise. There are many tribes of many tongues. They are clothed in garments made of rushes beaten and plaited like a mat. They make their boats of reed, one joint sufficing for a boat. They kill nothing that has life, but live on herbs—in particular, upon a peculiar grain of the size of millet, in the pod, which they boil and eat with the pod. There are

* Herodotus, iv., 44.

trees there which bear wool instead of fruit, and wool which excels in beauty and fineness that of sheep. All the birds and animals are much larger than in other countries, except the horses alone.

A generation after Herodotus's time, the famous physician Ctesias of Croton, on his return from long residence in Persia, published, among other works, a book about India, of which we possess a summary made by Photius. Ctesias had never been in India, and his book could do no more than report what was commonly believed in Persia concerning this land of the remote and the marvellous; and that proves to be scanty, much of it grotesque. He has to tell of elephants and tigers; apes with wonderful tails; birds of brilliant plumage, that speak with human voice in Hindu, or mayhap, if taught, in Greek; of men, some fair-skinned, some dark; of races of dwarfs and of giants; of men with tails, and men with heads like those of dogs; of fields rich beyond belief; of lakes swimming with oil pleasant to the taste; of palm trees that touched the sky; of reeds that grew by the river-banks as tall as the masts of ships, and so large that two men with their arms could not encircle one. Everywhere the background of truth glimmers through the stories, but among the Greeks of the day they seem to have won the writer only the reputation of a classical liar.

When Alexander, in his southward march, crossed the barriers of the Hindu Kush, and through the Kabul Valley entered the plains of the Indus, he passed from one world into another. The early

history of human civilisation unfolded itself in two great world-areas which were virtually isolated from each other entirely. One, the far East, shaped its destiny about the two centres India and China; the other, the near East, created for itself two fundamental civilisations in the two river valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile. The civilisations of Mesopotamia and Egypt found their solvent in the Mediterranean, and the first products of the blend appear in the half-recognised Ægean culture which we temporarily call by the name Mycenæan. The ingrafting upon this stock of the active element, European occidentalism, brought into being that form of Mediterranean civilisation which, first under the leadership of Greece, then of Rome, furnished the substrate of modern European civilisation. It was Alexander's hand that fastened the graft securely in place. His mission dealt only with the relation of European occidentalism to the orientalism of the nearer East. The brief incursion into north-western India was only an incident—a bit of side-play consequent upon the extension of Darius's Empire to include it. And yet, upon Alexander's temporary path, trodden centuries later by the missionary fury of Mohammedanism, came back into the near East, and thence into the Western world, many a bit of Hindu wisdom, as the fable literature, from Æsop to Eberhard of Würtemberg, for instance, may well attest.

The work of establishing permanent communication between the two major areas of human civilisation—the Indo-Chinese of the far East, on the

one hand, and that of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Europe, united in the Mediterranean, on the other —tarried for twenty centuries after Alexander's work was complete. It tarried till a route was opened by the sea, and until maritime commerce gave the impulse. The discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope set on foot a movement that produced the Suez Canal.

The leadership in that European-Mediterranean civilisation to the creation of which Alexander gave the impulse passed, in the order of time, into the hands of powers whose strength was gathered from the sea; and to them, as Alexander's successors, was given the mission of building the bridge of ships between Europe and the far East.

The route by which Alexander entered India, namely, the passes of the Hindu Kush and the Kabul valley, was, in all probability, the same by which, many centuries before, the ancestors of the Hindu Aryans had come when they separated themselves from the original Indo-Iranian stock. Their close relationship with their Iranian brethren was still betrayed in unmistakable marks. Their languages differed from each other scarcely more than the popular dialects of northern and southern Germany to-day, certainly not so much as Dutch and German. Their religions, despite the thoroughgoing reformation which, under Zarathushtra's (Zoroaster's) name, had purified the faith of the northern branch, still bore the evident marks of earlier identity.

The Varuna of the Vedas was the Ahuramazda of

the Persians; Mitra corresponded to Mithra; the dragon-slaying (Vrtrahan) Indra to the victorious Verethragna; the Adam of the Hindus, Yama, the son of Vivasvant, who first walked the paths of death, was the Avestan Yima, son of Vivanhvant. The priests of both prepare the soma drink (Avestan *haoma*) for the sacred service, press out the sap, cleanse it through the sieve, and mix it with milk. One calls the priest *hotar*, the other *zaotar*. The ritual, always more conservative than the theology, retained the surest evidence of the common origin.

The Aryans, immigrants, were still clearly distinguishable by their fair complexion and blue eyes from the dark-skinned Dravidians who had formed the original population of the land. The Vedic hymns tell of the conflicts of the newcomers with the dark-skinned Dasyus: how Indra, "the much-invoked, smote Dasyus and Çimyus, as was his wont, hurled them with his thunderbolt to the earth, and won, with help of his white friends, the land" (Rigveda, I., 100, 18). Arrian, in his *Indica* (chap. vi.), writing on the authority of Alexander's contemporaries and associates, reports that

"the Indians living toward the south are more like the Æthiopians, for they are black in their faces, and their hair is black; but they are not so flat-nosed or so curly-haired as the Æthiopians. The Indians farther to the north seem to resemble in their bodies the Egyptians."

In another connection (chap. xviii.) he says: "The Indians are spare in body, and tall, and much lighter in weight than other men."

In the period which produced the Vedic hymns (perhaps 1500–1200 B.C.) the Hindu Aryans were still limited to the northern districts—the Indus basin and perhaps * the Upper Ganges valley. Only once is the Ganges (Ganga) mentioned in the Rigveda. From north to south, from the mountains to the seas, the Indus basin, covered mostly by the two later provinces of Punjab and Sindh, represents an extent of from seven hundred and fifty to eight hundred miles.

In Alexander's time, however, the Aryan Hindus had already brought under their control the greater portion of northern and central India. Their mediæval period was already well under way, a thousand years in advance of its counterpart in Western life. The naïve objectivism of the Vedic period, which plainly faced the outer world to seek of it such material blessings—gain, booty, offspring, victory—as it had to give, had yielded to the inward look. Life had passed to the ethico-religious basis; a yearning for the supernatural had overcome that for the natural; Indra and Varuna had been displaced by Brahma; repentance and asceticism, the hermit and the monk, were the order of the day. Just when Greece, at the end of the sixth century B.C., was coming to its ripeness, the appearance of Buddha was providing for India the beginnings of a recorded history.

The transfer of the central scene of Aryan life from the Indus to the Ganges was doubtless chiefly

* E. W. Hopkins, "The Puñjâb and the Rig-Veda," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xix.

responsible for the radical changes in thought, customs, and social organisation which separate the people of the Vedas from the Hindus who emerge upon our observation in the fourth and third centuries B.C. The conquest of a civilisation far more advanced than their own, at least in the outward forms of settled life, and the acquirement of sovereignty over the vast range of territory involved, had led to the creation of a stronger centralised form of the State, to the development of the kingship out of the tribal chieftaincy, to the crystallisation of a system of castes, guaranteed by the predominant influence of the Brahman priesthood, and finally to the formation of an opulent luxurious type of civilised life.

The old mother-land of the Hindus, the Punjab district, participated, however, but secondarily in the great changes which reshaped the life and experience of the Magna India of the East. The tribal organisation, with its government of petty rajas, counterparts of Homer's *basilēes*, survived. The Brahmanic laws and the system of castes were but imperfectly recognised. Some districts had no Brahman priests at all. Hence the people of the Indus valley were looked upon by the Ganges people as outside the pale, and called Vrātyās, or heretics. They ate the flesh of oxen with garlic; they knew no respect for the sacred law; they confused the castes; they dealt in all manner of impurity, license, and vulgarity; they knew neither trade nor agriculture; they had no knowledge of the sacred language of the Brahmans, the Sanskrit, but used only the

vulgar Prakrit, its debased successor; they lived in perpetual war and disorder: in short, they were in the eyes of these new Hindus what the Macedonians were to the Greeks who had left them behind in their entrance into the Greek Peninsula—a mass of disgusting barbarians. Nothing is so odious to a new civilisation as the type it has just left behind and the garb it has just shuffled off. And yet the Hindus of the Punjab were simply old-fashioned Hindus, as the Macedonians were old-fashioned Greeks. Their preservation of the old warlike temper was one compensation for their failure to participate in the civilised progress of their kinsfolk, for Arrian credits them with being "the bravest people of all Asia in war."

Toward the end of the spring of 327 B.C. Alexander turned his back upon the north country, and, with an army of over one hundred thousand men, set out across the passes of the Hindu Kush. Ten thousand foot-soldiers and thirty-five hundred cavalrymen had been left in Bactria, under Amyntas's command. The army of thirty thousand at Issus and forty-five thousand at Gaugamela had grown during the campaigns in Turkestan to eighty thousand. Money and success had made recruiting easy in the West. Every man who had the spirit of adventure in his veins wished now to be with Alexander. During the winter of 329–328 B.C. alone reinforcements to the number of nineteen thousand, recruited in Greece, Macedonia, Lycia, and Syria, joined the army at Zariaspa. So they poured in a continuous stream, doubling the army, besides filling the places

of the dead who had carried their wounds and their glory down into Hades, and of the disabled and weary who had either returned to their homes or been settled as colonists in the new-founded cities. Reinforcements continued to arrive even after the army had entered the Punjab, and in the last days before starting for the return there came five thousand Thracian horsemen and seven thousand Greeks and Macedonians; so that, despite all its losses, the grand army set forth down the Indus one hundred and twenty thousand strong. In leaving the north, Alexander took with him also, of native troops, some thirty thousand Bactrians, Sogdianians, Scythians, and Daan bowmen, all mounted on the famous horses that Arab and Turk have since brought to the notice of Europe. In ten days he was across the mountains, back in the Kabul valley he had left two years before; and here he spent most of the summer (327 B.C.), busied in strengthening the city Alexandria-under-Caucasus (Charikar ?), which he had founded on his previous visit, and in making preparations for the venturesome campaign he was about to undertake.

In the autumn he started on his march down the valley of the Kophen (the Kabul River) toward India. In response to his summons, several Hindu rajahs, and among them his friend Taxiles from beyond the Indus, came to meet him, bringing presents and the assurance of support. At a point about one hundred miles east of Kabul, approximately at the site of the modern Jalalabad, he divided his army, sending one portion, under the

command of Hephæstion and Perdiccas, along the Kophen, while he, with the other part, struck north up the valley of the Choaspes, the modern Khonar (Chitral). The force sent down the Kophen was intended to reduce to subjection the peoples on the south of the river, and especially to seize the famous Khyber Pass, where in modern times the Afghans have struggled to assert their boundaries against the Briton. The purpose of Alexander's detour to the north, on the other hand, was to subjugate the mountain tribes inhabiting the valleys of the streams tributary to the Kophen on the north, and so to assure control of the Chitral passes, by which an important route led over the mountains to the headwaters of the Oxus, and then on to the eastern limits of Bactria. The Chitral valley leads directly up to the great Pamir plateau, on the southern edge of which the frontiers of the world-rivals, the Russian Empire and the British Empire, separated at the opening of this century by two thousand miles, have finally met and touched. Here join them, too, the outposts of the Chinese Empire.

Alexander had chosen, as usual, the harder part. The shepherd people of the mountains gave him vigorous resistance. But swiftly and relentlessly he swept them before him, storming and sacking their fortified towns, and scattering them as fugitives in the mountains. From the country of the Aspasians (Açvakas), who dwelt in the valley of the Khonar, he passed into the Pandjkora basin, thence into the valley of the Swat, where the powerful tribe of the Assakenans, whose territory stretched across the

Indus well toward the boundaries of Kashmir, awaited him. Their chief city, Massaga, yielded only after vigorous siege. One after another, their cities fell, and Alexander fought his way out into the Indus valley.

One peaceful incident is recorded in the midst of this story of hurried fight and siege and slaughter. Somewhere in the lower valley of the Khonar the invaders came upon a peaceful, sun-blessed plain, where grew in abundance not only the vine, but, as the story has it, the laurel and the ivy too. The appearance of the ivy, which Arrian says the Macedonians had not seen for years, and which they welcomed with a veritable frenzy of joy, revived memories of old legends of Dionysus's wanderings, which had led him through the Orient, even to the bounds of India. The wild ecstasies of the Çiva cult, which personified the power of growth and reproduction in nature, reminded, too, of the Dionysiac worship. Nothing further was needed, therefore, to encourage men of naïve philology in reading the value Nysæans into the name Nishadas, which the people of the country bore, and in identifying their city as a sacred Nysa of their own Hellenic god. The name of the sacred mountain Meru, adjoining the city, they also rejoiced to recognise as Greek, and explain as the mountain of the thigh (Greek, *mēros*), an allusion to the temporary lodgment of the prematurely born Dionysus in the thigh of Zeus. The cordial welcome of the good king Akuphis joined with the kindly assurances of folk-etymology to give the strangers for a season the sense of home,

and to make in after days the memory of this sheltered vale of the Nishadas an oasis in the desert of their wanderings and wars.

Through the mist of the romantic which enshrouds the story of this place there comes one solitary gleam of genial humour, a touch of nature, to assure us Nysa stood on solid ground. When King Akuphis, at his first meeting with the conqueror, had asked what his people might do to make the Macedonians their friends, he received the answer: "They shall make thee their governor, and send us as hostages one hundred of their best men." To this came the smiling reply: "But methinks, King, I shall rule better if I send you the worst and keep the best."

Dionysus, it should be remarked in passing, was not the only Hellenic deity the Greeks fancied they identified in the Hindu pantheon. The storm-god Indra was for them the Zeus Hyëtios, the rain-bringing Jupiter. Krishna was their own bluff, robust Hercules. Krishna had wrought heroic deeds, slain the wild bull, driven out monsters. He was always represented as armed with a massive club. From his thousands of wives he had begotten his one hundred and eighty thousand sons. Like Hercules, he was raised, after his death, to divine honours.

On the fortified peak of a mountain which rose abruptly from the Indus's bank, an army of fugitives had taken its refuge. Here was a citadel that the boldest could not approach. Hercules himself, so the story went, had assaulted it in vain. It was a famous place, and marvellous are the accounts about it, so that our candid Arrian reports them all with

a cautious "it is said." Thus the height of the mountain is given as over six thousand feet, and its circuit as twenty-two miles. It was well wooded, had a fine spring of water at the summit, and much tillable land; but on every side it was precipitously steep, and only one narrow path zigzagged up to its top.

Its Sanskrit name may well have been *Āvarana*, "the Refuge"; but the Greeks did the best they could, and called it *Aornos* (*Aornis*), "the Birdless," forsooth because it was so high. Among the various attempts at modern identification, that of General Abbott in his *Gradus ad Aornon*, which makes it to be Mount Mahāban (4125 feet above the plain), about thirty miles above the mouth of the Kabul, is the most plausible.

To Alexander the difficulty was a challenge. Selecting from his army the boldest and best, among them two hundred of the companions, many bowmen, the famous *hoplite* brigade of Cœnus, and the ever-trusty Agrianians, he advanced to the base of the mountain. Learning from some peasants of the country that there was a spur of the mountain close under the citadel which could serve as vantage ground for an attack, he accepted their offer of guidance, and intrusted to Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, the hazardous enterprise of a dash up the mountain to this favoured spot. It was the Ptolemy who was afterward to be the founder of the famous house of Egyptian kings, wisest and best of Alexander's captains. Under cover of the night Ptolemy set out, and with him the Agrianians and a few

picked men of the *hypaspists* and light-armed troops. Before morning the blaze of a beacon high on the mountain-side told that they were at their goal. They had escaped the observation of the enemy. Without waiting for the morning, they hastened to intrench themselves behind palisades and ditch. And it was none too soon; for with daylight the enemy were upon them, and all day long the fight was hot about the little stockade. Alexander's first attempt to scale the mountain and bring help met with failure; but Ptolemy and his little band clung to their perch on the cliff till night came and the enemy withdrew. During the night Alexander succeeded in communicating with Ptolemy through a deserter who knew the mountain path, and a plan of coöperation was arranged for the following day. Alexander was to try forcing his way, with all his men, directly up by the path leading to Ptolemy's position; and Ptolemy was to sally out against the enemy, when occupied in resisting the advance, and hold them thus between two fires. With the morning the struggle began. In the face of flying missiles, spear-thrusts, and tumbling boulders, the Macedonians clambered up the narrow path or climbed the face of the cliffs, sometimes man after man as on a ladder, sometimes in isolated groups or single venture. It was a slow, stubborn fight. Every foothold cost a battle. All day long the struggle lasted; but, foot by foot, the line crept up the mountain-side, and at nightfall Alexander and Ptolemy joined forces on the ridge.

The enemy's citadel occupied an isolated rock,

the highest peak of the mountain. Ptolemy's position was considerably below it, and separated by an interval of swamp and ravine so wide that the catapults, with from four to five hundred yards' range, could not reach the defenders on the walls. The capture of the fortress by direct assault seemed out of the question. Scaling the cliffs that formed the foundation of its walls was too hopeless a venture. But there were here an energy and a will that did not shrink from what to weaker spirits might seem quixotic device. The causeway at Tyre and the mound at Gaza must be repeated. Each soldier was instructed to collect a hundred wooden stakes or logs. Speedily swords became axes. Trees were felled and stripped. Soon a bridge-like causeway, built in cob-house construction, began to push itself out from the lower peak across the depression, lifting itself steadily upward toward the level of the fortress. Alexander was everywhere present to chide and cheer. The work went merrily onward. The first day the bridge advanced three hundred yards. Already it gave a standing-place from which the machine-guns and the slingers could beat back with bolts and stones the assaults of the besieged. Another day, and the engines began to get the range of the stronghold. Early on the fourth day the gap was closed, and the Macedonians were swarming upon an outjutting corner of the rocky peak which bore the citadel, and moving to surround and beset the walls. Then the defenders lost heart, and began negotiations for surrender. What they really hoped was to weary out the day

with bargaining, and then escape under cover of the night. Seeing this, Alexander withdrew a little from the walls, and offered the chance of escape. The offer was accepted. The moment the retreat began, seven hundred guardsmen scaled the walls, and from within and without they and others set upon the miserable fugitives. Many fell by the sword; more were the victims panic and the precipices claimed. Awe fell upon the land in presence of a will before which even the mountain-tops had ceased to yield a refuge.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE BATTLE OF THE HYDASPES.

326 B.C.

SOME two miles south of the point where the Kophen flows into the Indus, near the modern Attok, Alexander now joined his forces again with those of the Hephæstion and Perdiccas. The southern campaign had met with easy success, and all the country west of the Indus was now under the Macedonian control. All the strong positions had been left well garrisoned, and the country organised under provincial government as a satrapy.

