ALEXANDER SUSHKO

GAUGAMELA

THE UKRAINIAN
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ORIGINES EURASIATICAE

OR

MATERIALS ELUCIDATING THE ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GENESIS OF EURASIA

EDITED BY
ALEXANDER SUSHKO

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VOLUMEN IX.

GAVGAMELA

THE MODERN

QARAQOSH

قراقوش

OCTOBER 1, 331 B.C.

BY

ALEXANDER SUSHKO, PH. D.

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"Ξὺν ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει ἑστρατοπεδεύκει Δαρεῖος ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις πρὸς ποταμῷ Βουμώδῳ [*var.* Βουμήλῳ] ἀπέχων Ἀρβήλων τῆς πόλεως δσον ἑξακοσίους σταδίους, ἐν χώρῳ ὁμαλῷ πάντη."

Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, III, 8, 7. "With this army Dareius had encamped at Gaugamela by the River Bumodus, about six hundred stades from the city Arbela, in a position level on all sides."—Robson's *Transl.* I, pp. 247-249.

"Ἀλλὰ ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γὰρ γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Βουμάδῳ, λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος. Πόλις δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, ἀλλὰ κώμη μεγάλη, οὐδὲ ὀνομαστὸς ὁ χῶρος, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀκοὴν ἡδὺ τὸ ὄνομα· ἔνθεν δέ μοι δοκεῖ πόλις οὖσα τὰ Ἄρβηλα ἀπηνέγκατο τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγάλης μάχης."

Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, VI, 11, 8. "But Ptolemy and Aristobulus relate that the battle took place at Gaugamela by the River Bumodus. Gaugamela, however, was not a city, but a large village; nor was it an important place and the name was rather cacophonous. It, therefore, seems to me that Arbela, being a city, carried off the glory of this great battle."—Sushko's *Transl.*

The Scythian and Ukrainian Princes Pay Homage to Alexander the Great. (*Arrian-Rooke*, London, 1729).

FOREWORD

"Der Name Alexander bezeichnet das Ende einer Weltepoche, den Anfang einer neuen."—*J. G. Droysen.*

THE ILLUSTRIOUS, far-famed and exceedingly eventful battle of Gaugamela, in which Alexander the Great defeated the last grand army of Darius III (Codomannus), justly deserves to be adnumbered to the most notable events of the World's History. A great "Völkerschlacht" in the fullest meaning of the name, it not only put an end to the gigantic and venerable Empire of Cyrus, but also opened to the daring European intruders the entire Afrasia,—while in the life of a great number of nations of the ancient Orient it constituted a veritable epoch,—one of the turning points in their history, as did the battle at Zama for Carthage and Rome, and the battle at Leipzig for Napoleon and the whole of Europe, if not for the whole of Eurasia and, perhaps, even for the entire World.

And yet, strange as it may appear, we still are ignorant of the true etymology of the name "Gaugamela" itself, nor do we know the exact geographical location of the momentous bat-

tle, both of which even the ancients did not know two thousand years ago. Little wonder, then, that the question whether the battle of Gaugamela was fought at Arbela or at Tell Gomel, at Nineveh or at Kermelis, still constitutes one of the most perplexing problems which have engaged the attention of the outstanding historians and geographers during the last two thousand years.

The usually well informed *Encyclopaedia Britannica* relates ambiguously that "the last army gathered by an Achaemenian king was shattered in the battle called popularly after the city of Arbela some 60 miles distant, or more precisely after the village of Gaugamela hard by" (Ed. XI, vol. I, p. 547).

A similarly indeterminate explanation is given to us by Meyers *Grosses Konversations-Lexicon* (Sexte Auflage, vol. VII, p. 390): "Gaugamela, Ortschaft in Assyrien nordwestlich von Arbela, wo Alexander d. Gr. über Dareios 2 Oct. 331 v. Chr. siegte. Man sucht G. bald im heutigen *Tell Gomel*, bald südlicher bei *Keremlis*."

The recent edition of *The Encyclopaedia Americana* (1936) makes no mention of Gaugamela at all. One reads, however, *s.v.*, "Arbela" that the town is called now "Arbeel," and that it is "a small town in Asiatic Turkey [should be: in the modern kingdom of Iraq] which gave its name to a decisive battle fought by Alexander the Great against Darius at Gaugamela, about 20 miles distant from it, 1 Oct. 331 B. C..." (*The Encyclopaedia Americana*, vol. II, p. 138. New York-Chicago, 1936).

The opinions expressed by the outstanding historians and geographers, and relating to the same problem, are equally confused and ambiguous.

This distressing uncertainty found its way into all the historical atlases and maps printed all over the world.

Thus the question concerning the exact geographical position of Gaugamela still remains to us as baffling and wanton as it was to the ancients two thousand years ago. Similarly the

problem of the etymology of the peculiar name "Gaugamela" belongs to the still unsolved riddles of history.

A definite solution of all these old and elusive problems is offered in the following pages.

The work was written in 1931, and as we see no reason for altering our conclusions no effort has been made to encumber it with material published thereafter. In this connection we may, perhaps, be allowed to quote the following passage from Henry Field's monumental *"Arabs of Central Iraq, their History, Ethnology, and Physical Characters,"* published recently by Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1935. pp. 433-434:

"The site of the battle of Gaugamela in which Alexander overthrew Darius Codomannus on October 1, 331 B. C., was named after Arbela, the modern Erbil. The exact location of the battlefield has remained in doubt. According to Ptolemy and Aristobulus the fighting took place at Gaugamela and not at Arbela. Furthermore, the word Gaugamela means "the black bird" or "the black eagle", which is exactly the same meaning implied by the modern name of Qaraqosh in Turkish (cf. Karaqush as transliteration). Thus, on the basis of philology and a detailed study of the historical sources, it seems probable that the battle of Gaugamela took place near the modern village of Qaraqosh. Dr. Alexander Sushko of the University of Chicago brought this information to my attention".

Many thanks are due to Field Museum of Natural History and to its distinguished Curator of Physical Anthropology, Mr. Henry Field, for their kind permission to reproduce the general views and physical types of Qaraqosh which were first published in the above mentioned invaluable book of Henry Field. I also gratefully acknowledge the aid of Rand McNally & Co., for permission to reproduce their map, published in Hurlbut's Atlas, 1928.

Appropriate thanks must be given to the Directors of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago who have gra-

ciously loaned original photographs and have allowed their illustrations to be reproduced in this book.

Our particularly warm feeling of obligation is due to the staffs of the Library of Congress at Washington and of the Libraries of the University of Chicago, Newberry and Crerar at Chicago, for the most courteous permission to make use of their rich and precious bibliographical resources.

We also thank our printer, Mr. A. Berger, for his endless patience and generous cooperation.

All illustrations embellishing this book have been made from the plates executed by the *Columbian Engraving Co.* (547 S. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.). Their artistic excellence offers the finest commendation possible to this eminent establishment, which is second to none in America.

Our bibliographical list contains many references to important works on regional geography, certain works on customs, folklore, travel, and comparative philology, since they usually involve much material illuminating our problems. Almost all of the titles have been taken from the original sources, and extreme precaution has been taken to insure accuracy in the preparation of this list. We sincerely hope to improve it substantially in the second edition of this book.

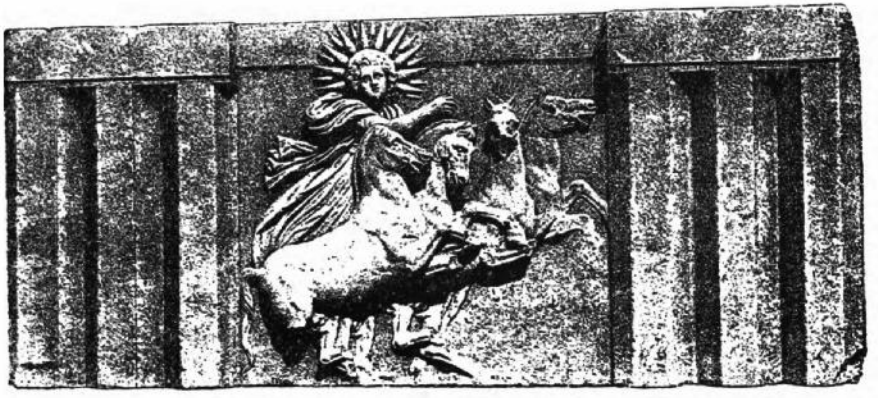
The spelling of Qaraqosh as well as of other place names of the ancient Athuria conforms to the system adopted by the British Permanent Committee on Geographical Names. Qaraqosh's transliterations in old books appear in the following forms: Karakosh, Karakoosh, Karakush, Karakus, Karakoash, Karagosh, Karagoash, Karaqush; also: Kara-kosh, Kara-koosh, etc., and: Kara-Kosh, Kara-Koosh, etc.

The transliteration of Kermelis was in old books: Karmelis, Karmely, Keremlis, Keremles, Karamless (Layard), etc.

The spelling of other geographical names from the same region is equally polymorphic.

A. S.

INTRODUCTION



The Ascension of Helios-Alexander.
Metope from a Temple at New-Ilion, unearthed by Schliemann, in 1872.

INTRODUCTION

"Keine glänzendere Erscheinung findet sich in der Geschichte aller Zeiten und Völker als Alexander von Makedonien."—*Fr. Koepp.*

IT IS indeed deplorable that the majority of the ancient historical works which relate to the stupendous expeditions and conquests of Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.) have perished completely in the course of centuries. Some of them were written by "testes oculati" or at least by Alexander's contemporaries; the loss of these is especially regretable. They are headed by the invaluable map of Alexander's routes, prepared by Dicaearchus, the pupil of Aristotle, who accompanied Alexander in his expeditions. It was used as late as 210-125 B.C. and 54 B.C. —A. D. 25 by Polybius and Strabo respectively; and if, perchance, this map should be discovered today its value would by far exceed its weight in gold[1]. In like manner great works of

[1] A. Buttmann's *Quaestiones de Dicaearcho ejusque operibus*, Numburg, 1832; Ritter-Daniel's *Geschichte der Erdkunde und der Entdeckungen*, p. 65, Berlin, 1861; M. Fuhr, *Dicaearchi Messenii, quae supersunt*, Darmstadt, 1841; F. G. Osann, Beiträge zur röm. u. griech. Litteratur, vol. II, pp. 1-117, Darmstadt u. Cassel, 1839; Martini, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. V, cc. 546, 563. Stuttgart, 1905.

equal value compiled by Alexander's companions and historiographers, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Aristobulus of Cassandreia, the son of Aristobulus, have disappeared.[1] Each wrote concerning Alexander's achievements with authority and exactness, and their writings were still available four centuries later. The celebrated Arrian (c. A. D. 90-170), who compiled the first history of the great Macedonian's conquests, held them in his possession, and while studying them "with absolute confidence in their accuracy" he took full advantage of their great resourcefulness.[2]

In addition to Ptolemy, Aristobulus and Dicaearchus, there were many other *literati*, who wrote at the same time, but with varying degrees of skill and exactness, concerning the great Conqueror and his remarkable deeds. Arrian collected and examined their writings with the thoroughness of an accomplished historian.[3] "Where they disagree," Arrian assures us, with an air of unsurpassed veracity and honesty, "I chose the version which, in my judgment, is the more credible and at the same time the more interesting of the two." Moreover, Arrian, this most charming of the ancient historiographers, tells us that "the historians of Alexander have each their own story to tell and no other historical character was ever treated by a greater number of writers or with a greater discrepancy in their results." Arrian, however, regarded Ptolemy and Aristobulus as more trustworthy authorities than others; Aristobulus because he was King Alexander's companion in arms; Ptolemy for the additional reason that he was a king himself[4] and it would therefore have been much more disrespectful for him to have failed to tell the truth than for an ordinary person; their works are authentic because they were written after the death of Alexander when there was no constraint to misrepresent the facts. Furthermore, Arrian "in-

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[1] Cf. C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Paris (Didot), 1848.—A Schoene, *De rerum Alexandri Magni scriptorum imprimis Arriani et Plutarchi fontibus*. Lipsae, 1870.

[2] Teubner Text, ed. by A. G. Roos, Book I, p. 1-3.

[3] Ibidem.

[4] Ptolemy Soter reigned 322-285 B. C.

cluded information drawn from other works, when it appeared to him interesting in itself and not altogether untrustworthy as would come under the heading of unverified anecdotes." Should, however, any reader be inclined to wonder what incentive Arrian had to embark upon this work in the wake of a host of authors, then, let Arrian speak for himself: "I beg him to suspend judgment until he has examined all their works and acquainted himself with mine."

Fortunately many copious fragments of those ancient writers, contemporary with Alexander, were preserved in the compiled works of later writers, especially in those of Curtius (c. A. D. 50), Arrian (c. A. D. 90-170), Strabo (c. 54 B. C.-A. D. 25) and Pliny (c. A. D. 23-79).[1] Nevertheless, can anyone doubt that a wealth of exceedingly interesting and valuable details has perished with the loss of those parts which were neither preserved by the ancients nor handed down to posterity?

One is unable to emphasize the great historical and cultural importance of Alexander's deeds and conquests.[2] Although the "blue books" and many reports of Alexander's generals and collaborators have been lost, we still find ourselves overwhelmed by the importance of his great accomplishments; even with our comparative thoroughness and exhaustive efforts, we are still unable to comprehend and esteem them in their proper significance.[3] With Appian of Alexandria (c. A. D. 90-160), we wish only to point out that there really was a time when the gigantic Empire of Alexander "dazzled the world by the scale, rapidity, and success of its operations," and that, although "it lasted no longer than a brilliant flash of lightning, and had dissolved into a number of separate satrapies," its influence upon the whole

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[1] Cf. Saint Croix's *Examen critique des anciens historiens d'Alexandre le Grand.* Paris, Seconde Édition, 1804.—The work should be consulted with care; it was declared by Niebuhr "als durchaus ungenügend und für die deutsche Philologie nicht existierend."

[2] Compare J. Kaerst, *Die antike Idee der Oekumene in ihrer politischen und kulturellen Bedeutung*, Leipzig 1903, and J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians.* New York, 1909.

[3] Concerning the "lost reports and blue books" read Bury, *op. cit.*

civilized world was far reaching and of lasting importance noticeable, to a great degree, even at the present time. Let us not forget that, as was rightly observed by the ingenious Carl Ritter, Alexander's great victory over Darius at Gaugamela had in fact opened a New World in the East, just as 1800 years later Columbus opened a New World in the West.[1] On the other hand, let us remember that by gaining for the whole Western World the knowledge of countless strange lands and peoples in the East, Alexander's great victory and his subsequent stupendous conquests, provided an unexcelled background of abundant material for many generations of artists, historians, geographers, story writers, statesmen, politicians, pedagogues, and theologians.

The stories describing Alexander's deeds were painted, carved into marble and set in mosaics by the most able artists. Outstanding writers arranged them into magnificent pictures gorgeously engrafted upon the grandiose canvasses of the exotic East, while numerous writers and moralists have narrated them to many generations. They appealed strongly to the fancy of the masses, and it is little wonder that the remarkable fortunes of Alexander shook the foundations of the entire contemporary world. His fantastically brilliant career aroused the imagination of the various peoples of the East and West, hence the romance of Alexander has been written in almost every language of the civilized world.[2] According to Chaucer, the Alexander romance was so popular,

> *"That every wight that hath discrecioun*
> *Hath herd somewhat or all of his fortune."*

[1] Compare Ritter-Daniel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde und der Entdeckungen*, p. 66, Berlin, 1861.

[2] Of the immense literature relating to the romance of Alexander, we refer to Adolf Ausfeld's *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, Leipzig, 1907, and the exceedingly valuable works of the Russian, Ukrainian, and other Slav authors such as: Pypin, Veselovskii, Istrin, Potapin, Grigoriev, Bulgakov, Victorov, Rystenko, Zhdanov, Jagič, and Franko. Besides the classic and fundamental work of P. Mayer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1886, following monographs contain valuable material: J. Friedländer, *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig, 1913; and G. L. Hamilton, *Quelques notes sur l'histoire de légende d'Alexandre le Grand en Angleterre au moyen-âge*.—Mélanges Thomas, Paris, 1927, pp. 195 ff.

This phenomenon should cause no wonder, for the fascinating story of Alexander captivated the minds and hearts of the educated and uneducated masses with an irresistible force. It became soon a determining factor in moulding the education of countless generations, shaping their ideas and conceptions of the relation of the individual to the universe (the Greek "oecumene," the Roman "orbis terrarum") and guiding the philosophic thoughts of men for many ages.

Now, taking these facts into consideration, we find ourselves at a loss, realizing that many of the most important details concerning Alexander's illustrious exploits, and especially those concerning the memorable battle at Gaugamela, unfortunately though unavoidably, have disappeared. Up to the present time we have been unable to ascertain the exact location of Alexander's fortified camp, which is reputed to have been just sixty stadia (three hours) distant from the formidable camp of Darius;[1] we literally endure physical pain when we find so many, and such grave discrepancies between the topographical details of the battlefield itself, as have been given to us by Commander James Felix Jones (1855), by Herr Ingenieur J. Černik of Vienna (1875) and by Dr. Max Freiherr von Oppenheim of Berlin (1900.)[2] It is indeed highly regretable that in this respect we have made so little progress despite the copious though confused supply of topographical details exhibited by the ancients concerning Gaugamela.

In conclusion we take the liberty to quote the following melancholy words of that eminent geographer, Carl Ritter, recorded in his excellent "Anmerkung" concerning the battlefield of Gaugamela:[3] "Die topographischen Details, wie wir sie bis jetzt kennen, stimmen nicht uneben mit den historischen An-

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[1] Arrian, II, 9.

[2] Visualized on our maps based mostly upon same.

[3] Printed in the ninth volume of his excellent *Erdkunde*, op. cit., pp. 699-702, Berlin, 1840, and reprinted in our *"Appendices"*.

gaben der Autoren überein; doch würde eine specielle Durchforschung jenes merkwürdigen Schlachtfeldes auch heute noch erwünscht sein."[1]

It is evident that the last words of the venerable scholar have not lost their full force even today. The following chapters offer at least a partial answer to the above desideratum expressed by the great German thinker almost a hundred years ago.

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[1] "The topographical details as we know them up to the present time do not correspond uneven with the historical data of the authors, but to have a special examination of this remarkable battlefield would be desirable even today."

ALEXANDER
From a Statue in the Louvre.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT
AND
GAUGAMELA

CHAPTER I

"The campaigns of the son of Philip are not like those of Jenghis Khan or Tamerlane, a simple irruption, a sort of deluge; all was calculated with depth, executed with audacity, conducted with wisdom."—*Napoleon.*

THE momentous battle of October 1, 331 B. C., in which Darius Codomannus was overthrown by Alexander the Great, has won a place of immortal fame in history, not only because of its noteworthy and outstanding participants, but also because it exerted an immense influence upon the destinies of Eurasia and Afrasia, changing in fact the very course of the World's history. Strangely enough, this battle was named after "Arbela" not only in the older books, but also in some of the modern, and even in some of the most recent publications of highest repute, such as Bury's edition of Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*,[2] and H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*. Other authors called it the battle of "Arbela and Gaugamela," or the battle of "Gaugamela" (also "Gangamela"). Concerning the location of the latter place, York Graf von Wartenburg expressed the opinion that it was situated "some sixty miles from Arbela" —a fairly vague localization, indeed. Similar statements made by other scholars can be quoted *ad libitum*. The location assigned to Gaugamela by the old cartographers is as a rule on the left, *i.e.* eastern bank of the River Zab (the ancient *Lycus*), in close proximity to Arbela (the modern *Erbil*).

Several strenuous attempts have been made to answer the

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[1] Or Sept. 30, 331 B. C., see Krause, in *Hermes*, XXIII.

[2] E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, edited in seven volumes with introduction, notes, appendices and index* by J. B. Bury, M. A., etc., London, Methuen, 1896-1900, vol. I, p. 209, note 1, London, 1896.

[3] York Graf von Wartenburg, *Kurze Uebersicht der Feldzüge Alexanders des Grossen*, Berlin, 1897.—Cf. also: F. Hackmann, *Die Schlacht bei Gaugamela* (Dissert.), Halle, 1902.

puzzling questions of the exact location of the famous battlefield, and of the actual meaning of the rather odd name "Gaugamela". These attempts have been made by well-known and brilliant travelers, scholars and historians, both ancient and modern, but unfortunately, with little success. One of the most recent attempts was that of Lieut.-Col. W. H. Lane, who in his *Babylonian Problems*[1] announced that he had solved the old problem by identifying the ancient Gaugamela with the modern Kermelis. Lane's solution, however, is far from being correct, for, as we shall presently prove, Gaugamela must be definitely identified with the Kermelis' twin-village, Qaraqosh. Moreover, it is not even original, for as early as 1776 the learned Danish scholar and traveler, Carsten Niebuhr, had designated this Assyrian village, Kermelis, as the probable Gaugamela,[2] and fifty years later it was really identified with Gaugamela by the celebrated geographer Major J. Rennell.[3]

The reference to the celebrated event as "the battle of Arbela and Gaugamela" is even more confusing. This procedure has rightly been attacked by some of the classic writers, and we cannot but agree with Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, who, basing his deductions upon exact topographical observations, collected in that district by Herr Ingenieur Joseph Černik of Vienna, in 1873, had most emphatically protested that "bei Arbela hat somit kein Kampf statt gefunden, und wenn die "Schlacht von Gaugamela und Arbela" schon einzelne antike Schriftsteller tadeln, so erscheint es um so nothwendiger, heute desto schärfer gegen diese fälschliche Benennung aufzutreten,

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[1] P. 249, London, 1923.

[2] Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern.* Kopenhagen, gedruckt in der Hofdruckerey bey Nicolaus Möller, Vol. II. pp. 348-9, n. 1, 1775.

