

himself with reciting to that people some of his own orations. Among others, he rehearsed to them that which he had spoken against Demosthenes in the cause of *the crown*. The Rhodians expressed a desire to hear what his opponent had answered to a composition so powerful and convincing. He then read to them, with proper modulation of voice and emphasis, the oration of Demosthenes, which, when they had all united in admiring—"Think now, my friends," said he, "how much greater must have been your admiration had you heard that extraordinary man himself recite this masterly composition." A singular instance indeed of his generosity of mind, who could thus do justice to the merits of a rival, whose success and triumph had been the cause of his own disgrace.

It may be justly said that of all those sciences which deserve the name of manly or truly dignified, eloquence was the only one which yet continued to flourish in Greece.

After the battle of Chæronea all the states of Greece submitted to the conqueror. But it was not the policy of Philip to treat them as a conquered people. He knew that the Greeks must be very cautiously managed. He endeavored to withdraw their minds from all idea of the degraded condition to which they were now reduced. His views had pointed to a greater object of ambition than the sovereignty of Greece; and in proposing to them the conquest of Persia, he withdrew their attention from the galling thought of their own servitude, while he flattered their self-consequence by making the Greeks the partners in his own schemes of extensive dominion. It was a natural preparatory measure to appoint Philip the generalissimo of the nation.

At this period the Persian monarchy was embroiled with the revolt of several of the provinces. Ochus had reduced them less by force of arms than by corrupting and bringing over to his interest the heads of the rebellion. Mentor of Rhodes delivered up to him the Sidonians, who, when they discovered that they were betrayed, set fire to their city and perished in the flames. The dreadful catastrophe was followed by the submission of all Phœnicia; and Cyprus, which had likewise revolted, returned soon after to its allegiance. Mentor's services were rewarded by the Persian monarch with the government of all the Asiatic coasts. Ochus did not long enjoy the pacification of his empire. Bagoas, a favorite eunuch, poisoned him and all his children, except Arses, the youngest, whose infancy afforded the murderer the prospect of governing Persia as his tutor; but dreading the punishment of his crimes, he thought it his safest policy to raise to the throne a prince of the royal blood, Darius, surnamed Codomannus, who is said to have been the grandson of Darius Nothus.

Such was the state of Persia when Philip prepared for his great enterprise, by sending his lieutenants Attalus and Parmenio into Asia. As usual before all expeditions of importance, he con-

sulted the Delphic oracle, and received the following response, equally applicable to the prosperous or unsuccessful event of the war:—*The bull is ready crowned; his end approaches, and he will soon be sacrificed.* "The prophecy," said Philip, "is quite clear: the bull is the monarch of Persia." The prediction speedily found its accomplishment, but Philip himself was the victim. While engaged in celebrating a magnificent festival on the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra with the king of Epirus, and walking in solemn procession to the temple, he was struck into the heart with a dagger by Pausanias, a noble youth who had been brutally injured by Attalus, the brother-in-law of Philip, and to whom that prince had refused to do justice. Philip had in the latter period of his reign degraded himself by some strong acts of tyranny, the fruit of an uncontrolled indulgence of vicious appetites. As the pretext of a divorce from his queen Olympias, the mother of Alexander, he threw the most unjust suspicions upon her character, and drove her son from court in disgust at the conduct of his father, who now assumed Cassandra, the niece of Attalus, who had captivated him by the charms of her person, into the place of his injured queen. The disgust which Alexander justly conceived at these proceedings, encouraged a suspicion, for which, however, there are no solid grounds, that he was privy to the design of Pausanias.

The Athenians, with much meanness, expressed, on occasion of Philip's death, the most tumultuous joy. A solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving was offered to the gods, and a crown of gold decreed to Pausanias in reward of his services to the nation. It is probable that a gleam of hope arose from this event that the liberty of Greece might yet be recovered; but they were strangers at this time to the character of that youth who now succeeded to the throne of Macedonia.