In the neighbourhood of Attok the Indus narrows its bed, flowing through a rocky channel which gives it a depth in places of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet, and a width of scarcely more than two hundred and fifty feet. Here on a bridge of boats the crossing was made, attended with the pomp of sacrifice and festal games. It was the early spring of 326 B.C. Within the strip of land, one hundred miles or more broad, which lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhilam), the

strongest of the petty rajahs who held sway was Taxiles, at whose suggestion Alexander had, ostensibly at least, first conceived the idea of an Indian campaign. The Hindu reputation for trustworthiness and honesty was well maintained when this prince came forward now to welcome the invader to his land. First, he sent forward to meet the King his presents of welcome to the land—three thousand animals for sacrifice, ten thousand sheep, thirty elephants, two hundred talents of silver, and a contingent of seven hundred Hindu horsemen. Then began the march toward the residential city. Its name from which the Greeks seem to have borrowed a name for its king, was in its Sanskrit form Takshaçilā; the Greeks called it Taxila. Its site is marked still by wide-spreading mounds of ruins near the railway that joins Hasan Abdal and Rawal Pindi, and eight miles from the former place. A few miles outside the gates, Taxiles, at the head of his whole army in gala array, came forth to meet Alexander and give him greeting, and offer himself and all his kingdom into his hands. The neighbouring rajahs and chieftains came also with presents—ivory, fine linen, precious stones, and treasure—to make their subjection. Even from far Kashmir, whose snow-capped mountains peered above the northern horizon, came an embassy to greet the conqueror.

On the other side of the Hydaspes to the east, awaited him, however, a different welcome. Taxiles's zeal had had its motive in apprehensions of the waxing power of his neighbour and rival, the King of the Paurauvas, whom the Greeks called

Porus; and this Porus was already collecting his forces to dispute the passage of the Hydaspes. It was no confused horde, such as Darius had assembled at Gaugamela, that Alexander had here to face, but a disciplined and sturdy army, solidly compacted under resolute and intelligent leadership. The determined resistance which it offered in a battle lasting from the early morning till the eighth hour of the day showed that the old Aryan vigour still was there, and, furthermore, that these Hindu Aryans had acquired what their Iranian brethren lacked—the power of organisation, and the sense for coöperative mechanical action under central control.

In the battle with Porus, Alexander was called upon to face conditions substantially different from any which had confronted him before in his already varied experience; and if any further proof was needed of the catholicity of his military genius, we have it when this youth of thirty years, after facing the Illyrians and Thracians on their mountain sides, the Bœotian phalanx in the plains of Thebes, the Persian cavalry at the Granicus, after scaling the walls of Tyre and humbling the impregnable fortresses of Gaza, after scattering the assembled hosts of western Asia at Gaugamela, and driving the untamed sons of Iran from their plains and their aeries, passed through the eastern gates of the known, joined conflict with an utterly new, strange world, and won his battle from a people who combined in their resources, as none he had yet met, wealth, courage, organisation, and an advanced acquaintance with the art of war. No great general in the world's

history was ever exposed to such a variety of tests, and yet he is the only one who never lost a battle.

When Alexander, with his army, reached the banks of the Hydaspes, he found it swollen by the melting snows of the mountains to a mighty stream a mile in width. Fording could be attempted only at a few favoured spots, and for an army in the face of an enemy was out of the question. On the southern bank opposite was drawn up the army of Porus, thirty-five thousand strong. Three hundred elephants disposed along the line looked like towers in the living wall. To attempt landing an attacking force from boats in the face of this opposition was vain. The horses of the cavalry could not have been brought to face the elephants, whose strange odour and stranger trumpetings drove them into unmanageable panic; and the cavalry was Alexander's chief reliance for the attack. There was nothing left, therefore, but to wait for a better chance or to find a better way.

No opportunity, however, was given the enemy for relaxing interest or dividing attention. Every day or two a feint was made at crossing. Boats would be assembled, the cavalry would be drawn up on the bank, a squad would drive into the river. Sometimes the trumpets would blare out through the night, as if calling the attack; and then the subtle Greeks could have their joy at seeing these honourable Hindus keeping their sleepless watch in battle order, and the solemn elephants drawn up in ponderous and vain array. And so it went on until apprehension grew callous.

Then Alexander allowed the rumour to spread that he should wait until the low water of autumn before attempting to cross. The country round about was ravaged,—and incidentally reconnoitered,—and the great stores of supplies accumulated at the river-side gave credence to the story of the summer wait. The movement of Alexander's troops up and down the river ceased to provoke suspicion.

Nine or ten miles above the Macedonian camp the Hydaspes turned abruptly in its southward course to flow toward the west; and near the sharp angle of its bend, a point which made out into the river afforded a convenient passage to a wooded island hard by the opposite shore. Between the camp and this tongue of land the river-bank was heavily wooded, and, in sharp contrast to the level plain of the other side, rose steeply into hills. At intervals along the high bank Alexander posted sentries to pass the word along, and so establish a complete connection between the camp and the chosen place of crossing. Thither, by a circuitous route of over fifteen miles * around behind the hills, he led a picked body of his troops, about thirty thousand strong. The great mass of the army was left in camp under command of Craterus, with orders to hold the enemy's attention there as long as possible. Only after the enemy had wheeled about to face the troops, who would meantime have crossed

* Cunningham, who in his *Geography of Ancient India* (p. 157 *ff.*) identifies the site, verifying in the modern topography every detail of the ancient story, reckons the exact distance by the circuit from Jalalpur to Dilawar as seventeen miles, which corresponds precisely to Arrian's one hundred and fifty stades.

the river above, and would then be advancing upon their right flank, was Craterus to try the crossing. A strong division, furthermore, composed of mercenary troops under the chief command of Meleager, was posted on the river-bank half-way between the camp and the proposed place of crossing, under orders similar to those of Craterus.

Under cover of a dismal night of furious rain and thunder, Alexander reached the river-bank, and hastened to improvise a ferriage for his troops. The heavy infantry and a detachment of cavalry, in all more than half his force, were to remain on this side the river to hold in check the army of Abisares of Kashmir, known to be close by, advancing to Porus's aid. The remainder, composed chiefly of cavalry, the *hypaspists*, and archers, in all about thirteen thousand men, prepared to cross. Boats sawn asunder had been transported through the woods, and now were roughly and hastily joined again. Some galleys had been cautiously assembled at the spot. Skins stuffed with hay served the purpose of the cavalrymen, who swam beside their horses. Rafts served for others. With the gray of morning the storm slackened, the rain ceased; and though the yellow river rushed by fiercer than ever, at the signal they plunged in and struggled across. The night, the storm, and the wooded island opposite had thus far hidden them from the enemy's observation. The moment they passed the shelter of the island and essayed the narrow ford beyond, the outposts of the enemy discovered them, and galloped away to make report at headquarters. The shore

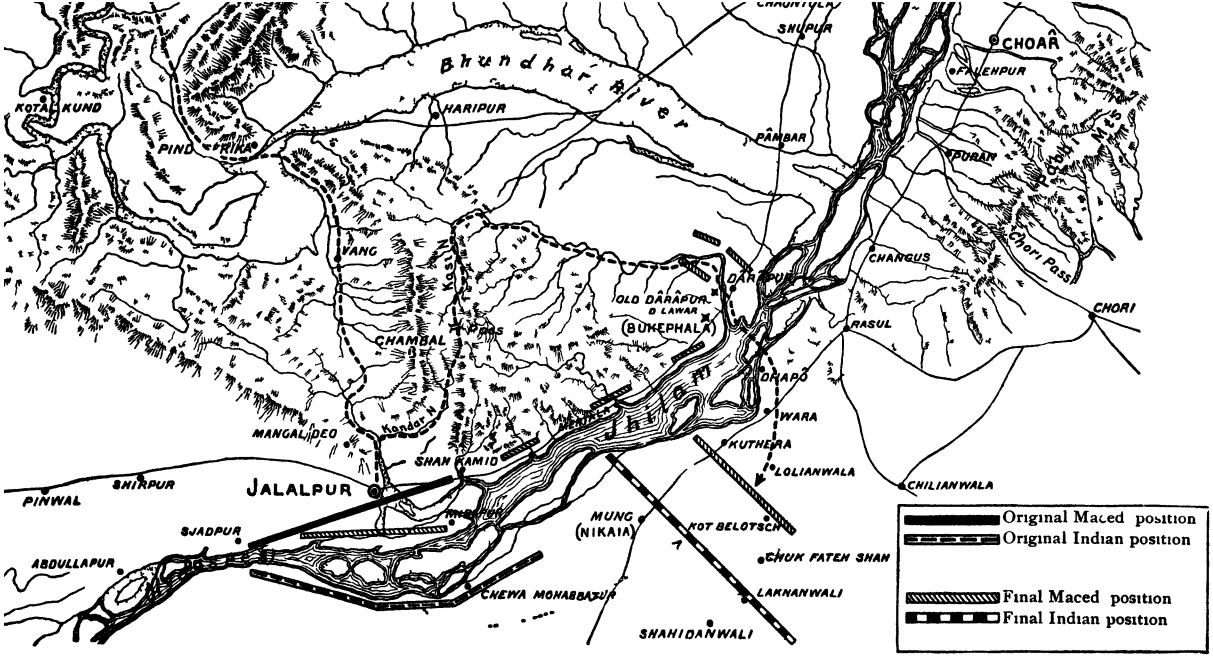
was thus left undefended, and the landing was easily effected. The risk that Alexander, with his imperfect knowledge of the topography, had taken, was disclosed when it was discovered that what had seemed to be the shore was really an island; for an arm of the swollen river had cut its way between the place of landing and the plain. Then came the anxious search for a ford, attended by fear lest the enemy might return before they were across. At last, through water shoulder-deep, and on uneven, slippery footing, they slowly found their way across. It was here, in the desperate struggle of the ford, there escaped the lips of Alexander that word of fine humour which Onesicritus remembered, and Plutarch has handed down to us: "O Athenians, would ye believe what risks I run to earn your applause!" When morning dawned the little army had assumed its order in the plain—the Daan horsemen and the squadrons of the companion cavalry on the left, the *hypaspists* (five thousand) and other footmen, supported by the archers, Agrianians, and javelin-men, on flanks and rear. They were now about seven miles to the east of Porus's position, and their line was exactly at right angles with his. He faced the river and the north; they rested their right flank upon the river. In order to face them and prevent being attacked on flank and rear, Porus would therefore be obliged to abandon, in whole or part, his defence of the river-bank, and face about to the east.

Porus's outposts had brought him word that an army was crossing the river at the island ford.

What army it might be, they had either failed in the darkness to see, or had neglected in their assiduous discretion to note. It might be, after all, so hope said, the long-expected reinforcements of Abisares, King of Kashmir; for there on the north shore could still be seen the camp and army of Alexander, to all appearances as strong as ever. So a body of two thousand horsemen, supported by one hundred and twenty chariots, was sent out, under command of the King's son, to give welcome if it were Abisares, to check the advance and gain time if it were Alexander. It seemed hardly possible it could be the latter; it was too rash a venture. But Porus did not know his man.

Alexander was a leader who did not accept the situations created for him by others, but by aggressive action created them for himself. His crossing of the river and turning of the enemy's flank had suddenly changed the entire plan of battle and the entire situation. This movement, familiar to modern strategy, had been hitherto unknown in ancient. Porus's flank would now be menaced by Meleager, his rear by Craterus. His advantage of the river-bank had been at a stroke annulled. The two armies stood now on the level footing of the same plain, and Alexander's cavalry, in which was always his chief reliance, came to a hearing. It was Porus now who had to adapt himself to circumstances and accept a situation. The choice of place and weapons had fallen to the creative wit of his antagonist.

Even now, if Porus had immediately assumed the offensive, he must have had the advantage. With


Bhundhar River
KOTAL KUND
PIND
PIKAR
HARIPUR
SHIPUR
CHOAR
FATEHPUR
PAMBAR
DURAN
CHOPI Pass
CHANGUS
CHORI
RASUL
VANG
KOHAT
CHAMBAL
PASS
OLD DARAPUR
(BUKEPHALA)
DARAPUR
DHAPO
WARA
KUTHERA
LOLIANWALA
CHILIANWALA
MANGALIDEO
Kondar N.
SHAH KAMID
JALALPUR
PINWAL
SHIRPUR
SJADPUR
ABDULLAPUR
MUNG
(NIKAIA)
KOT BELOTSCH
CHUK FATEH SHAH
LAKNANWALI
CHEWA MOHABBAZUN
SHAHIDANWALI
Original Maced position
Original Indian position
Final Maced position
Final Indian position

his great superiority in numbers (from thirty-five to forty thousand against thirteen thousand), and especially with the advantage given him by the elephants, which no cavalry could face, he might have surrounded and either annihilated or driven into the river the entire force opposed to him, had he only assumed the offensive, and not waited to allow his antagonist a choice of the point of attack.

The force sent out to reconnoitre speedily came back in routed fragments, leaving its leader and four hundred horsemen dead upon the field, and most of the chariots wrecked or the enemy's prizes. There was no longer any doubt. It was surely Alexander. The great line swung slowly round, and took its position in the plain, a mighty front three or four miles long, dotted with the towering elephants, from fifty to a hundred feet apart. If stationed only fifty feet apart, two hundred elephants made a line nearly two miles long. These held the centre—indeed, the main central extent—of the line. Between them crowded the foot-soldiers, and behind them masses of infantry formed a second line. At the wings were the cavalry and the chariots. A few elephants, supported by a considerable force of infantry, remained at the old position by the river to watch the movements of Craterus and menace the ford.

Slowly the great battle-line moved out across the meadows until it reached a wide stretch of solid ground suited to the movement of the chariots, and there it stopped, facing the solidly massed force of Alexander, which covered with its front no more

than a fifth or a fourth of the space. Here was Alexander's opportunity, his only chance. He was given the choice of point of attack; and this was what gave him the victory. He was bound to attack one of the wings in order to avoid the elephants. He chose the left or northern wing, not only in deference to his usage of attacking with his right wing, but because, by keeping near the river, he held to his reserve on the other river-bank, and prevented the possibility of being utterly cut off and surrounded.

The infantry of his centre and left was ordered to delay attack until the left wing of the enemy had been thrown into confusion by the cavalry attack. The attack was opened by the one thousand Daan archer horsemen. Overwhelming the cavalry of the enemy's left with a shower of arrows, they drew them out to attack. Alexander then, with the great body of the companion cavalry, swept on to the attack, bearing to the front and right. Meantime he had sent Cœnus, with his own regiment of cavalry and that of Demetrius, in a wide swing to the right against the extreme flank of the enemy, so that as the enemy's horse advanced obliquely out of position to meet Alexander, they might fall upon their rear. Owing to a misinterpretation of Arrian, based, it is to be feared, simply on an error of the published translations, the current accounts of this battle make Cœnus perform the miraculous feat of rounding the enemy's right wing and riding along their entire rear to reach the rear of their left wing.

The account, as it stands in the original both of

Arrian and of Curtius Rufus, is clear and consistent, and involves no miracle. The enemy's left was simply drawn out of position, and then caught between two masses of the Macedonian cavalry. Forced to face in two directions, the hostile cavalry was speedily thrown into confusion, and scattered to the shelter of the elephants. The left of the enemy's line was thus at the very beginning utterly broken in pieces, and the solid infantry centre, towered with the elephants, was exposed to flank attack. Of the chariots which supported the Indian left we hear nothing, strangely enough, in any of the accounts of the battle. Alexander won all his battles by first breaking the enemy's line, and localising the battle at the wounded point. The point he chose for his blow in the battle of the Hydaspes was the suture between the elephants and the cavalry, and was determined by the necessity of avoiding the elephants.

The elephants on the left of the centre were now driven forward to attack the united mass of Alexander's cavalry. The Indian cavalry rallied again to support them. The movement was oblique toward the left, for Alexander was on their flank. This broke their line, and here the advancing phalanx found its opportunity. At first the onrush of the strange monsters had driven back the Macedonian cavalry and riven asunder the solid mass of the infantry phalanx. But the veteran foot-soldiers stood their ground and fought, prodding the elephants with their long pikes, disabling the drivers, repelling the supporting infantry. Then came the rally of

the Macedonian cavalry, driving in the Indian horse upon the elephants at the enemy's left, and cooping it up in the spaces between them. Following its advantage, the companion cavalry, now reuniting as if by instinct into a solid body, plied its furious attack upon the front and flank of the centre. The elephants began slowly to retreat, still, "facing the foe," as Arrian has it, "like ships backing water, and merely uttering a shrill, piping sound." The phalanx had now formed again into a solid body which linked shields, and so cavalry and infantry joined in slowly pushing the elephants back. As they retreated under pressure, from front and flank, they were forced closer together. The troops placed between them were literally squeezed out of their place. The elephants trampled them underfoot. It became a confusion of horse- and foot-soldiers incapable of action, soon a rout. Riderless elephants turned in flight through the mob. Just as the battle was turning, and while yet the enemy's right still stood unengaged in line, Craterus came hastening over from the other river-bank to take the burden from the shoulders of the weary troops, who had added to their all-night toil more than a half-day's fighting; for it was now two in the afternoon.

Porus was no Darius. So long as any part of the line stood, he held his place, directing with vigour and intelligence the progress of the battle from his lookout on his elephant's back. At last, after every desperate effort to stay the rout, when all was in confusion, the attack thickening about him, and himself sorely wounded, he wheeled his elephant

about and retreated. Alexander, struck with admiration for his coolness, and anxious to spare his life, sent first Taxiles, on horseback, to bid him stop; but the old man, when he saw his arch-enemy, menaced him with his javelin, and would have none of him. Then Meroes, an Indian, and old friend of Porus, was sent; and when he overtook him, Porus stopped, and, dismounting, asked for water to drink. "And after he had drunk some water, and felt refreshed, he bade Meroes lead him forthwith to Alexander; and Meroes led him thither."

Then Alexander, attended by a few of his bodyguards, rode out to meet him; and when he saw the defeated King he checked his horse, and looked at him,

"marvelling at his noble, stately figure and his stature; for he was above five cubits in height. He marvelled and admired him, too, that he did not seem cowed in spirit, but advanced frankly and fearlessly, as one brave man would meet another brave man, after gallantly struggling to defend his throne against another King. Alexander was the first to speak, bidding him say what treatment he would fain receive at his hands. 'Deal with me royally, Alexander.' Alexander was pleased at the word, and said 'For mine own part, Porus, "royally" be it unto thee; but on thine own part, what is thy royal desire?' Porus, however, said he was content; 'royally' covered it all" (Arrian).

This is the story that antiquity always told of the chivalrous meeting of these two Aryan gentlemen, who knew war as sport. Sportsmen always recognise each other, the world over.