[3] In his *Illustrations of the History of the Expedition of Cyrus*, op. cit., pp. 153-154. London, 1816.

[4] Ingenieur Josef Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition durch die Gebiete des Euphrat und Tigris, nebst Ein-und Ausgangs-Routen durch North-Syrien, etc., bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Amand Freiherrn v. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld.*—Ergänzungheft No. 44 und 45 zu *Petermann's "Geographische Mittheilungen."* Gotha, 1875 und 1876.

da sie aus unseren besten Geschichtswerken noch immer nicht ausgemerzt ist."[1]

Unfortunately, Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's observation is still applicable to some of the most notable historical works of our days.

The problem of Arbela of Curtius (IV, c.9.), after which the momentous battle was named, offers no difficulty whatsoever. Undoubtedly it is the ancient Assyrian city Arba-ilu, which is known today as Erbil, or Arbil. It is situated in Adiabene,[2] and it was, in Assyrian and pre-Assyrian times, the capital of the rich country between the Greater and the Lesser Zab Rivers. It lies about forty miles southeast of the present-day Mosul (the ancient Nineveh) on the much traveled commercial and military road leading through rich Babylonia down to the city of Baghdad.

The main part of Erbil is situated on a solid rock elevation about one hundred and fifty feet high, which once was considered an artificial mound. Sidney Smith observes (1928)[3] that the site of Erbil has much in common with that of Aleppo, since both cities stand on a rock which dominates the surrounding plain.

Few sites in Mesopotamia and Syria can be said to have as long and continuous a history as that of Erbil, Sidney Smith states.[4] Its documentary antiquity goes as far back as 2500 B.C., and it was, doubtless, inhabited from time immemorial. In antiquity its name was probably Urbillum; the Assyrian scribes wrote the name Arba-ilu, i.e. "four-gods,"—not "a barbaric and really meaningless etymology," as claimed by Sidney Smith,[5] but on the contrary, an appelation full of explicit meaning, as

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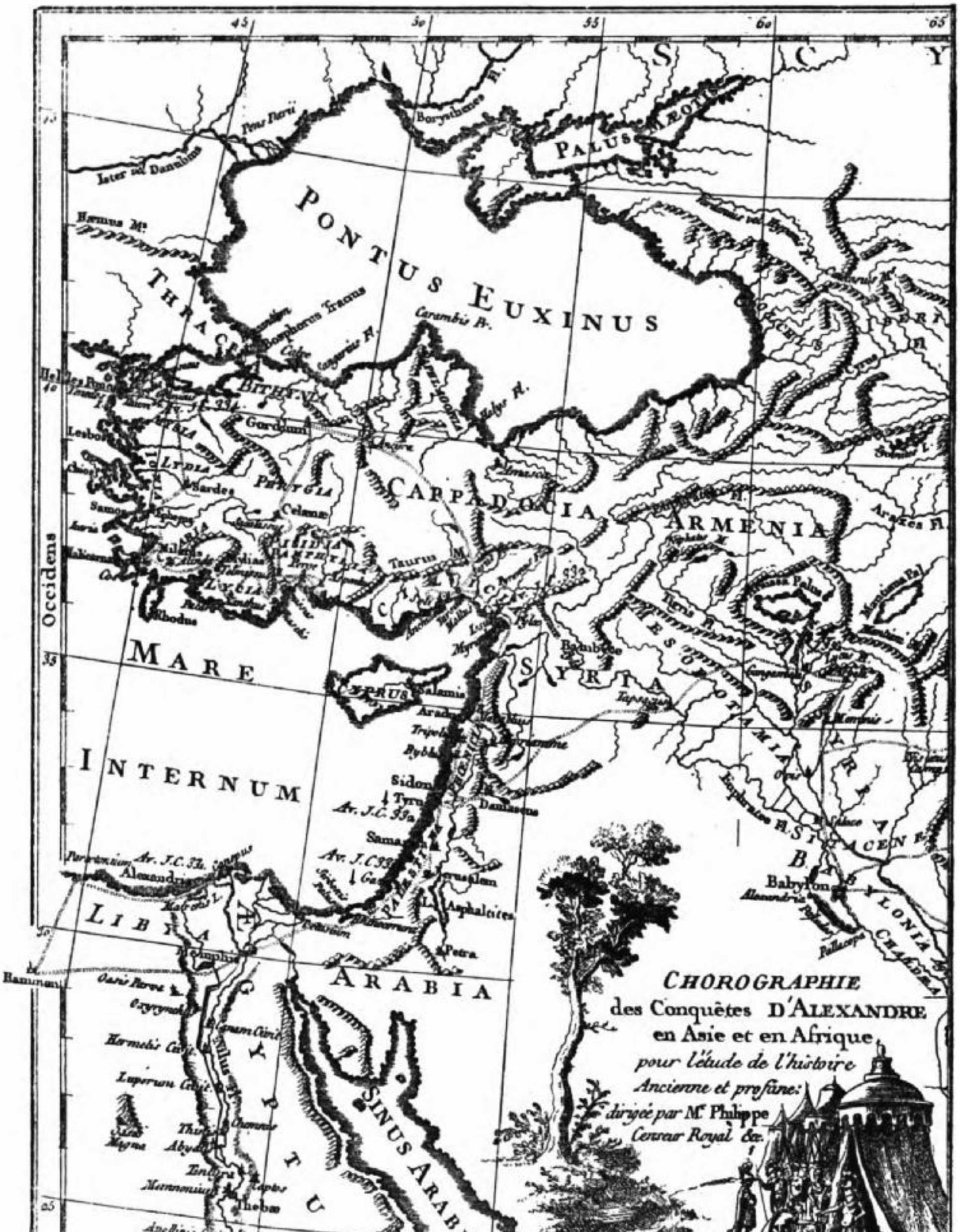
[1] *I.e.*, the Land of the Zab Rivers.—Ammianus Marc., etc. See Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, Berlin 1844, op. cit., vol. IX, p. 173.

[2] Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C.* p. 133. London, Chatto and Windus, 1928; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und Geschichte des Menschen, oder Allgemeine vergleichende Geographie*, vol. IX, p. 692, Berlin, 1840.

[3] L.c. Also read Ebeling-Meissner, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, vol. I, pp. 141-142, s.v. "Arbailu." Berlin und Leipzig, 1928.

[4] Ibidem.—"Four Lords," according to Eberhard Schrader's *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, tr. by Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse, vol. II, pp. 294-295, and vol. I, p. 103, note. London, 1885-1888.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Carambis Pr.
Hæmus Mt.

clearly attested by Hommel.[1] The town survived its most recent heroic experiences[2] when Nadir-Shah besieged the fortress for sixty days before he gained entrance (1732). In the year 1817, it was "a mean dirty town, with a ruinous castle in the centre, standing on a summit of one of those artificial elevations that crown the plain, and appear to the eye an immense mass of ruins and decayed materials that were formerly of greater magnitude, and in a more perfect state. Its population is composed of Christians, Arabs, Koords, Turks, Jews and Zezidees; and it is famous for a manufactory of thick heavy blankets, that are particularly well calculated for turning off the wet.'"[3]

R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson remind us recently[4] that Erbil still lies untouched by the spade of an archaeologist, "since a large town occupies the summit of the mound."

Though Arbela or Erbil was situated some thirty miles east of the real battlefield, the last great battle between Darius and Alexander was, and still is, called "the battle of Arbela." The error was perpetuated not only by such writers of great repute as Bury and Wells, but also by such an eminent Assyriologist as George Smith. "Ervil," claimed the latter authority,[5] "is the site of the Assyrian city of Arbela, and in the plains outside it was fought the great battle between Alexander and Darius. I had no time to examine the place, but I saw in passing that there were mounds rivalling in size those of the Assyrian capital. Over the principal mound a Turkish fortress is built, which would make

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[1] "*Arba-ili*, die Viergötterstadt, das ist die Stadt der vier Stromgötter."—Fritz Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, p. 253, n. 6. München, 1926.

Also read R. C. Thompson's *A Pilgrim's Scrip*, p. 107 (London, 1915), and H. Ch. Luke's *Mosul and its Minorities*, p. 39 (London, 1925).

[2] Cf. Amand Freiherr v. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's redaction of Herr Ingenieur Černik's *Technische Studien-Expedition durch die Gebiete des Euphrates und Tigris*, l. c., pp. 1-2, 1876. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt. Zweiter Band, Erste Hälfte, Viertes Buch.* Berlin und Leipzig, 1926.

[3] Lieutenant William Heude, *A Voyage up the Persian Gulf, and a Journey Overland from India to England in* 1817, p. 217. London, 1819.

[4] R. Campbell Thompson, and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, p. 16. London, 1929.

[5] George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries; an Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh, during* 1873 *and* 1874. New York, 1876, p. 67.

it difficult to excavate here; but as Arbela was a great city, much may be expected here whenever it is explored."

"But the greatest battle of all that was fought with Darius, was not, as most writers tell us, at Arbela, but at Gaugamela," protested Plutarch (c. A.D. 46-130),[1] and after him Arrian (c. A. D. 130), who, on the authority of Ptolemy Lagus and Aristobulus, both officers in the service of Alexander, corrected the error, stating that it was at Gaugamela, and not at Arbela, that the great battle between Darius and Alexander was fought. As Arrian relates, the latter town received the credit of having been the exact scene of the conflict, because Arbela was an important and well known place, while Gaugamela was at that time, a hamlet unknown to most people. It was also observed by Arrian that the two places, i.e. Arbela and Gaugamela, were as far apart as Salamis and the Isthmus of Corinth, or Arthemisia and Aegina or Sunium.[2] Plutarch[3] and Ammianus[4] agree with Arrian.

It requires little reflection to understand how Arbela-Erbil became celebrated as the scene of the last conflict between Alexander and Darius. It was not only because—as we are told by the ancient writers,—Arbela was an important town, while Gaugamela was an insignificant village, but also because it was at Arbela that Darius established his headquarters, left his treasures, baggage and harems, in order that he might occupy the left bank of the Tigris before the bold Macedonian should have time to cross the river. Not without considerable bearing upon this same problem was the fact that after the battle, the royal treasures and the harems at Arbela became an easy prey for the victorious Alexander, and that the whole city was mercilessly plundered by the victory-drunk soldatesca of the great Macedonian. Both points were duly emphasized by Wigram. "Gaugamela being in the angle between the Tigris and the Zab," he states, "is about equidistant between Nineveh and Arbela,

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[1] Plutarch's *Lives. The Translation called Dryden's. Corrected from the Greek and Revised by A. H. Clough, etc.*, vol. IV, p. 200. London, MacMilan, 1902 (Oxford Edition).

[2] Anab., VI, 12. [3] Alex., cap. 31, u. s. [4] XXIII, 6.

which lies about twenty miles from the battlefield on the farther side of the Zab river. But all Darius' baggage and treasure were around Arbela, and as the pursuers poured head-long towards the place where they would find the plunder, it is Arbela, and not Nineveh which has given its name to that day."[1]

The problem of Nineve, alluded to by Wigram, deserves a few words of explanation. First of all let it be observed that a distinction between Nineveh and Arbela was clearly comprehended by the ancients. In his description of the Parthian expedition of Cassius, Tacitus states: "Sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos, vetustissima sedes Assyriae, et Arbela, castellum insigne fama, quod postremo inter Darium atque Alexandrum proelio Persarum illic opes conciderant."[2] However, it is not impossible that there was no inhabited city on the site of the ancient Nineveh neither at the time of the celebrated march of the Ten Tousand Greeks with Cyrus (Strabo, XVI), nor at the time of the momentous march of the valiant forces of Alexander. Hence the fact that Nineveh was never mentioned by the Greek *literati* who followed Alexander, though they must doubtlessly, have seen its ruins. Hence also the reason why Nineveh has not given its name to the battle of Gaugamela, according to us.

It is interesting to observe that the eighteenth century translator of Arrian into English was well aware of the fact that Gaugamela was distant from Arbela seventy-five miles. He also knew—almost fifty years before Niebuhr—that Gaugamela lay on the farther side of the Zab river. Yet on the map attached to his translation (and reproduced in facsimile in the present monograph) Gaugamela is still located on the left, *i.e.* eastern bank of the Zab, in close proximity to Arbela.[3]

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[1] W. A. Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, p. 115, London, 1922.

[2] *Annalium*, Lib. XII, c. 13.

[3] Read Rooke's note to the introductory verses of Arrian III, 16: "*Curtius, lib. V. cap.* 1. 3 tells us, that *Darius* fled from the Field of Battle to *Arbela*, which Place he reach'd about Mid-night: —and *Rufus* assures us, that Six hundred Furlongs, or Seventy-five *English* Miles, was a vast Way to ride in so short a Time. —So think I too. Now, that *Curtius* must mean, the Middle of the Night immediately succeding the Day of Battle, is manifest; for hat it been the Night after, *Alexander* had been there before him; and then he could have expected but a sorry Welcome. That this

Yet taking for granted that the decisive conflict between Alexander and Darius took place at Gaugamela and not at Arbela, one is still confronted with the baffling question concerning the exact geographical position of "Gaugamela." "It is remarkable," complained A. H. Layard almost hundred years ago,[1] "that tradition has not preserved any record of the precise scene of an event which so materially affected the destinies of the East. The history of this great battle is unknown to the present inhabitants of the country; nor does any local name serve to connect it with these plains." In consequence on a number of maps made by the outstanding English, French, German and American geographers and cartographers, Gaugamela is located on entirely different places, and the most renowned historians admit that they are wholly unable to determine its exact location. Moreover, the etymology of the peculiar name "Gaugamela" is far from being satisfactorily elucidated. Consequently there remains for us no alternative but to scrutinize the last two problems in detail.

Battle was fought, or at least finish'd in the Afternoon, is probable, because *Alexander*, in the Pursuit, could reach no further than the River *Lycus* that Night, which is Eighty Furlongs, or Ten *English* Miles, from the Field: Then, giving his Soldiers a little Rest, he march'd forward again at Mid-night, and reach'd Arbela, the next Day, which was above Sixty Miles further. Now the Wonder is, how *Darius* could fly as far, in five or six Hours, as Alexander could pursue in, perhaps, eighteen or twenty, when every body knows *Alexander's* Speed in marching? However, *Arrian* has clear'd up the Case, by assuring us, that *Darius* never came near *Arbela*, but directed his Flight thro' *Armenia* into *Media*, a very different Way: and *Diodorus*, *lib. XVII. p.* 538 plainly tells us, he hasted to Ecbatana ... One Thing more, I cannot forbear taking Notice of: *Curtius* tells us, that the Stench of the Carcasses of those slain in this Battle, had so infected the Air, that *Alexander* was obliged to remove from *Arbela*, sooner than he design'd; —*lib. V. cap. I.* 11. It must be a prodigious Stench indeed, or *Alexander's* Men must have quick Noses, who could smell it at Seventy-five Miles Distance. Besides, *Alexander* could have no Design of tarrying at *Arbela*, any longer than to secure the Treasures, and Royal Furniture there; neither had he, perhaps, gone there at all, but to seize them. *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, were the Places he aim'd at, and *Darius* knew that well enough; for which Reason, he directed his Flight to *Ecbatana* in *Media*. All these Errors arise from *Curtius's* first Mistake, or imagining *Arbela* nigh the Field of Battle. He has been guilty of another Error, in the very next Line, by placing *Arabia Felix* on their Left Hand, as they pass'd from *Arbela* to Babylon ..." —*Arrian's History of Alexander's Expedition, Translated from the Greek. With Notes Historical, Geographical, and Critical.* By Mr. Rooke, vol. I, pp. 167-168, n. 1. London, 1729.

[1] A. H. Layard, *Discoveries, etc.*, p. 176.

CHAPTER II

"It is remarkable that tradition has not preserved any record of the precise scene of an event which so materially affected the destinies of the East. The history of this great battle is unknown to the present inhabitants of the country; nor does any local name . . . serve to connect it with these plains."—*Layard.*

THE battle of Gaugamela is described in detail by Arrian.[1] Having conquered Egypt and restored order in Syria, Alexander marched northward, joined Parmenio in July of the year 331 B. C., and crossed the Euphrates at Tapsacus by means of a bridge of boats (July-August). As the invading army advanced, Mazaeus, the ex-satrap of Cilicia, sent by Darius with 3,000 cavalry, fell back before it. Instead of marching directly southward toward Babylon, Alexander now took the road toward the Tigris in the direction of Nisibis, in order to meet Darius, who was awaiting him in Assyria. One cannot escape the impression that Alexander advanced with particular caution, for he did not cross the Tigris at Bezabde (Beth'zabde?—Ritter, XI, 146), not far from the modern Djesirah (or Jehsirah)[2] until the twentieth or twenty-first of September.[3] The fording of the

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[1] Arrian, III, 8-15.—Also: Plutarch, *Alex.* 31 ff.; Diod. XVII, 55 ff; Curt. IV, 22 ff.

[2] See C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen, oder Allgemeine vergleichende Geographie*, vol. IX, p. 700, Berlin, 1840; vol. XI, pp. 146 ff. Berlin, 1844.—Also: Julius Kaerst, *Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, op. cit., 3-d Ed., *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, vol. I, p. 382, n. 7, Leipzig. Teubner, 1927; F. Hackmann, *Die Schlacht bei Gaugamela*, op. cit., pp. 38 ff., Halle, 1902.

Let it be recalled that *Droysen*, too, favors the opinion that Alexander crossed the Tigris near Dhesireh-ibn-Omar (i.e. Bezabde), while *Colonel Chesney* suggests that the Greeks crossed the Tigris at Eski-Mosul, i.e. about twenty-five miles above the present town of that name. Bunbury favors the last supposition. *Grotte's* suggestion that Alexander crossed the Tigris at Mosul, i.e., almost opposite the field of the battle, is utterly impossible.

[3] The exact date is ascertained by the eclipse of the moon.—Arrian, III, 7, 6; Plutarch, *Alex.*, 31. See also Chr. L. Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I p. 347.

swift Tigris was quite difficult, yet the bold invaders met with no opposition upon sighting the Persians. This was perhaps due to a premeditated stratagem of Darius designed to trap the impertinent foe in the formidable death-triangle of Tigris and Chazir, or perhaps the result of the strange behavior of Mazaeus.

After crossing the Tigris, Alexander turned southward, traversing ancient Assyria, which, at that time, was called Athuria, with the Tigris on his right and the Gordyaean Mountains on his left.[1] The march was directed toward the main position of Darius, which was at "Gaugamela—close to the ruins of Nineveh, and some seventy miles north-west of Arbela, which has given its name to the battle," as claimed by P. M. Sykes[2] and other authorities,—though in fact, it was around the present-day Qaraqosh.

After four days' march, the Greeks sighted the vanguard of the Persians. Alexander obtained from his scouts and captives his first knowledge of the size and position of Darius' huge army. He immediately called a halt and set up a camp, where he remained four days, allowing his soldiers to rest.[3] The camp was fortified with walls and ditches, and constituted an excellent position upon which to fall back if necessary. Moreover, it ensured the absolute freedom of Alexander's small but valiant force. As Arrian testifies, it was only three and a half miles (60 stadia, or three hours, i.e. about 7 English miles) distant from the great camp of Darius. Neither army had precise knowledge concern-

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[1] Curtius calls the mountains Carduchian, while Arrian calls them Sogdian.

[2] Lieut. Col. P. M. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, vol. I, p. 274. London, 1925.

[3] Arrian, III, 9. The exact site of Alexander's camp has not been ascertained as yet. It is our opinion that it was in Hussein Ferrash or in the near neighborhood of it. In connection with the problem, Carl Ritter observes: "Für das Perserlager ist die Angabe am Flusse bestimmt, für die der Macedonier nur unbestimmt, hypothetisch zu vermuthen; es müssten denn die Spuren jenes mit Wall und Graben verschanzten Lagers noch aufzufinden sein, was bis jetz nicht geschehen ist."—*Erdkunde*, op. cit. vol. IX. p. 701, Berlin, 1840.—Droysen argues that "diess Lager mag nördlich vom Flüsschen Hasser, das bei den Trümmerhügeln von Khorsabad vorüber südwestwärts zum Tigris hinabfliesst, gelegen haben."—*Geschichte des Hellenismus*, I², p. 330, n. 2. Gotha, 1877.

ing the exact position of the other, being completely separated by a series of intermediate low hills.

It was in the darkness of the night, September 30, 331 B. C., that Alexander led his regiments out of the fortified camp, in order to be able to fall upon the Persians in the early hours of the morning. After a short march lasting an hour and a half (30 stadia), the Greeks reached the last range of the intermediate hills. In the near distance they saw the dark line of the gigantic Persian camp. Without delay Alexander called a halt, assembled his generals, and arranged a council of war. Various plans of attack were suggested, but following the advice of the old strategist, Parmenio, Alexander took the light infantry and the companion cavalry and made a general survey of the grounds where the battle was to be fought, "apparently without interference from the enemy." A new camp fortified with stockade was made, probably on the gentle declivity of the modern Hazna and Börtella. On his return Alexander again conferred with his generals, and, having described in detail the surrounding grounds, impressed upon them the importance of blind and unconditional execution of his orders. To Parmenio's suggestion to attack during the next night Alexander replied with his famous words: "I do not steal a victory." The army apparently shared the confidence of their great leader, for it soon fell into sound sleep, while the sentinels kept watch. The Persians, on the other hand, fearing a night-attack of the bold enemy, stood under arms the whole night. It was a great mistake, for, as Arrian states, "their long and tedious watching in heavy armor and the fear which usually possesses men's minds before a great danger, contributed no small portion to their defeat." That same night Alexander also enjoyed the most sound and refreshing sleep in his brilliant but short life.