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT takes and destroys Thebes—Submission of the Grecian States—Alexander declared General of the Armies of Greece—Battle of the Granicus—Issus—Siege of Tyre—Expedition into Egypt—Battle of Arbela—Alexander at Persepolis—Expedition to India—Return to Susa—Enters Babylon, and dies—Division of his Empire—Kingdom of Egypt—of Syria.

ALEXANDER was in the twentieth year of his age when he succeeded, by the death of Philip, to the throne of Macedonia This

prince, possessed of all the military abilities of his father, inherited a soul more truly noble, and an ambition yet more unbounded. He had from his infancy given proofs of that singular heroism of character, which marked the conqueror of the eastern world. To extraordinary endowments of nature he had joined all the advantages of education. Under the tutelage of the philosopher Aristotle, he imbibed not only a taste for learning and the sciences, but those excellent lessons of politics, in which that great teacher was qualified, beyond all his contemporaries, to instruct him.

On the first intelligence of the death of Philip, the Greeks, and particularly the citizens of Athens, exhibited that pitiful exultation, which only evinced their own pusillanimity. The Macedonian heir they regarded as a mere boy, from whom the liberties of Greece could never be in serious hazard; as he would, they conceived, find sufficient employment both for his policy and prowess in securing the stability of his hereditary throne against domestic faction. Lest, however, the example of Philip might encourage his son to similar schemes of ambition, the Athenians thought it a prudent measure to form an offensive and defensive league with several of the Grecian states, against the new king of Macedonia, with the view of maintaining entire the national independence. Alexander beheld these measures in silence: the time was not yet come for the full display of that great plan of empire, which his comprehensive mind had formed. The Thracians, however, with the Pæonians and Illyrians, having made the death of Philip the signal of emancipation from the newly imposed yoke of Macedon, Alexander made the first essay of his arms against these barbarous nations, whose revolt he chastised with the most signal severity.*

The Greeks were speedily roused from their dream of security: but their surprise was extreme when they beheld the Macedonian pour down with his army upon Bœotia, and present himself at the gates of Thebes. The Thebans, on a false report of his death in battle against the Illyrians, had expelled the Macedonian garrison, and put to death its commanders, Amyntas and Timolaus. Alexander offered pardon to the city on condition of absolute submission, and the delivering up of the principal offenders. The Thebans were obstinate, and the consequence was, that Thebes was taken by storm, and abandoned to the fury of the Macedonian troops, who plundered and destroyed it. Six thousand of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and thirty thousand sold to slavery. The priests, however, with their families, were treated with reverence; and while the streets and fortifications of the city were reduced to a mass of ruins, the conqueror showed his respect to the memory of Pindar, by preserving from destruction the great poet's house, which was still occupied by his descendants.

* For ample details of this, and of all the subsequent campaigns of Alexander see vol. iii. of the Family Library.

This exemplary severity struck terror throughout all Greece. The Athenians, elevated with the smallest glimpse of good fortune, were the first to show an abasement of spirit. They had received, after the fall of Thebes, a part of the fugitive citizens. For this act of humanity they now thought it necessary to apologize, by sending an embassy to Alexander, to deprecate his wrath, and to assure him of their sincere desire to maintain a friendly alliance. The Macedonian, contemning them the more for the meanness of this behavior, made a peremptory demand that they should deliver up to him the persons of Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and six others of the principal demagogues, to whose seditious harangues he attributed the hostile spirit they had shown to all his measures. He did not, however, wish to push matters to extremity. The business was finally compromised by a public decree, by which the Athenians pledged themselves to institute a strict inquiry into the alleged ground of offence, and to inflict such punishment as the crimes, if proved, should merit.