The battle was over. In fineness of plan and brilliancy of execution it was Alexander's masterpiece. The army of Porus had been dashed in pieces, almost annihilated. According to Diodorus, twelve thousand had been slain; Arrian says twenty-three thousand. The chariots were shattered, their drivers killed. Eighty elephants were captured, but more had been killed. Among the slain were two sons of King Porus. Of the stately array that on the morning lined the river-bank and defied advance, at evening nothing remained. So sharp does wit and will strike the balance of war.

On the site of the battle-field Alexander founded a city which he named Nicæa (Victoria); and on the other side of the river, near the site of his camp, he founded another, and named it from his faithful friend, the horse Bucephalus, who, as some say, wearied with fatigues and age, as others say, wounded in battle, died on the day of the victory. It was eighteen years that the horse had been constantly with him, sharing his lot, and ridden by none but him, and he deserved the honour. The monument survives to-day as the city of Jalalpur.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

COMPLETED CONQUEST OF THE PENJAB.

326–325 B.C.

THE battle of the Hydaspes was fought in May, 326 B.C. It was just a year since Alexander had crossed the Hindu Kush into the Kabul valley. Four years had passed since he turned his back on Media and the centres of his empire. All this time the world quietly waited for him, and lived on, almost without event that history records. Even Greece, the intense little Greece, was quiet. Since the battle of Megalopolis (autumn, 331 B.C.), which ended the revolt of Spartan Agis, nothing had occurred to disturb the general peace. Athens found leisure to indulge in academic politics; and Æschines's suit against Ctesiphon brought out the glorious oration of Demosthenes "On the Crown" (August, 330 B.C.)—mostly concerned with matters ten or twenty years old. The stock of current issues was failing, and Athens, which must needs have whereon to debate, was beginning to live in her past. The largest interstate controversy of which we hear

is Athens's discussion of an issue in athletics, clean and unclean, with the Athletic Council at Olympia. One Callippus, an Athenian, having been fined for unsportsmanlike behaviour, bribery, in fact,—had refused to pay the fine. Athens, making his cause her own, and entering protest, was excluded from the games of 328 B.C. Then Apollo, the Chief Justice of Hellas, uttered his voice from the tripod at Delphi, and Athens paid the fine. These years of peace had naturally been years of prosperity and of rapid commercial development. Rhodes and Alexandria were just beginning their great commercial career. New conditions, arising from the consolidation of all the eastern Mediterranean under a single government, introduced new methods and new possibilities in the conduct of business. A clever Greek of Naucratis, in Egypt, early discovered one possibility which brought much pain to Athens. By keeping himself informed, through agents at the different ports, concerning the entire grain-supply in sight, and the prices at each port, he was able to create a grain trust, control the movement of grain-ships, and make the price. Thus at Athens during this period the price of grain rose repeatedly to three or four times its normal value. But nothing more stirring than this was happening while Alexander tarried in the far East. We return, therefore, to him.

After the battle of the Hydaspes he remained some thirty days in Porus's land. His mind was already occupied with plans for the return, and orders were given for the building of a great fleet

of rafts and boats for the voyage down the Indus. Porus and Taxiles, now reconciled to each other, were both confirmed in their old authority. Alexander was first and foremost a political conqueror, and where he found those whose ability he could trust, made the ablest his friends, not his slaves.

Leaving Craterus to supervise the building of the two cities Nicæa and Bucephala, which he had located, he then pushed eastward to complete the conquest of the five-stream land (Penjab). Moving first to the north-east, he received the submission of the Glaukanikoi, and of their thirty-seven cities, each containing not less than five thousand, many over ten thousand, inhabitants. Abisares of Kashmir, now rendered uncomfortable by the advance toward his frontiers, hastened to announce his subjection and make it concrete in a present of forty elephants and much gold.

The next one of the rivers which lay in Alexander's path bears in modern times the name Chenab. Its Sanskrit name, Asikni, the Greeks twisted into Akesines—"river of healing," forsooth; and the omen was good. Crossing it, not without difficulty, he passed unopposed through the territory of a second Porus, kinsman of the first; who, however, being possessed both of cowardice and an evil conscience, dared face the conqueror neither for battle nor reconciliation. Next came the river Ravi, the ancient Iravati, which the Greeks called Hyarotis, or Hyraotis, the *h* being gratuitous, and the *o* the best approach Greek lips could make to *w* (*v*). The peoples who dwelt by this river and beyond it,

abjuring the institution of the kingship, lived in independent self-governed cities, after the manner of the primitive village communities; and the Greeks, applying the analogy of their own autonomous cities, always spoke of them as the "free Hindus." These city-republics offered the stoutest opposition Alexander had met with since the Hydaspes. Particularly did the Khattias (Kathaioi) make him difficulty. They were the people who fought from behind a barricade of waggons, and taught the hero of Shipka Pass that waggons have other use in warfare than as missiles. Their walled city, Sangala (modern Amritsir ?), yielded only after a siege and storm which condemned, as the story is, some seventeen thousand of its defenders to slaughter, and left seventy thousand prisoners of war.

One after another, now, the cities of the district gave themselves over to the fearful conqueror; and so the army finally came to the banks of the Hypasis (Sanskrit Vipaça), above its junction with what is the modern Sutlej, the easternmost of the five rivers, and the natural limit to the eastward march. Alexander's entrance into India had contemplated nothing beyond a conquest of the Penjab as a part of the Persian Empire. In fact, he knew of no other India. India proper was the Indus region, and the new India of the Ganges valley was beyond the knowledge of the Western or the Persian world. The Ganges was unknown to Aristotle. Strange to say, too, none of the writers who were among Alexander's associates seem ever to have mentioned it, neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus, Onesicritus nor Nearchus.

Megasthenes, who wrote in the fourth decade of the third century B.C., was the first to tell of the Ganges land; and he had learned of its existence, not through reports of Alexander's soldiers, but through personal information obtained when present as ambassador at the court of Sandracottus. Alexander is, to be sure, represented as referring to the Ganges in the speeches which Arrian and Curtius Rufus put upon his lips. These formal speeches, however, are clearly the work of rhetoricians centuries later than Alexander; for they are sadly out of tune with Alexander's ideas, and attribute to him plans of a world-conquest in terms of a geography he did not and could not possess. The forgery is easy of detection. For instance, in the speech, to his officers, Arrian makes Alexander say:

"Now, if any one desires to hear where our warfare will find its end and limit, let him know that the distance from where we are to the river Ganges and the sunrise sea is no longer great; and with this, you will find, is connected the Hyrcanian [Caspian] Sea; for the Great Sea surrounds the entire earth. I will also demonstrate to the Macedonians and their allies not only that the Indian Gulf is confluent with the Persian, but that the Hyrcanian [Caspian] Sea is confluent with the Indian Gulf." *

We have already seen in another connection (Chapter XXIV) that the erroneous idea of a connection between the Caspian and the Arctic Ocean had currency in Arrian's time, chiefly on the au-

* Arrian, *Anabasis*, v., 26.

thority of Eratosthenes, but that Alexander, who believed the Jaxartes was the Tanais (Don), or confluent with it, and so a tributary of the Sea of Azov, could have conceived of the Caspian only as an inland sea, perhaps connected in some way with the Sea of Azov, or with the Black Sea directly. Other indications coupled with this lead to the unmistakable conclusion that the speech does not rest upon the authority of Alexander's contemporaries, but is purely an artificial product, projecting the ideas of the first or second century after Christ back upon the fourth century before Christ.

All that we can of certainty know is that when Alexander reached the eastern part of the Penjab he heard that beyond the Sutlej there lay a fertile country where

"the inhabitants were skilled in agriculture and brave in war; where they conducted government in orderly manner, and held the masses under the rule of the better class and in respect for the laws of property; where there were elephants much more abundant in number than among the other Indians; and where the men were superior in stature and courage." *

Whether this was a vague intimation of the Ganges country, three hundred miles beyond the desert, or only a story of a Penjab district beyond the river, we cannot tell. Surely the name Ganges was not mentioned.

Though Alexander had already planned the descent of the Indus, and had left orders behind for

* Arrian, *Anabasis*, v., 25.

the building of a fleet, his curiosity impelled him to push on yet farther than he had originally planned. The world kept stretching out before him in unexpected width. Particularly the story of a settled civilisation, and of a society regulated by peculiar institutions, whetted his curiosity and aroused his ambition.

At the Jaxartes he had turned back because he believed he was at the boundary between Asia and Europe, and only the barbarian Scyths were beyond. His notions of the civilised world had always been bounded at the east by the limits of Darius's Empire. Civilisation and the Persian Empire had thus far meant to him one and the same thing—at least, so far as the East was concerned.*

When the King began his preparations for crossing the Hypasis, he found his army, for the first time in all his experience, reluctant to follow him. The men were weary. Many were wounded, many were ill. Seventy days of incessant rain had served to intensify their ills, and abate their ambition to know more of such a land. The King's address to his assembled officers, urging them to go on, fell on

* The idea presented by Dr. Kaerst, in his recent *Forschungen zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (1887), that the invasion of India represents an utterly new departure in Alexander's plans, and the beginning of a scheme of world-conquest, finds no support in the plain contemporary facts. Alexander's desire to cross the Sutlej and push on farther was unmistakably developed after leaving the Hydaspes, and was more an incident of his ambition and restless energy than the product of a settled, far-reaching, and long-formulated plan. See also Dr. Kaerst's *Historiche Zeitschrift N. F.*, xxxviii., pp. 1 *ff.*, 193 *ff.*

unwilling ears. Cœnus, in his reply, voiced the universal wish for a return.

It was a new thing for Alexander to be crossed in his desires. In chagrin and disappointment, he shut himself up for two days in his tent, and conversed with no one. When, however, on the third day he found no change in the temper of his men, and "the profound silence throughout the camp indicated that the soldiery, though annoyed at their leader's wrath, were still unmoved by it," he arose, as Ptolemy reports, and caused the sacrifices for the omens of crossing to be made; but when these turned out unfavourable, he called the elders of the *hetairoi* and his nearest friends together, and announced his decision to return.

"Then they shouted out as a mixed multitude would shout when rejoicing; and many of them were in tears; some even approached the royal tent and implored blessings many and great upon Alexander, because, forsooth, by them alone he had suffered himself to be conquered" (Arrian).

After building there twelve high, tower-like altars, and dedicating them with sacrifices and gymnastic and equestrian sports, he turned back through the country where seven peoples and two thousand cities had yielded to his sway, and came to the Hydaspes again, where his fleet was building. It was now September, 326 B.C. About two thousand boats, including no less than eighty thirty-oared galleys and some with a bank and a half of oars, had been assembled. Twenty-four Macedonians,

eight Greeks, and one Persian were appointed captains or trierarchs; and in old-fashioned Greek style assigned the expense and the honour of fitting out the larger ships. Nearchus the Cretan was made admiral of the fleet, and Onesicritus the pilot of the royal galley, both destined to win immortal fame by their accounts of the voyage they were beginning.

When, after solemn offerings to the gods of river and sea, the great fleet, at dawn of some day in October, 326 B.C., pushed out upon the current, and in stated order started down toward the sea, the end of Alexander's conquests had been reached, and the return to peace and settled life was begun. Standing on the prow of the royal galley, Alexander poured from a golden goblet libations to each of the rivers on which he was to sail; again, he poured to Hercules, to Ammon, and to each of the gods whom it was his wont to invoke; and then the trumpet signal rang out, the oars moved, and the strange argosy was on its way toward the unknown sea.

Even the dull prose of Arrian takes on an almost poetic luster as he describes the scene. The sharp cry of the boatswains as they timed the stroke, and the droning sound or clamorous shout of the rowers as they swung at their work, mingling with the thud and dash of the oars, reverberated from the high banks or the groves which lined the shores like the din of armies in battle. The natives swarmed from their villages to line the shore and wonder at the strange spectacle; and most of all they marvelled at the sight of horses figuring as passengers on boats.

And as the fleet moved on, they ran and danced along the bank, singing their native songs. "For since the time when Dionysus and his attendant Bacchanals traversed the land of the Indians, these people have been eminently fond of singing, and of dancing too" (Arrian).

On board the ships had been embarked, with Alexander, the archers, the *hypaspists*, the Agrianians, and the cavalry *agéma*, that is, the flower of the army. The mass of the army followed on land in three detachments: one, under Craterus, on the right bank; another, under Hephæstion, on the left; while a third, under Philip's command, brought up the rear, three days' marches behind Hephæstion. Slight opposition was experienced from the population along the banks, and seldom was any attempt made by the troops to penetrate far into the neighbouring country. Alexander's plan seems to have been satisfied in simply making the descent of the river, following the course of the Persian explorers before him. When he should have done this, and then followed the coast back to the head of the Persian Gulf, he would have made the circuit if the empire which had fallen to his hands, and have vindicated the right to rule and shape it; but, more than this, he would have linked India to his empire by a sea route as well as by land.

The first determined opposition to the progress of the expedition was offered by the warlike Mallians, (ancient Mālavās) dwelling in the region of the modern Multan. Their territory extended on both sides of the river Hyraotis (Ravi), which in Alexander's

time flowed into the Akesines (Chenab) below Multan, and not, as now, thirty miles above it.

It would scarcely concern us here to recount the story of the Mallians, and their vain struggle in self-assertion, were it not that it affords us another glimpse of the man Alexander in relief against a risk that almost cost him his life. After a forced march through the desert, he had taken one city after another, scattered opposition, and pursued the fugitives from one bank of the river to the other, until at last he came, on the eighth day of his campaign, to a strongly fortified town, which may have stood on the site of the present city of Multan.

With the first break of day the assault upon the walls of the town began. The Mallians were unable to defend them. Alexander broke one of the gates, and, at the head of his troops, burst into the city unopposed. The entire population had taken refuge behind the high towered walls of the citadel. The attack upon that was immediately begun. Some started to undermine the wall; others brought on two scaling-ladders, and tried to set them in place. Missiles rained down from the defenders swarming on the battlements. It was too much for flesh and blood. The onset faltered. Impatient at the delay, Alexander seized one of the ladders and with his own hand placed it against the wall; then, protecting himself with his shield, he ran up the ladder, and pushed and fought his way to a standing-ground on the top.

The veteran captains Peucestas and Leonnatus were close behind him. Abreas, a trusty old man-

at-arms, mounted on a second ladder. Men crowded to follow the leaders. Under the weight the ladders broke, and the four men were left isolated on the rampart. From the towers on each side, from the battlements around them, from the ground within, missiles of every sort pelted them. The majestic figure and the shining armour of the King made a greedy target. From without a hundred voices called him to leap back into safety. He cast no look behind, but, measuring with a glance the distance, deliberately sprang from the rampart straight into the heart of the citadel and into the midst of the enemy.

It was rashness, perhaps it was folly; but it was the folly of one who never sought success without risk, and who always succeeded—of one who had made himself a leader of men without parallel, because his followers never saw him falter nor hesitate, but always act.

With the wall at his back, he held the enemy for a time at bay, striking down with his sword the few venturesome ones who dared approach him, holding others in check by hurling stones. Then they crowded in a half-circle about him, pelting him with stones and javelins and arrows. His three companions had now leaped down and joined him in the fight. Abreas soon fell, pierced through the forehead by an arrow. A heavy missile smote the helmet of the King. Dazed for a moment by the blow, he lowered his guard, and a heavy arrow, penetrating his breastplate, fastened itself deep in the lung. Still he fought on; but the blood with

every breath spurted from the wound. Faint with loss of blood, he faltered, dropped upon his knee, then swooned upon his shield. Still Peucestas and Leonnatus stood by him, the former covering him with the sacred shield brought from Athena's house at Troy. It looked as if the end of all were nigh at hand.

A fury of excitement reigned without the wall. From the moment they saw their leader disappear within the rampart, the madness of desperation seized upon the troops. Some hammered at the gate; some ran for ladders; some drove pegs in the adobe walls, and dragged themselves slowly up hand over hand; some mounted by human ladders over the shoulders of men. One by one they gained the top. One by one, with howls of vengeance, breathing grief at the sight of their prostrate leader, they came vaulting into the citadel, firebrands of fury. Rents were opened in the gates. Men pushed through, crept through. On the track of dozens followed scores and hundreds. A rill became a torrent, then a flood. That day there was no pity. The sword spared not of all it found—man, woman, or child.

Alexander was carried out upon his shield to a tent. He had been wounded many times before, but his men had never seen him prostrate, and now the rumour spread throughout the army that he was dead. Within the tent they were trying to remove the missel that was still fastened in the breast. First they sawed off the wooden shaft so as to remove the cuirass; but the great head of the arrow, three

fingers broad and four fingers long, clung in the wound.

The efforts to remove it roused the King from his swoon. He essayed with his own hand to widen the wound; but strength failed him, and, at his bidding, Perdiccas used his own sword in rude surgery, until, followed by a fierce hemorrhage, the barbs came forth. He swooned again. The flow of blood stopped. All that day and through the night they watched by him, while life and death hung in the balances; and outside the tent the soldiery waited, still under arms, and in sleepless anxiety, until word came with the morning grey that the King had fallen into quiet sleep.

The first word which had reached the main army, waiting by the Akesines, four days distant, announced the death of the King. "And at first there arose the voice of lamentation from all the army, as the rumour was handed on from one man to another" (Arrian). Then lamentation yielded to dejection and despair. Who could lead them back to their homes out of a strange land through hostile peoples? Who but Alexander would be obeyed by themselves or feared by their foes? When word came later that Alexander was recovering, though not yet strong enough to rejoin the army, they would not believe it. They thought the generals were deceiving them.

When Alexander heard this, for fear some outbreak might occur, he had himself conveyed on board a vessel, and started down the Hyraotis toward the camp. So far was he yet from recovery

that, lest he should be irritated by the shock of the oars, the galley was allowed simply to drop down the stream with the current until it came to the river-mouth, where were the camp and the fleet. The soldiers crowded to the bank, awaiting it. Alexander had caused the awnings to be removed from over the stern, where he lay, that all might see him. They said, however, to themselves, "It is Alexander's body they are bringing," until, as the galley neared the bank, he stretched out his hand toward the multitude in a gesture of welcome.

"Then a mighty shout arose, and they stretched up their hands, some toward heaven, some toward Alexander himself. Many could not help shedding tears at the unexpected sight. Now some of the guard brought him a litter, when he was taken out of the ship; but he bade them bring him a horse; and when they saw him again on horseback, the whole army resounded again and again with clapping of hands. On coming to his tent, he dismounted, so that he might be seen walking. Then the men crowded around him on every side, some touching his hands, some his knees, some only his raiment. Some came near enough to get a glimpse of him, and turned back, thanking Heaven. Some threw garlands upon him, some the flowers which India at the season yields" (Arrian).