Early in the morning Alexander was awakened by Parmenio. With a masterly precision he drew up his well rested

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[1] 'Birtelle' on our map. Droysen remarks: "Die Senkung bis Abu-Zuaga ist genau 60 Stadien von Kermelis entfernt. Die Stelle dreissig Stadien weiter wird Börtala sein."—*Geschichte des Hellenismus*, I², p. 331, n. 1. Gotha, 1877.

army and attacked the left wing of the Persians. As at Issos he led his companions in person and by breaking into the enemy's center caused the rout.

Darius led the general retreat of the huge army. It soon dissolved into an uncommanded multitude, which caused great clouds of dust to rise as they fled at random into the South-West toward the Tigris and into the South-East toward Arbela. Drunken with a sudden and brilliant victory the Greeks overran the whole battlefield slaying the fleeing bands of the Persians until darkness.

The victory was more than great: it was decisive. It opened the road to Babylon, yes, to the whole Eastern World, and as Theodor Birt cleverly said:[1] it constituted for the whole Orient "eine eigentliche Schicksalswende", as did the battle at Leipzig for Napoleon, and the battle at Zama for Carthage.

Believing that all was lost, Darius fled from Arbela toward Media, along the Armenian Mountains, accompanied only by the Bactrian cavalry, the Melophoroi, and 2,000 Greek mercenaries. Perhaps he hoped to raise hosts of warriors in the heart of Asia, but when he abandoned Babylon, Susa, Persepolis and Pasargadae, he not only lost the heart of his gigantic Empire, but his very life.

According to Arrian, the Persian army gathered at Gaugamela and drawn from every corner of the empire, exceeded in number a million men. Arrian relates that the Persians lost in the battle 300,000 men, while there were only a hundred men and a thousand horses missing in Alexander's army. These figures are obviously exaggerated. We may assume that Alexander's army numbered about seven thousand cavalry and about forty thousand infantry, while the Persians were, perhaps, four or five times as strong in number.[2]

Soon after the sudden flight of Darius, Alexander began a

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[1] Theodor Birt, *Alexander der Grosse und das Weltgriechentum*, op. cit., pp. 137-138. Leipzig, 1925.

[2] Read, though, *Theodor Birt*, l.c., p. 146.

quick pursuit of the unfortunate monarch, which was maintaining untill darkness. The fords just south of the confluence of Zab and Chazir were the place where Alexander crossed in his pursuit of Darius. Here, and not at Wardak, or at Kellaks, as was imagined by Rich, Jones and others, we may assume the conqueror encamped to refresh his weary followers after the hot battle, which lasted "till midnight" (Arrian). He then renewed his march for the final conquest of the whole of the then known civilized world, and never took breath until early in the morning, having reached Arbela, about thirty miles East of the Zab-Chazir fords. But the Persian monarch was not at Arbela: he had fled towards Ecbatana, leaving behind him all his treasures, which, naturally, fell easy prey to Alexander. In June of the following year Alexander became master of the slain corpse of Darius.[1]

Such was the end of the "Great King," the last of the ancient and venerable dynasty of the Achaemenids.

In spite of his woeful misfortune, Darius III Codomannus deserves to be reckoned among the most commendable rulers of ancient Persia. Though doubtless a poor leader in war, he was

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[1] Darius fell the victim of a conspiracy organized against him by the usurper Bessus, and his associates, the satraps of Arachosia and Aria (Arrian, III, 21). After conquering Babylon, Susa and Persepolis (at the latter place Alexander burnt down the imposing palace of the kings of kings, in revenge of Greece for the burning of Athens by Xerxes), the youthful victor commenced a mad chase of Darius, which soon came to a pitiful end. Seeing that Alexander gained upon them, the conspirators, grievously wounded Darius, and fled. Before Alexander reached the lonely spot, a little after sunrise, the last of the Achaemenids had already expired by the road-side, probably somewhere on the plains of Dhamahán.

Darius' remains were embalmed by order of Alexander, and transported "to the Persians" (Arrian, III, 22). Here they were deposited in the familiar place of sepulture of the royal family, under the supervision of the queen-mother, and under the display of all the pomp and ceremony usually observed by the refined sovereigns of Persia.—(Quint. Curt., V, 13).

Professor Herzfeld believes that the beautiful though unfinished tomb, cut in the cliff at Naksh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis, is that of Darius III. Ctesias relates that it was a custom for a Persian king to prepare his own tomb during his lifetime. (Read "*the extracts of Photius*"). We are fortunate to publish in this book a fine photograph of the alleged tomb of Darius III, placed at our disposal by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

[2] Arrian, III, 22.

a just and altruistic administrator of his vast empire in peace, and Arrian testifies that "he never attempted any invasion upon the rights of his subjects." The latter remark must be considered a very high praise, inasmuch as it comes from the pen of a historian whom we know was prejudiced against Darius.

It is remarkable that the memory of the "Great King Darius" still lingers among the chivalric inhabitants of the romantic Kurdistán. They still narrate beautiful stories about the mighty King of Persia and his heroic adversary from the distant Macedonia, and ascribe to Darius the founding of the mighty acropolis of Arbela . . .[1] A tradition has also been preserved that a village which once stood near the mound of Nimrud (Calah) had been called *Darioush*a, after the great monarch, who slept there on the night preceding the fatal battle which deprived him of his empire.[2]

But let us pursue our story a little further and attempt to determine the exact location of Gaugamela itself.

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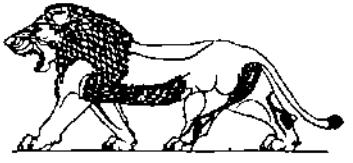
[1] Read Rich's *Kurdistán*, vol. II, p. 18.

[2] However Layard adds that he "never heard any similar tradition from the people of the country. According to the Shemutti, who inhabit the new village the name was Darawish, i.e. the place of Dervishes. It belonged to Turcomans, who mostly died of the plague, the remainder migrating to Selamiyah."—A. H. Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, etc.*, p. 176, n. New York, 1859.

An error on the part of Layard is not excluded for on the map of C. J. Rich, a hamlet called 'Derawish' is located to the northeast of Nineveh, in close proximity to Khorsabad.



ASSYRIAN LION
A Relief Unearthed at Khorsabad.

CHAPTER III

"...so far as conjecture and history guide us, the battle of Gaugamela was fought on the tongue of land intermediate between the Zab and its tributary the Khazr."
Commander Felix Jones.

PTOLEMY and Aristobulus (Arrian, VI, 1. 5) knew Gaugamela as a large Assyrian village, about 12 miles on the other side of Lycus, at no great distance from the river Bumadus. Pliny[1] places the site "west of the Orontes", an expression which is analogous to the American "west of the Mississippi". While Lycus is doubtless Zab, Bumadus was identified with the Khazr (or Chazir). It was on the right bank of this enigmatic river, "in the neighborhood of Arbela," that the battle was fought, with "Gaugamela" at the center of the two contending armies. Consequently the battle itself was named after that last place, in spite of the fact that the fury of the struggle obliterated it from the face of the earth.

Throughout the centuries the exact position of the historic site was completely forgotten, only its name surviving. And because many of the neighboring villages situated on the battlefield, enclosed by the rivers Tigris and Zab-Chazir, were in fact located on village and town sites dating from the time of Darius, it became still more difficult to ascertain the exact location of Gaugamela. Moreover, the etymology of this strange name also became, as time went on, extremely puzzling, stubbornly defying explanation even to this day.

Paradoxical as it may seem, some modern authorities have made attempts to identify Gaugamela with the modern Tell Gomel. One glance at the enclosed map will convince us that such a view is not only fantastic but impossible. Of the few

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[1] VI, 26. 8. 30.

authorities identifying Gaugamela with Tell Gomel we refer here to Oppenheim-Kiepert's otherwise excellent map.[1] Tell Gomel is there prominently denominated "Gaugamela." This curious identification was most probably made on the authority of Commander Felix Jones, who believed that "so far as conjecture and history guide us", the celebrated battle was "fought on the tongue of land intermediate between the Zab and its tributary the Khazr" (Chazir).[2]

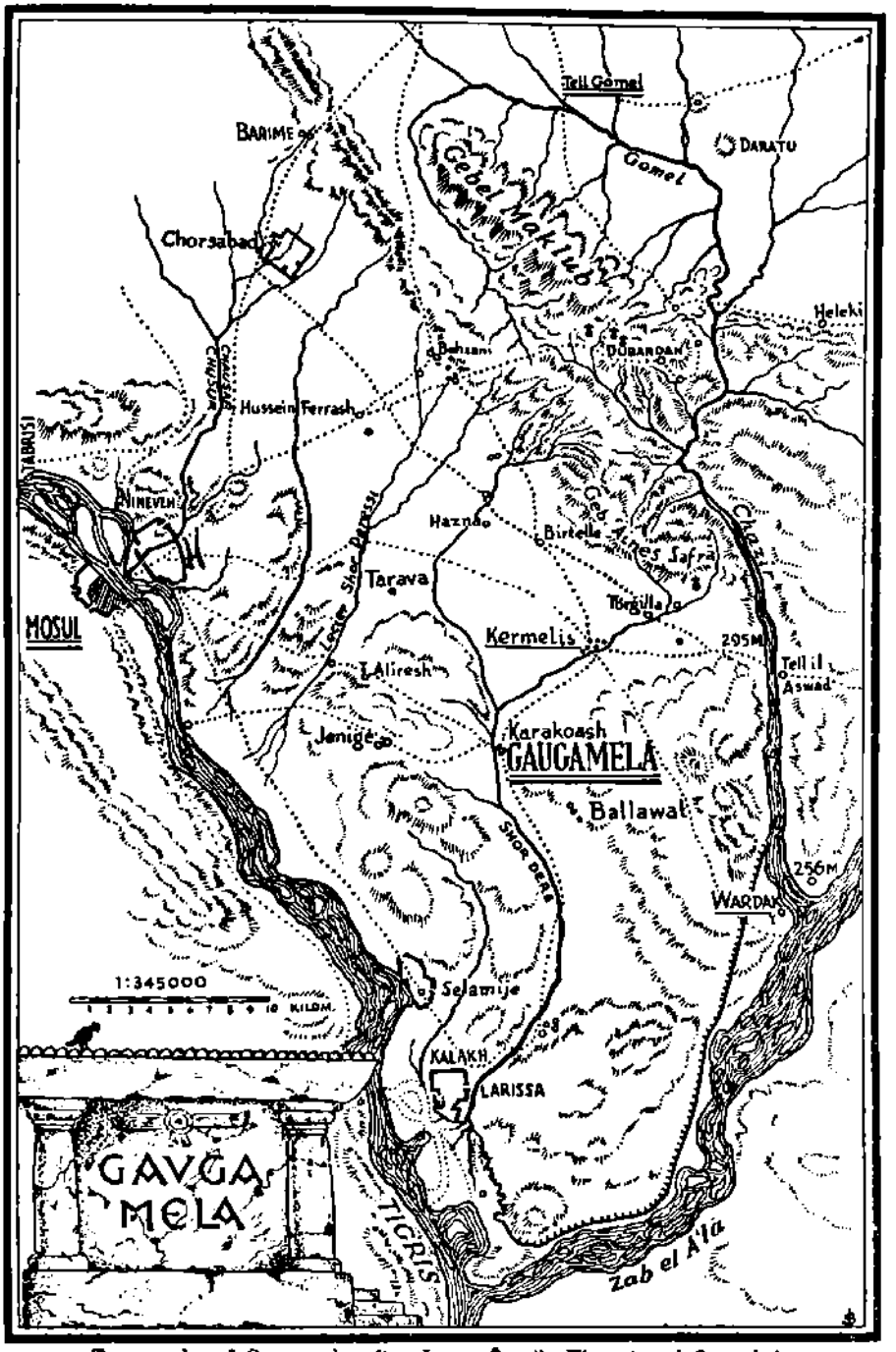
As a matter of fact Jones believed[3] that the army of Darius "occupied the superior portion of the gentle slopes leading from the summit of the tongue to the Kházr's bed, which stream is recognized by philologists as the Bumadus of Arrian's history, through its modern name of Gomel, as used in the north districts of its course, by the simple and prevalent interchange of the δ for the γ and δ for the λ in the name.[4] Gomel or Gomelus thus becomes Bumadus; and the Gaugamela where Darius was encamped, may with more certainty be identified with the actual name of the stream, although Rich questions such an inference, suggested first, we believe, by the celebrated Rennel. The present Tell Aswad may, therefore, mark the site of the "Gau" of this tributary, whatever its own significance may be. At all events, Arrian's distances of the armies from each other and descriptions of the locality coincide in a remarkable manner with the present features. Sixty stadia's length westward on the main road would place Alexander's army in the depressed plains around Keremlis, shut out by the intermediate elevations which, skirting the west bank of the Gomel or Khazr, connect the heights to the right with the hill of Ayn-es-safra and the Maklúb range

[1] Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf durch den Hauran, die Syrische Wüste und Mesopotamien*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 182, Berlin, 1900. The exact title of Oppenheim's map is: *Die Ruinenfelder von Assyrien nach den Aufnahmen von Comm. Felix Jones mit Zusätzen nach Rich, Lejean, Maunsell und Frhr. v. Oppenheim.*

[2] James Felix Jones, *Memoirs by Commander James Felix Jones*, etc., Bombay, 1857; also his *Topography of Nineveh*, op. cit., pp. 308-9. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 15, p. 182, London, 1855.

[3] Ibidem.

[4] Colonel Rawlinson, we believe, holds this opinion.—Jones.



Topography of Gaugamela after Jones, Cernik, Kiepert and Oppenheim.

to the left. A large army encumbered with chariots and armor could only follow this road even if Darius had not selected a position (unfavorable, as we think it) between the two streams, one of which, the Zab, difficult of passage, was in his rear. Doubtlessly personally, he had the means of retreat across it, and to this perhaps, his defeat may be ascribed, for he was in evident alarm at the character of his adversary, or he would not have permitted him to pass the Tigris with the impunity he did. It may be, however, that Darius himself had reached thus far only, on his road to oppose him, and a fortuitous event, perhaps, aided in accomplishing his overthrow.

"But we are digressing, while endeavoring to point out "*the hillocks lying in the middle" which hindered the army of Alexander seeing their opponents when at the distance of sixty stadia,* and will conclude this part of our subject with a reference to the map, where it will be seen an advance of the thirty stadia, mentioned by Arrian, would place the Greeks on the level of the ridge just east of the artificial tumuli Tel Amir and Tel Husseyn in "full view of the barbarians" where the great council of war was held, and where Alexander exhorted (see Arrian's Expedition of Alexander the Great, book III, chapts. 7-15, inclusive) his captains and followers to maintain their ancient valour in the field, which was so soon to destroy the prestige of the Persian name, and revolutionize all Asia for the subsequent centuries at least".

Such was Commander Jones' account of the alleged battlefield of Gaugamela as reconstructed by him nearly eighty years ago. He did not find, however, many supporters among scholars, except a few German and English cartographers and historians, and even by those, only with substantial alterations. Some of those scholars, basing their deductions upon the otherwise excellent geodesic work of Jones,[1] have designated, on their charts, modern Gomel as the probable site of Gaugamela.[2] This only

[1] Highly praised by Dr. Max Freiherr von Oppenheim and Dr. R. Kiepert, l.c.

[2] See the enclosed map, after that of Oppenheim-Kiepert.

aggravated the existing confusion, though some of the Germans still adhere to Jones' grave error with "echt deutscher" persistence. Thus, we read in the recent edition of the celebrated "*Der Grosse Brockhaus*":[1] "Gaugamela, antike Ortschaft östl. vom Tigris, nordöstl. von Nineve-Mosul, bekannt als Ort der Entscheidungsschlacht Alexanders d. Gr. gegen die Perser, unter Darius Kodomannus am 31 Oct. 331 v. Chr." The statement is obviously based on the authority of Oppenheim-Kiepert, supported recently by the weighty commendation of Kromayer-Veith (1929), who also maintained that "der Grosskönig hatte ein Stück des südlichen Teiles der Königsstrasse für den Anmarsch benützt, sie aber kurz hinter Arbela (Erbil) verlassen [sic!], um bei Gaugamela (heute Gomel) am Bumodosflusse (jetzt Gomel Suju, wie der heutige Chasir im Oberlaufe heisst) den Weg zu sperren.'"[2] However, let it be recalled that it was Layard who argued[3] that "the Gomel or Gomela may, perhaps, be traced in the ancient name of Gaugamela,[4] celebrated for that great victory which gave to the Macedonian conqueror the domination of the Eastern world. Although the battlefield was called after Arbela, a neighbouring city, we know that the river Zab intervened between them, and that the battle was fought near the village of Gaugamela, on the banks of the Bumadus or Ghazir, the Gomela of the Kurds." But Layard deserves credit for never having

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[1] *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, vol. VII, p. 23, Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1930.—Lieut. Col. P. M. Sykes also places the site of Gaugamela northeast of Nineveh. See his map of *"The Empire of Alexander the Great,"* in his *"A History of Persia,"* vol. I, to face p. 786, second edition, London, 1921.

[2] Kromayer-Veith, *Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte, Fünfte Lieferung, Griechische Abteilung, "II Gaugamela,"* 50. Leipzig, 1929.—The accompanying maps of the Atlas prove the utter impossibility of the grossly chimerical combination of Kromayer (-Veith).

[3] A. H. Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, etc.*, p. 176. New York, 1857.

[4] In some MSS. of Quintus Curtius, the Bumadus or Ghazir is called the *"Bumelus"* which would not be far from the modern name of the upper branch of the river. It will of course, be remembered that Gaugamela, according to ancient historians, signifies "a camel," as derived probably from *Gemel*, the Semitic word for that animal.—Layard, *ibid.*

attempted to identify Gaugamela with the distant and out-of-the-way Tell Gomel.

Fr. Spiegel's preference for Tell Aswat could hardly clarify the situation.[1] The distinguished author of the "*Erânische Alterthumskunde*" obviously based his opinion upon Jones' misleading topographical study, and for this reason alone, his hypothesis deserves repudiation. Perhaps, Layard's speculation in point of this same difficult problem[2] had also influenced the above judgment of Spiegel, moreover Layard argued that the celebrated battle took place "probably in the neighbourhood of Tell Aswad, or between it and the junction of the Ghazir with the Zab, on the direct line of march to the fords of that river."

Be that as it may, the hasty conclusions promulgated by Jones, Oppenheim-Kiepert, Spiegel, and Kromayer-Veith have dealt a severe blow to the subsequent research aiming toward the final identification of the precise site of Gaugamela. It is suffice to recall that the recent identification of Gaugamela with the "odierno Gomel Suyu" by an Italian authority is manifestly[3] inspired by the aforementioned savants. The claim of Lieut-Col. Sykes that Gaugamela is situated "close to the ruins of Nineveh, and some seventy miles northwest of Arbela, which has given its name to the battle," also originated from the same obscure source of information.[4]

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[1] Fr. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II, pp. 518-519. Leipzig, 1873—"Allem Anscheine nach hatte Darius sein Herr auf der Landzunge aufgestellt, welche vom Khâzir-su und dem grossen Zâb gebildet wird, in welchen sich der Khâsir-su ergiesst; der heutige Tell Aswat am Khâzir-su dürfte der Lage des früheren Gaugamela entsprechen."

[2] A. H. Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, etc.*, p. 176. New York, 1859.

[3] "Gaugamela—antico villaggio assiro a circa 100 km. a N. di Arbela (odierno Gomel Suyu)."—Professor Giulio Giannelli of Milano, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XVI, p. 457, *s.v.* "Gaugamela." Milano, 1932 (XI).

[4] Lieut.-Col. P. M. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, vol. I, p. 274. London, 1925.

CHAPTER IV

"Es war ohne Zweifel in dieser Gegend, wo Alexander den grossen Sieg über Darius erhielt."
Carsten Niebuhr.

THE confusion among scholars concerning the exact location of the celebrated battle is the more appalling, since there had been a scholar of exceptionally high repute, who by a remarkable intuition, had disclosed the exact position of Gaugamela, with almost geometrical exactness, long before the unfortunate calculations and conjectures of the British geodesian. This man was the celebrated Danish scholar and traveler, Carsten Niebuhr.

Almost a hundred years before the writings of Jones, Niebuhr himself examined the country extending along the banks of the Zab and the Chazir, and came to the unequivocal conclusion that the great battle had been fought on the western bank of Chazir, somewhere near the modern Chaldean village of Kermelis, or Karmelis, according to Niebuhr (1766-1775), and Kermelis on Oppenheim's map (1900), which, as our maps indicate, is but a twin-village to the true Gaugamela, the modern Qaraqosh.

Niebuhr passed the Chazir (called by him Chaser) on horseback, on the seventeenth day of March, 1766. Riding down the slopes of the beautiful Hussein-Tepe ridge, he beheld a vast and magnificent plain extending before him, bordered in the far west by the silver line of the Tigris and dotted in the middle with the white tops of Mosul. His heart beat more quickly, for he realized at once that somewhere on this immense plain the great battle had been fought, 2097 years before his time. Soon he reached the small Nestorian-Chaldaean village Kermelis, and here, among the hospitable, though rather bigoted villagers, wrote in his journal:[1]

[1] Published in 1775, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 348-349, 351-352, and n.l. p. 349.

"Am 17-ten reisten wir nur 4 Studen bis *Karmelis*, und passirten auf diesem Wege einen kleinen Fluss den man *Chaser* nennt. Dieser was, nach dem vielen Regen den wir in den letzten Tagen gehabt hatten, auch etwas angewachsen, doch konnten wir dadurch reiten. Vom Chaser an bis Mosul sieht man überall die schönsten Kornfelder und viele Dörfer. Ausser denen welche man auf der 45-sten Tabelle findet,[1] habe ich noch *Schech-Amir Ameidân*, *Bâs girtan* und *Bâs sachra* bemerkt. Die letzten beiden liegen am Berge *Ain Saffra*, der seinen Namen von einer Quelle bekommen hat, dessen Wasser kalt und gelb ist, und in vielen Krankheiten gebraucht wird."