The submission of Athens was followed by friendly embassies, and offers of peace and alliance from all the states of Greece. Alexander now summoned a general council of deputies, from all the several republics, to assemble at Corinth, with the purpose of deliberating on a measure which regarded their common interests and honor. Here he formally intimated to them his design of following out the great project of his father, the conquest of Persia. The design was flattering to the Greeks, who had ever regarded the Persians as an irreconcilable enemy, the object of hereditary hatred and jealousy; and in whose destruction they pleased themselves with the prospect of regaining the honorable ascendancy they had once enjoyed above all the contemporary nations. Animated with this feeling, they received the proposal of Alexander with exultation; and already anticipating the triumphs to be gained under his banners, they hailed him commander-in-chief of the united armies of Greece.

The preparations commenced by Philip were continued by Alexander during the few months of winter that preceded the opening of this important campaign; but active as we may believe those preparations were, they bore no proportion to the magnitude of the enterprise. In fact, the chief prospect of its success arose, not from the strength of the invader, but from the weakness of the invaded empire. We have already remarked* the very defective system of government in this extensive monarchy, and the total want of all principle of union between the members of so vast a body. The people, over whom their governors or satraps tyrannized with the most absolute authority, were quite indifferent to any changes that might take place in the seat of empire. Thus

* See Chapter II. of this book, toward the conclusion.

we have seen an eunuch depose and put to death one monarch with all his descendants, and place another on the throne, without producing any other effects than might have followed in other kingdoms upon a sovereign changing his first minister. The truth is, that the general peace of the empire had ever arisen out of its general weakness. The provinces had as little communication with each other as they had with the capital; and these separate and independent bodies had not even the slight bond of union which arises from a common religion. A despot of high spirit and a vigorous mind might have kept in order this discordant mass; but such was not the character of the present monarch. Darius Codomannus, who owed his elevation to the eunuch Bagoas, was a prince possessed of many amiable qualities—of a gentle and humane disposition; who might have swayed with honor a pacific sceptre, in a nation enjoying a good political constitution, and governed by wholesome laws; but he was neither qualified to fill the throne of Persia, nor to be the antagonist of Alexander.

This prince, who, in all his enterprises, never indulged a doubt of his success, set out for Persia in the beginning of spring, at the head of an army of thirty-five thousand men, and furnished with provisions only for a single month. He had committed to Antipater the government of Macedonia, in his absence. With this inconsiderable army, but excellently disciplined, and commanded by many brave and able officers, who had gained experience under the banner of his father Philip, he arrived in six days' march at the passage of the Hellespont, and crossed the narrow sea without opposition. While traversing Phrygia, he is reported to have visited the tomb of Achilles; and, in an apostrophe to the shade of that great warrior, is said to have expressed his envy of his happiness, who in life enjoyed the comfort of a faithful friend, and after his death had his name immortalized by the greatest of poets.

Darius, on the first intelligence of the advance of Alexander with this trifling force, resolved to crush at once this inconsiderate young man, and despatched immediately an army of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, to the banks of the Granicus, a small river of Mysia, which discharges itself into the Propontis. This measure of the Persian monarch was contrary to the opinion of his ablest generals, who counselled him to follow a more protracted plan of warfare. They advised him to lay waste the provinces through which lay the course of the Macedonian army, and to limit all his attacks to a skirmishing warfare, merely with the view of harassing and wearing out the enemy by fatigue and want of provisions. This is said to have been the counsel of Memnon, Darius's ablest general; who proposed at the same time to conduct an army to Greece and Macedonia, to retaliate upon the invaders in their own territory. But when Darius compared his own force and resources with those of his antagonist, it wore with him the aspect of a mean

and dastardly policy, to ruin some of the finest provinces of his empire in the hope of starving the army of his antagonist, instead of manfully encountering him in the field. The latter advice, of making a diversion in Macedonia, was more suitable to a manly spirit, and it was accordingly adopted.