It is told, on the authority of Nearchus, that some of his friends reproached Alexander for exposing himself so recklessly in battle, and urged that this was the duty of the common soldier, not of the general. Thereupon, an old Bœotian soldier, who

had seen the advice was not to Alexander's mind, came to his support with a plain word, enriched in good Bœotian brogue: "Deeds, Alexander, tell the man"; and capped it with a snatch of verse from Æschylus: "Who does must suffer." This pleased Alexander.

Alexander exposed himself unduly in battle. With so much depending upon his life, ordinary judgment cannot fail to pronounce his action unwise and reckless. That he escaped from all his risks must be reckoned to the account of his own impetuous confidence of success rather than to his luck. Nothing is more characteristic of him than that energy and brilliancy of will which fastened its look upon the result desired, and, as if by an auto-suggestion, clearly saw it as an accomplished reality. The Alexander who leaped from the wall at Multan was the same Alexander who had led the charge at Granicus and dared the sea beneath the cliffs of Mount Climax. His conduct during the Indian campaign affords no basis whatsoever for the theory of those who claim that since the conquest of Mesopotamia his mind and manner had suffered radical change. Neither was he, so far as we can see, any more or less a god, in his practical dealings with men and things, than before the famous séance at the oracle of Ammon. He had grown older and sterner, but surely he was very much a man among men.

CHAPTER XXIX.

RETURN TO PERSIA.

325–324 B.C.

FROM the mouth of the Hyraotis (Ravi) the flotilla passed on down the Akesines (Chenab) a hundred and fifty miles or more, and found its way into the great Indus. Here Alexander founded a city, which some say he named Alexandria, and built a dockyard, intending that this place, as an outpost of the Penjab satrapy, and located at the apex of the five-river district, should become the emporium of the region.

The tribes along the Indus banks, among whom the Brahmans appear to have had more political significance than among the peoples farther to the north, frequently opposed the march of the army; and the fleet was moored first at one bank, then at the other, while accounts were being settled with them. In the land of the Sogdoi another city was founded, also equipped with a dockyard, and apparently also with the name Alexandria. The location was evidently chosen with reference to the route

through the Bolan Pass toward Kandahar, and may have been that of the modern Sukkur, or of Kashmor, higher up the river. The region between the mouth of the Akesines and the sea, approximately the modern province of Sindh, was constituted a satrapy under the government of Peithon. At this point about a third of the whole army, including the infantry brigades of Attalus, Meleager, and Antigenes, together with a body of archers and a large number of veterans who, as unfit for longer service, were returning home, started, under command of Craterus, on the direct route westward by the Bolan Pass and Kandahar, and through the territory of the Arachotians and Drangians. This would have been the natural route for the whole army to have taken; but Alexander was occupied with the supreme desire of testing the ocean route, and tracing the bounds of his empire where they followed the hem of the world.

He therefore proceeded down the river, and in the midsummer of 325 B.C. reached Patala, at the apex of the delta, not far from the modern Hyderabad. Eight or nine months had been spent in descending the river.

After ordering a harbour and shipyards, with proper fortifications, to be constructed here, he proceeded to explore the delta, and made his first astonished acquaintance with the phenomenon of tides; for in the Mediterranean, the only sea he knew, the tidal flow is seldom enough to attract attention.

"While the vessels were moored here the phenomenon of the ebb-tide of the great sea appeared, so that their

ships were left stranded high and dry. And although this brought to Alexander's companions, who had never seen it before, no small alarm, they were much more startled when, as the time came round, the water flowed in and lifted their ships from the ground. The ships which it found settled in the mud it lifted quietly, and they floated again, without any injury whatsoever; but the ships which were moored higher up, on drier land, and rested on uneven bottom, when a compact wave came rushing in, were some of them dashed against one another, some of them driven against the bank and wrecked" (Arrian).

After satisfying himself that the eastern branch furnished the best course for the fleet, he located a harbour and dockyards near its mouth; and without venturing on to the sea farther than to visit two islands near the coast, he contented himself with a three days' ride along the shore, in order to form an idea how a fleet was likely to fare in a coasting voyage. The extreme caution and anxiety displayed by the King in all these preliminary explorations and preparations testify not only to his appreciation that he was dealing with new and strange conditions, and more than ever before facing the unknown, but also to the high importance which the venture had assumed in his mind.

At last, some time in September, 325 B.C., accompanied by a force of from twenty-five to thirty thousand men, including the cavalry *agêma*, half the *hypaspists*, and others of the best troops, he started on his terrible march along the Gedrosian coast, leaving Nearchus with the fleet, to wait until, a

month or more later, the setting of the Pleiades should bring the change from the south-west to the north-east monsoon, and insure a quiet sea and a wind fair or on the beam.

The army fought its way through the hostile land of the Oreitans, and then began its fearful sixty days through the Mekran, the coast desert of Baluchistan, the hottest and most hopeless part of the world. After Alexander's experience, no European is known to have penetrated it down to the present century. During the first part of the march continual attention was paid to what had been an important purpose of the expedition—the collection of supplies at points on the shore, and the digging of wells for the use of the fleet which was to follow. Later there were times when the army could find neither water nor food for itself.

The heat grew fiercer. No tree offered its shade. The scanty water-courses were dry. Rolling hillocks of sand, in which the foot-soldier sank half to the knee, crossed the path. Nothing so far as the eye could reach but these billows of sand, and now and then, far off to the left, the glare of the barren sea. Exploring parties sent down from the plateau to the beaches reported that they found only miserable ichthyophagi, living in meager huts built of shells and the bones of fish, subsisting, without vegetable food, on fish alone, and drinking the brackish water that oozed through the sand of the beach.

As they proceeded the supply of water became scantier. Sometimes they marched thirty, forty, even fifty miles without a drop of water to quench

the awful fever of the desert thirst. Hunger beset them. Discipline lost its control. Corn-sacks sealed with the King's seal and destined to be left in store for the fleet were torn open and the corn stolen. Men killed the beasts of burden and the horses, ate the flesh, then lied, and said the animals had perished in the heat. Waggons carrying the sick were left standing in the desert, the animals that drew them being taken for food. Alexander suffered with the rest. Once when he was faint with thirst, some soldiers brought him, from a "mean little spring" they had found in a shallow cleft by the way, a bit of water in a helmet; but, David-like, he poured it out on the ground before them, and gave them new heart, as if the water "had furnished a draught for every man." One by one they dropped by the way. Men lay down to sleep in the long, hot night marches, and woke to find the glare of day, the desert blank, and no track in the shifting sands. After sixty days a disordered mass of famished, half-naked men reached the oasis of Pura, but it was barely a half of the army that had entered the desert.

After some days of rest the relics of the army pushed on into Carmania, where a junction was effected with the division which under Craterus had followed the northern route. Reinforcements from the army of Media came now to meet them. Stasanor, the satrap of the Areians, came, too, with the camels, beasts of burden, and supplies in abundance.

Horses, arms, and clothing could now be distributed to the army that had crossed the desert.

Carmania itself was a land of plenty. A thank-offering to the gods for the victories in India and the rescue from the jaws of the desert, a feast, games, a musical festival, and a round of Dionysiac merrymakings—these were all in the orthodox Greek programme, under which the King and his men celebrated the recovered joy of life.

As yet no word had come concerning the fleet. It was now the beginning of December (325 B.C.). Nearchus was to have set sail toward the end of October. He had seven hundred and fifty miles in a straight line to cover before reaching, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, the harbour of Gumrun (Bender-Abbas), behind which, sixty or seventy miles inland, was Alexander's camp. There was, therefore, no immediate cause for solicitude, as no one could reckon with any certainty upon the time that the voyage would require; but, nevertheless, as December came on, Alexander showed intense anxiety and nervously awaited tidings from the messengers he had sent to watch along the coast.

The fleet had in reality started early in October, but contrary winds, as might have been expected, had held it in check for some three weeks off the mouths of the Indus. Once well under way, the voyage went, on the whole, prosperously. Scarcity of water and provisions gave the men at times much solicitude, but wind and weather favoured, and troubles passed. Among the many strange experiences they had to tell in after days, and which Nearchus with prosaic exactness recorded in his

story of the voyage, the spouting whales and the terror they inspired held the first place in novel interest. This had the flavour of the Great Sea about it—a new thing for Greeks. After about thirty days they sighted the promontory of Ras Musandam, which marks the Arabian side of the Hormuz Straits, at the entrance to the gulf. Nearchus's conservative sense here spared the fleet the danger of missing the gulf altogether, as might have been the case had he followed Onesicritus's advice and steered for the headland. He would in that case have run the risk of being diverted into a trip down the east coast of Arabia, and might never have been heard from again. Fortunately, however, he kept along, hugging the shore, and sailed on into the straits, and in four or five days the ships were safely moored in the river Anamis, near what is now the harbour of Bender-Abbas.

Here the men were glad to disembark in the pleasant land. A party of sailors who had gone a little way inland to explore the country spied in the distance a man wearing a Greek shoulder-cape. He looked, too, like a Greek. When they came near him and saluted him, and heard him answer in Greek, they wept for joy, "so unexpected a thing was it for them, after all their toils, to see a Greek and hear a Greek voice." And what, too, was their joy to hear, when they asked him whence he was, that he came from Alexander's camp! There was now no honour too great for the King to show Nearchus. His delight was unbounded. He said, and confirmed it with an oath by Zeus and

Ammon, that he rejoiced more at the news than at being the possessor of all Asia.

The fleet was now (January, 324 B.C.) sent on to explore the coast up to the head of the Persian Gulf. Hephæstion, with the main army, proceeded up the Persian coast, and Alexander, with the light troops, went on to Pasargadæ and Persepolis, which he had left six years before. In February or March he reached Susa.

In the five years that he had been occupied in the extreme north-eastern and south-eastern parts of his empire, and especially during the two years of his absence in India, when reports of his death repeatedly gained currency, many things had gone awry in the government. Here and there symptoms of disorder and revolt had shown themselves. In Bactria there was open insurrection. The military commanders in Media had, by violence and arbitrary disregard of the rights and religion of the subject people, aroused a furious discontent; satraps of the West had collected armies of mercenaries and established themselves in almost complete independence. Greece and Macedonia were in unrest. Olympias, the King's mother, was making government difficult, and life in general intolerable, for the faithful old Antipater.

The Harpalus scandal, too, was abroad. This keeper of the royal treasure had for years been making the royal funds his own, and while scandalising the world with his boldness, regal independence, harlots, and riotous living, had paralysed every attempt to bring him to justice through the enormous

means at his free disposal. With the news of the King's approach he fled first into Cilicia, then into Greece, taking the treasure with him; and buying his way wherever he went, he left a smirch on various politics and various politicians, among them, chief of all, Demosthenes.

Alexander addressed himself now energetically to the task of regulating abuses, punishing offenders, and replacing incompetent officials with new appointees. His treatment was rigorous and severe. As a political organiser and head he showed the traits of a business man. He put men in positions of responsibility and trusted them fully, until they failed him. Then he was severe, and promptly so. In righting wrongs, reforming abuses, and establishing new organisations, he was frank, direct, and exceedingly practical. In reforming he applied correctives direct to the evil; in organising he adapted means direct to the end.

Old institutions he utilised if they could serve his purpose. Existing governments and governors were, in deference to the settled habits of the governed, retained as mechanism. New elements were grafted on to the old, where opportunity suggested it. It was the wise retention of large parts of the old mechanism of the Persian Empire which had made it possible for Alexander to be absent five or six years from his newly acquired domain, and yet return to find the government essentially secure.

The old provinces or satrapies had been left as they were, sometimes under the old satrap. Native dynasties were generally retained, often, as in the

case of Ada in Caria and Porus in India, becoming the government of a province. In each province the military power was given an independent head responsible directly to the King as commander-in-chief. On to the Persian system of government by territorial division was ingrafted the Greek system of government by city communities. These cities not only served as citadels of the new régime, but being, as they were in general, independent of the territorial sway of the satraps, they set a check upon their power, and tended to prevent what had been a weakness in the Persian Empire, the semi-independence of the territorial governments. The Oriental idea of the kingship exercising its authority through governors or satraps thus became blended with the Greek idea of the city-state supreme. The Oriental conception of the state as lord and land joined with the Greek conception of the state as a society of men. This is not the least important illustration of the way the East was married to the West.

CHAPTER XXX.

AT SUSA AND OPIS.

324 B.C.

WHEN in February or March, 324 B.C., the armies of Hephæstion and of Alexander and the fleet under Nearchus met at Susa, the great days of the conquest were at an end. Men could now look back upon the work and estimate results.

It was just ten years since Alexander, then a youth of one-and-twenty, had crossed the Hellespont and entered Asia. He had received as an inheritance from his father the plan and policy of uniting the Greeks and bringing them to the service of Macedonian ambitions, by leading them, or promising to lead them, against the Persians. This plan he idealised into a contest between the East and the West, dreaming himself another Achilles. His youthful enthusiasm and vigour, under the inspiration of success, raised it to enlarged dimensions.

What was to come after victory and conquest he seems, from the first, not to have planned, or at

least but vaguely. He would conquer the barbarians and avenge the insults of Xerxes. He would glorify the plain old nationality of Macedonia, and provide its sturdy warriors and himself with food enough to feed the craving after war and enterprise and conquest. Scarcely more than this was in his mind. But the years and the facts had brought a development of his ideas that gave his plan a larger and a different form. He had acquired respect for much he had observed in Oriental life and character. There was more in the world than he had thought. He had seen the strength and the resources of the old civilisation of Mesopotamia. The men of Bokhara were as brave and manly as the best he knew in Greece. In the Nile Delta men of different races and civilisation were found mingling peacefully together in a coöperative life. The idea of bringing the East and West together in a composite civilisation, to which each should contribute its best, grew upon him with the years. But the old-line Macedonians adhered to their first theory of the conquest, well summarised in the dictum, "To the victors belong the spoils." They had undertaken the war for a Macedonian "expansion" that meant only exploitation. Their ideas did not grow with his; hence the murmurings we hear in the transition years from 330 B.C. to 327 B.C. They interpreted his new internationalism as outright apostasy, and cast at him the slurs which, translated into modern local idiom, taunt with Anglomania or un-Americanism him who has abated somewhat of his provincial bias. They were hard men, and narrow, and incapable of understanding

their master's mind. What they thought about him and said about him in this regard, as also in regard to his supposed claim of divinity, is to be interpreted as no better than a crude caricature of the original. Small men's reports of large ideas are all caricatures.

Alexander's interest had shifted from an expansion that meant imposition from without to an expansion which encouraged coöperation and development from within, and with this shifting of interest Macedonia and its claims had been relegated from the centre to the outskirts. It was now merely one province of an empire. In its name and by its military power empire was administered and maintained; but that name and power was no end unto itself, but only an opportunity for order, under whose covert interchange might flourish, prejudice abate, and the larger civilisation arise. From Aristotle, his teacher, Alexander had imbibed the aristocratic doctrine that the Greek, by virtue of his superior intelligence and independence of will, was natural lord of the barbarian; but experience of the facts proved the doctrine vainly academic and led the mind of the conqueror away from the dicta of aristocracy toward the ideals of the imperialistic democracy. When he broke on this issue with Aristotle he broke with the old world.

Ten years of conquest had consolidated into one colossal organisation all the organisations of life, thought, religion, and law in the central known world, and for this one organisation the conqueror conceived a government and a life not imposed by

one of its members as from without, but contributed by all its members as from within. It is in the formulation of this idea, rather than in feats of arms, that Alexander's first claim to greatness rests. The winnings of his battles vanished away; the outward organisation of his empire perished with his death; but the idea lived and bore fruit. Rome took the shell, Byzantium and the East kept the substance, and from Byzantium and the East came cosmopolitanism and the inner light, the seeds of the Renaissance and of the Reformation.

The completion of the war of conquest was to be celebrated by the army at Susa in a grand five days' fête, and Alexander chose to give the festival a form which should symbolise the significance he wished his conquests to attain—the marriage of Europe and Asia. As unique as his conquests was his method of celebrating them. He and his generals and friends, two-and-ninety of them in all, took them wives from the noblest Persian families, and at the date of the greater Dionysia, the Eastertide of the Greeks, celebrated the joint weddings in one great public fête. Plutarch * in one of his essays, glorifies with rhetorical exuberance the symbolism of the wedding-feast in contrast with Xerxes's bridge, for they sought to join Asia to Europe, "not with rafts and timbers and senseless bonds, but by the lawful love of wedlock, and by community of offspring."

Alexander himself married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius. Hephæstion received Drypetis, a younger daughter; Craterus, a niece of Darius;

* Plutarch, *De Alex. Magni Fortuna aut Virtute*, i., 7.

Perdiccas, the daughter of the satrap of Media; Ptolemy and Eumenes, two daughters of Artabazus; Nearchus, the daughter of Mentor; Seleucus, the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian.

We have, fortunately, preserved to us an account of the festival in the words of Chares of Mitylene, who was master of ceremonies at the court, and therefore a prime authority. The account is a fragment of Chares's ten books on the life of Alexander, which has been preserved to us in Athenæus's * famous scrap-book, *The Diners-out*, and also in part in Ælian's * *Varia Historia.*

"It was a hall of a hundred couches (each large enough for two to recline at table), and in it each couch, made of twenty minas' worth of silver, was decked as for a wedding. Alexander's had feet of gold. And to the feast were bidden all his Persian friends, and given places on the opposite side of the hall from himself and the other bridegrooms. And all the army and the sailors and the embassies and the visitors were assembled in the outer court. The hall was decorated in most sumptuous style, with expensive rugs, and hangings of fine linen, and tapestries of many colours wrought with threads of gold. And for the support of the vast tent which formed the hall there were pillars thirty feet high, plated with silver and gold, and set with precious stones. And around about the sides were costly portières, embroidered with figures and shot through with golden threads, hung on gilded and silvered rods. The circuit of the court was half a mile. Everything was started at the signal of a trumpet-blast, whether it was the beginning of the feast,

* Athenæus, xii., p. 538 *ff.*; Ælian, *Var. Hist.*, viii., 7.

the celebration of the marriages, or the pouring of one of the various libations, so that all the army might know.

"For five days the wedding-festival continued. There participated many Greeks and many barbarians and men from India. And famous jugglers and showmen were there: Scymnus of Tarentum, and Philistides of Syracuse, and Heraclitus of Mitylene. After them the rhapsode Alexis of Tarentum gave a recitation. Then there came on the cithara virtuosi: Cratinus of Methymna, Aristonymus of Athens, Athenodorus of Teos. Heraclitus of Tarentum, and Aristocrates the Theban, gave songs with the cithara, and to the accompaniment of the flute sang Dionysius of Heraclea, and Hyperbolus of Cyzicus. There were flute virtuosi who played the Pythian air and then led the dancers; they were Timotheus, Phrynichus, Caphisias, and Diophantus. And there were plays by the tragic actors Thessalus and Athenodorus and Aristocrites, and by the comedians Lycon and Phormion and Ariston. Phasimelus, the harp-player, too, was there. The crowns that were brought as presents aggregated a value of fifteen thousand talents."