It is interesting to observe here that about a hundred years later, similar experiences were met with upon the same historical road, by the distinguished discoverer of the Deluge Tablets, George Smith.

On his return-journey from Baghdad to Mosul in 1873, he visited Arbela, and his description of the last portion of his perigrination stretching from Arbela to Mosul reads as follows:[2]

"On the 2nd of April I left Ervil to ride to the post-station of Zab, on the river of that name. The Zab, a rapid, strong stream, was much swollen by the rains, and again presented a difficulty as to crossing. It was a long time before we could get a raft, and the passage was difficult on account of the swiftness of the stream. Once over the water, I started for Mosul, and accomplished the distance in three hours and three-quarters. On the way I passed the swollen stream of the Ghazr a tributary of the Zab. This water was so deep that my horses had to be led through the stream by naked Arabs, the river reaching nearly to the backs of the animals."

Let us now acquaint ourselves with Niebuhr's vivid description of Kermelis and the adjacent villages. He writes:

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[1] See our reproduction of same.

[2] George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries; an Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the Site of Nineveh, during* 1873 *and* 1874. *Third Edition*, New York, 1876, pp. 67-68.

"Karmelis war ehmals eine ansehnliche Stadt. Jetzt findet man hier nur 60 bis 70 Häuser, und diese sind nicht so schwach gebaut, als die in dem Gebiete des Pascha von Bagdad, sondern alle von Kalk und Steinen, und gewölbt. Die Kornmagazine hat man hier in der Erde, wie in Persien. Die Einwohner zu Karmelis waren noch vor wenigen Jahren alle Nestorianer... Dicht bei dem Dorfe liegt ein Hügel, auf welchem der Palast des Vaters der heiligen Barbara gestanden haben soll. Hier ist eine schöne Aussicht nach der umherliegenden wohlbebauten Ebene. Mar Mattei or Schech Matte (Matthäus) liegt an einem hohen Berge drey Studen Norden nach Osten von Kermalis, und ist ein Dorf mit einem Kloster, das noch jetzt von jacobitischen Christen bewohnt wird. Hier sollen noch einige Alterthümer seyn, sie sind aber wohl nicht von grosser Wichtigkeit. In einem Dorfe *Bâs sachra*, 1½ Studen Nordost von Karmelis, wird das Grab eines Heiligen mit Namen Daniel besucht. *Bachsân* liegt 3 Stundenweges nach Norden, und *Baratol*, ein Dorf das bloss von Jacobiten bewohnt wird, eine Stude Norden nach Westen von Karmelis. *Chasna Töppe* liegt Nordwest nach Westen, und hat lauter mohammedanische Einwohner. *Minare*, ein kleines Dorf 1½ Studen nach Westen, war noch vor wenigen Jahren gänzlich von Christen bewohnt; jetzt findet man daselbst auch Mahammedaner. *Karakosh*, eine Meile nach Südwest hat lauter jacobitische Einwohner."

Niebuhr was almost certain that the great battle between Darius and Alexander was fought in the neighborhood of "Karmelis", for he himself speaks about it thus:[1]

"Es war ohne Zweifel in dieser Gegend, wo Alexander den grossen Sieg über Darius erhielt. Chaser scheint Boumelle, der grosse *Zab* Lycus, und *Arbil* Arbela zu seyn. Curtius IV, 8. Von Arbela ging Alexander in 4 Tagen bis Memnis, wo Bitumen-Quellen waren. *Kerkuk* ist nur 20 Stunden und *Dûs churmatu* etwa 35 Stunden von Arbela. Vielleicht also ist letzteres das ehmalige *Memnis*. Denn *Het* wo gleichfals eine Bitumen-Quelle

[1] L.c., vol. II, p. 349, n. l, Kopenhagen, 1775.

ist, ist wohl zu weit von *Arbil*, als dass Alexander mit einer Armee diesen Weg in 4 Tagen hatte zurücklegen können. Es was auch bei dem Fluss *Chaser* wo die Tataren im Jahr der Hedjera 633 ihr Lager aufschlugen.—Semmlers *Übersetzung der allgemeinen Welthistorie der neueren Zeiten, 3ter Theil.*—Hier kommen noch viele Namen vor, die man auf meiner Karte findet."

While Niebuhr maintained that the battle of Gaugamela had doubtless been fought in the neighborhood of Kermelis ("ohne Zweifel in dieser Gegend"),[1] J. Rennell changed the name Kermelis into *Camalis*, and, presto, declared it to be the ancient Gaugamela![2] Obviously his conclusion was based on the fancied analogy of the name, as had been observed by Rich[3] and Ritter.[4] All of the above-mentioned scholars were, however, convinced that, as C. Ritter states, "allerdings war der Sieg über Darius bei Gaugamela, einem grossen Dorfe, und nicht bei Arbela, der Stadt, errungen, von der, als dem glänzenderen Namen (sie sollte vom Arbelos aus dem attischen Demos Athmone erbaut sein, Strabo, XVI, 737), die spätern Geschichtschreiber nur mit Unrecht das Schlachtfeld benannt haben." However, Ritter, too, was unable to ascertain the exact position of Gaugamela. "Jenes Gaugamela aber," he wrote,[5] "lag, nach Ptolemäus und Aristobulus Kriegsberichten, die Arrian wörtlich anführt, am Bumadus-Flusse (Arriani de Exped. Alex. VI, c. 11). Ob wir nun gleich heute die Lage jenes Gaugamela nicht mehr kennen, und manches der vielen dort vorhandenen Dörfern auf dessen Stelle stehen könnte, so kann doch Kermalis nicht dafür angesehen werden, da es gar nicht am Bumadus, sondern schon drittehalb Stunden von ihm entfernt liegt. Den geringen Bach, der an ihm vorüberfiesst, hörte J. Rich *Shah Kouli*[6] nennen, er wurde ganz

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[1] Ibidem.

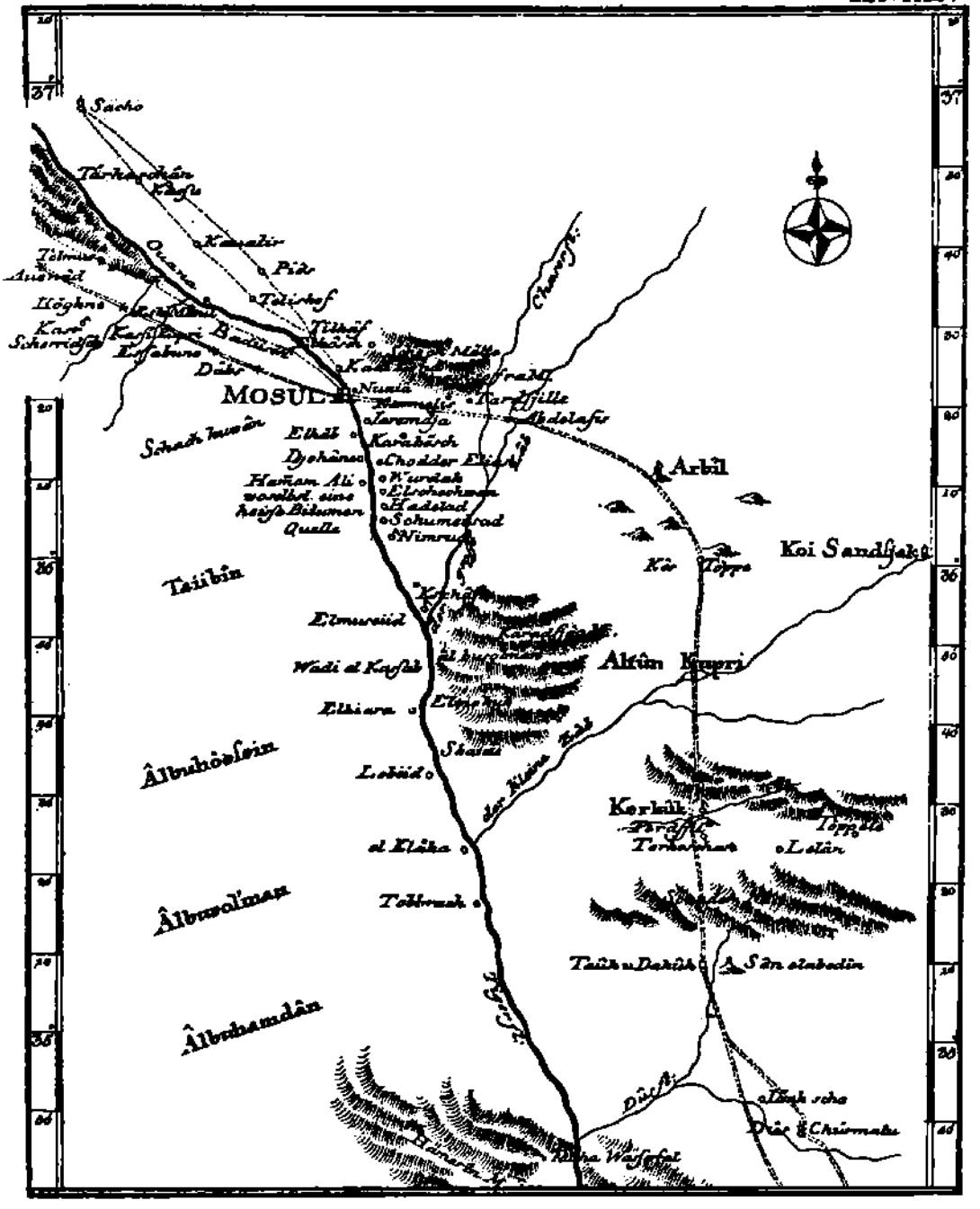
[2] Rennell, *Illustrations of the history of the Expedition of Cyrus*, etc., op. cit., p. 154, note. London, 1816.

[3] Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, op. cit., vol. II, p. 25, London, 1836.

[4] C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, op. cit., vol. IX, p. 698, Berlin, 1840.

[5] L.c., pp. 698-699.

[6] Rich, *Narrat.*, II, p. 25.



Topography of Gaugamela after Niebuhr, 1766.

zur Bewässerung der Aecker des Dorfes aufgebracht. An demselben Bache etwas weiter abwärts liegt das Dorf *Kara Kosh*, auch von Chaldäern bewohnt, über welches die etwas südlichere Route zu gehen pflegt." (*Olivier*, II, 366; *Dupré*, I, 125.)

Unfortunately, however, neither Niebuhr, Rich, nor Ritter, ever suspected that the last named village (Qaraqosh) was in fact the ancient Gaugamela. The problem of the Bumadus River seems to have constituted to them an unsurmountable obstacle.

A. H. Layard seems also to have been overwhelmed by the same difficulty. It is clearly manifest from the following words of the great explorer: "Although the battlefield was called after Arbela, a neighbouring city, we know that the river Zab intervened between them, and that the battle was fought near the village of Gaugamela, on the banks of the Bumadus or Ghazir, the Gomela of the Kurds."[1] The culmination of Layard's acumen was that Gaugamela lay "probably in the neighbourhood of Tell Aswad, or between it and the junction of the Ghazir with the Zab, on the direct line of march to the fords of that river."[2] Beyond this Layard never dared to go.

The best and the closest approach to the truth which modern British science could accomplish concerning the exact geographical location of Gaugamela, is summed up by E. I. Robson in the following words: "... Gaugamela, some distance south of Nineveh and some thirty miles west of Erbil or Arbela."[3] When compared with Rooke's critical notes published in the year 1729. Robson's statement betrays considerable progress.

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[1] A. H. Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, etc.*, p. 176. New York, 1859.

[2] Ibidem.

[3] E. Iliff Robson, *Alexander the Great. A Biographical Study*, p. 111. London, 1929.

CHAPTER V

"Niebuhr supposed Gaugamela to be represented by the village of Karmelis, which is situated on the Khazir stream, about sixteen miles eastward of Mosul, but it does not appear that there is any local tradition regarding this most important battle ground mentioned in Asiatic history..."
Lieut.-Col. Chesney.

WHILE Rennel's[1] conclusion was opposed by Rich,[2] and later by Ritter,[3] on the ground that Kermelis does not lie on the bank of the river Bumadus-Chazir, but is about three-quarters of an hour distant, other writers contended that the place marked on Niebuhr's map could hardly be identified with Gaugamela because it was "too near to Mosul and too far from Arbela,"—an objection which proves entirely baseless and void when we consider the actual topography of the adjacent territory.

Without mentioning the great work of Niebuhr, Rich argued[4] that "Major Rennell supposed Kermalis to be Gaugamela;[5] but Gaugamela appears, both from Arrian and Quintus Curtius, to have been on the Bumadus, which Kermalis can in no respect be said to be. Indeed it is not possible, among the great number of villages scattered over this plain and all along the Bumadus, to decide which is Gaugamela. We know well that Gaugamela

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[1] James Rennell, *Illustration (chiefly geographical) of the history of the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten-thousand Greeks, with an appendix containing an enquiry into the best method of improving the geography of Anabasis, etc.* London, Nicol, 1816, 4°, and atlas, pp. 153-154.

[2] Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, and on the site of Ancient Nineveh; with Journal of a Voyage down the Tigris to Baghdad and an account of a visit to Shiraz and Persepolis. Edited by his Widow*, vol. II, p. 25. London, 1836.

[3] O.c., vol. IX, pp. 698-699.

[4] *Narrative of a Residence*, l.c., London, 1836.

[5] Rennell's *Illustration of the History of the Expedition of Cyrus*, pp. 153, 154. London, 1816.

was, even in Alexander's day, a village of no consequence, which was the reason why the Greeks called the victory by the name of Arbela, the nearest remarkable place to the field of battle.[1] Gaugamela was sought after merely to establish the locality of the battle; but we have now no occasion for this, and in fact, if we want to find Gaugamela, we must seek it from our knowledge of the field; but this would be useless, if not impossible. There can be no reason for selecting Kermalis for Gaugamela, more than any other of the villages by which it is surrounded. Ignorance of its situation, or a fancied analogy in the name, may possibly have led to its selection. It is about the centre of the plain, and not very remarkable for its situation.'[2]

The great expedition for the survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by the British Government in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837, (brilliantly crowned by the present day liberation of Iraq) made equally vain efforts towards detection of the exact position of Gaugamela. All that Lieut.-Colonel Chesney could tell us about, was this:[3]

"Niebuhr supposed Gaugamela to be represented by the village of Karmelis, which is situated on the Khazir stream, about sixteen miles eastward of Mosul, but it does not appear that there is any local tradition regarding this most important battle ground mentioned in Asiatic history excepting Beit Germá, or house of bones, which possibly may be connected therewith; and the circumstance that Arbela was built by Darius (Rich's *Kurdistán*, vol. II, p. 18). In all likehood the battle took place between 'Ain-el-Bertha (Mons Nicator) and the Great Zab, probably on that part of the plain which is watered by the Khasír-sú, or Bu-

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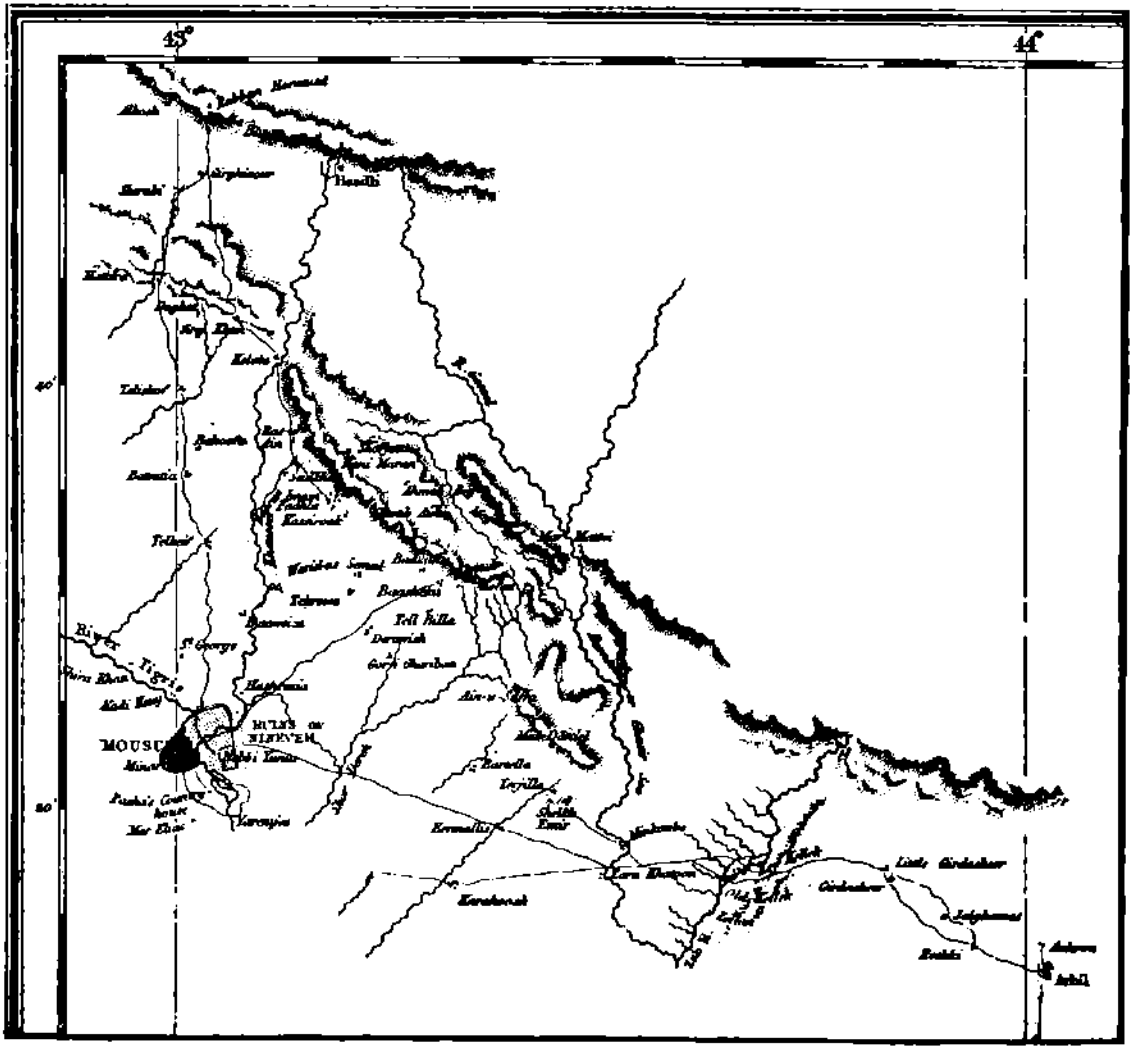
[1] Rich seems to have overlooked the fact that Nineveh was nearer to the battle-field than Arbela, and yet the battle has not been called after Nineveh. This fact was observed and emphasized accordingly by Wigram (u.s.)

[2] A little stream rises at Terjilla, and passing by Shah Kouli, comes to Kermalis, at which village it is used for cultivating cotton; and when it is not entirely drawn off at Kermalis by the cultivation, it runs by Karakoosh, where there is a little bridge of one arch over it, and finds its way to the Tigris.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel Chesney, *Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by the British Government, in the years* 1835, 1836, *and* 1837. 2 vols. Vol. II, London, 1850, pp. 294-5.



Topography of the Country between Nineveh and Arbela.
After J. C. Rich, c. 1816.

madus (Ainsworth's *Travels*, etc., vol. II, pp. 135, 136)." However Chesney's description of the battle itself is a sample of scholarly erudition and technical precision.

Eminent biblical students of the past century were also wandering aimlessly over the vast plains of the Ancient Athuria, deeply engaged in agonizing search for the "lost" Gaugamela. Thus, *e.g.*, we hear from the Rev. J. P. Fletcher[1] that "Doctor Grant has suggested, and the notion is not void of plausibility, that the Syriac name of the neighbouring district, Beth Garmae, which means literally the house or place of bones derives its origin from the sanguinary contest which was known afterwards as the battle of Arbela (*"Nestorians or the Lost Tribes"*). The historians who have recorded it, mention the village of Gaugamela as the nearest inhabited region, but there are, at present, no traces of such an appellation in the immediate vicinity."

An equally pessimistic opinion had been expressed by another great traveler and explorer of the last century, Sir Austen Henry Layard.[2] In his frequent perigrinations over the venerable sites of the ancient Nineveh and vicinity he certainly passed and repassed more than once the very spot where the battle was fought but, unfortunately, all he could tell us about the problem in question has been summed up by him in the following words:

"Some have fancied a similarity between the name of Gaugamela and that of the modern village of Karamless. The battlefield was probably in the neighbourhood of Tell Aswad, or between it and the junction of the Ghazir with the Zab, on the direct line of march to the fords of that river. We had undoubtedly crossed the very spot during our ride to Bawian. The whole of the country between the Makloub range and the Tigris is equally well suited to the operations of mighty armies, but from the scarcity of topographical details given by the histo-

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[1] The Rev. J. P. Fletcher, *Notes from Nineveh*. 2 vols. London, 1850. Vol. II, p. 35.

[2] Read his *Nineveh and its Remains*. London, 1851, and his *Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853.

[3] A. H. Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 176-177. London, 1859.

rians of Alexander we are unable to identify the exact place of his victory. It is curious that hitherto no remains or relics have been turned up by the plough, which would serve to mark the precise site of so great a battle as that of Arbela."