Meantime, the Persians, under the command of the Satrap of Phrygia, were drawn up in formidable array upon the eastern bank of the Granicus, to oppose the passage of the Greeks. The river is of inconsiderable breadth and depth, but of great rapidity. The Macedonians, therefore, with judicious precaution, entered the ford a great way higher than the place of the opposite shore on which they meant to land; and crossing in an oblique direction, had the aid of the stream impelling forward their ranks, while its current gave a powerful obstruction to the enemy's entering the river and disputing with them the passage of the ford. Thus a large body of the Grecian army crossed the stream, with no other annoyance than what arose from the missile weapons of the Persians, and the spears that met the first ranks on gaining the opposite shore. No sooner, however, had these made good their ground, and by the spirit of their attack given full occupation to the opposing Persians, than the main body of the Grecian army passed without resistance. The contest was not long doubtful. The Persians are allowed to have fought with great courage; but such was the impression made by the determined resolution and intrepidity of the Greeks, while Alexander himself led them on against the thickest ranks of the enemy, that the Persian army was broken and put to flight, before the rear of the Grecian forces had passed the river. According to the account of Arrian, 10,000 of the Persian infantry and 2500 horse were slain in the battle of the Granicus. Among these were many officers of distinguished valor and ability. The loss of the Greeks amounted to the trifling number of eighty-five horsemen and thirty infantry. These were next day buried with their arms, all in the same grave. The rich spoils of the Persian army Alexander sent home to Macedonia, to be presented to his mother, as the first fruits of his success; and to Athens he sent 300 Persian shields, with this message, that these were the trophies of a victory gained by *the Greeks under his command, over their ancient enemies.*

This first and important victory facilitated to Alexander the conquest of all the lesser Asia. Sardis, the capital of the ancient Lydian kingdom, submitted without opposition, and Miletus and Halicarnassus, after a short but vigorous defence, opened their gates to the conqueror. Deriving a presage of continued victory from his first successes, Alexander now sent orders to his fleet to return to Macedonia, thus leaving to his little army one only alternative, that they must conquer or perish. Memnon, in the mean time, had sailed with a body of Persian troops to the coast of Greece. He began by an assault upon some of the islands. He

made himself master of Chios, and of the greater part of Lesbos; and had laid siege to Mitylene, its chief city, whence he proposed to pass into Eubœa, and thence into Attica. This well concerted diversion might, in all probability, have checked the progress of Alexander in Asia. But the death of Memnon destroyed this promising scheme; and the armament returned without effect to the coast of Phœnicia.

Alexander pursuing his course through the lower Asia, it was the counsel of Darius's best officers, that he should await his approach in the plains of Assyria, where there might be ample space for bringing into action the whole of his immense force; but this advice was too mortifying to the pride of the monarch of Persia, who, though of mild and gentle manners, was a man of high spirit and of great personal courage. He was impatient to check the presumption of Alexander, and, advancing to meet him, rashly entered the passes between the mountains of Cilicia, near the town of Issus; a situation where, from the nature of the ground, the greatest part of his army, if then attacked, could not possibly be brought to act with effect against the enemy. Alexander, though then weakened by disease—the consequence of a fever caught by imprudently bathing, when overheated, in the river Cydnus)—no sooner received intelligence of the critical situation of the Persians in the defiles of a mountainous country, than he hastened with the utmost ardor to attack them. Arrian, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch, have all given different statements of the number of the Persian army at the battle of Issus; but the lowest of these accounts make the number amount to 400,000. The same historians have lavished all the powers of description in painting the splendor, riches, and magnificence of the military equipage of this immense host. That body of the Persians named the Immortals, consisted of 10,000 chosen troops, who were clothed in robes of gold embroidery, adorned with precious stones, and wore about their necks massy collars of pure gold. The chariot of Darius was supported by statues of gold; and the beams, axle, and wheels, were studded with precious stones. Ten thousand horsemen followed the chariot with lances plated with silver. The mother and the wife of Darius had their separate chariots, attended by a numerous train of females on horseback; and the pageant was closed by a vast retinue of the wives of the Persian nobles and their children, guarded by some companies of foot lightly armed.