Arrian, too, adds a little:

"The weddings were celebrated in the Persian form. Great chairs of state were set along in a row for the bridegrooms, and after the banquet the brides came in and took their seats, each beside her own husband. And the bridegrooms welcomed them and kissed them. The King was the first to begin, and all the rest of the weddings followed the same form. This seems to have been one of the most popular and friendly things Alexander ever did. Each man took his own bride and led her away. And Alexander furnished them all with dowries. And

the names of all the other Macedonians who had married Asiatic wives he caused to be registered, and found there were over ten thousand of them, and these all received from him wedding-gifts."

Proclamation was now made throughout the army that all who were burdened with debt might, on registering with the paymaster and stating the amount of their debts, receive money for their liquidation. This was at first thought too good to be true, and few registered. Men suspected in it a device for finding out who had been living extravagantly. When Alexander heard this he reproached them for their distrust of him, and ordered his paymasters hereafter, on the presentation of evidences of debt, to pay without registering the debtors' names. Thus some twenty thousand talents of good money were put into circulation. Large gifts of money were also made to all who had rendered distinguished service in the wars. A few of those most conspicuous for personal bravery received as a mark of highest distinction golden crowns. Heading this roll of honour were Peucestas and Leonnatus, the heroes of Multan; Nearchus, the admiral; Onesicritus, the pilot; and Hephæstion, the lieutenant-general.

Alexander came now to face the question of the future constitution of his army. Thus far the Greco-Macedonian element, even when, as in the Indian campaigns, in the minority, had been kept distinct, and had furnished the reliable nucleus of the army. A large number of these men were now becoming, either from age or the exhaustion of the

long campaigns, unfit for further service. At least ten thousand men would shortly have to be discharged and sent back to their homes. Should their places be filled by the importation of others? It was not in harmony with Alexander's conception of a real and permanent conquest, such as he desired, that a country should be held in subjugation by a foreign army. His purpose of welding Persia and Greece into an indivisible whole was better served by other means. He had caused to be collected from various provinces of the East, and from the cities lately founded, a body of recruits, some thirty thousand in number, all young men of the best intelligence and vigour, and these, after being drilled in the Macedonian tactics and equipped with Macedonian arms, he proceeded to distribute among the different regiments of his own best troops.

This was a terrible shock to the old Macedonian sense of propriety. The veterans had never shown the slightest objection to the presence of foreign brigades and regiments in the army, but now when Bactrians, Parthians, Arachotians, and Zarangians, fine fellows and magnificent horsemen though they might be, were admitted within the sacred lines of the companion cavalry, and eight young Asiatic princes were enrolled in the *agéma*, it was accepted as an insult. The suspicion, too, that with this procedure Alexander was preparing the way ultimately to dispense altogether with the service of his own countrymen, and to replace them with barbarians, revived the old bugbear of his Persomania, and hurried discontent into open sedition. At Opis on the

Tigris, whither the army had moved in the early summer, when it was learned that some of the old soldiers were to be discharged, the opposition flamed up suddenly into outright revolt. This was a new thing in the army of Alexander.

In the presence of the assembled host the King had arisen to make his announcement. The wars, he said, were now past. The great purpose for which they were fought had been achieved. Among those who had served him so well many were now weary of absence from home, wounded, enfeebled. He would not settle them in remote cities, as he had done with many of their comrades, but would provide them return to their homes, and bestow upon them such rewards as would make them objects of envy wherever they went.

A storm of protests here interrupted the words of the King. "You have used us up, and now you cast us aside! Take your barbarian soldiers! Will you conquer the world with women? Come, let us all go! Keep all or none! Why don't you get your father Ammon to help you?" Such were the words hoarse voices shouted, now in challenge, now in mockery.

The tumult grew. The army was a mob. Alexander sprang from the platform on which he stood straight into the midst of the throng. Here one, there one of the ringleaders he caught by the arm, pointed at, or called by name, as he placed them under arrest. The muteness of terror fell upon them all. He returned to the dais, and facing their sullen silence, addressed them:

"Not to prevent your leaving me and marching homeward do I now speak further to you. So far as I am concerned, go where you will. But one word to show your thankfulness to those who have made you what you are. My father Philip found you poor and vagabond, clad in skins, feeding a few sheep on the mountain-sides, and fighting to protect these from the neighbouring Thracians and Illyrians. He gave you the soldier's cape to replace the skins, settled you in cities, gave you laws and manners, made you masters instead of slaves of the barbarians about you, added Thrace to Macedonia, opened the mines of the Pangæum to your industry, the harbours of the sea to your commerce. He made you the rulers of those very Thessalians before whom you had lately shrunk with deadly awe. He humbled the Phocians, and gave you entrance into Greece by a broad highway. Instead of your paying tribute to the Athenians and obeying the Thebans, these states now look to us as arbiters of their weal. He entered the Peloponnesus, and was declared commander-in-chief of all the Greeks for the war against Persia, bringing not more glory to himself thereby than to you and your state. This is what my father did for you, great when viewed by itself, small in comparison with what we have done.

"From my father I received in inheritance a few gold and silver goblets, a treasury containing less than sixty talents, and five hundred talents of debts. I borrowed eight hundred more, set forth from a land that afforded subsistence not even for you, and opened you a way across the Hellespont, that the Persian masters of the sea controlled. The satraps of Darius I overwhelmed at the Granicus. Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia I overran, and the fruits of victory came to you. The blessings of Egypt and Cyrene fell into your lap. Syria,

Palestine, Mesopotamia, are your possession. Babylon and Bactra and Susa are yours; the wealth of the Lydians, the treasures of the Persians, the stores of India, the great outer sea, all are yours. From among you come satraps and generals and taxiarchs. And what have I from all these spoils except it be this purple and this diadem? Nothing have I acquired for myself, and no man can point to treasure-stores of mine, except to point to these your possessions or what is kept in store for you. What use have I for them? I eat as you eat, sleep as you sleep. Nay, indeed, my fare is simpler than that of many of your self-indulgent ones. I often sit up at night, I know, to watch for you, that you may sleep in quiet.

"Or will any one say that while you endured privation and toil I did not? Who of you can say that he has suffered more for me than I for him? Come now, who of you has wounds, let him bare himself and show them, and I will show mine. No member of my body is without its wound. No kind of weapon whose scars I do not bear. I have been wounded by the sword, by the arrow from the bow, by the missile from the catapult; I have been pelted with stones and pounded with clubs, while leading you to victory and to glory and to plenty, through all the land and the sea, across all the rivers and the mountains and the plains. I have wedded like as you have wedded. Your children will, many of them, be akin to mine. Those of you who have debts have I relieved from debt without inquiring how, despite abundant pay and richer booty, you acquired them. Golden crowns have been awarded as the imperishable memories of your bravery and my esteem. To those who have died all the honours of war have been paid. Their graves are nobly marked. Statues of bronze rise for them in their native cities. Their children, freed from the

burdens of taxation, enjoy the civic honours. And no man under my leading has fallen in flight.

"And now I was minded to send to your homes such of you as were no longer fit for war, and to make you shine in the eyes of men. But you *all* wish to leave me. Then get you gone! Go home and tell them that your King Alexander, who conquered the Persians and the Medes and the Bactrians, who brought beneath his sway the Uxians, the Arachotians, and the Drangians, who carried his arms to the shores of the Caspian, passed the Caucasus, crossed the Oxus, the Tanaïs, and the Indus, who penetrated unto the Great Sea, marched through the deserts of Gedrosia, and took possession of Carmania—go tell that after he had brought you back to Susa you deserted him, and left him to the protection of the conquered foreigners. Mayhap this report of yours will appear glorious in the eyes of men, and righteous in the sight of the gods. Get you gone!"

Alexander turned abruptly and retired into his palace. None but his immediate staff attended him. The soldiers stood there still in dazed silence. They were without counsel. No man knew which way to turn. So that day passed, and the next. No word came from the palace. No one had seen Alexander. No one had been admitted to audience. Then on the third day came the news that the chief commands were being assigned to Persians and Medes, that new regiments of foreign troops were being organised to replace the old—a Persian foot-guard, Persian cavalry companions. They could no longer restrain themselves. Running in a body to the palace, they cast their arms upon the ground,

threw themselves as suppliants beside them, and humbly called upon their master, beseeching him to show his face and have pity upon them. And then he forgave them, and the reconciliation was sealed in one great love-feast, whereat Persian and Macedonian sat down together in peace, and the King and his guests dipped wine from the same mixer and joined in pouring the same libations, and Grecian and Magian priests invoked the blessings of the gods together.

So the last effort of the old Macedonian spirit to assert itself settled away in failure. The personality of the King had been the one controlling factor in the result. Ten thousand men were now sent back home, each having received a talent in addition to full pay. Craterus, who was sent back home with them in command, was commissioned to succeed Antipater in the government of Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly, and Epirus, while Antipater was ordered to come with fresh troops into Asia. This interchange had its political purpose in the interest of the new internationalism, and even the ten thousand were missionaries of the new gospel.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

323 B.C.

THE return of Alexander from the far East began now to make itself felt among the old Greek states. The arrival of the absconding treasurer Harpalus, in the early summer (324 B.C.), was the first symptom, and the long investigation conducted by the Areopagite court dragged on till December, forming a leading subject of the local gossip.

In July Nicanor, as special ambassador, had appeared at the Olympic festival with a proclamation from the King recommending the various states to restore to citizenship all those who had been banished for political reasons. Twenty thousand of such unfortunates are said to have been assembled at the festival to hail the proclamation with their plaudits.

This, too, was a movement toward the opening of a new political era. It not only signified the cancelling of accounts inherited from the old régime,

but it was sure to add in all the cities a considerable and an influential contingent to the body of those who sympathised with Alexander and the new régime.

Most of the cities acceded readily to the request, but at Athens it started up much bubbling in the political pot. So did also the movement started by monarchical enthusiasts in various cities for awarding divine honours to the King. There is no sound reason for supposing that this movement originated in a decree or proclamation from the throne: had there been such a proclamation we should have heard of it through some other source than the fable-loving Ælian of the second century A.D. Certainly nothing like the establishment of an Alexander cult was at that time intended by anyone, and there are no traces of any such thing until long after his death. That the idea appealed in any wise to the century after him is to be attributed to the paling of interest in the gods of the old city system, and the yearning for a broader and higher basis of confidence and reverence—a yearning which sought its satisfaction in adoration of the state, the magnified *polis*, whose representatives and "first citizens" the old-time gods had been. In obedience to this instinct the head of Alexander, decked with the lion-skins of Heracles or the horns of Ammon, appeared as the genius of the state upon the coinage of his successors, in place of the old gods who typified the city-state, and set the fashion for all the coinage of the Western world from that day to this. So the way was prepared for the later worship of the

genius of the Roman Empire, out of which Christianity, with its theory of the carnal body and the divine spirit, and its recognition of a kingdom of heaven as well as of this world, and of the duty to render not only unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, but unto God that which is God's, created a Holy Roman Empire, with its dualism of state, which is body, and church, which is soul.

From Opis Alexander went to Ecbatana, where his friend Hephæstion fell sick of fever and died, and was mourned by him and buried, as Patroclus by Achilles. In the spring of 323 B.C., after spending the winter in subduing the unruly mountain tribes of the Cossæans and Uxians, he marched toward Babylon, and rejecting the warnings of the Chaldean priests, who said that mischief awaited him, he entered the city. Already on his march embassies had come to meet him from distant peoples,—the Libyans, the Bruttians, Lucanians, and Etruscans,—for already the shadow of surmise concerning his ambitions had fallen upon the far West.

On his arrival in the city delegations from many Greek cities awaited him, with testimonials, crowns, and felicitations. Some brought him, too, special appeals for favour, and laid before him as court of highest resort questions of internal politics and order to settle. These were busy days, but in the midst of it all he found time to discuss and introduce radical changes in the tactics of the army, to initiate on a large scale a reconstruction of the canal system in the marshes about Babylon, and also to arrange in detail a plan for the conquest and occupation of

Arabia. This last involved the building of a fleet and the sending out of parties for preliminary exploration. Earlier he had sent Heraclides into Hyrcania, with orders there to build a fleet and explore the Caspian.

This betrays a plan, of which we have other* indications also, to take up the work he had abandoned at the Danube and again at the Jaxartes, subjugate the Scythians, and join his empire together at the north. Nowhere do we find, however, safe evidence of any immediate plan of wider and all-embracing conquest. The after-world easily dreamed him such plans, but he himself, if we may judge by what men who knew him said, and by the things he actually did, had no formulated plan further than to join into one empire, as a consolidated whole, the Europe of his knowledge and the realm of Darius, and to round this out by filling the gap between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea with Arabia, and the gap between the Jaxartes and the Danube with Scythia.

By the end of May (323 B.C.) fleet and army were ready for the expedition to the Arabian coast. On the morning of June 2 the King fell sick. A part of the night before, and all of the preceding night, he had spent in drinking and merrymaking at the house of Medius the Thessalian. On returning home the second night "he bathed, took a little food, and slept where he was, because he felt a little feverish"; so we have it on the authority of the Court Journal, from which Plutarch and Arrian

* Arrian, iv., 15, 6.

freely cite in giving their accounts of the illness. He was carried out on his couch to offer the wonted morning sacrifice, then lay all day indisposed in the great hall of the palace, but able still to give instructions to his officers and appoint the departure of the army for the 5th of June, and of the fleet, which he intended to accompany, for the 6th. In the evening he went by boat to the gardens across the river, there bathed and slept. The next day (June 3) he bathed, offered the morning sacrifices, chatted and played dice with Medius awhile, sent orders to his generals to meet the next day at daybreak. He was feeling better; but the fearful swamp-fever of Babylon was in his veins, and he was deceived. That night the fever raged the night through. In the morning (June 4), after bath and sacrifice, he conferred with Nearchus and other officers of the fleet, and charged them to be ready to start on the day after the next, for he counted on being well enough to set out at the appointed time. The fever steadily increased. On the 8th it assumed a dangerous form. The generals were now ordered to remain in constant attendance in the hall, the captains before the palace gates. He recognised his generals, but was unable to speak. Thus far he had offered the daily sacrifice; after this day he was no longer able to. Two days before he had discontinued the baths. No hint is given us of any treatment employed by the physicians. Years later the story gained currency, and has since been repeated by ancient and modern writers, that he was poisoned; but medical experts who have

reviewed the symptoms so explicitly stated in the record of the Ephemerides, or Court Journal, have no hesitation in asserting that poisoning was out of the question, and that the disease was certainly a fever. There is no allusion in any way to localised pain or inflammation. While his excesses of the two nights preceding the attack had undoubtedly made him physically less capable of resisting disease, the story of his having died from the results of hard drinking is another form of canard.

His condition passed steadily from worse to worse. In his environment hope gave place to panic. On the 12th rumour spread among the soldiers that he was dead. Some believed his body-guards were concealing the fact for a purpose. They surrounded the palace, demanding admittance. Even when convinced that he was still living, they insisted they must see him once more. They forced their way through the gates. Grief and love were their excuse. In awe-struck quiet the rude old soldiers filed through the room where he lay. He stretched out his hand to each of them, feebly raised his head a little, and spoke with his eyes his farewell.

Toward evening of the next day, June 13, 323 B.C., he died, thirty-two years and eight months of age, having reigned twelve years and ten months. He left no testament, and, except for the unborn child of Roxane, no heir. His friends, who in his last moments pressed him to tell them to whom he left the throne, caught only the whispered words, "To the best man." This was the test his own claim of leadership had stood.

Over city and camp there rested the stillness of death. Doubt, terror, dismay, swallowed up grief. For the moment the pulse of the world stood still. The empire of the world lay there soulless and in swoon. Alexander had been its soul, but Alexander was gone from among the living. The King was dead, but no man cried, "Long live the King!"

There was no lawful heir. Heracles, the son of Barsine, Memnon's widow, whom Alexander had taken from among the spoiled at Issus, could not count as such. Except for the unborn child of Roxane, no other could claim to be of Alexander's seed. Nearest of kin was the feeble-minded Arrhidæus, Philip's son by the Thessalian Philinna, and so half-brother of Alexander. This was all that the principle of legitimacy had to offer wherewith to awake the empire into life again.

On the other side stood military power, embodied in the leaders of the army—all picked men, and tried, all noblemen as well as generals, any one of whom might have given the empire life, could he only command the allegiance of the rest. But that was out of the question. From the first council meeting their views went wide asunder. Ptolemy, at one extreme, argued for a division of the empire among the generals; Meleager, at the other, called for the immediate recognition of Heracles or Arrhidæus as King. He would not await the birth of Roxane's child. Roxane was an Asiatic. The child might be a girl. Meleager spoke the feeling of the ultra-Macedonian legitimists. They wanted a king and that a Macedonian. But it was another proposition,

that of Perdiccas, which prevailed. Perdiccas, since Hephæstion's death, had been chief of staff; he held the insignia of royalty and the signet-ring, and was for the time the most influential of the generals. He proposed to await the birth of Roxane's child, and if it were a son to proclaim him King. Meanwhile four men, Perdiccas, Leonnatus, Antipater, and Craterus, with Perdiccas at the head, were to constitute a board of regency. This the nobility, represented by the cavalry, accepted; but when the yeomanry of the phalanx heard of it, their loyalty to the monarchical idea took offense. They scented in the scheme a return to the rule of the barons. The army was rent in twain. The monarchical infantry proclaimed Arrhidæus, under the name of Philip, King. The aristocratic cavalry, forced to withdraw from the city, stood threateningly before its gates; but before blood was shed a compromise was effected, in which the influence of Perdiccas again reasserted itself. The cavalry and the nobles agreed on their part to recognise Philip-Arrhidæus as King, stipulating only that in case Roxane should bear a son he should also receive recognition as King. The phalanx in its turn accepted the rule of the generals, with Perdiccas as regent. The empire was to be divided into satrapies among the great captains. From that day the principle of legitimacy got no more than formal hearing. A month later Roxane bore a son, and he was duly proclaimed King, with the name Alexander. So there were two kings, one a half-wit, one an infant, both under the care of

Perdiccas, and later, after his downfall and death (321 B.C.) under that of Antipater. After the death of this faithful old regent (319 B.C.) both fell upon troublous times. Their kingship had never been more than an empty name, and they but meaningless insignia passed from hand to hand in the *mêlée* of politics and civil war. Both came to their death by violence, Arrhidæus, with Eurydice, his Queen, in 317 B.C., by order of Olympias, Alexander's mother, and the little Alexander, together with Roxane, in 311 B.C., by order of Cassander. Olympias had already met a like fate five years before. An attempt to use the name of Heracles, Barsine's son, for political effect, brought him, too, and his mother, in 309 B.C., to their end, and so the line of Alexander perished from off the earth.