However, the problem was not as hopelessly unsolvable as Rich, Chesney, Grant, Fletcher, Layard, and others would have us believe. The actual topography of the battlefield irresistibly points to the conclusion that Darius' position was south of the strategic serpentine line which had its western extremity at Nineveh and its eastern at Tergilla, and at the center of which was Qaraqosh. Darius' army was in this ideal position perfectly secure and excellently protected. Its right wing was guarded by the rivers Zab and Chazir, and by the elevations of the Chazir Khan and Ain es Shafra Tepes, and the adjoining Gebel Meklub, while its left wing was excellently protected by the Tigris itself. Alexander position was, most naturally, north of the line of Darius. Černik's and Oppenheim's maps illustrate our story in the most desirable manner.

Upon the site of the modern Qaraqosh there had been in the days of Darius and Alexander, a prosperous village, though doubtless not as flourishing as in the hey-day of the Assyrian sovereigns. According to Niebuhr and some modern authorities, the neighboring village of Kermelis was then an important place also, and at the adjacent Balavat there was the luxurious palace of Salmanassar II. It was at Balavat that Hormuzd Rassam unearthed the celebrated bronze ornaments of the magnificent palace gates.[1] It is important to note that, as was observed by Jones,[2] the modern Qaraqosh "occupies the crumbled mounds of some ancient position we are still ignorant of."

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[1] *Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat (Shalmaneser II, B.C. 859-825). Edited, with an Introduction by W. de Gray Birch, with Descriptions and Translations by T. G. Pinches.* Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1880-1902. Roy folio.—Also: Billerbeck and Delitzsch, *Die Palasttore Salmanassars II von Balawat. Beiträge zur Assyriologie,* VI, 1. Cf. Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria,* pp. 35, 413. Philadelphia and London, 1915.

[2] O.c., p. 367.

Those mounds were first attacked archaeologically by not a lesser explorer than A. H. Layard.[1] Unfortunately they were searched by him very superficially, indeed. A thorough scrutiny of their contents would probably amply recompensate the efforts of a modern explorer.

As a matter of fact, numberless relics have been gathered on this historical spot by the local inhabitants in the last two millenniums, and Colonel S. B. Miles relates that he himself did acquire some of them.[2]

It was at this old, commodious, well watered, well provisioned, well protected, and highly defendable place that Darius had established his headquarters. To him and to his generals, it appeared to be an ideal place for his hosts to oppose the impudent army of the bold European intruder; supported by adequate strategy, it assuredly would have been impregnable. However, it is not impossible that the sudden flight of Darius from this ideal strategic position might have been occasioned by some totally unexpected insurrection of the local tribes in the rear of the grand army, or even by the strange conduct of Mazaeus himself, who was one of the chief generals of Darius. With all due regard for Alexander's undeniable military genius, we venture to assert that the sudden flight of Darius from a place which seems to have been absolutely invulnerable remains an interesting problem which is still awaiting solution.

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[1] Cf. A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains, etc.*, op. cit., vol. I, London, 1849, pp. 33-34: "The mounds, which I directed to be opened, were those of Baasheikha (of considerable size), Baazani, Karamless, Karakush, Yara, and Jerraiyah." A map attached to that volume has our Qaraqosh engraved thus: Kara Kush (Ruins).

Sir E. A. Wallis Budge tells us that "Tall Balâwât" (*i.e.* "Hill of Troubles") is also known under the name of "Karâ Teppah" (*i.e.* "Black Hill").—Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, vol. II, p. 98. London, 1920.

Both Balawat and Qaraqosh were visited by the eminent archaeologist.

[2] S. B. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, 2 vols., London, 1919.

The ruins of Qaraqosh were also known to Bonomi. He writes: "Kara Kush, also a known ruin. *Kara* in the Turkish means *black*, and seems in some way connected with ruins; for in other places, where the word *kara* is used, there are known to be ruins."—Joseph Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Places* ... London, 1852, p. 98.

It is interesting to note that on the map published by Sir Robert Ker Porter "Kara Koosh" is placed above "Karmely."—Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc.* London, 1821. 2 vols.

CHAPTER VI

"The above mentioned contest is also known as the 'battle of Gaugamela,' so named after the river lying sixteen miles northwest of Erbil, better known to us as the 'Zab Ala,' where Darius' forces endeavored vainly to prevent Alexander's army from crossing the river."—*A. Locher.*

NIEBUHR'S brilliant book made a profound impression upon the whole Western world. It was soon translated into French and English and many French, British, Italian and German travelers rushed to verify Niebuhr's sensational revelations. In the year 1814, the historical battlefield was visited by Kinneir,[1] and Rich wrote a special topographical and historical monograph on the puzzling problem. Neither, however, was able to add anything of substantial importance to the classic statement of Niebuhr. Kinneir only insisted[2] that the battle "of Arbela and Nineveh" must have been fought somewhere between Tilkiff (Tel Kaif) and the Zab, and that the spot seemed as if formed by nature for the combat of hostile armies. He also claimed[2] that nothing could be more accurate than the description of the country given by Quintus Curtius, who says that "Darius advanced eighty stadia beyond the Lycus which is now the Zab, and that he lay encamped in an immense field without trees or bushes, where the eye could survey remote objects, and that where the ground swelled Darius ordered it to be levelled. It appears from the same author that Alexander passed the Tigris above Mosul; for he marched two or three days before the battle, which was, without doubt fought on the north of the Zab, since Darius, in his flight, crossed this river, and did not reach Arbela till midnight.

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[1] John Macdonald Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Koordistan in the years* 1813 *and* 1814; *with Remarks on the Marches of Alexander and Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, London, 1818.

[2] Ibidem. [3] Ibidem.

Memmium, four days from Arbela is mentioned as being situated near a fountain of naphtha, and is, no doubt, the modern Kerkoosh."

Kinneir's, or rather Niebuhr's, views were shared by other travelers and writers, such as W. F. Ainsworth (1836),[3] Col. S. B. Miles (1880),[4] and others. As can easily be seen, the attention of all was naturally focused on Kermelis, and although the adjacent Qaraqosh was also occasionally visited by the curious visitors, no one ever suspected that this modest Chaldaean village was in very fact the ancient Gaugamela. Here is a curious account of the impressions gathered in that locality by Lieutenant William Heude in 1817:[5]

"The Zab is one hundred yards wide, and is deep and rapid at this season of the year; the country is a plain, though varied by gentle swells; and after three hours and a half, and fording an inferior rivulet, we reached Karakoosh, estimating the distance at eight hours and twenty minutes or forty-two miles, as we were well mounted, and made the best of our horses. Karakoosh is a large village inhabited partly by Zezidees, and is extremely dirty. Many of the houses have a small dome in the center, which gives the town a remarkable appearance, and the people, in general, showed themselves sufficiently civil and well inclined; being also a personable manly looking race, and the women extremely pretty. Why Captain Macdonald Kinneir, though in general, I doubt not, sufficiently accurate should assert this place to be the ancient Memmium, I must confess I cannot understand, as Karakoosh is only forty-two miles from Arbela at the most, but Memmium, by the very same account, four days

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[3] *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, op. cit., vol. II. p. 310, London, 1888.

[4] *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 577-578. London, 1919.

A view of the village of Qaraqosh and numerous illustrations depicting different types of the local population accompany H. Field's work entitled *Arabs of Central Iraq. Their History, Ethnology and Physical Characters*. Chicago, U. S. A., 1935. Plates CXXXIX-CXLIV, CXLVII-CLIII, CLV-CLVI.—Also read our 'Foreword.'

[5] *A Voyage up the Persian Gulf, and a Journey Overland from India to England in 1817*, by Lieutenant William Heude, London 1819, pp. 215-216.

journey; or, as I should estimate this calculation by the day, full eighty miles.[1]

"At Karakoosh my Tartar threw off the mask entirely with which he had contrived to impose himself on some of my friends as a pattern of sobriety. The fellow, having retired into our private apartment, in the Menzil Kaveh, with four of the principal men of our party, commenced the 'business' of getting drunk, after many formal excuses, with as much gravity as if he had been engaged at his devotions. Exchanging his high kalpak for a shawl, laying aside his pistols and his sword and deliberately sitting down, cup in hand, for the concluding scene. Unfortunately, or fortunately as I should think, the liquor failed them before the wished for degree of delirium had been attained; and, there being no more in the town, they were constrained to compose themselves to sleep, greatly vexed and disappointed at this interruption of their joys.

On the 16th, having been furnished with fresh and most excellent horses, and the fumes of the rakee they had drunk the preceding night not having perhaps, entirely gone off, my companions began a style of furious riding to which our speed of the former day was not at all to be compared. Within a little more than an hour and a half, we reached Mosul, a distance, by the map, of fifteen miles; galoping all the way, notwithstanding our heavy loads, and shouting and flogging each others' horses, like madmen, to impel their speed. The country between Karakoosh and Mosul is nearly a level flat, but comparatively well cultivated, and the roads tolerably good, with the exception of two or three places where the little bridges over the drains had fallen in, and where we were obliged to wade across, or leap the breach, alternatives equally inconvenient and dangerous in the saddles we rode upon."

It is with a sentiment of sincere gratefulness that we read today this vivid description of Qaraqosh as it looked to the keen

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[1] The ancient *Memmium* or *Memnium* is usually identified with *Kerkoosh* or *Kerkook* (also Kerkuk).

eyes of a British officer over a hundred years ago. Moreover, we must give credit to the learned lieutenant for not having identified Erbil with the ancient Gaugamela.[1] On the other hand it is needless to observe, that Heude who had a very good eye for descrying the good looking girls of Qaraqosh, failed to escape the error of confusing the northern Qaraqosh-Gaugamela with the southern Kerkoosh-Memmium, a distinction clearly elucidated by Niebuhr, and later repeated almost word by word by Heude's countryman, J. M. Kinneir. But doing justice to Heude, we must observe that Commander Felix Jones (1852) was also fascinated by "the glances of the fresh ruddy-faced girls" of Qaraqosh, "that passed to and fro with their pitchers, for filling at the reservoirs. Their open smiling countenances offered a pleasing contrast to those of the shy and shallow beauties in the towns" (1852, pp. 367-368).

The "pleasant faces" and the "straight and well-proportioned figures" of the Qaraqosh beauties have also been observed by Henry Field of the Field Museum of Chicago, who visited Qaraqosh in 1928, as the leader of the Second Field Museum Near East Expedition. The eminent anthropologist, however, assisted by Mr. Showket, was busy photographing men, women and children of the village, desiring to augment as much as possible his pictorial gallery of the modern Mesopotamians, which constitutes today one of the finest, if not unique, collections of this kind in existence.[2]

The physical features of the Qaraqoshians, "different from those of the Arabs, Beduins, and Kurds, indicate that they [i.e. the Qaraqoshians] are a homogenous group," claims Henry Field. And, although an Arab-Kurdish mixture is not excluded,

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[1] "Erbil, the ancient Arbela, is celebrated in history as the refuge sought by the unfortunate Darius after his defeat in the great battle of that name."—*Op. cit.*, p. 214.

[2] Read Henry Field's distinguished work entitled *Arabs of Central Iraq. Their History, Ethnology, and Physical Characters.* Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology, Memoirs, vol. IV, Chicago, U. S. A., 1935, pp. 432-434. The volume contains a view of the Qaraqosh village and numerous illustrations depicting types of the local population. Cf. Plates CXXXIX-CXLIV, CXLVII-CLIII, CLV-CLVI. Some of them are reproduced in the present monograph.

"the long thin features of the Beduins" are missing (p. 432).

From the time of Alexander and Darius the villagers of Qaraqosh, Tell Agoob, and Selamie, drove their cattle to pasturage beside the eastern bank of the river Tigris. It is exceedingly doubtfull whether the ancient Qaraqoshians lent a cheerful and whole-souled support to their legal monarch, Darius, at the crucial moment of the momentous day of October 1, 331 B. C. Perhaps this also may account for Darius' defeat at the "Black Eagle", as well as for his speedy flight to Erbil, while Mazaeus' cavalry fled southwest, towards the adjacent marshes of the Tigris, where the modern Qaraqoshians pasture their cattle even today, and where their unhappy ancestors had sought a safe refuge from the horrors of the swift and fierce combat between Alexander and Darius.

Mazaeus' flight southwest, towards the adjacent marshes of the Tigris is very significant, indeed. He obviously had chosen this southwesterly route not only because of the hard pressure exerted upon his horse by the left flank columns of the Greek army, but also because he hardly could use with safety the badly jammed fords of the rivers, Chazir and Zab. However, he might as well have been motivated by considerations of some other nature. Let us not forget that for a number of years he was governor of Northern Syria and Cilicia (350-333 B. C.), enjoying the rights and the authority of a feudal prince. After the battle of Gaugamela he surrendered Babylon to Alexander, and was reappointed governor of that province (331 B. C.) He ruled until his death in 328, of course, under watchful surveillance of the Greeks. There exist several groups of interesting coins assigned to Mazaeus and his successors.[1]

Be that as it may, all this did by no means solve the question of the identity of the mysterious Gaugamela. Consequently many of the modern travelers and scholars continued to be at-

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[1] Consult the works of Imhoof-Blumer, Babelon, Hill, Head and Howorth. Also Stähelin, s.v. "Mazaios," in Pauly-Wissowa's *R.-E. d. C.A-W.*, vol. XXIX, Stuttgart, 1931, cc. 1-2.

tracted by the "historical" Arbela. One of them was the now half forgotten, but three or fourscore years ago, well known traveler and narrator, A. Locher. On his remarkable journey with a caravan from Bombay to Constantinople he visited Arbela —"a wretched place now," and "much smaller than Karkuk," but "of historical fame," because it represented "the place where Alexander the Conqueror, fought and won the memorable battle of Arbela (the ancient name of Erbil or Arbil) on the second of October, three hundred and thirty-one years before Christ, against the immense army of Darius Codomannus, King of the Persians, whom he totally defeated and cut to pieces. Darius, who escaped being taken prisoner by Alexander, fled to the mountains, but was soon after taken and murdered by Bessus, who had undoubtedly acted under Alexander's order; the latter, however, feigning pity for the tragical fate of his deadliest enemy, imprisoned Bessus, and dispatched him with his own hand. The above mentioned contest is also known as the "battle of Gaugamela," so named after the river lying sixteen miles northwest of Erbil, better known to us as the "Zab Ala," where Darius's forces endeavored vainly to prevent Alexander's army from crossing the river.'"

Locher's identification of Gaugamela with the river "Zab Ala," supposedly "lying sixteen miles northwest of Erbil," is as curious as it is confusing and ambiguous.

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[1] A. Locher, *With Star and Crescent*, etc., Philadelphia, 1890, pp. 376-377.

CHAPTER VII

"Nach dieser Angabe muss Darius etwas östlicher als das heutige Kermelis gestanden haben."—*A. Freiherr v. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld.*

AN EXCEPTIONALLY brilliant corroboration of Niebuhr's view that the battle of Gaugamela had been fought up on the present "plateau of Kermelis," or the "plateau of Gaugamela," according to us, was made in the later half of the last century by two Austrian scholars—Herr Ingenieur Josef Černik, and Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld.[1] Although both these scholars suggested, wholly erroneously, that the probable site of the enigmatic Gaugamela must be sought south of the Chatun Tepe,[2] i.e. at the confluence of the Zab and Chazir, where, as they correctly conjectured, Darius forded the river in his flight before the pursuing Alexander,—their description of the famous battlefield appears to be the best that has ever been written. Because of its unquestionable importance, it is quoted in full at the end of this work.[3]

The observations of Černik and Schweiger-Lerchenfeld have been duly recorded by E. H. Bunbury in his "Note" on Gaugamela published in his excellent *History of Ancient Geography.*[4] "Arrian," states Bunbury,[5] "has himself pointed out the error, which appears to have been widely diffused in his time, supposing the battle to have been fought at Arbela, while it really took

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[1] Ingenieur Josef Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition durch die Gebiete des Euphrat und Tigris, nebst Ein-und Ausgangs-Routen durch Nord-Syrien*, etc., bearbeited und herausgegeben von *Amand Freiherr v. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld.* Ergänzugsheft No. 44 & 45, zu *Petermann's* Geographische Mittheilungen, Gotha, 1875 & 1876.

[2] Ergänzungsheft No. 45, pp. 3 ff.

[3] *Topographische Erläuterungen über das Schlachtfeld von Gaugamela*, l.c., reprinted in our "Appendices."

[4] E. H. Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 2 vols., London, 1879.

[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 472-475. See also p. 417.

place at a distance of 600 stadia (60 G. miles) from the city (Arrian, Anab. v. 11,85). Gaugamela, near which it was actually fought, was as he remarks, not a city, but merely a large village, and the name being strange and unfamiliar to Greek ears, they had preferred to call the battle after the more celebrated city of Arbela (Id. ib §6). Strabo confirms this statement and tells us, moreover, that the name Gaugamela signified "the house of a camel," the village having been assigned by Darius Hystaspes as the place of support for one of his camels that had done good service in his Scythian expedition (Strabo, XVI, 1, §3)." However, argues Bunbury,[1] "the exact site of Gaugamela has not been determined; nor can this be wondered at: a large village in an open plain is not likely to have left any permanent vestiges, and no tradition remains to point it out. Arrian tells us that it was situated on a small river, which he names Bumodus or Bumadus (the reading is uncertain), at a distance of 600 stadia from Arbela, but he afterwards adds—"or 500 according to the lowest estimate"—thus showing how vague was his knowledge of the actual distance. From Arbela to the river Lycus (the Great Zab), which was interposed between that city and the field of battle, is less than 20 G. miles in a direct line; and an additional distance of 25 G. miles would carry us as far as the ruins of Nineveh, opposite to the modern city of Mosul on the Tigris. Yet there seems no doubt that the battle was really fought in the extensive open plain between the Tigris, the river Lycus, and the mountains of Gordyene. The river Bumadus affords the only clue to the nearer identification of the site, for the only considerable stream which traverses the plain in question is the Ghazir, which falls into the Zab about 20 miles above its junction with the Tigris; and there is little doubt that this must represent the Bumodus. In this case, indeed, the statement of Arrian concerning the distance of the field of battle from Arbela must be regarded as considerably overrated. On the other hand the position of the Ghazir would accord well with

[1] Ibidem.

the statement of Q. Curtius that the Bumadus (or Bumelus as he writes the name) was 80 stadia distant from the Lycus (Q. Curtius IV, 36, §10)."

However, Černik's (or rather Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's) observations "do not throw much additional light upon the subject," states Bunbury,[1] "for the reasons already stated." Yet Bunbury concedes that Černik's map obviously shows "that the open undulating *plateau* which extends from the river Ghazir westwards to the Tigris, and in the center of which is situated the modern village of Kermelis, *was the scene of the great battle.*" "But beyond this"—Bunbury states emphatically, "we cannot go."

According to the excellent map of Černik the distance from Arbela by the direct road to the modern Mosul is as follows: from Erbil to Senieh, where it crosses the Zab, 30 kilometers; thence to Kermelis 18 kilometers, and from Kermelis to Mosul, 25. With these data before him Bunbury was able to conclude[2] that "the actual distance from the scene of action to Arbela could not therefore have exceeded 48 kilometers, or about 20 English miles, instead of the 600 Stadia (60 G. miles) stated by Arrian."

Thus the identification of the exact site of Gaugamela again remained an unsolved riddle for the following half century. It is no wonder that the perplexing problem could not be taken up recently by the modern Greek historian and eminent archaeologist Apostolos Arbanitopoulos, except in the following manner:

ΓΑΥΓΑΜΗΛΑ. Χ. ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ περίφημον διὰ τὴν συναφθεῖσαν ἐκεῖ τῇ 31 Ὀκτωβρίου τοῦ 331 π. Χ. μεγάλην μάχην μεταξὺ τοῦ Μ. Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν, Δαρείου τοῦ Κοδομαννοῦ. Ὁ Στράβων ἑρμηνεύει τὴν λέξιν ὡς δηλοῦσαν «οἶκον καμήλου», πράγματι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀραμαϊκῇ καὶ τῇ ἀσσυριακῇ γλώσσῃ δηλοῖ ἡ λέξις «ράχιν καμήλου».· Ἡ περίφημος μάχη διεξήχθη δυτικῶς τοῦ σημερινοῦ Ζάβ, μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐρειπίων τῆς περιφήμου πόλεως Νινευί, τὰ ὁποῖα, ἂν καὶ τὰ εἶδον βεβαίως οἱ παρακολουθοῦντες τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐρευνηταί, οὐδόλως ἀναφέρουσιν. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι συγγραφεῖς συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς πλη-

[1] Ibidem. [2] Ibidem.

ροφορίας τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ τοῦ 'Αριστοτέλους, Καλλισθένους, παρακολουθήσαντος ἐπίσης τὸν Μ. 'Αλέξανδρον, ὀνομάζουσι τὴν μάχην ταύτην «παρὰ τὰ Ἄρβηλα». Τοῦτο ὅμως φαίνεται ἐσφαλμένον, ὡς παρετήρησαν ἤδη ὁ 'Αρριανός, ὁ Στράβων καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος, διότι τὰ Ἄρβηλα κεῖνται 40 χλμ. ἀνατολικῶς τοῦ πεδίου τῆς μάχης.[1]

"Gaugamela, a site in Assyria, is famous because of the great battle that was fought here on October 31, 331 B. C., between Alexander the Great and the Persian King, Darius Codomannus. Strabo explains the name as meaning 'the house of the camel', and in reality, in the Aramaic and in Assyrian language it means 'the back of the camel'. The famous battle took place westward of the river Zab, between the latter and the ruins of the celebrated city of Nineveh, which are not mentioned by the scholars who followed Alexander, though they must, doubtlessly, have seen them.

"In accordance with the information of Callisthenes, the nephew of Aristotle, who also accompanied Alexander, the ancient writers call this battle 'the battle near Arbela'. This, however, seems to be an error, as has been already observed by Arrian, Strabo and Plutarch, because Arbela lies 40 klm. eastwards from the battlefield."