Darius, caught thus at unawares, in the mountains of Cilicia, with this immense but most inefficient force, was taught, in the battle of Issus, how little confidence is to be placed in numbers, when matched against a few experienced and well-disciplined troops. The Persians were defeated with immense slaughter, their loss amounting, as is said, to 110,000 men, while that of the Macedonians, according to Diodorus and Quintus Curtius, was no

more than 450. Darius himself displayed great personal courage. He fought from his chariot till his horses were wounded, and its course obstructed by the heaps of dead which covered the ground.

I cannot omit observing here, with regard to the history of Alexander written by Quintus Curtius, that, although it is one of the most elegant works that remain to us of the compositions of antiquity, its authority is not to be put on a par with that of Arrian or Diodorus. All accounts, indeed, of the exploits of Alexander, must wear an air of the marvellous; for many even of those facts which we know to be strictly true are in themselves prodigious. This consideration, which has rendered Diodorus and Arrian the more cautious in admitting nothing into their narratives but what rested on the strictest historical evidence, has served with Curtius only as a temptation and license for amplification and embellishment. Yet it must be owned that some of those embellishments are in themselves so pleasing, that we can scarcely wish them to have been spared. Such, among others, is that admirable and strongly characteristic oration which Curtius puts into the mouth of the Scythian chief, addressing himself to Alexander: such is that beautiful scene which Curtius describes to have passed in the tent of Darius, after the battle of Issus; the error of Sysagambis, the queen-mother, who addressed herself to Hephæstion, mistaking him for Alexander; the fine saying on that occasion of Alexander, *Non errasti, mater, nam et hic Alexander est*; circumstances, indeed, which Arrian likewise relates, though not with the assurance of their perfect authenticity. There is, says he, such a dignity in the expression, that if we cannot rest on the story as a certainty, we ought at least to wish it to be true. To the honor of Alexander, it must be owned, that generosity was a strong ingredient in his nature; and that the humane affections, though at times overpowered, and apparently extinguished in the heat of passion, certainly formed a part of his genuine character. To the mother, and to the kindred of Darius, he behaved with the respect and kindness of a son and of a brother, a conduct which made a deep impression on the mind of that generous and ill-fated prince.

Darius, with a few scattered remains of his army, had made a precipitate retreat during the night, and, taking his course eastward, crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus. His empty war-chariot and cloak falling into the hands of the Macedonians, gave rise to a report of his death, which threw his queen and the captive princesses into agonies of despair. But Alexander hastened to undeceive them, and calmed their agitated minds by repeated assurances of his clemency and protection. He received, a few days after the battle, a deputation from Darius, conceived, as he thought, in a strain of pride unsuitable to the present circumstances of that prince. The Persian demanded that his wife and the captive

princesses should be immediately restored on payment of a ransom; and declared his resolution to bring into the field an army that should fully repair his late disasters. Alexander replied, that when his antagonist should think proper to throw himself on the mercy of his conqueror, he would then convince him that he needed no bribe to excite him to an act of humanity.

The consequence of the battle of Issus was the submission of all Syria. The city of Damascus, where Darius had deposited a large part of the royal treasures, was betrayed by its governor and given up to Parmenio, who found in it above 300 of Darius's concubines, and many of the officers of the king's household. The Phœnicians had suffered much oppression under the Persian yoke, and were thus glad to be emancipated from its tyranny. Strato, the king or governor of Sidon, attempted in vain to maintain his province in its allegiance; he was deposed, and Alexander having allowed his favorite Hephæstion to dispose of the crown, he conferred it on Abdolonymus, a man of great worth and virtue, and of illustrious and even royal descent; but whom misfortunes had reduced to seek a subsistence by manual labor.