But in Alexander's line had never lain the hope of continuing his empire. The King had died too young. The achievements of the army were too recent. The visible forms of power rested still in the arm of military force. The only hope lay in the predominance of one of the generals over the others. For a while it seemed that Perdiccas might be that one; again it was Antigonus, again Seleucus. But each one whetted the sword against the other, and the empire went down in a tangle of strife and carnage. With the close of the century, and the issue of the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), it had resolved itself into four well-ascertained domains—Syria and Babylonia under Seleucus, Egypt under Ptolemy, Thrace and Asia Minor under Lysimachus, Macedonia and Greece under Cassander. Twenty-five

years later the portion of Lysimachus had disappeared before the cyclone of the Celtic incursions, and three great kingdoms survived. So in substance the ruins remained until the consuls and the legions came, and unity again emerged under the name and the standards of Rome.

Surely if we estimate in terms of external organisation, Alexander's empire had perished with him. His head appears on coins, his name and his memory were abundantly conjured with, but within ten years after his death all serious purpose of restoring the structure to unity had shifted into mere political pretence. If a man's life-work is to be judged only by what he erects into formal organisation, then we must pronounce the career of Alexander a failure, and more than a failure. He had dismantled what he found, and built nothing sure in its place. His dream of fusing the East and the West had been fulfilled and embodied in no visible institution, no form of government or law, of state or church. Greece, Egypt, and the Orient were still in government asunder.

No wonder that historians have written the story of Greece—among them great names like Niebuhr and Grote—and seen nothing more in the career of Alexander than a brilliant disturbance of the world's order, an enthronement of militarism, an annihilation of Greek liberty, and an undoing of Greece in all that makes her life of interest to the world. It is another thing that their blindness could see in Alexander himself only a mad opportunist and greedy conqueror, whose life, had it been spared, could

have wrought no more than further conquest; for Alexander was of all things an idealist, and they who have not read that in the story of his life may as well not have read it at all. Grote set himself to write the achievements of the Greek democracies. In the life of the free city Greek life had for him attained its consummation. What came after this in the maturing of history was to his eyes destruction, and not development. Alexander and the Macedonians were the agents of destruction, and in them could be found no good thing. Grote, looking through the eyes of Demosthenes, and captivated by the brilliancies of a single form of life and a single set of institutions, under a single class of conditions, assigned to them an absolute validity for all conditions. Grote and Demosthenes are each in his way types of historians and statesmen who have spent their strength in deploring the waste of goodly seed-corn scattered on the fields, their eyes turned toward the former harvest, not the next. The old maxims, the old creeds, and the good old times are reasserted, defended, and bewailed long after they have passed to their larger fruitage in the unfolding of a larger life.

In the five years that elapsed between Alexander's accession to the Macedonian throne and his entrance into Babylon (331 B.C.) the world had passed from one harvest-time to another, but most men knew it not. In the year 330 B.C. all Athens was assembled in the theatre, hanging upon the words of Demosthenes and Æschines as they fought their famous duel *De Corona;* but the issues with which the

orators dealt were all six years old, some of them sixteen. The Athens in which these issues had been vital had long since gone forth from its narrow plain into the larger world. Nothing is surer evidence thereof than the sight of these men playing with the shards of an empty tomb.

When Alexander's career began, the culture of the world, fixed in two main types, the feminine and the masculine, if we may broadly characterise them so, was still centralised and located, on the one hand in the wealth and settled industrial life of the Mesopotamian and the Egyptian river valleys, on the other in the free energy of the old Greek city communities. When his career ended, the barrier separating these domains had been broken down, never to be raised again.

When Alexander came upon the scene, Greece was still the old Greece, the composite of autonomous cities and cantons. In this form it was past the bloom, and was ripening to seed. All that the little communities could accomplish for history through living for themselves had been accomplished. In the miniature life of their isolated valleys, opening to the sea, they had developed a social system in which, as individual achievement directly counted, and individual responsibility was directly assessed, personality gathered to itself unwonted consciousness of power. So it was that here man first, as it were, discovered himself—first saw with clearness the power and the right of the free human soul. Man as a base-line for measuring the universe, man as a source of governing power,

arose in Greece; it was Greece that shaped the law of beauty from which came the arts of form, the law of speculative truth from which by ordered observations came the sciences, and the law of liberty from which came the democratic state. This was what the old Greece held in keeping for the world. Alexander was the strong wind that scattered the seed; again, he was the willing hand of the sower. When he planted seventy cities of the Greek type on Oriental soil he acted with plan and purpose. The city was Hellenism in the concrete. As a principle of social order, Hellenism was the government of communities of men located in territory, and the source of authority was from within; Orientalism was the government of territory in which lived men, and the source of authority was from without.

In the centuries following Alexander the urban life, based on the Greek, gradually sought its centres outside the old limits of Greece, in the domain of a greater world. Alexandria, Rhodes, Pergamon, Antioch, Byzantium, instead of Athens, became its representatives. The forms of Greek culture, which were transmitted direct to the after-world through Rome, were those which lived here in the greater Greece. Until modern scholarship tunnelled a route back to the Old Greece, it was the taste and the intellectual interests of Alexandria, rather than those of Athens, that passed current as Greek. In the New Greece the culture of the Old assumed a world-form, and prepared itself for universal extension.

The dialects of cantons shrank back before a universal type of standard Greek, the *lingua franca* of

the Levant. Local citizenship slowly yielded to a sense for citizenship of the world, and cosmopolitanism was born. The worship of the old city gods, based on community of blood, gave place to a yearning for something that might symbolise the higher unity of human life. The old cities had passed over into the life of a greater whole, but this was as yet without body, and, except for the vision and type of a deified Alexander, without expression or symbol. It remained for Rome to satisfy the instinct of the times. Its deified emperors replaced the Alexander type, and with the acceptance of Christianity a Holy Roman Empire, joined of body and soul, arose to claim the larger allegiance of men,—prototype of which had been the old allegiance to the Greek cities, now melted and dissolved in the fluid of the state.

The existence of Christianity as the embodiment of the higher life of European civilisation is the best evidence of the reality and permanence of Alexander's empire. Religion is always in antiquity a surer guide to the real conditions of nationality than is political organisation. Christianity as a system, and as the historian sees it, is a pure and simple expression of Alexander's world. Its inner life, its heart, is of the East; its philosophical organisation, its brain, is Greek. It blended Jew and Gentile in a brotherhood larger than that bond of blood and tribe which the mixing of the peoples had annulled.

In Christian Europe of to-day the domain of Protestantism represents the individualism of the Northfolk; the domain of Roman Catholicism marks the

limits of the Roman Empire; the domain of the Eastern Church, the sphere of influence of ancient Greece and Byzantium. In Asia and Africa Mohammedanism holds the ground overrun by the Macedonian arms, and the frontiers of its predominance to the east are those of Alexander's empire, from the Jaxartes to the Indus. Beyond there is another world, another order of life and thought. Though Islam is an after-growth of Orientalism, it bears in its fibre the evidence that Western spirit once helped till the soil whereon it grew.

The seed-ground of European civilisation was neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two. Most of the settled types of thought and things that go to make up the culture life of the West here acquired their outline form. Through the whole range from the species and varieties of cultivated trees and garden fruits to the forms and methods of industrial art, the standards of taste, the moulds of civic and social life, the categories of literary form, the ordered schemes for conduct, thought, and faith—in them all the creation of the types and the first selection of the standards were the handiwork of this old-time larger world of men. Into this world we must take them back to find in true perspective their motive and their meaning. It was a world in which the dawning instinct of cosmopolitanism first shaped provincial and domestic products to the universal use of men.

The story of Alexander has become a story of death. He died himself before his time. With his life he brought the Old Greece to its end; with his

death the state he had founded. But they all three, Alexander, Greece, the Grand Empire, each after its sort, set forth, as history judges men and things, the inner value of the saying, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone."

INDEX

Abdera, special tribute to Persia, 198
Abisares, ally of Porus at Hydaspes, 438; submits to Alexander, 449
Abreas, in an attack on a city of the Mallians, 457 *ff.*
Acarnania, joins Athens, 68
Achaia, joins Athens, 68
Achilles's tomb, Alexander at, 215
Ada, queen of Caria, submits to Alexander, 244; appointed viceroy of Caria, 247
Admetus, commander of *hypaspists* at Tyre, 321
Ægæ, early capital of Macedonia, 8; marriage of Alexander's sister and King of Epirus at, 77
Ægina, commercial superior of Athens, 84
Æropus, King of Macedonia, 150
Æschines, age at birth of Alexander, 3; escapes conviction at Athens, 67; member of Athenian embassy to Philip, 72; leader of Macedonian party, 125, 126; causes war to be declared against Amphissa, 147; taunts Demosthenes, 281; taunted by the anti-Macedonians, 296; suit against Ctesiphon, 447; contest with Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 496
Æschylus, Aristotle's neglect of, 43
Ætolia, under control of Philip, 145; throws off Macedonian authority, 153
Agathon at court of Archelaus, 16
Agathon, brother of Parmenion, 388
Agéma, the cavalry *agéma*, 215; the infantry *agéma*, 217
Agis, king of Sparta, at Siphnus, 281, 297, 298; raises a revolt against Alexander in the Peloponnesus, 345; slain before Megalopolis, 346
Ahura Mazda religion, the, 202 *ff.*
Akuphis, welcomes Alexander in India, 427
Alcimachus, aids in the reduction of Asia Minor, 234
Alexander the Great.
Before his accession: Birth, 2, 8; lineage, 3; parents, 4; the taming of Bucephalus, 26 *ff.*; relations with Aristotle, 33 *ff.*, *see* Aristotle; affairs with Apelles, 41 *ff.*; subdues tribe on upper Strymon, 64; at Chæronea, 69; peace commissioner at Athens, 72 *ff.*; quarrel with Philip, 74 *ff.*;

Alexander the Great—*Cont'd.*
returns to Pella, 76; goes to Epirus and Illyria, 76; connected with Philip's death, 79; accession to the throne, 148; claim to succession challenged, 150
First campaign in Greece: Sets forth into Greece, 152; enters Thessaly, 154; recognised by Amphictyonic Council, 155; encamps before Thebes, 155; treatment of the disaffected states, 156; proclaimed military leader of the Hellenic Empire, 156; at Corinth, 157; with Diogenes, 53, 157; at Delphi, 158; returns to Macedonia, 158
In Thrace and Illyria: Sets out from Amphipolis against the Triballi, 159; battle at the summit of the Hæmus, 161; defeats the Triballi, 162; crosses the Danube and defeats the Getæ, 162; wins the vassalage of tribes north of the Danube, 163; catechises the Celts, 164; burns Pelion in Illyria, 165; reported in Greece to be dead, 166
Second campaign in Greece: Revolt of Thebes, *see* Thebes, revolt of; reënters Bœotia, 171; later regrets his treatment of Thebes, 176; receives Athenian embassy, 177; terms with Athens, 178 *ff.*; master of Greece, 179
Advance into Asia: The odds, 208; his army, 208 *ff.*; his resources, 209; Antipater left in Macedonia, 212; sets out from Pella, 213; crosses to the plain of Troy, 213; visits the tomb of Achilles, 44, 215; his army, its numbers, and organisation, 215 *ff.*; at Granicus, *see* Granicus
In Lydia and Caria: Enters Sardis, 230; at Ephesus, 232 *ff.*; at Miletus, *see* Miletus; at Halicarnassus, 244 *ff.*
In Central Asia Minor: Sends home the benedicts of his army, 248; enters Lycia, 249; sends half his army into winter quarters, 249; receives submission of the cities of Lycia, 250; discovery of a Lyncestian plot against Alexander, 251; passage around Mt. Climax, 253; at Perge, 254; at Termessus, 255; at Sagalassus, 256; at Celænæ, 257; at Gordium, 258; orders collection of fleet in the Hellespont, 264; leaves Gordium, 265; hears of Darius's advance, 274; at Ancyra, 275; sets out for Cilicia, 275
In Cilicia: Ill at Tarsus, 275; passes the gates of Cilicia, 275; occupies Anchialus and Solœ, 278; at Mallus, 279; at Myriandrus, 279
At Issus: *See* Issus
In Syria: At Marathus, 304; reply to Darius's embassy, 305; surrender of Byblus and Sidon, 307; at Tyre, *see* Tyre; takes Gaza, 325 *ff.*; wounded at Gaza, 325; receives tidings from Greece, 326; at Jerusalem, 326; advance on Egypt, 326
In Egypt: At Pelusium, 332; at Heliopolis, 333; at Memphis, *see* Memphis; influence of Egyptian religion on Alexander, 334; leaves his army at Memphis, 335; determines to build a city on the Mareotis Lake, 336;

Alexander the Great—*Cont'd.*
marks out the plan for Alexandria, 340, 342; receives news of the dispersion of the Persian fleet, 344; at Cyrene, 347; visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, *see* Ammon; receives a Greek delegation at Memphis, 354; organises the government, 354
At Gaugamela (Arbela): *See* Gaugamela.
Occupation of Persia: At Babylon, 369; at Susa, 370; burns the palace at Persepolis, 370; at Ecbatana, *see* Ecbatana; dismissal of the Greek allies at Ecbatana, 375; pursuit of Darius, 376 *ff.*; captures Darius's body, 381; at the Caspian, 383; in Hyrcania, 383 *ff.*
In Afghanistan (Drangiana, Bactria): Enters Drangiana, 387 *ff.*; conspiracy against his life, 387 *ff.*; at the torture of Philotas, 392; marches towards Bactria, 393; at the Oxus, 394; captures Bessus, 395; subjugates the country, 396
In Bokhara (Sogdiana): At the Jaxartes, 398; defeats the Scythians, 399; defeats Spitamenes, 402; secures Spitamenes's death, 403; murder of Clitus, 403 *ff.*; imprisons Callisthenes, 411; marries Roxane, 412
In India: The army, 424; along the Choaspes, 426; takes Massaga, 427; welcomed by King Akuphis, 427; takes a citadel on the Indus, 428 *ff.*; welcomed by Taxiles, 434; at the battle of the Hydaspes, *see* Hydaspes; conquests in the Penjab 449 *ff.*; preparations for his voyage down the Indus, 449: at the Hypasis, 453; determines to return, 454; returns to the Hydaspes, 454; sails down the Hydaspes, 455; takes a city of the Mallians, 457 *ff.*; seriously wounded, 458 *ff.*
Return to Persia: On the Indus, 463; march along the Gedrosian coast, 465 *ff.*; in Carmania, 467; rejoined by Nearchus, 469; reaches Susa, 470; condition of empire on his return, 470; reorganises the empire, 471
At Susa and Opis: Marries Statira at Susa, 476; payment of the debts of the soldiers, 479; reorganisation of the army, 479; mutiny of the Macedonians at Opis, 481 *ff.*; speech to the mutinous Macedonians, 482 *ff.*
At Babylon: Preparation for the departure of the fleet to Arabia, 489 *ff.*; falls ill, 489; death, 491; character and effects of his career, 496
Characteristics: Inherited characteristics, 5; temperate in eating and drinking, 22; needed guidance, not authority, 24; eager for action, 29; passionate and impulsive, 30; influence of education, 32; influence of Aristotle upon, 32, 40, 46, 47; aversion to athletics, 40 *ff.*; delight in Homer, 43 *ff.*; moral ideals, 60 *ff.*; religious attitude, 63; generosity shown at Granicus, 224; virtues, 227; physical appearance, 228 *ff.*; beginning of the change to Persian ideals, 268; nobility shown in his treatment of Darius's family, 299; effect

Alexander the Great — *Cont'd.*
of the visit to Ammon, 349 *ff.*; confidence in a divine origin, 350; tolerance of divine honours paid himself, 352; new cosmopolitanism, 352; growth of his ambition, 373 *ff.*; adoption of Oriental ways, 388; character shown in the murder of Clitus, 407; purpose in life, 413; loved by his soldiers, 458 *ff.*; exposure of self in battle, 462; later ideas of empire, 473
Education and attainments: Elementary education, 19 *ff.*; attainments in arts, 41; literary training, 42; higher education, 48 *ff.*; knowledge of mathematics, 48; knowledge of natural history, 49; knowledge of medicine, 49; knowledge of rhetoric, 50 *ff.*; adroitness in repartee, 52; knowledge of dialectics, 53; knowledge of philosophy, 54; instruction in ethics, 55 *ff.*; as a philosopher, 58 *ff.*
Alexander's heir, absence of a good claimant, 492
Alexander cult, the, 353, 487
Alexander II., king of Macedonia, 17
Alexander, a Lyncestian prince, recognises Alexander as king, 151; plot against Alexander, 251; seized and put under guard, 252; put to death, 253
Alexander, son of Roxane, proclaimed king, 493; death, 494
Alexander the Philhellene, competitor at Olympian games, 14 *ff.*
Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, assassinated, 141
Alexandria, growth and history, 337; a centre of learning, 340; description of, 340; starts on her commercial career, 448
Alexandria-Areion, founded by Alexander, 386
Alexandria-Eschata, founded by Alexander, 399
Alexandria in India, two cities of the name, 463
Alexandria-under-Caucasus, founded by Alexander, 425
Amasis, 337
Ambracia, occupied by Macedonian garrison, 74
Ambraciotes, the, throw off Macedonian authority, 153
Ammon, Alexander's visit to the temple of, 335 *ff.*; Alexander's journey to, 347; Alexander consults the oracle, 348; effect of the response on Alexander, 349 *ff.*
Amphictyonic Council, the, Philip becomes a member of, 65; the supreme tribunal of the Hellenic league, 74; war declared against Amphissa, 147; origin and influence, 155
Amphictyonies, the, 112
Amphipolis, occupied by Philip, 3
Amphissa, attempts to instigate war against Athens, 147
Amphoterus, sent to collect a fleet, 264
Amyntas, father of Alexander the Philhellene, 15
Amyntas, king of Macedonia, 17
Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, claims of, to the throne, 150 *ff.*; death, 151
Amyntas, a Macedonian officer, slain at Thebes, 170
Amyntas, at Granicus, 219; advice to Darius before Issus, 282; leads the retreat at Issus, 292; acquitted of the charge of conspiracy against Alexander, 392; in Bactria, 424