Let it be observed that Arbanitopoulos deserves credit at least for placing the site of the celebrated battle "westward of the river Zab, between the latter and the ruins of the celebrated city of Nineveh." As we already know, Professor Giulio Giannelli of Milano, the distinguished author of a short article on Gaugamela, published in one of the superb volumes of *Enciclopedia Italiana*,[2] still identifies Gaugamela with the "odierno Gomel-Suyu," while in the recent edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1936, the battle of Gaugamela still parades under the name of the "Battle of Arbela."[3]

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[1] 'Ελευθερουδάκη 'Εγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικόν, vol. III, p. 774. 'Εν 'Αθήναις, 1928.

[2] *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XVI, p. 457. Milano, 1932 (XI) s.v. "Gaugamela."

[3] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. I, p. 568, London, etc., 1936, s.v. "Alexander the Great" (by Edwyn Robert Bevan).

CHAPTER VIII

"Alexander's battles are tactically brilliant examples of conception and execution. The wedge at Arbela [*sc.* Gaugamela] was more splendid than Macdonald's column at Wagram. It was a scintillation of genius."
Th. A. Dodge.

THE arbitrary and wholly unwarrantable transfer of the probable site of Gaugamela to the south of Wardak, even with a question-mark placed after the name "Gaugamela", made Černik-Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's masterful review quite unpopular among scholars. For, although it rejected the view of Commander Jones to the effect that the battlefield of Gaugamela was situated on the tongue of land between the Zab and Chasir, it seemingly antagonized the Kermelis-hypothesis of Niebuhr as well. In general, all those suggestions appeared too contradictory, and it is little wonder that Meyer, Hackmann, Delbrück, Jouguet, Kaerst and many other historians of repute, found themselves helpless before the array of conflicting opinions, and the latter authority could hardly find a better escape than to state that[1] "auf dem heutigen Plateau von Kermelis, zwischen Mosul und Erbil (Arbela)—[a distance of about a hundred Kilometers]—nicht weit von der Stätte des alten Nineveh, wurde am 1. October (oder 30 September) 331 die Entscheidungsschlacht geliefert, die nach einem kleinen Orte, Gaugamela, ihren Namen empfangen hat." Practically the same opinion concerning this problem was expressed by the French authority also. The position of the Persians, states Pierre Jouguet (1928),[2] was, during those memorable days, "at Gaugamela, on the plateau of

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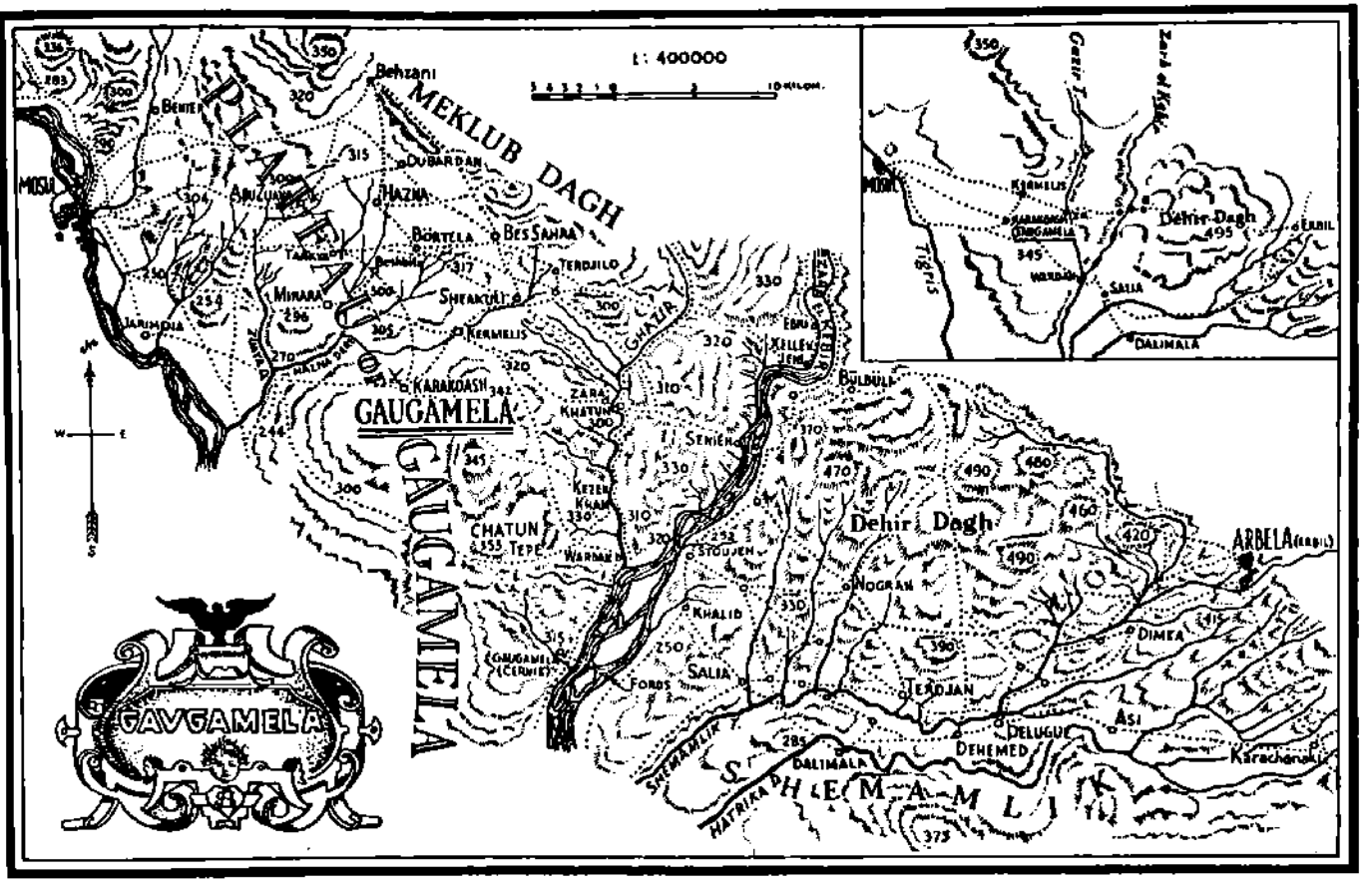
[1] J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, op. cit., vol. I, p. 393, 3d. ed., Leipzig, 1927.

[2] Pierre Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism and the Hellenization of the East*, op. cit., p. 31, London-New York, 1928.

Kermelis between Mosul and Erbil (Arbela) not far from the site of Nineveh. There the decisive battle was fought, on ground more favorable to the manoeuvres of the Asiatic cavalry than at Issos." But the question of the site, and the relation of this "little hamlet Gaugamela" to Kermelis, Arbela or Nineveh has not been answered by Kaerst or Jouguet, nor by any other historian. If we follow the best informed of them, namely Professors Kaerst and Jouguet, we must look for Gaugamela somewhere "between Mosul and Erbil—but not very far from the site of the ancient Nineveh,"—an exceedingly vague statement, indeed.

And yet Černik-Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's reconstruction of the momentous battle of Gaugamela was, after all, very near the truth. Following Niebuhr, the Austrian scholars correctly located the scene of the historical combat upon the "Plateau of Kermelis", and moreover, depicted the course of the conflict itself with a masterly precision. Leaving aside the unfortunate attempt to indentify the ancient Gaugamela with a site lying south of Wardak, which in fact marks only the place where Darius' army crossed the Zab, while marching northward to Gaugamela, and the same place where Darius himself crossed the Zab while fleeing toward Arbela, after the fatal battle, Černik-Schweiger-Lerchenfeld's sketch can rightly be considered matchless even today. Together with Černik's excellent map, it makes possible for us to reconstruct the respective positions of the two opposing armies and their short but fierce and sanguine combat, in the following way:

Being perfectly protected in the north and east by Meklub Dagh, (*Gebel Maklub* on our map), and by his fortified camp at Hussein Ferrash (entrusted to the protection of his Thracian infantry), Alexander arrayed his small but excellent forces south of his impromptu camp established between the modern Hazna and Börtella, placing them directly in front of the huge Persian army according to a well conceived plan, which is authentically known; the guardianship of the left wing was left to Parmenio,

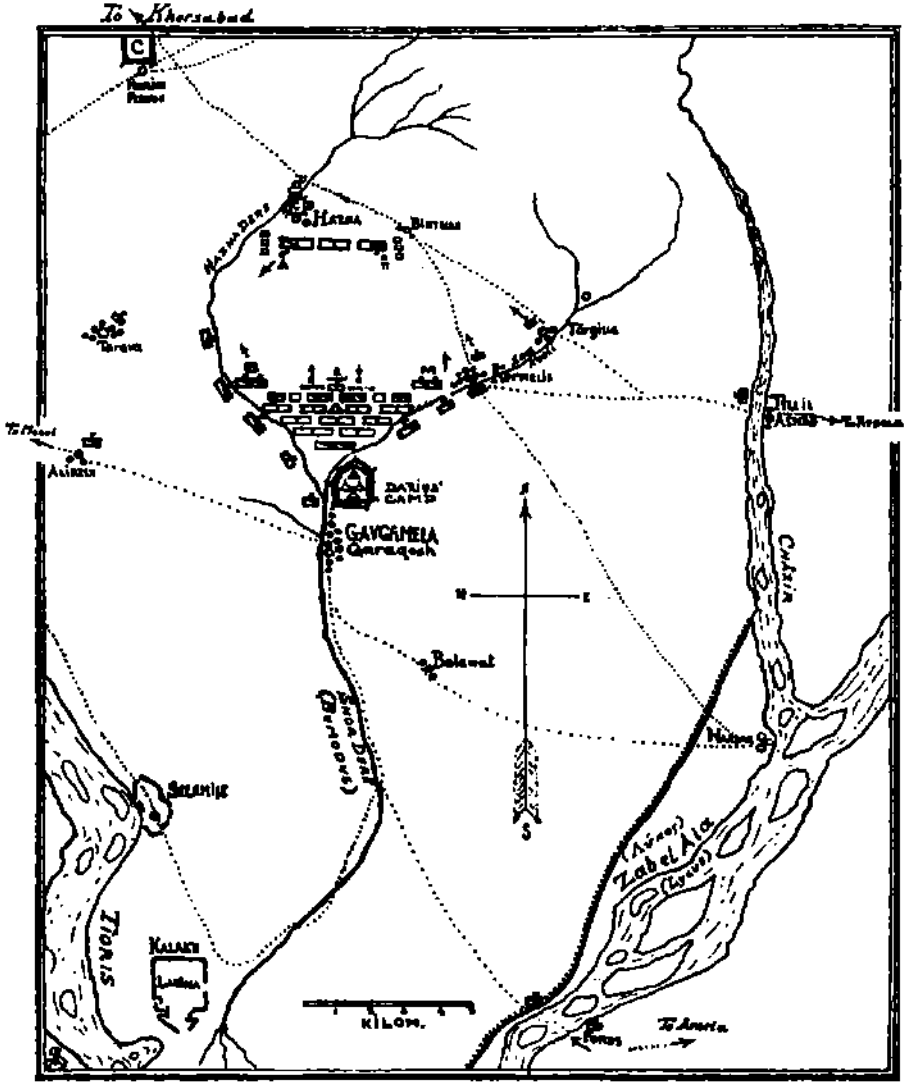


Topography of Gaugamela and Arbela after J. Černik.

while the right wing was commanded by Clitus and Alexander himself.

The battle line of the Greeks was naturally a short one. It faced the huge Persian line drawn in a perfect strategic manner upon the very convenient slopes of the Gaugamela-Qaraqosh and Kermelis plateau, which descended gently towards the northwest and southwest. The line formed a serpent resting with its right wing at Kermelis and Terdjölo, and with its left wing at Tarava-Aliresh. Gaugamela-Qaraqosh constituted the center of this formidable formation. Here was the position of Darius, heavily guarded by the dreadful "hundred scythed chariots," upon which he relied so much. But, after observing the scythed chariots, Alexander wisely led his attack toward the left wing, commanded by Bessus. At that moment the scythed chariots made their untimely charge, only to be quickly incapacited by the Greek archers and the javelin throwers, and annihilated to the last combatant. This was the beginning of the disaster. The defeat of the scythed chariots in the view of both the combatant forces, exerted a demoralizing impression upon the Persians. Moreover Alexander, after gaining much ground on the left Persian wing, soon made an attack upon the very center of the Persian army held by Darius himself. Somehow the rumor spread that the two royal adversaries confronted each other; that Darius' charioteer fell pierced by a dart thrown by Alexander himself. All of a sudden a frenzied rumor blew up that Darius himself had fallen. The news spread like wildfire . . . More frightened than hurt the Persian line broke immediately, and soon Darius turned and fled, although the Greeks were, as yet, far from the final victory. But Darius' flight became known and instantly paralized the entire Persian army. Now Mazaeus' cavalry lost heart, fled south-west, and disappeared in the adjacent marshes of the Tigris. The rest retired almost "as an unit, undefeated, sullen, ready for mischief."[1] Those who were slow in their escape were slain by the Greeks on the battlefield.

[1] W. W. Tarn, *The Battle of Gaugamela*, in C. A. H., vol. VI, p. 382, Cambridge, 1927.



GAUGAMELA

Position of Troops before the Opening of the Battle

A — Alexander
B — Beasus
Π — Parmenio
M — Mazaeus
Δ — Darius

The day was Alexander's own. It was manifest that he alone was in possession of the field, perhaps due to the fact that, thanks to his superior tactics, he succeeded in splitting the formidable line of the Persians in two, which swiftly effected a disastrous collapse of the entire Persian front, compelling, on the one hand, the panic-stricken Persian cavalry to seek safety by fleeing southward into the marshes of the Tigris, and, on the other hand, the right wing to retreat almost undefeated. This naturally enabled the victor to start almost immediately the pursuit of the Persian monarch, who, as we knew, had crossed the Zab south of Wardak and reached Arbela many hours before Alexander dared to leave the clearing of the battlefield to his commanders.

Such was the fateful battle of Gaugamela which terminated the Persian Empire. The distinguished American strategist calls it[1] "remarkable for the valor and skill of the commander of the victorius army, to whose constancy and intelligence the success was clearly due, as well as for the vacillation and cowardliness of the defeated monarch, despite some most excellent work by his subordinates. Never were dispositions better taken to resist the attacks of the enemy at all points; never on the field were openings more quickly seized; never threatening disaster more skillfully retrieved than here. However great the advance in battle tactics as the ages roll on, the world will never see more splendid tactics than the day of Arbela affords us. Even had Darius stood his ground, his lines would scarcely have resisted Alexander's able combinations. Mere inert masses would have availed nothing. The Persians still relied on multitudes. Alexander was introducing new tactics. As Frederick taught the modern world how march, and Napoleon showed that not masses but masses properly directed were of awail, so Alexander first of all men thought that a battle was not to be won by weight of

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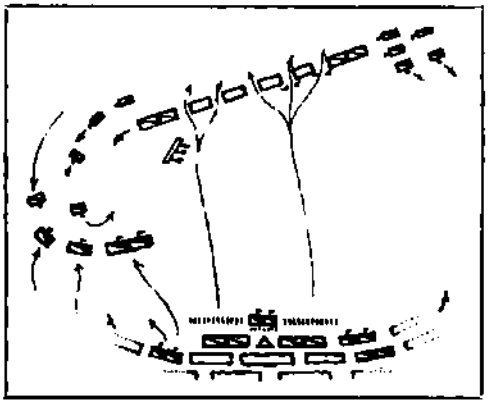
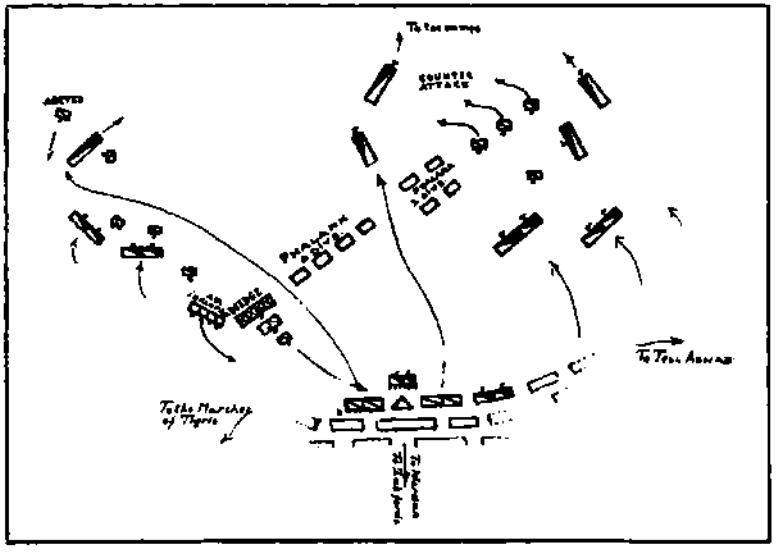
[1] Theodore Ayrault Dodge (*Brevet Lieutenant Colonel United States Army, Retired List*), *Alexander. A History of the Origin and Growth of the Art of War from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus, B.C.* 301, etc., vol. II, p. 385. Boston and New York, 1918.



GAUGAMELA
Second Phase



GAUGAMELA
Third Phase

masses, but by striking at the right place and right time. Macdonald's column at Wagram was scarcely comparable to Alexander's wedge at Arbela. For this was the first of its kind."

The eminent man of war of modern Great Britain calls Alexander's tactics at Gaugamela "the penetration by shock," and adds that "Gaugamela is one of the most perfect examples of the penetration to be found in history."[1] How pitiful that the learned tactician did never take pains to determine the exact geographical location of the battlefield of Gaugamela itself. The utterly fantastic speculation concerning this same all important matter exhibited in the recent superb publication of Kromayer-Veith, (u. s.) hardly deserves a critical discussion.

The route of Darius' flight to the south-eastward can now be traced without difficulty. 2263 years ago, as today, there were three main routes leading from Arbela-Erbil to Nineveh-Mosul.[2] We may call them the northern road, the middle road, and the southern road. The most northerly road leads through Tatarköj, Bülbüli, to the fords at Jenni Kellek, and then over the Chazir-fords to Terdjölo, Börtela, Tarava to Nineveh-Mosul. The middle road leads over the Dehir Dagh, to Nogaran, Senieh (fords over the Zab), and thence to Zara Chatun (fords over the Chazir), Kermelis, and thence westward to Nineveh-Mosul. Both roads were most inconvenient in the time of Darius, as they are even today; they run over the precipitous Dehir Dagh, and no general would ever think of leading his army over it. Moreover, there exists a fine and convenient southern road, which runs through Dimka, Delugul, Terdjan, Salia to the fords south of Wardak, thence directly westward to Nineveh-Mosul, or eventually over Balawat and Gaugamela-Qaraqosh. It was this last road that was used by Darius for his communications with headquarters at Erbil-Arbela, and in his sudden and highly cowardly flight from the battlefield, October 1, 331 B.C. The route followed

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[1] Colonel John Frederick Charles Fuller, O.B.E., D.S.O., in his article on Gaugamela, published in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 10, pp. 71-73. London, etc., 1936.

[2] Cp. C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, op. cit., vol. IX, p. 694, Berlin, 1840.

by his gigantic army on its march to Qaraqosh-Gaugamela from the south, was naturally a different one.

It is a well known fact that Darius had been recruiting his soldiers in the south; he despatched them northward via Kerkook—Altyn-Köprü—Dukola to Doghala, and thence down to the fords at the confluence of Khazr-Chazir and Zarb-el-Kebir (the Big Zab) south of Wardak (marked on Černik's map "Gaugamela?"). To imagine that Darius forced all his regiments to go over Arbela-Erbil, would be ludicrous. At the latter place Darius merely opened his headquarters, established his main magazines, and left there his camp-treasure and harems. No doubt this last procedure was a perfectly logical and wise one, which indeed gives credit to the general staffs of the Persian army. A recognition of this fact is clearly recorded by Curtius Rufus who handed it down to posterity in the following words: "Iam pervenerat ad Arbela vicum, nobilem sua clade facturus. Hic commeatuum sarcinarumque majore parte deposita, Lycum amnem ponte junxit, et per dies quinque sicut ante Euphratem, trajecit exercitum. Inde octoginta fere stadia progressus, ad alterum amnem, *Bumado* [or *Bumelo*]nomen est, castra posuit. Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planicies: ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum, liberque prospectus oculorum etiam quae procul recessere, permittitur. Itaque si qua causa campi eminebat jussit aequari, totumque fastigium extendi." (IV, 9, 9-10).

In the brisk translation of R. Codrington (1652)[1] the passage reads as follows:

"At length he came to a village called *Arbela*, which was afterwards famous by reason of his overthrow. There he left the greatest part of his victuals and carriage, and made a bridge over the river *Licus*, and in five dayes conveyed over his army, as he had done before over *Euphrates*, passing forwards from

[1] *The Ten Books of Quintus Curtius Rufus: containing The Life and Death of Alexander the Great. By the same hand which translated the last volume of the Holy Court.* (Robert Codrington). London, 1652.

thence about fourscore furlongs: he came to another River called Boumello, and there encamped. This Country served wonderfull well for the araunging of his battles in large Plains, passeable for horses every where, and without shrubs, or short brush to cover the ground withall, having so free a prospect that the eye might discern things great way off. And if there appeared any hills within the Plain, *Darius* caused the same to be cast down, and to be made level to the ground."

It is needless to observe that Curtius' "inde" manifestly indicates the fords and bridges at the confluence of Chazir and Zab. Hence Darius' forces have moved further northward "octoginta fere stadia—ad alterum amnem," called by the ancients "Bumodus," until they reached Gaugamela, *i.e.*, the modern Qaraqosh. Here Darius "castra posuit" not only because "opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planicies," but also because the interjacent rivulet "Bumodus" was fordable and could easily be passed by men and beasts on foot.