Alexander had hitherto borne his good fortune with singular and becoming moderation. Happy, says Curtius, had this moderation attended him through life; but prosperity had not yet corrupted his ingenuous mind. *Felix, si hac continentia ad ultimum vitæ perseverare potuisset; sed nondum Fortuna se animo ejus infuderat.*

He now directed his course towards Tyre; and desired to be admitted into the city to perform a solemn sacrifice to Hercules. The Tyrians sent him a golden crown, as a token of their respect and amity, but refused his request; declaring their purpose of observing a neutral conduct, and maintaining their liberty, while the fate of the Persian empire was in dependence. This city was of importance to Alexander, as a strongly fortified station, which gave him free access to the sea from all the neighboring coast. His pride, too, was piqued, and he determined to make himself master of the place, at whatever cost. The city was situated on a small island, about half a mile from the main land. It was fortified by a wall of immense strength, and of 150 feet in height, leaving no space between its base and the sea which surrounded it on every side. It was, therefore, unassailable from the quarter of the land, unless by filling up the intermediate distance by a mole or pier, extending from the shore to the foot of the walls. This operation, the more difficult that the water was of considerable depth, was resolutely undertaken by the Macedonians. The labor and the fatigue attendant on its execution were incredible, for they had to do with an enemy, whose spirit and resolution were equal to their own, and who possessed every advantage that the strength and height of their fortifications, as well as a numerous armament of galleys, could give them for annoying the assailants

the works were destroyed as soon as reared; nor could the Macedonians ever have succeeded in their enterprise, had they not collected from all the neighboring sea-ports now under their control, a naval force to beat off the Tyrian galleys, and thus protect the operations of the besieging army. By incredible perseverance, the mole was at length completed, in the seventh month of the siege: the engines of the Greeks assailed the walls on one side, while the ships of war made a vigorous attack on one of the piers of the city in the opposite quarter. A large breach was at length effected, and the Macedonians entered the city, putting all to the sword who opposed them. The detail of this siege by Arrian is one of the most interesting narratives which the writings of the ancients have preserved to us.

Alexander, incensed at the opposition he had met with, and the losses his army had sustained, forgot his usual clemency. He ordered the city to be burnt to the ground; 8000 of the inhabitants had been put to the sword, in the final assault and entry of the Macedonians; of the prisoners taken with arms in their hands, 2000 were crucified, and the rest, to the amount of 30,000, sold as slaves. The conduct of Alexander was yet more inhuman on the taking of Gaza, which immediately followed the capture and demolition of Tyre.* That city was deemed impregnable, from its elevated situation on the summit of a steep hill, and from the great strength of its fortifications. It was yet better defended by its garrison, and the intrepidity of its commander, Betis, who resolved to resist the invaders to the last extremity. The military engines employed against Tyre were now planted against the fortifications of Gaza. In a sally from the town, the besieged set fire to the works of the Greeks, and in a desperate conflict, attended with great slaughter on both sides, Alexander himself was dangerously wounded in the shoulder by a heavy dart thrown from a catapult. At length, after repeated assaults, the city was taken by storm, and its brave inhabitants perished almost to a man. The governor, Betis, whose noble defence of his country was

* It is proper here to mention, that Josephus is the only writer who relates an extraordinary scene between Alexander and the high-priest of the Jews. This historian informs us, that, after the taking of Tyre, the conqueror pursued his course to Jerusalem, which had incurred his resentment, from the refusal to furnish supplies to his army during the siege of Tyre. Jaddua, the high-priest of the Jews, arrayed in his pontifical vestments, went forth to meet him in solemn procession. The king, as is said, no sooner beheld this venerable figure, who wore a mitre inscribed on the front with the sacred name of Jehovah, than he prostrated himself at his feet. His courtiers expressing their surprise and even offence at this, which they deemed a degrading conduct in their sovereign, "Do not wonder," said he, "at what you now see; this same venerable man appeared to me at Dium, in Macedonia, and assured me that the God whom he served would give me the sovereignty of the Persian empire." It is a sufficient confutation of this story to remark, that neither Arrian nor any other of the professed historians of Alexander make the smallest mention of it. See *L'Examen Critique des Histoires d'Alexandre.*