Anabasis of Xenophon, the, its influence on Alexander, 210
Animal History, work by Aristotle, 49
Antalcidas, the peace of, 139
Antigenes, Macedonian infantry commander, 464
Antigonus, appointed governor of Phrygia, 258
Anti-Macedonian party, situation precedent to, 125; forms at Athens, 142; alliance reëstablished between Athens and Byzantium, Rhodes, and Chios, 146; Eubœa united in an anti-Macedonian league, 146
Antipater, friend of Aristotle, 39; goes on a peace commission to Athens, 72; proves loyal to Alexander, 151; regent in Macedonia, 212; ordered to collect a fleet, 265; quells an Illyrian revolt, 345; reduces Sparta, 346; position in Macedonia, 470; ordered to come to Asia, 485; regent after Alexander's death, 493; guardian of Roxane's son, 494; death, 494
Antistius, courier of Alexander, 83 (foot-note)
Apelles, affair with Alexander, 41 *ff.*; portrays Alexander, 228
Apis, the, honoured by Alexander at Memphis, 334
Arabia, special tribute to Persia, 198
Arbela, battle of, *see* Gaugamela; ratio of lost in the battle of, 302
Archelaus, king of Macedonia, 16
Aretis, Alexander's aide at Granicus, 221
Argeadæ, the royal family of Macedon, 14
Argos, under Philip's influence, 66, 67; the plain of, 85; throws off Macedonian authority, 153; population, 338
Ariobarzanes, 370
Aristander, the prophet, before Gaugamela, 360, 363
Aristarchus, 353
Aristobulus, studies in natural history, 49; biographer of Alexander, 275
Aristotle, age at birth of Alexander, 3; Alexander's tutor, 24; comes to Macedonia, 33 *ff.*; letter from Philip, 33; teaches at Mieza, 34, 35; removes to Athens, 35; correspondence with Alexander, 37; collections of animal life, 37; estranged from Alexander, 38; influence on Alexander, 39 *ff.*, 46, 47; forced to quit Athens, 39; education of Alexander, 48 *ff.*; *Animal History*, 49; medicine, 49; rhetoric, 50; philosophy, 54; ethics, 55 *ff.*
Armenia, tribute to Persia, 199
Army of Alexander, recruitment, 208 *ff.*; reliability, 210; organisation, 215 *ff.*; order of battle, 217; reorganised at Susa, 479
Arrhidæus, son of Philip, claimant for throne, 492; proclaimed king by the infantry, 493; death, 494
Arrianus, Flavius, biographer of Alexander, 160 (foot-note)
Artabazus, joins the Greek mercenaries, 378; attached to Alexander's staff, 384; defeats the Bactrians for Alexander, 394
Artemisia, queen of Caria, 244
Askania, Lake, 256
Asterabad, Alexander at, 385
Athens, condition at time of Alexander's birth, 3; after peace of Philocrates, 65 *ff.*; begins a two years' war with Philip, 67 *ff.*; after Chæronea,

Athens — *Continued.*
70 *ff.;* embassy to Philip, 71; treaty after Chæronea, 72; plain of, 85; race and character of the people of, 86; government, 115 *ff.;* political history after Peloponnesian war, 122 *ff.;* peace her best policy, 127 *ff.;* cost of living in, 129; citizenship as a means for livelihood, 134 *ff.;* slave-employment in, 135 *ff.;* empire founded on good-will, 137; summary of events, 404–355 B.C., 138 *ff.;* alliance with Thebes, 146 *ff.;* hears of Philip's death, 153; proclaims Pausanias a public benefactor, 153; sues for mercy from Alexander, 155; recognises Alexander's leadership, 156; assists Thebes in revolt against Alexander, 171; on the news of Thebes's destruction, 177; sends an embassy to Alexander, 177; terms with Alexander, 178 *ff.;* receives gifts from booty at Granicus, 224; embassy to Alexander at Gordium, 224; cost of fleet, 236; protests against Alexander's fleet at the Hellespont, 264; population, 338; embassy to Alexander at Tyre, 355
Atossa, the queen of Darius, 201
Attalus, at wedding of Philip and Cleopatra, 75; insults Pausanias, 78; on the news of Philip's death, 150 *ff.;* death, 151
Attalus, Macedonian infantry commander, 464
Autophradates, Persian admiral at Mitylene, 263; submits to Alexander, 384

B

Babylon, captured by Cyrus, 188; revolts of, 190; tribute to Persia, 197, 199; description of, 273; Alexander at, 369
Babylonian religion, the old, 205
Bactra, Bessus's capital, 386
Bactria, Alexander in, 394 *ff.*
Bagistanes, a Persian deserter, brings news that Darius is in chains, 377
Balacer, commander of the Greek allies, 258
Barsine, intercourse with Alexander, 300; death, 494
Battering-ram, the, type used by Alexander, 239
Bessus, satrap of Bactria, advises Darius to withdraw to Bactria, 375; puts Darius in chains, 377; assumes supreme command, 378; murders Darius, 379; continues to withstand Alexander, 386; captured by Alexander and put to death, 395
Borer, the, type used by Alexander, 239
Boule, the Athenian, 116 *ff.*
Bucephala, founded by Alexander, 449
Bucephalus, the taming of, 26 *ff.;* death, 446
Byblus, surrenders to Alexander, 306
Byzantium, besieged by Philip, 64, 67; in league with Athens, 68; alliance reëstablished with the anti-Macedonian party, 146; threatened by Philip, 146

Calas, appointed governor of Phrygia, 230
Calippus, fined for bribery, 448
Callisthenes, nephew of Aristotle, 38; character and relations with Alexander, 409; speeches in praise and blame of the Macedonians, 410; refuses to prostrate himself before

Callisthenes — *Continued.*
Alexander, 411; imprisonment and death, 411
Callisthenes, the Athenian, person demanded by Alexander, 178
Cambyses, conquests, death, 189; kills the Apis, 334
Canopus, the river, 336
Cappadocia, tribute to Persia, 199
Caria, submits to Alexander, 243
Carmania, Alexander in, 467
Carthage, untouched by Persia, 189; a Tyrian colony, 308; fails to help Tyre, 317; remains out of Alexander's notice, 346
Caspian Gates, the, Persian frontier, 373; passed by Darius, 377; passed by Alexander, 377
Caspian Sea, the, Alexander at, 383 *ff.*
Cassander, refounds Thebes, 176; orders death of Roxane, 494; becomes ruler of Macedonia and Greece, 494
Catapult, the, type used by Alexander, 240
Celænæ, Alexander at, 257
Celts, catechised by Alexander, 164
Chæronea, the battle of, 69, 148
Chalcis, forms a league with Athens, 67; occupied by a Macedonian garrison, 74
Chalybon, tribute to Persia, 199
Charias, engineer with Alexander, 238
Charidemus, sends news of Philip's death to Demosthenes, 153; person demanded by Alexander, 178; at the council of Darius III., 270; put to death, 272
Chersonese, the, ally of Athens, 67
Chios, alliance reëstablished with the anti-Macedonian party, 146; betrayed to Memnon, 261; the democracy in power, 344
Choaspes, the, Alexander on, 426
Chœrilus, at the court of Archelaus, 16
Christianity, an expression of Alexander's world, 499
Cilicia, tribute to Persia, 199; Alexander in, 275; its topography, 277
Clazomenæ, welcomes Alexander, 234
Cleander, sent to Peloponnesus, 249; arrives at Sidon with mercenaries, 249, 315
Cleisthenes, reforms of, 191
Cleon, his imperial policy, 65; an Athenian leader, 120, 125; opposed by Nicias, 133
Cleopatra, marriage with Philip, 75, 150; commits suicide, 158
Cleophon, a popular leader in the fifth century, 134
Climax, Mt., stories of Alexander's passage of, 253
Clitarchus, biographer of Alexander, 161 (foot-note)
Clitus, brother of Lanice and friend of Alexander, 20; saves Alexander's life at Granicus, 221; receives partial command of the companion cavalry, 393; murder of, 403 *ff.*
Cœnus, sent to Macedonia, 248; relation to Parmenion, 388; at the torture of Philotas, 392; commander of Alexander's *hoplite* brigade, 429; at the battle of the Hydaspes, 442; at the Hypasis, 454
Colchis, special tribute to Persia, 198 *ff.*
Colonies, founded by Alexander, 394, 400
Corcyra, joins Athens, 68
Corinth, joins Athens, 68; occupied by a Macedonian garrison,

Corinth — *Continued.*
74; a centre of internationalism, 123; National Council at, 156; population, 338
Cos, surrenders to a Macedonian fleet, 344
Craterus, called *Philobasileus* by Alexander, 52; at the torture of Philotas, 392; defeats Spitamenes, 402; at the battle of the Hydaspes, 437; supervises the building of Nicæa and Bucephala, 449; on the march down the Indus, 456; leads one third of the army from India by a northern route, 464; joins Alexander in Carmania, 467; marries a niece of Darius, 476; returns to Macedonia, 485; regent after Alexander's death, 493
Crates, engineer with Alexander, 238
Crete, made an anti-Macedonian stronghold, 345
Crœsus, rebuked by Solon, 182; conquered by Cyrus, 188
Ctesias of Croton, writer on India, 418
Curtius Rufus, biographer of Alexander, 161 (foot-note)
Cyrene, western limit of Alexander's conquests, 347
Cyrus, conquests, 188; character, 188

D

Damascus, captured by Parmenion, 306
Darius III. (Codomannus), tries to bribe Greek states to revolt from Alexander, 167; letter from Alexander after Issus, 168; first plans against Alexander, 268; council after Memnon's death, 270; puts Charidemus to death, 272; marshals his army, 272; before Issus, 280; at Issus, *see* Issus; embassy to Alexander after Issus, 304; second embassy to Alexander, 324; at Gaugamela, *see* Gaugamela; at Ecbatana, 373; flight from Ecbatana, 374; put in chains by Bessus, 377; murdered by Bessus, 379; burial at Persepolis, 381
Darius the Great (Hystaspes), slays the Pseudo-Smerdis, 190; organiser of Persia, 190 *ff.*; events in Greece during his reign, 191; his reign the turn between two world-epochs, 192; makes Susa his capital, 199; builds Persepolis, 199; a follower of the Ahura Mazda cult, 201; death, 206
Datames, Persian naval commander, 295
Delian Confederacy, the, 113
Delos, retained by Athens, 72
Demades, captive at Chæronea, 71; member of Athenian embassy to Philip, 72; advises an embassy to Alexander after the destruction of Thebes, 177; proposes a compromise with Alexander, 179
Demaratus, reconciles Alexander and Philip, 76
Demetrius, a Macedonian commander, 442
Demetrius Poliorcetes, 238
Demon the Athenian, person demanded by Alexander, 178
Demosthenes, age at birth of Alexander, 3; *Third Philippic*, 13, 67; champion of the anti-Macedonian party, 66 *ff.*, 125, 126; *Second Philippic*, 66; *On the Chersonese*, 67; Lord of the Treasury at Athens, 120; leader of envoys sent to Philip, 142; character and policy, 142; *On the Peace*, 143; in the role of agitator, 146; effects an alliance with Thebes, 146 *ff.*; letter to Parmenion, 151; speech on

Demosthenes — *Continued.*
news of Philip's death, 153; declares Alexander dead, 166; accepts money from Darius, 168; relations with Harpalus, 169, 471; correspondence with the Persian satrap of Sardes, 169; champion of the régime of old Greece, 170; person demanded by Alexander, 178; predictions before Issus, 281; *On the Crown*, 447, 496
Diades, engineer with Alexander, 238
Dialects, diversity of Greek, 86 *ff.*
Dimnus, plots against Alexander, 391
Dinocrates, architect of Alexandria, 342
Diodorus Siculus, biographer of Alexander, 161 (foot-note)
Diogenes, colloquy with Alexander, 53, 157
Diogenes, made tyrant of Mitylene, 263
Diopeithes, in the Chersonese, 67
Diophantes, advocates slave-employment at Athens, 136
Diotimus the Athenian, person demanded by Alexander, 178
Drangiana, Alexander in, 387 *ff.*
Drapsaca in Bactria, Alexander at, 394

Eastern Question, the, a monument from Alexander's time, 183
Ecbatana, seat of Median Empire, 187; royal summer residence of Persia, 200; Darius at, 373; Alexander at, 373 *ff.*
Ecclesia, the Athenian, 116 *ff.*
Egypt, conquered by Cambyses, 189; tribute to Persia, 197, 199; its peculiar civilisation, 329; Alexander in, 332 *ff.*; a commercial centre, 358
Elis, joins Philip, 66; throws off Macedonian authority, 153
Epaminondas, military leader, 17; death, 139
Ephesus, location and character, 231; submits to Alexander, 232 *ff.*
Ephialtes the Athenian, person demanded by Alexander, 178
Epidamnus, slave-employment in, 135
Epirus, joins Philip, 66
Eretria, under Philip's influence, 66
Erigyius, commander of Alexander's mercenary cavalry, 377
Eubœa, under Philip's influence, 66; joins Athens, 68; its cities united in an anti-Macedonian league, 146
Eubulus, Lord of the Treasury at Athens, 120; leader of Macedonian party, 125, 126; policy as treasurer of the distribution fund, 131 *ff.*; historical connections of his policy, 133
Eumenes, marriage at Susa, 477
Euphrates, the, crossed by Alexander, 356
Euripides, death, 16; Aristotle's opinion of, 43

Ferghana, chiefs of the tribes about the, descended from Alexander, 402

Ganges, the, 450
Gaugamela, the battle of, location, 357; Darius encamped at, 357; Alexander fords the Tigris, 359; Darius's army at, 360; Darius's position at, 361; Alexander's approach, 361;

Gaugamela — *Continued.*
Macedonian army at, 365; Alexander's attack, 365; the flying wedge, 366; Darius's flight, 367; the pursuit to Arbela, 368
Gaumata, the Pseudo-Smerdis, usurps the Persian throne, 189
Gaza, siege-engines at, 48; taken by Alexander, 325 *ff.*
Gedrosian coast, the, Alexander's march along, 465 *ff.*
Getæ, defeated by Alexander, 162
Glaucippus, proposal to Alexander at Miletus, 237
Glaukanikoi submit to Alexander, 449
Gordian knot, the story of the, 258 *ff.*
Gordium, Alexander at, 224, 258
Granicus, the battle of the, Persian position at, 217; Alexander's attack, 219; the Persian rout, 221; the dead, 222; the wounded, 223; the booty, 224; significance, 229; ratio of lost, 302
Greece, areas, 82; distances between chief cities, 83; geography, 84 *ff.*; effect of topography, 85; *particularism* of its communities, 86; dialects, 86 *ff.*; manners and customs, 88 *ff.*; educational standards, 90; weights and measures, 90; calendar, 91; religious usages, 92 *ff.*; commercial intercourse between cantons, 94 *ff.*; travel, 96; theory of the state, 98 *ff.*; citizenship, 100; religious character of the state, 101; relation of the individual to the state, 102 *ff.*; state intrusion upon private right, 105 *ff.*; legal status of the individual, 107; smallness a principle of the states, 108; political organisation unsuited to an empire, 110; treaties between states, 111; the Amphictyonies, 112; the Delian Confederacy, 113; obstacles to the creation of an imperial state, 114 *ff.*; the Athenian state, 115 *ff.*; political history after Peloponnesian war, 122 *ff.*; slave-employment in, 135 *ff.*; summary of events, 404–355 B.C., 138 *ff.*; complete disorganisation, 141; submits to Alexander after destruction of Thebes, 177; its civilisation contrasted with the Persian, 180 *ff.*; essential characteristics of the people, 183 *ff.*; events during reign of Darius the Great, 191; indifference to Alexander's campaign, 210, 267, 269; events during Alexander's campaign in Asia, 447; effect of Alexander's return to Susa, 486; before and after Alexander, 496 *ff.*
Greeks of Italy, the, 346
Grote, on Alexander, 495

H

Hadrian, on Alexandria, 339
Halicarnassus, resists Alexander, 243 *ff.*; besieged by Alexander, 244 *ff.*; fired by Memnon, 246; taken by Alexander, 247; Macedonian loss in night sortie at, 302
Halonnesus, the affair of the, 68
Harpalus, sends books to Alexander, 43; misuse of funds, 470; flight to Greece, 471
Hecatæus, despatched to seize Attalus, 151
Hegelochus, sent to collect a fleet, 264; recaptures Tenedos, 296; brings news of the dispersion of the Persian fleet, 344

Hegesippus, speech against Philip, 68; leader of anti-Macedonian party, 125
Hegesistratus, Persian commander of Miletus, 234
Heliopolis, Alexander at, 333
Hellenic Congress at Corinth, 73 *ff.*
Hellenism, a critical time for, 191, Alexander champion of, 225
Helots, the, position at Sparta, 136
Hephæstion, called *Philalexandros* by Alexander, 52, honours the tomb of Patroclus, 215; visits Darius's family after Issus, 300, at the torture of Philotas, 392; receives partial command of the companion cavalry, 393; in command of part of the army in India, 426; on the march down the Indus, 456, goes up the Persian coast with the main army, 470; marries Drypetis, 476, receives a golden crown for bravery, 479; death at Ecbatana, 488
Heracles, son of Barsine, claimant for throne, 492; death, 494
Hermocrates, discussion with Pausanias, 78
Hermolaus forms a conspiracy against Alexander's life, 411
Herodotus, history of the conflict between Greece and Persia, 182 *ff.*
Hetairoi, the, 215
Hindoo Gymnosophists, questioned by Alexander, 53
Hippocrates, at court of Perdiccas II., 16
Homer, Alexander's delight in, 43 *ff.*
Hydaspes, the battle of the, 29, 434 *ff.*; Porus's army, 436; Alexander delays attack, 436, Alexander fords the river, 438; Porus's order of battle, 441, Alexander's attack, 442, Porus's surrender, 444; the slain, 446, Alexander's return to, 454
Hypasis, the, Alexander at, 450, 453
Hypaspists, 216
Hyperides, leader of anti-Macedonian party, 125, person demanded by Alexander, 178
Hyraotis, Alexander conveyed down the, 460
Hyrcania, Alexander in, 383

Idrieus, king of Caria, 244
Illyria, conquered by Philip, 140, revolt of, 345
Imbros, retained by Athens, 72
India, Alexander in, 416 *ff.*; the peoples, languages, religions, 420
Indus, the voyage down the, 449, 463
Ipsus, battle of, results, 494
Isocrates, *On the Peace*, 3, 132, conception of rhetoric, 51, address to Philip, 144
Issus, battle of, arrival of Darius, 282, Alexander's council before, 283; Alexander's preparations for, 285, Darius's position at, 285 *ff.*; the plain of, 286; Alexander's position at, 286 *ff.*; Alexander's advance, 287; Alexander's attack, 289; the engagement, 290; Darius's flight, 291, 293, Persian rout, 292; Alexander's pursuit, 292, results, 293; the booty, 298, Alexander's treatment of Darius's family, 299, Macedonian loss at, 301; Persian loss at, 303, Alexander wounded, 304, Alexander's letter to Darius after, 168
Ituræan tribes of Syria, submit to Alexander, 314