The fords and bridges south of Wardak were naturally guarded by the Persians with utmost care, for, during the battle, and in case of defeat, they constituted the only safe and convenient escape for the Persians and their monarch. The latter used it without a moment's hesitation, and for this very reason was able to reach Arbela many hours before the victorious Macedonian could take the fords, after having previously cleared the field, and follow on the heels of the fleeing Darius.

Excavations around the modern Qaraqosh as well as around the fords at the confluence of the Big Zab and Chazir, may still reveal important evidence which perhaps would throw some additional light upon this eventful and intensely dramatic moment not only in the short but flashy career of Alexander, but also in the subsequent destinies of Eurasia.[1]

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[1] Kromayer-Veith's identification of Gaugamela with Tell Gomel, renders his superbly drawn charts of the battle of Gaugamela a complete failure.—Read Kromayer-Veith's *Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte, Fünfte Lieferung, Griechische Abteilung, "II. Gaugamela,"* c. 50. Leipzig, 1929.—"Blatt" 7, *Karte* 3-5, *ibid.*

CHAPTER IX

«Γαυγάμηλα—καμήλου οἶκος . . . . »
Strabo.

"Die Strabonische Erklärung darf wohl lediglich als eine orientalische volketymologische Legende bewerted werden; dass mit solchen die Semiten bei ihrer ausgesprochenen Vorliebe, um jeden Preis die Bedeutung geographischer Namen zu entziffern, von jeher gern bei der Hand waren, ist bekannt."—*M. Streck.*

NOT ONLY the topography of the historical battlefield, so excellently bounded in the west by the mighty and swift Tigris, and in the east by the smaller but still very dangerous Khazr or Chazir and the heights of the Meklub and Dehir Dagh, inevitably points to the modern Qaraqosh as the very center of the momentous battle of Gaugamela. The apparently inexplicable etymology of the strange name "Gaugamela", also lends support to our view, and forces us to unconditionally identify it with the present-day modest Assyrian hamlet of Qaraqosh.

It must be borne in mind that there was a time when Nineveh, Khorsabad, Calah and Kermelis formed a powerful tetrapolis. The whole area was in those days thickly populated, and "Gaugamela" was at that time one of the numerous flourishing towns of the district. We may assume that the district possessed a common name, which very probably was the historical appellation "Assur" (or Ashur). It may well have had its own *šaknu* (governor) and its importance was enhanced by the fact that it lay on the well traveled road to Calah, so frequently mentioned in the documents as the "King's highway" to Arbela and Assur.

No one can doubt today that, in the days of Alexander the present village of Qaraqosh possessed an Assyrian and not a Persian name. How it sounded in Assyrian we do not know. However we do know from Arrian[1] that its resonance was highly

[1] «Πόλις δὲ οὐκ ἦν μεγάλη..., οὐδὲ εἰς ἀκοὴν ἡδὺ τὸ ὄνομα».—Arrian, VI, 11, 6.

cacophonous and ear-piercing to the Greek *conquistadores*. We hope that it will be disclosed to us by some Assyriologist—some day. At all events, its English equivalent doubtless was "Black Bird," or "Black Eagle." Alexander's heroes translated it into their camp-Greek "Gaugamela," and so it found its way into the works of the ancient historians and geographers. To the heirs of the Greek and Hellenistic civilization, however, the word sounded very Oriental. Accordingly, it was retouched with brilliant Oriental colors, and a sweet and truly Eastern tale breathing all the redolence and fards of a 'Thousand and One Nights' romance was built around it.

Ptolemy renders it τὰ Γαυγάμηλα (VI, I, 5), as well as τὰ Ἄρβηλα, and Strabo (XVI-XVII) tells us that it was called so because Darius ordered that the place be used for the support and nourishment of one of his camels which was much wearied with the march.[4] Plutarch[5] also relates that in Persian (!), the name "Gaugamela" signifies the "Camel's house", because one of their ancient kings[6] having escaped the pursuit of his enemies[7] on a swift camel, in gratitude to his beast, settled him at this place with an allowance of some villages and rents for his maintenance."[8]

Thus a bit of romanticism and refined sentimentalism was introduced into the etymological derivation of the enigmatic

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[4] Streck was probably the only scholar who clearly perceived Strabo's adumbration. Streck commented: "Die Strabonische Erklärung darf wohl lediglich als eine orientalische volksetymologische Legende bewertet werden; dass mit solchen die Semiten bei ihrer ausgesprochenen Vorliebe, um jeden Preis die Bedeutung geographischer Namen zu entziffern, von jeher gern bei der Hand waren, ist bekannt."—Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. VII, c. 862. Stuttgart, 1912.

[5] Plutarch's *Lives. The Translation called Dryden's. Corrected from the Greek and revised by A. H. Clough*, etc., vol. IV, p. 200, London, MacMillan, 1902 (Oxford Edition).

[6] Darius I, the son of Hystaspes.

[7] Across the deserts of Scythia.

[8] Schrader- Nehring also follows Strabo's and Plutarch's explanation: "Γαυγάμηλα-καμήλου οἶκος."

Also read W. Smith's *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, London, 1878, vol. I, pp. 978-979.

name, which, naturally, complicated the problem still more. However the ingénious philologists of the last century assured us[1] that both forms —Gaugamela and Gangamela— could be explained as Persian; the first, we are told, might be derived from *Gâh* (Zend *gâ* "the place"),[2] and the second from *Kháneh*, i. e. "the house" or "home". In fact, the second part of the allegedly "Persian" word was obviously 'camel' (gamela), though no one paid any attention to the fact that the word 'camel' (in Greek κάμηλος), is of Semitic origin (O. Sem *Gammalu*, Arab. *gaml*, Assyr. *gammalu*),[3] while its Aryan equivalent is: in Sanscrit *úshtra* (Zend *ushtra*, Pamir D. *üshtur*, *shtur* or *khtür*); in modern Persian it sounds *ushtur*.

It was manifestly this kind of etymologizing that encouraged Professor A. T. Olmstead[4] to coin his "Gau Gamela", and to assert that the Gomel River "preserves the name of *Gau Gamela* where Alexander won the world".[5]

Taking, then, for granted that the etymologically strange name 'Gaugamela' is neither of Persian nor Semitic, but of Greek origin, can we prove our assertion satisfactorily?

We claim that we can do it.

We have already seen that historically and topographically the modern Assyrian village Qaraqosh actually constituted the very center of the hot battle in which Alexander the Great, after a short but fierce hand-to-hand fight, compelled the dastardly Darius to seek safety in a flight while the issue still hung in the balance. If we could now prove that the name Gaugamela is truly a Greek rendering of the Old Assyrian appellation: 'Black Bird'

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[1] Cf. D. K. Brugmann, *Elements of Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, vol. I, p. 84, vol. II, p. 482; London, 1888, 1891.

[2] The dromedary represented on the Black Obelisc of Salmanassar II, is called *gammali*. B. Meissner, *Assyr. Stud.*, V, 145 (Shalmaneser II, 858-824 B. C.). Streck seems to be the only authority who did observe that "der zweite Bestandteil des Wortes [Gaugamela] die aramäische Form *gamela* darstellt; aber ein aramäisches *gau*= 'Haus' gibt es nicht. Kamelhaus würde in dem aramäischen Idiom der Achamenidenzeit etwa *Bai* oder *Be* (Abkürzung von *Bait*, *Beth*) *gamela* lauten."—L.c., c. 862.

[3] *History of Assyria*, p. 332. New York, London (Scribner), 1923.

[4] Ibidem.

or 'Black Eagle', which name, we claim, was applied to this site in ancient days and if we could prove that the present-day name of the village 'Qara-qosh' also means the 'Black Bird' (or the 'Black Eagle'), we would feel justified in believing that our task has been successfully accomplished.

That the word 'Kara-koash' is of Turkish origin, is *prima facie* manifest. It is also beyond doubt that its meaning is 'Black Bird' or 'Black Eagle'. This fact was admitted by Commander Jones in 1853,[1] and its transcription was given as قراقوش (i. e. "Kara-koash", in Jones' transcription: *Kara-gush*). Its modern Turkish transcription is, according to A. Vahid Bey,[2] قراقوش. The Kirghis pronounce it, according to Lazar Budagoff,[3] قراقوس (Kara-Koas, '*aquila imperialis*').

We will be still more surprised when we look into Otto Keller's *Die Antike Tierwelt*. Here we will find that "das gewöhnlich lateinische *aquila* bedeuted den schwarzlichen, dunkelbraunen Vogel, entsprechend dem Homerischen Beiwort des Adlers *schwarz*, μέλας (auch περκνός oder πέρκνος) dunkel-farbig-Adler, aber auch dem turkotatarischen (tschagataischen) *Karakuš*, Schwarzvogel-Adler."[4]

This is a very valuable statement. It enables us at once to rediscover the Greek origin of the name 'Gaugamela', and thus to reject the ancient explanation that the name was a "Persian" word allegedly composed of the (Persian) *Gau* (go) and (Semitic) *Gamel*, and adhered to by the etymologists until now. Moreover, it makes it possible for us to see that the word is a Greek rendering of the original Old-Assyrian name meaning "Black Bird" or "Black Eagle", whichever was its sound in Old-Assyrian. In its Greek rendering the word was, also, composed of two words: γαυγα-μελα (ς), *i. e.* 'eagle' and 'black', and their

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[1] *The Topography of Nineveh*, l.c., p. 366.

[2] A. Vahid Bey, *A Condensed Dictionary of English Turkish*, pp. 47 and 48, Constantinople, 1924.

[3] Lazar Budagoff, *Srawnitielnyi Slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh nariechii*, vol. II, p. 43, c. 2. St. Petersburg, 1871.

[4] Otto Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt*. Zweiter Band: *Vögel, Reptilien, Fische* ..., p. 1, s.v. '*Adler*,' Leipzig, 1913.

meaning perfectly corresponds to the Old-Assyrian equivalents.

As to the last word, of the Greek rendering there cannot be any doubt. We learn from Aristotle that the Greek name for "eagle" was μελανάετος, and even Latin *aquila* means nothing else than the "dark one".[1] The solution of the etymological provenance of the first component (*gauga*) offers little difficulty, for, doubtless it is the "Persianized" Greek καύαξ, καύηξ *or* κήξ, the well known, though rather obscure καυκαλίας or καυκιάλης of Hesychios, which, also means "a kind of a bird"—ὄρνις ποῖος.[2]

Thus we ultimately arrived at the Greek, and by no means Persian, root of the name "Gaugamela", which originally sounded καύαξ μέλας, or καυκαλίας μέλας, or shortly καυκαμελας or καυκαμελα. Of course it could now easily be tranformed into the rather mysteriously and cleverly orientalized Γαυγάμελα or Γαυγάμηλα, moreover, Greek γ frequently interchanges with κ, as in other languages.[3] At the same time γαυγάμελα proves to be the exact etymological equivalent of the Turkish Qaraqosh,[4] i.e. the present-day appellation of the historical Gaugamela!

Here we may also add that in Ukrainian, Polish, and other Slavic languages, a black bird of the κόραξ=*corvus-raven* family (Sanskr. *Karava*) sounds even today Kava or *Kávka*, a fact which was overlooked by the painstakingly accurate Boisacq.[5] Likewise we may refer to an Armenian parallel: [illegible], i. e. *Kaqav*=πέρδιξ, пр. *Čakâv*=genus anatis, and Greek κακχάβα, also καχχάβη and καχχάβις, i.e. partridge (Rebhuhn).[6]

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[1] See, O. Schrader's *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. II, p. 216, Berlin-Leipzig, 1929.

[2] Hesychii Alexandrini, *Lexicon post Ioannem Albertum recensuit Mauricius Schmidt*, vol. I, p. 452, Ienae, 1858; Cp. Liddel-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v., p. 789, Oxford, 1890, and Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*, p. 422. Heidelberg-Paris, 1923 (Second Edition).

[3] E.g. Semitic *gamel*, and Greek κάμηλος.

[4] L.c.—Cf. M. S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, 2nd ed., vol. II, pp. 337-338. Lwów, 1855; Dr. Erich Berneker, *Slavisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I, pp. 495-496, Heidelberg, 1908-1909.

[5] P. Seraphin Dervishjan, *Armeniaca I. Das Altarmenische. Ein Beitrag zur Indo-europaeischen Lautlehre*, p. 33 (38), Wien, 1877. Also: O. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, l.c., p. 217.

In connection with this it is of particular import to recall that in the valuable *Memoir* of J. Macdonald Kinneir there is mentioned a station called Karakawh, "being four farsangs or about fifteen miles from Mosul." Unfortunately this station is missing upon the map published by the same author.[1] We do not entertain the slightest doubt that Kinneir's Karakawh is identical with the historical Gaugamela-Qaraqosh.

In conclusion let it be observed by us that, in his *Altpersische Adelsgeschlechter*, Friedrich Wilwhelm König[2] is still of the opinion that Strabo's and Plutarch's explanation and interpretation of the name "Gaugamela" as καμήλου οἶκος was really based on the idiomatic and folkloristic peculiairties of the ancient Athuria. "Setzen wir," argues König, οἶκος gleich *gapu*, so wurde in der Mundart der Gegend, aus der unsere Überlieferung stammte, *gapu* über *gahu* zu *gau*." This etymologizing might have been wrong, but its actuality is by no means improbable, according to König. He argues: "Dass die Etymologie des Stadtnamens nicht richtig sein muss, beweist nichts gegen die Richtigkeit der Deutung des Namens durch einen Iranier; die Notiz bei Strabon bezeugt eben bloss das Vorhandensein der Wörter *gau* und *gamela* in der Bedeutung οἶκος und κάμηλος in einer bestimmten Mundart, wie etwa eine Notiz eines Nichtdeutschen bei Erwähnung der Stadt Essen melden würde: 'Essen' heisst im Deutschen so viel wie 'Nahrung zu sich nehmen' so dass das verbum 'essen' so für das Deutsche belegt wäre, wenn auch die 'Etymologie' falsch ist.'"[3]

It is very pitiful, indeed, that the learned Professor failed to familiarize himself with the weighty opinion of Streck quoted by us at the commencement of this chapter.

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[1] This fact was pointed out by J. S. Buckingham in his *Travels in Mesopotamia, including a journey from Aleppo to Bagdad, etc.*, vol. II, p. 75. London, 1827.

[2] Friedrich Wilhelm König, *Altpersische Adelsgeschlechter*, p. 292.—*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXI Band, Wien, 1924.

[3] Ibidem, note 3.

CHAPTER X

«Γαυγάμηλα, τόπος Περσίδος. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ γῆς δευτέρῳ.»
Stephanus Byzantinus, textus corruptus.

«Γαυγάμηλα, τόπος Περσίδος. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ γῆς δευτέρῳ.»
Stephanus Byzantinus, textus a Sushko emendatus.

IT remains only to elucidate the laconic yet explicit note of Stephanus: «Γαυγάμηλα, τόπος Περσίδος. Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ γῆς δευτέρῳ».[1]

Almost all scholars thought that Stephanus' explanation should be understood literally: "Gaugamela, a place of Persia," and supposed that Stephanus offered this trivial explanation because in his time this part of Mesopotamia, where Gaugamela was situated, was subject to Persia. However it would be very unjust to attribute to the great geographer such a rudimentary and even false commentary, moreover he based it on the authority of the highly discriminating and usually trustworthy Apollodorus (second century B. C.).[2]

Stephanus' note manifestly consists of two parts: in the former Stephanus calls Gaugamela «τόπος Περσίδος», in the lat-

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[1] *Stephanus Byzantinus cum annotationibus L. Holstenii, A. Berkellii et Th. de Pinedo*, vol. I (*cum Guilielmi Dindorfii praefatione*) p. 133, Lipsiae, 1825 (also vol. II, pp. 174-175).

[2] The problem of Apollodorus' authorship of the valuable handbook of ancient geography composed in senaries ("Περὶ γῆς"), is immaterial to us. Whether written by Apollodorus in the second century B. C., or by some later author in the following century, it doubtlessly preserved an authentic information concerning Gaugamela. Little wonder that it was eagerly utilized by Stephanus, who, as is well known, had a never satisfied desire for the most authentic topographical and historical details which he often reinforced with lengthy quotations from classical authors.

For detailed literature on Apollodorus consult the works of Heyne, Mueller, Harcher, Jacoby, and Wagner.

The best editions of Stephanus' Ἐθνικά are by W. Dindorf (four volumes, Leipzig, 1825), A. Westermann (Leipzig, 1839), and A. Meineke (Berlin, 1849). Also consult the works of Riese, Bunbury, Geffcken, Kontogones, and Sokolowski.

ter he quotes his source of information—«'Απολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ γῆς δευτέρῳ».

It is obvious that «Γαυγάμηλα τόπος Περσίδος» means "Gaugamela, a place of Persia." However, it is highly questionable whether the rendering and rendition of this part of Stephanus' note is the correct one. Still more questionable appears to us the alleged sanction of such a reading by the hypercritical Apollodorus (or his compiler).

That Gaugamela was not "a place of Persia," but of Assyria (or "Athuria"), this fact was duly recognized by Stephanus' interpreters and editors. Thus, e.g., the learned Thomas de Pinedo wrote in his *Annotationes*[1]): «Γαυγάμηλα, τόπος Περσίδος.—Gaugamila, seu Gaugamela, utrique enim modo reperitur, locus Persidis ex Apollodoro. Strabo lib. 16, *pagum* vocat, ut et Arrhianus de Expeditione Alex. lib. 6. Erat vero in Assyria, quae Straboni libro citato dicitur *Aturia*, nomen autem pagi sonat, ut idem inquit, *domum cameli*. Id nominis et a Dario Hystaspis impositum fuisse refert: *gamal* vero in lingua Sancta significat *camelum*, ex qua reliquae linguae id accepere. Ad Gaugamela ab Alexandro victus est Darius Persarum rex, etsi Arbela illius proelii gloriam tulerint, ut suo loco annotavimus. Utrumque nomen est neut. plurale."

No less emphatic accentuation of the Assyrian provenience of Gaugamela one may find in the learned "annotationes Berkelii'": «Γαυγάμηλα, τόπος Περσίδος.—Xylandriana editio, Γαυγάμιλα, quod quia omnibus numeris non placebat, vetustiores editiones et codices MSS sequutus sum. Proprie non est Persidis, sed Assyriae locus, Darii et Alexandri Magni proelio satis celebris. Arrianus de Exp. Alex. lib. VI:

«'Αλλὰ ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γὰρ γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Βουμάδῳ, λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ 'Αριστόβουλος. Πόλις δὲ οὐκ ἦν μεγάλη, οὐδὲ εἰς ἀκοὴν ἡδὺ τὸ ὄνομα.»

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[1] *Stephanus Byzantinus, quem primus T. de Pinedo Latii jure donabat et observat. ill. add, collationes J. Gronovii, e. ind.* Amstelodami, 1678.—Editio Lips., 1825, vol. III, p. 843.

[2] Editio Lips., vol. III, p. 533.

Strabo lib XVI. Gaugamela *domum cameli* interpretatur: nam sic Darius nominavit, cum hanc possessionem camelo in alimentum daret. Illustrissimus Jos. Scaliger censet Gaugamela *camelis intestina* denotare, quod ibidem essent inhumata. Verum optime omnium Cl. Bochartus existimat, distinctis vocibus גבי־גמלא *gave gamela* pronunciandum esse, quomodo Hermolaus Barbarus in Plinii optimae notae MSS reperisse testatur, quae vocabula *Cameli tributa* sive *census* significant. Vide iam laudatum Bochartum *Geogr. Sac.*, lib. IV, cap. XIX."

It would be very much unjust to admit that the great Byzantine geographer would ever dare to assign a well known Assyrian place to Persia. Nor would it be reasonable to suspect such a flagrant inexactness in the works of Apollodorus, whom we know as one of the ablest pupils of the great Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 220-143 B. C.), and of the brilliant Stoic, Panaetius (born c. 185 B.C.). On the other hand, basing upon the facts accumulated by us it appears almost manifest that Stephanus' «Περσίς» is, in fact, the corrupt Περκίς (-ίδος, f.), which also means a sort of a "Black Bird," or a "Black Eagle," derived from περκνός, i. e. "black," sc. "eagle," the usual epithet applied to the royal bird in the Homeric epic.[1] Thus Stephanus' «Γαυγάμηλα, τόπος Περσίδος» originally read (after Apollodorus, or pseudo-Apollodorus): «Γαυγάμηλα, τόπος Περκίδος», which meant: "Gaugamela, the place of the Black Eagle." This, in my opinion the correct reading of Stephanus, has been misunderstood by the copyists, who changed κ into σ, and thus made out of "the place of the Black Eagle"—"the place of Persia."

It also is manifest that in following Apollodorus (or pseudo-Apollodorus), Stephanus had tacitly repudiated Strabo's romantic interpretation: «Γαυγάμηλα=καμήλου οἶκος». Thus it is not to be doubted that Stephanus transmitted to the posterity the correct meaning of the eminent name, though it, too, was later on, most fatally mutilated and helplessly obscured by Stephanus' copyists.

[1] The word is well known from the works of Keller, Robert, Boisacq, etc. Cp. Robert's *Les noms d'oiseaux en grecque*, and Boisacq, op. cit., pp. 773-774 (2nd ed., Heidelberg-Paris, 1923).