Jaxartes, the, identified with the Don, 384, Alexander at, 398 *ff*; the limit of Alexander's conquests, 400
Justinus, biographer of Alexander, 161 (foot-note)

K

Kathaioi, the, oppose Alexander, 450

Lampsacus, submits to Alexander, 217
Lanice, nurse to Alexander, 20
Laurion, silver mines in, 135
Lechæum, ratio of loss at the battle of, 303
Lemnos, retained by Athens, 72
Leonidas, Alexander's tutor, 21 *ff*
Leonnatus, a "companion," carries message to Darius's family, 299, in an attack on a city of the Mallians, 457 *ff*; receives a golden crown for bravery, 479, regent after Alexander's death, 493
Lesbos, surrenders to Memnon, 262, submits to Macedonian rule, 344
Leucas, joins Athens, 68
Leuctra, victory of Thebes at, 139, ratio of loss at the battle of, 303
Loss in battles, ancient and modern, ratio of, 302
Lycia, Alexander in, 248 *ff.*, the people, language, civilisation, 249
Lycurgus, Lord of the Treasury at Athens, 120, leader of anti-Macedonian party, 125, treasurer of the distribution fund, 131, person demanded by Alexander, 178
Lyncestian line, the, connected with Philip's death, 79, furnishes a candidate for the throne, 150, two opponents of Alexander put to death, 150
Lysander, the Spartan king, response of the Delphic Pythia to, 349
Lysimachus, Alexander's pedagogue, 22, in Syria, 24 *ff*, likens Alexander to Achilles, 44
Lysimachus, becomes ruler of Thrace and Asia Minor, 494, his kingdom swept away by the Celts, 495
Lysippus, makes statues of the "companions" who fell at Granicus, 223, portrays Alexander, 228

M

Macedonia, the government, people, language, 9 *ff*, royal family, 14, espousal of Hellenic interests, 15 *ff*, introduction of Greek culture, 16, ambition, 18, influence among Greek cities, 66 *ff*
Macedonian Party, situation precedent to, 125, "the peace party," 126, its conservative point of view, 127, developed from conservative elements 137, formative policy, 143
Magi, the, Median priests, 202
Magnesia, submits to Alexander, 234
Mallians, the, subdued by Alexander, 456 *ff*
Mantinea, the battle of, end of preeminence of Thebes, 139
Maracanda, Alexander at, 398
Mareotis Lake, Alexander at, 336
Masakes, Persian satrap at, 332
Massaga, taken by Alexander 427
Mausolus, king of Caria, 244

Mazæus, at Gaugamela, 367
Media, tribute to Persia, 197, 199
Medius the Thessalian, during Alexander's last illness, 489, 490
Megalopolis, ratio of loss at the battle of, 303; besieged by Sparta, 346
Megara, relations with Philip, 66, 67; joins Athens, 68; the people of, 86
Megasthenes, writer of the third century B.C., 451
Mekran, Alexander's march through the, 466
Melanippides at court of Perdiccas II., 16
Meleager, sent to Macedonia, 248; at the battle of the Hydaspes, 438; in the council after Alexander's death, 492
Memnon, at Granicus, 217; withdrawal to Halicarnassus, 233; commander of Persians at Halicarnassus, 243; plans to cut Alexander off from Europe, 260; wins over Chios and Lesbos, 261, 262; death at Mitylene, 263; his plans abandoned by Darius, 264
Memphis, captured by Cambyses, 189; Alexander at, 333 *ff.*; Alexander receives a Greek delegation at, 354
Menecles the Peloponnesian, teaches Alexander mathematics, 48
Mercenaries, employment in Greece and Persia, 211
Messene, under Philip's influence, 66, 67
Metics, status at Athens, 99; tax upon, 128
Mieza, seat of Aristotle's school, 34
Miletus, rival of Ephesus, 232; opposes Alexander, 234 *ff.*; besieged by Alexander, 236 *ff.*; augury before the battle of, 237; Alexander's answer to Glaucippus at, 237; capture of, 240; the Persian fleet at, 241; Alexander disbands his fleet, 242
Mithra cult, the, 205
Mithridates, the son-in-law of Darius, death at Granicus, 221
Mitylene, besieged by Memnon, 262; capitulates to Pharnabazus, 263; recaptured from the Persians, 344
Mnoitai, the, public serfs in Crete, 136
Mœrocles the Athenian, person demanded by Alexander, 178
Musæum, the, at Alexandria, 340
Myndus, Alexander's attack upon, 244

N

Nabarzanes, commander of the Persian cavalry, 374
National Council at Corinth, 156
Naucratis, a Greek settlement in Egypt, 337
Nearchus, studies in natural history, 49; made admiral of Alexander's fleet in India, 455; left with fleet at the mouth of the Indus, 465; sails to the Persian Gulf, 468 *ff.*; marriage at Susa, 477; receives a golden crown for bravery, 479; at Alexander's last illness, 490
Neoptolemus, father of Olympias, 4
Neoptolemus, a Lyncestian prince, death at Halicarnassus, 245
Nicæa, founded by Alexander, 446, 449
Nicanor, the Macedonian admiral, at Miletus, 240
Nicanor, son of Parmenion, commander of the *hypaspists*, 388

Nicanor, ambassador from Alexander to the Olympic festival, 486
Nicomachus, plots against Alexander, 391
Niebuhr, on Alexander, 495

O

Olympias, mother of Alexander, her character, 4 *ff*, quarrel with Philip, 75, goes to Epirus, 76, returns from Epirus 77, connected with Philip's death, 79, causes the murder of Cleopatra's child, 158, receives gifts from booty at Granicus, 224, influence on Alexander's character, 351, makes trouble in Macedonia, 470, orders death of Arrhidæus, 494 death, 494
Olynthus, fall of, 142
Onesicritus, pilot of Alexander's royal galley in India, 455, on the voyage to the Persian Gulf, 469; receives a golden crown for bravery, 479
Oreus, under Philip's influence, 66
Oropus, added to Attica, 72
Othontopates, king of Caria, 244, defeated at Halicarnassus, 278
Oxus, Alexander at the, 394
Oxyartes, father of Roxane, submits to Alexander, 412

Pactolus, gold mines of, 187
Pæonians, conquered by Philip, 140
Pamphylia, the people and language, 250, Alexander in, 254
Paneum, the, at Alexandria, 341
Parætacene, number of lost in the battle of the, 302
Paralos, the sacred Athenian trireme, 355
Parmenion, at time of Philip's death, 150, 151, in Asia Minor, 159, the crossing at Sestus, 213, at Granicus, 218, sent to occupy Dascylium, 230, at Miletus, 236, augury at Miletus, 237, in command in winter quarters in Phrygia, 249, sends word to Alexander of the Lyncestian plot, 251, at Gordium, 258, warns Alexander against the physician Philip, 276, occupies the Amanus Mountains, 277, at Issus, 287, occupies Damascus 304, advises Alexander to accept Darius's terms, 324, advises reconnoitre at Gaugamela, 362, hard pressed at Gaugamela, 367, opposes the burning of the palace at Persepolis, 372, his services reviewed, 387, implicated by Philotas in his conspiracy, 392, put to death, 393
Parthia, Alexander in, 385 *ff*.
Pasargadæ, treasure in, 199, occupied by Alexander, 370, Alexander's return to, 470
Patala, Alexander at, 464
Patroclus, his tomb honoured by Hephæstion, 215
Patron, the Phocian, leader of Darius's Greek mercenaries, 377
Pausanias, murders Philip, 78, proclaimed a public benefactor at Athens, 153
Peithon, made satrap of a region on the Indus, 464
Pelion, in Illyria, burned by Alexander, 165
Pella, birthplace of Alexander, 8
Pelusium welcomes Alexander, 332
Perdiccas, slays murderer of Philip, 79, precipitates attack on Thebes, 173, refuses lands assigned him by Alexander, 209, in command of part of

Perdiccas — *Continued.*
Alexander's army in India, 426, marriage at Susa, 477 regent after Alexander's death, 493, guardian of Roxane's son, 494, death, 494
Perdiccas II, king of Macedonia, 16
Perdiccas III, king of Macedonia, 17
Pericles, imperial policy, 65, an Athenian boss, 120
Perinthus, besieged by Philip, 67
Persepolis, built by Darius the Great, 199, treasure in, 199, occupied by Alexander, 370, Alexander's return to, 470
Persia, contributes to Athenian league, 68, maintains balance of weakness among Greek states, 139, relations to Greece, 143, begins operations to check Alexander, 167, its civilisation contrasted with the Greek, 180 *ff*, wars under Darius and Xerxes, 182, the people, 187, early history, 188 *ff*
Persian Empire, the, origin of, 187, organised by Darius the Great, 190 *ff*, resources and taxes, 197, special taxes in, 198, area and population, 199 army maintenance, 199, royal residences in, 199, the royal court, 200, the wives of the King, 201, kings from Darius the Great to Darius Codomannus, 206
Persian espionage, 194
Persian Gulf, the, explored by Alexander's fleet, 470
Persian military roads, 195, the road from Sardis to Susa, 196; make Alexander's empire possible, 197
Persian satraps, powers of, 193
Peucestas, in an attack on a city of the Mallians, 457 *ff*, receives a golden crown for bravery, 479
Pezetairoi, 216
Phalanx, the Macedonian, 216
Phaleas of Chalcedon, demands likeness of property for all citizens, 136
Pharnabazus, takes Mitylene 263, takes Tenedos, 264 goes to head off revolt at Chios, 298, a fugitive, 344
Pharos, Alexander's first visit to 45, the island of, 341, the lighthouse at, 342
Pheidippides, courier before battle of Marathon, 83
Philip, his two great achievements, 7, hostage at Thebes, 17, ascends the throne, 19 the attack on Byzantium, 64 the peace of Philocrates, 65 made member of Amphictyonic Council, 65 presides over Pythian games, 65, ends Sacred War 65 occupies Thrace, 66, begins two years' war with Athens, 67 *ff*, besieges Perinthus and Byzantium, 67, receives embassy from Athens, 71, treaty with Athens after Chæronea, 72, Hellenic Congress at Corinth and its results, 73 *ff*, commander in chief of Hellenic league, 74, quarrel with Alexander and Olympias, 74 *ff*, marries Cleopatra, 75, arranges marriage between Alexander's sister and King of Epirus, 77, murdered, 78 *ff*, summary of events, 404–355 B C, 138 *ff*, involved in affairs of central Greece, 141, defender of Delphi, 141, his opportunity in Greece, 144, concessions to Athens, 145, desires hegemony, not subjugation, 145, movement against Byzantium, 146, enters central Greece at the head of an army,

Philip — *Continued.*
147, master of Greece, 148, wounded by the Triballi, 159
Philip, commander on the march down the Indus, 456
Philip the Acharnanian, physician with Alexander at Tarsus, 276
Philistus, historian of Sicily, 43
Philocrates, the peace of, 65
Philonicus, sells Bucephalus to Philip, 26
Philonides, courier of Alexander, 83 (foot-note)
Philotas, son of Parmenion, involved in a conspiracy against Alexander, 387, previous criticism of Alexander, 391, put on trial, 391, convicted and put to death, 392
Philoxenus, in Aristotle's *Politics*, 43
Phocion, member of Athenian embassy to Philip, 72, leader of Macedonian party, 125, approves of Eubulus, 131, counsels against war, 147, advises submission to Alexander's demand for the ten politicians, 178, persuades Alexander to moderate his terms, 179
Phocis, occupied by Philip, 65
Phrada, Alexander at, 387
Phrataphernes, submits to Alexander, 384
Phrygia, Alexander in, 247, 256

Pindar, celebrates Alexander's victories, 15, the one great writer of Thebes, 172, his house spared at destruction of Thebes, 174
Pisidia, Alexander in, 253 *ff.*
Pixodarus, brother of Ada, queen of Caria, 244
Plutarch, biographer of Alexander, 160 (foot-note)
Polyeuctus the Athenian, person demanded by Alexander, 178
Polystratus, at death of Darius, 380
Porus, the battle with; *see* Hydaspes, confirmed in his old authority, 449
Posidonius, engineer with Alexander, 238
Potidæa, seized by Philip, 140
Priapus, submits to Alexander, 217
Proteas, son of Lanice and associate of Alexander, 20
Proteas, captures Persian ships at Siphnus, 265
Protesilaus, tomb of, visited by Alexander, 214
Prytaneum, the daily meal at the, 136
Prytany, the Athenian, 118
Psammetichus I, employs Greek mercenaries, 337
Ptolemæus, king of Macedonia, 17
Ptolemy, son of Seleucus, sent to Macedonia, 248, killed at Issus, 304
Ptolemy Soter, first ruler of Alexandria, 337, builder of the lighthouse at Pharos, 342, institutes the Alexander cult, 354, at the murder of Clitus, 406, at the siege on the Indus, 429, marriage at Susa, 477, in the council after Alexander's death, 492, becomes ruler of Egypt, 494
Pydna, seized by Philip, 140
Pyrgoteles, portrays Alexander, 228
Pythian games, presided over by Philip, 65

R

Rhagæ, Alexander at, 377
Rhodes, alliance reestablished with anti-Macedonian party, 146, beginning of her commercial career, 448

Roxane, marriage with Alexander, 412, birth of a son, 413, death, 413, 494

Sacred War, begun, 141, continued, 142, ended by Philip, 65
Sagalassus, Alexander at, 256
Samos, retained by Athens, 72
Sangala, siege of, 302, captured by Alexander, 450
Sardis, captured by Cyrus, 188, submits to Alexander, 230, government of Lydia under Alexander, 231
Sarissophors, 216
Satibarzanes, satrap at Susia, submits to Alexander, 386
Sattagydæ, the satrapy of the, tribute to Persia, 197
Satyrus, *Life of Philip*, 75
Scythians, defeated by Alexander, 399
Seleucus, marriage at Susa, 477 becomes ruler of Syria and Babylonia, 494
Selge, Alexander's treaty with, 255
Sema, the, at Alexandria, 341
Serapeum, the, at Memphis, 334
Sestos, expedition to, 182
Sidon, surrenders to Alexander, 307, Alexander collects a fleet at, 313, population, 338
Siege-engines, use of by the Greeks, 238
Siege-tower, the, type used by Alexander, 239
Siwah, oasis of, site of temple of Jupiter Ammon, 348
Slaves in Greece, public employment, 135 *ff*, price and supply, 174
Smerdis, murdered, 190
Social War, political situation at end of, 140
Socrates declines Archelaus's invitation, 16
Solon, rebukes Crœsus, 182
Sophocles declines Archelaus's invitation, 16
Sparta, refuses to participate in compact with Philip, 74, plain of, 85, summary of events, 404–355 B C, 138 *ff*, throws off Macedonian authority, 153, refuses to recognise Alexander's leadership, 156, accepts money from Darius, 168, population, 338, the disaffection of, 345, submits to Antipater, 346, besieges Megalopolis, 346
Spitamenes, revolt of, 399, defeated by Craterus, 402, defeated by Alexander, 402, put to death, 403
Stagira, Aristotle's birthplace, 33, rebuilt by Philip, 34
Stasanor, meets Alexander with supplies, 467
Strategoi, the Athenian, 119
Strymon, Alexander subdues tribes on the, 64
Susa, capital of Persia, 188, treasure in, 199, capital of Persian Empire, 199, Alexander at, 370, Alexander's return to, 470, the five days' marriage fête at, 476 *ff*
Susia, Alexander at, 385
Syracuse, population, 338
Syria, tribute to Persia, 197
Syrphax, leader of the oligarchs at Ephesus, 233, stoned to death by Ephesian mob, 234

Tarsus, Alexander at, 275
Taxiles, an Indian rajah, meets Alexander, 425, welcomes Alexander, 434, confirmed in his old authority, 449
Tenedos, yields to Pharnabazus, 264, recaptured by Hegelochus, 296, returns to Macedonian rule, 344

Teos, welcomes Alexander, 234
Termessus, Alexander at, 255
Thapsacus, Alexander crosses the Euphrates at, 356
Thebes, after Chæronea, 70; occupied by Macedonian garrison, 74; the people, 86, 171 *ff.*; summary of events, 404–355 B.C., 138 *ff.*; victory at Leuctra, 139; alliance with Athens, 146 *ff.*; recognises Alexander's leadership, 156; revolt against Alexander, 170 *ff.*; location, etc., 171 *ff.*; Alexander encamped before, 172; captured by Alexander, 173; destroyed by Alexander and inhabitants sold as slaves, 174; fate pronounced by a tribunal of neighbouring states, 175; betrayal of Greece in Persian war, 176; refounded by Cassander, 176; population,
Thermopylæ, passed by Ph
65
Thessaly, becomes Philip
65; joins Alexander, 1
Tigris, the, crossed by Ale
der, 359
Timolaus, a Theban leader,
170
Timotheus, at court of Archelaus, 16
Trade routes between India and the Western world in ancient and modern times, 358
Tralles, submits to Alexander, 234
Triballi, the, attitude towards Macedonia, 159; defeated by Alexander, 162
Trireme, the, 235
Trogus Pompeius, biographer of Alexander, 161 (foot-note)
Troy, Alexander at, 214
Tyre, siege-engines at, 48; early history, 307 *ff.*; unwilling to admit Alexander, 307; Ezekiel's curse upon, 308; nominal vassal of Persia, 309; necessity for its capture, 310; length of the siege, 311; building of the mole, 311 *ff.*; Alexander collects a fleet, 313; arrival of Cleander, 314; attack by Alexander's fleet, 315; attack from the mole, 316; attack by Tyrian fleet, 317; Alexander's only sea-fight, 318; the capture, 320 *ff.*; loss at the capture of, 322; disposal of the inhabitants, 323; population, 338; Alexander at, on return from Egypt, 355

U

xians, the, ...urn Bucephalus, ...ited, 370

V

Ver... ...ith Ahura ...da, 202

X

Xenophon. *On the Revenues*, 3; monograph on the finances of the Athenian state, 127 *ff.*

Zamolxis cult, the, 162
Zariaspa, Alexander winters at, 402
Zend-Avesta, sacred writings of the Ahura Mazda cult, 202
Zeno, the Stoic, 59
Zeuxis at court of Archelaus, 16
Zoroaster, religious reformer, 189; gives form to the Ahura Mazda religion, 202, 204