Transcribing the name of the ancient Assyrian town called "Black Bird" or "Black Eagle" into the Greek "Gaugamela" was in perfect accordance with the ways of the Greek writers, who were in the habit of Hellenizing the ancient geographical names of the Orient. As an example let us recall that the ancient Assyrian name of the Upper Zab, *Zab-al-ála*, or *Zaba-elila*, is given by Xenophon as *Zabatus*. Other Greek writers, however changed it into *Lycos* (Λύκος), i. e. "the wolf," or "restless," a term quite characteristic of its wayward and suddenly impetious energy when affected by the thunder-storms in the hills.[1] The name of the old and venerable *Arba-ilu* was cleverly transformed into the beautifully Hellenized *Arbela*, which has survived up to the present time under the disguise of the rather oriental *Erbil*. It is needless to observe that *Arbela* originated on the analogy of the freshly coined *Gavgamela*.[2] Even the name of the capital city of the ancient Empire of Persia *Parsabad* (i. e. the "City or Habitation of the Persians") had to give way to the Greek appellation of *Persepolis*, also meaning the "City of the Persians." The "fault" was bitterly criticized by the French historian of yesterday.[3] In some cases the names of old Oriental cities were replaced by Greek ones without much consideration for their

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[1] Jones, l.c., p. 310.

[2] Hence Ptolemy's rendering: τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, as well as τὰ Ἀρβηλα.

[3] Le Clerc in his "*A Criticism upon Quintus Curtius*," translated into English by John Rooke, in *Arrian's History of Alexander's Expedition. Translated from the Greek. With Notes Historical, Geographical, and Critical, by Mr.* [J.] *Rooke*, vol. I, pp. XLIV—XLV. London, 1729:

"It is to me, a very great Wonder, that the true, and ancient Name of the Capital City of the *Persian* Empire, should be every where suppress'd, and the *Greek* Appellation of *Persepolis* substituted in its place, not only by *Curtius*, but all other ancient Authors; by which means, it is absolutely lost. *Christopher Cellarius* was of Opinion, that the Name thereof was *Elam*, which is עילם in his Notes to that Chapter of *Curtius*, for the Country adjacent to it, was named *Elamais*, and so was the City too, by the Author of the Maccabees. But I dare not subscribe to his Judgment: And if I might be allowed to declare my Mind freely, I should own my Satisfaction in the Conjeture of Sir *John Chardin*, who, in his *Itinerarium Persicum*, thinks it was called *Fars-abad*, or *Pars-abad*, which is the *Habitation of the Persians*; for it is unquestionable, that the *Persians* called themselves פרס *Pharas*, and אבד *Abad* signifies a *Habitation*, which Noun is often substituted in the Composition of such Names of Towns, in the *Persian* Language."

ancient appellations. Thus the Phrygian Celaenae became Apamea; the Syrian Haleb (Aleppo) became Beroea; the Median Rhagae, or Rai, became Europus; and the Mesopotamian Nisibis was transformed into Antioch.

The ancient Assyrian "Black Bird" or "Black Eagle" was changed into the congenial "Gaugamela":—a frequent and customary phenomenon of "Hellenism" in the Near East after the momentous conquests of Alexander.

Thus it appears manifest that Arrian's famous passage: Πόλις δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, ἀλλὰ κώμη μεγάλη, οὐδὲ ὀνομαστὸς ὁ χῶρος, οὐδὲ εἰς ἀκοὴν ἡδὺ τὸ ὄνομα,—obviously implies that the place *was* (ἦν) not only of little significance but also its name (obviously its *ancient and original*, i. e., Assyrian name) *was* [ἦν] οὐδὲ εἰς ἀκοὴν ἡδύ. Hence its transaformation into an elegant and melodious Greek *Gaugamela*—(τὰ) Γαυγάμηλα.

It is evident now that the correct rendering of the famous passage immortalized by Arrian in his *Anabasis of Alexander*, VI, 11, 6, should sound in English thus:

"But Ptolemy and Aristobulus relate that the battle took place at Gaugamela by the river Bumodus. Gaugamela, however, was not a city but a large village; nor was it an important place, and the name was rather cacophonous. It, therefore, seems to me that Arbela, being a city, carried off the glory of this great battle."[1]

We beg to compare our rendering with the following translation by E. Iliff Robson:

"But Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus state that the battle took place at Gaugamela by the river Bumodus. Gaugamela, moreover, was not a city but a large village; it was not an important place, and the name has (sic!) rather an awkward sound; and thus, I opine, Arbela, being a city, carried off the glory of this great battle."[1]

We must admit that the early eighteenth century transla-

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[1] *Arrian, with an English Translation by* E. Iliff Robson ... London, 1929-1933. 2 vols., vol. I, p. 137. [*The Loeb Classical Library*], London, 1929.

tion of the same salient passage of Arrian made by J. Rooke, approximates more closely, its Greek original than that of Robson. Rooke's translation reads as follows:

"For both *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus* assure us that the Scene of this last Action with *Darius* was at *Gaugamela* upon the River *Bumelus*. And whereas *Gaugamela* was only an obscure Village, and the sound of its Name not grateful to the Ear, the Glory of that Battle has been conferr'd on *Arbela*, as the chief City of these Parts.'"

The past tense in the sentences: "and whereas Gaugamela *was* only an obscure Village, and the sound of its Name not grateful to the Ear," was properly and distinctly accentuated by Rooke.

It seems needless to observe that since now it would be implacable to suspect Arrian any longer in alluding to 'Gaugamela,' when he informs us that the site (ὁ χῶρος) of the celebrated battle between Alexander and Darius was οὐδὲ ὀνομαστός, οὐδὲ εἰς ἀκοὴν ἡδὺ τὸ ὄνομα. It was the ancient Assyrian name of the place which offended the ears of the refined adventurers and euphemists of Hellas so much that it had to be changed into the cognate and euphonical Aryan *Gaugamela.*

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[1] John Rooke's *Arrian's History of Alexander's Expedition*, *op. cit.*, vol II, pp. 90-91. London, 1729.

CHAPTER XI

«Ἀλλὰ ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γὰρ γενέσθαι
τὴν μάχην πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Βουμώδῳ,
λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος...»
Arrian.

DOES Arrian claim that Gaugamela was situated on the banks of the river Bumadus?

He does not. Arrian just states that, according to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, the momentous battle between Alexander and Darius was fought «ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις . . . πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Βουμάδῳ,» i. e. at Gaugamela . . . "hard by, near, at, or on" the river Bumadus.[1] Of course, Arrian's latter explanatory words by no means exclude the possibility of Gaugamela itself having been situated on the Bumadus.

Be that as it may, Bumadus was, doubtless, even in the days of Alexander and Darius a mediocre stream which, for this reason alone, could hardly be identified with such an important and well known river of Athuria as the turbulent *Khazr* ("Khazir", "Chazir", etc., called in its upper flow "*Gomel*"), the right tributary of the Greater Zab. It appears obvious that Bumadus was relatively as insignificant a river as Gaugamela itself was a village, of such a little consequence that Arrian himself considered it necessary to remark that it was not a «πόλις», but a «κώμη μεγάλη». Concerning the insignificance of the Bumadus, Arrian did not choose to remark even as much as he did about the Gaugamela.

An *a priori* identification of the Bumadus with the Khazr was perhaps the greatest obstacle in an early disentchantment of the real face and position of Gaugamela.

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[1] Thucidides expressed himself similarly: πρὸς τῇ γῇ ναυμαχεῖν, and Xenophon mentions αἱ πρὸς θαλάττῃ πόλεις.

First of all, it is of particular interest to note that it was Ptolemy and Aristobulus, as quoted by Arrian (VI, 2), who reported first that the decisive battle between Alexander and Darius was fought at Gaugamela, near the river Bumadus. It is, however, not less important to observe that it was the opinion of later interpreters that the Bumadus should be identified with the river Khazr.

The name "Bumadus" occurs in the writings of ancient historians with various spellings: Βούμωδος (Arrian, III, 8; Curt., IV, 9), Βουμήλος (Arrian, VI, II), etc. Tavernier (II, ch. 5) relates that he crossed a stream called the "Bohrus" which, he thought, "may be identical with it." Had it been possible that Alexander's historians could—for some plausible reason—substitute an old and well known name of the turbulent tributary of the historical Zab el A'lâ with an unknown, wanton and nondescript name of a "Bumadus" or "Bumelos" [from βοῦς and μῆλον (?)] ?

As we already know, it was Niebuhr (1766), who most emphatically had identified the enigmatic Gaugamela with Kermelis (II, p. 349). It was the same eminent authority, however, who admitted that Bumodus or Bumelus could probably be identified with Khazr, as *Lycus* was identified with the Greater Zab, and *Arbela* with Erbil.[1] He never dared to identify Bumadus with the small and insignificant rivulet *Shah Kouli* which flows by Kermelis and is still used by the local villagers for irrigation purposes. It was for this reason that Niebuhr's opinion was rejected by Ritter (IX, pp. 698-699)—chiefly on the ground that Kermelis does not lie on the banks of the river Bumadus, i. e. of the supposed river Khazr, which is about three-quarters of an hour distant from Kermelis. Moreover, Ritter hesitated to identify Shah Kouli with the Bumadus, for he, too, knew it from Rich's notes as an insignificant rivulet which "wurde ganz zur

[1] "Es war ohne Zweifel in dieser Gegend, wo Alexander den grossen Sieg über Darius erhielt. *Chazer* scheint Boumelle, der grosse *Zab* Lycus, und *Arbil* Arbela zu seyn."—C. Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 349, n. 1. Kopenhagen, 1775.

Bewässerung der Aecker des Dorfes aufgebracht" (ibid). This same circumstance led away Ritter's attention from Qaraqosh which Ritter believed to be situated on the banks of the same rivulet—"etwas weiter abwärts" [1]

Ritter's most authoritative follower was E. H. Bunbury (1879). With Černik's map in hand, he readily admitted that the open undulating "Plateau of Kermelis" (we prefer to call it the "Plateau of Gaugamela") was the scene of the great battle between Darius and Alexander, but he also argued that "the exact site of Gaugamela" could hardly be determined in his days.[2]

It is interesting to observe that Bunbury believed that it was the river Bumadus which "affords the only clue (sic!) to the nearer identification of the site." Unfortunately the eminent geographer could not free himself from the old error of identifying Bumadus with the Khazr, whence his inability to establish "the exact site of Gaugamela" itself.

As we already know, the problem was taken up by Commander Jones (1853) from an entirely different standpoint. First of all, Jones thought[3] that the celebrated battle was "fought on the tongue of land intermediate between the Zab and its tributary the Khazr." Hence Jones was of the opinion that Khazr "is recognized by the philologists as the Bumadus of Arrian's history, through its modern name of Gomel, as used in the north districts of its course by the simple and prevalent interchange of δ for γ and δ for the λ in the name. Gomel or Gomelus thus becomes Bumadus; and the Gaugamela where Darius was encamped may with more certainty be identified with the actual name of the stream."

It was Jones' opinion that induced Locher to assert that the battle of Gaugamela was "so named after the river lying sixteen miles northwest of Erbil, better known to us as the "Zab Ala,"

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[1] Ibidem.

[2] E. H. Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. II, pp. 472-475.

[3] James Felix Jones, *Memoirs*, etc., op. cit., Bombay, 1857. Also his *Topography of Nineveh*, op cit., pp. 308-9. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XV, pp. 308-309. London, 1855.

where Darius' forces endeavored vainly to prevent Alexander's army from crossing the river." [1] This view was adopted by Streck (1912),[2] and most recently indorsed by not lesser an authority than that of Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Chicago (1923)[3] who coined his grotesque *"Gau Gamela,"* and asserted that the Gomel river "preserves the name of Gau Gamela where Alexander won the world."

It was probably on the Jones-Oppenheim-Streck's authority that the German historians were for a long time inclined to identify Gaugamela with the modern Tell Gomel. Suffice it to consult the German leading Encyclopaedias; likewise on Oppenheim's map (vol. II, p. 182) Tell Gomel is prominently marked "Gaugamela." Kromayer-Veith also designated Tell Gomel "Gaugamela" (u.s.).

Gaugamela's identification with the modern Qaraqosh solves automatically the old puzzle: the enigmatic Bumodus (Bumelus, or whatever its Hellenized sound was in the lost writings of Ptolemy and Aristobulus) must be definitely identified with the modern Shore Dereh.

William Heude forded the river in 1817, and called it "an inferior rivulet." In the days of Darius and Alexander it probably was a good sized stream. A strong fort called the *Kalakh* (*Calakh* or *Calah*) was situated at its confluence with the Tigris. For a time *Calah* constituted the capital of Assyria and was called *Nimrud*. Xenophon named it *Larissa*. "Bumodus" did, doubtless, play an important role in the complicated fortification system of the ancient Nineveh.

One of the Shore Dereh's left tributaries is the Shah Kouli of Rich's *Narrative*, that flows by Kermelis. Ritter again, erroneously identified it with the Shore Dereh of Oppenheim-

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[1] A. Locher, *With Star and Crescent*, etc., Philadelphia, 1890, p. 377.

[2] Streck in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. VII, cc. 863-865. Stuttgart, 1912.

[3] A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 332. New York, London 1923.

Kiepert, on the bank of which lies the historic village of Qaraqosh.' Certainly Ritter's oversight has retarded seriously Gaugamela's identification.

Droysen's description of the fateful battlefield surpasses in precision and approximation to the truth that of Niebuhr and Ritter. With the maps of Jones and Černik before himself, the distinguished historian was able to establish "die Hauptpunkte des Schlachtfeldes" with astounding exactness,[1] while his statement: "Wenn Curtius IV, 9,8, die Perser vom Lykos zum Bumodos 80 Stadien marschieren lässt, so passt dies auf keine Stelle zwischen Zab und Ghasir, wohl aber auf die Entfernung von Wardak bis zum Wasser von Kermelis," happens to be in perfect accord with our deductions. Droysen's identification of the Haz-

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[1] "Ob wir nun gleich heute die Lage jenes Gaugamela nicht mehr kennen, und manches der vielen dort vorhandenen Dörfer auf dessen Stelle stehen könnte, so kann doch Kermelis nicht dafür angesehen werden, da es gar nicht am Bumadus, sondern schon dritterhalb Stunden von ihm entfernt liegt. Den geringen Bach, der an ihm vorüberfliesst, hörte J. Rich *Shah Kouli* nennen (Rich, *Narrat.*, II, p. 25), er wurde ganz zur Bewässerung der Aecker des Dorfes aufgebracht. Am demselben Bache etwas weiter abwärts liegt das Dorf *Kara Kosh*, auch von Chaldäern bewohnt, über welches die etwas südlichere Route zu gehen pflegt (Olivier, II, p. 366; Dupré, *Voy.* I, p. 125)."—C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde, op cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 698-699. Berlin, 1840.

[1] Droysen's description of the celebrated battlefield of Gaugamela reads as follows: "Für das Terrain des Schlachtfeldes gab die von Felix Jones 1852 edirte *Map of the Country of Nineveh* den ersten sichern Anhalt, jetzt Genaueres die vortreffliche Karte des österreichischen Ingenieurs Černik in *Petermanns Ergänzungsheft Nr.* 45. Die gewöhnliche Strasse der Karavanen führt von Erbil in ziemlich gerader Richtung vorwärts über einen nicht hohen, aber an Defiléen reichen Bergrücken (Dehir Dagh) zu dem breiten und wasserreichen Zab, dann weiter über einen steinigen Rücken (Arka Dagh) zu dem steinigen Bette des Ghasir; jenseits dieses Flusses, den man bei Zara-Chatun überschreitet, erreicht man nach kurzem Ansteigen "eine weite, unabsehbare Ebene" (Rich, Narrat. II, p. 23) die *aequitabilis et vasta planities* des Curtius, IV, 9, 10. Zehn Kilometer von Zara-Chatun erreicht der Weg den Ort Kermelis, an dem vorüber ein kleines Wasser südwärts zum Tigris läuft. Dreizehn Kilometer weiter erreicht der Weg das Dorf Abu Zuaga, das in einer Bodensenkung liegt durch welche ein Bach südwärts fliesst, um sich mit dem von Kermelis zu vereinigen. Halbwegs zwischen beiden Dörfern liegt ein wenig nordwärts zur Seite Börtela auf einer von den Bergen im Norden (Meklub Dagh) vorspringenden Terrainschwellung. Ein anderer bequemerer aber etwas weiterer Weg führt von Erbil an dem von dort herabfliessenden Wasser am Fuss des Dehir Dag zur Mündung des Ghasir in den Zab (bei Wardak) und dann zum Plateau von Kermelis hinauf, das 20-30 meter höher ist als der Zab bei Wardak. Dies sind die Hauptpunkte des Schlachtfeldes."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 329-330, n. 2.

na Dereh with the Bumodus appears an innocent onomastic and topographic error as is clearly seen from the study of the maps published by us.' Our identification of the Bumodus with the Shore Dereh seems once more to do away with one of those old and exceedingly elusive paradoxes, which were bestowed upon us by the classic antiquity.

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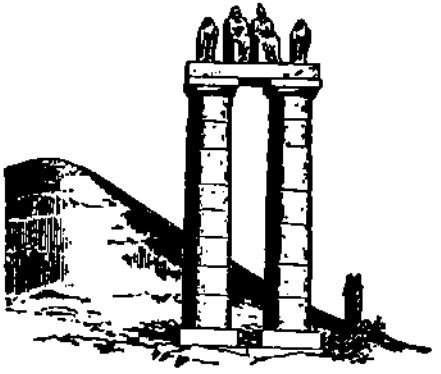
[1] "Nach Arrians Angabe (III. 8.3 und VI. 11.5) lagert Dareios bei Gaugamela am Bumodos, "der nach der höchsten Angabe 600, nach der geringsten 500 Stadien von Arbela entfernt ist," und III. 15.5 giebt Arrian an, dass vom Schlachtfeld bis Arbela der Feind ungefähr 600 Stadien verfolgt sei. Dannach kann der Bumodos, an dem Gaugamela liegt, nicht der Ghasir und der Weg der Verfolgung nicht die Strasse Erbil, Eski-Kelek, Zara-Khatun sein; denn auf diesem Wege wäre die Entfernung nach Niebuhr und Kinneir (Persia, p. 152) nur 6 Meilen oder 240 Stadien. Nimmt man Kermelis für Gaugamela und den Bach dort (Hazna Dere) für den Bumodos, so bekommt man eine Entfernung, die, 1/6 Umwege zugerechnet, 450 Stadien beträgt. Wenn Curtius IV. 9.8 die Perser vom Lykos zum Bumodos 80 Stadien marschieren lässt, so passt dies auf keine Stelle zwischen Zab und Ghasir, wohl aber auf die Entfernung von Wardak bis zum Wasser von Kermelis."—J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, vol I², p. 330, n. 1. Gotha, 1877.

THE YOUNG EAGLE OF ROME.
From a Relief.



Tumulus and Eagle Columns of the "Great King" Mithridates and his Queen Laodice at Seeönk, ancient Commagene.
(*After Humann-Puchstein*, p. 216)

CHAPTER XII

"At the same time the augur Aristander, who had a white mantle about him, and a crown of gold on his head, rode by and showed them an eagle that soared just over Alexander, and directed his flight towards the enemy."—*Plutarch.*

LET US close our tedious story with the statement that a *"City of the Camels"* is mentioned in the Neo-Babylonian business documents of the Persian period,[1] but the name of this peculiar city was pronounced *Al-Gammale.* Perhaps it was the present day Tell Gomel, but we are willing to let competent Assyrologists answer this question.[2] It is, however, of particular interest to note that the imposing royal *tumuli* of the Hellenistic kings and queens of Commagene were decorated with colossal stone eagles. Suffice it is to mention here the imposing ἱεροθέσιον of the "Great King" Antiochus I. of Commagene, and of his "great" ancestors,

[1] A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashu, Sons of Nippur*, etc., No. 84, 4; No. 92, 4; No. 118, 3, 8, 26. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pa., 1904. *Hilprecht's Texts*, vol. X). Ebeling in *Ebeling-Meissners' Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, p. 68, 1929.

[2] Streck's speculation respecting this detail in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real Encyclopädie*, l.c.

erected by Antiochus far away from Samosata, the capital city of Commagene, over the lonely hills of the majestic Nemrud-Dagh in eastern Tauros; the conspicuous royal tumulus at Sesönk, probably erected by the same "Great King" Antiochus in honor of his "Great" parents, the "Great King" Mithridates and his queen Laodice; and the tumulus of the queen Isias, the queen-mother of Mithridates, and the grand-mother of Antiochus, at "Kara-Kush." The colossal stone eagles still keep vigilance over those lonely royal tombs of northern Syria, and the latter circumstance determined that one of these particular places, received the name of the "Eagle's Place," which later on was changed into the Turkish "Kara-Kush."[1] Furthermore it is important to note that the above-mentioned Antiochus I. of Commagene boastfully traced his ancestry directly not only to Darius Codomannus, but also to Alexander the Great.[2]

We may now recall also that the ancients were in the habit of decorating their graves with representations of eagles (also lions, bulls, etc.).[3] Of still greater importance is Aelian's report[4] that the infant Achaemenes, the ancestor of the Persian royal dynasty of Achaemenids, was said to have been saved and raised by a kind eagle, which, for this reason, became the symbol of the family.

It is a well known fact that the eagle was considered in the ancient Orient as the royal bird κατ' ἐξοχήν, from time immemorial. Aeschylus, Pindar, Aristophanes and other ancient writers, call it "the royal bird," and, according to Aeschylus (Pers. 250), Xenophon (Cyrop. VII, § 1.8) and Curtius Rufus (III, 3, 16), it was the renowned symbol of the Achaemenids. Later

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[1] Karl Humann, und Otto Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, pp. 217 ff., Berlin, 1890.

[2] Ibidem, pp. 303, 306, 310.

H. H. Von der Osten, R. A. Martin and J. A. Morrison, have discovered at Kilafik-Höyük (east of Behisni) "a large basalt slab with a relief and an inscription of a king of Commagene."—H. H. Von der Osten, with the collaboration of R. A. Martin an J. A. Morrison, *Discoveries in Anatolia*, 1930-1931: *Oriental Institute Communications*, Chicago 1933, pp. 133-134, fig. 126.

[3] Humann-Puchstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-232.

[4] *De nat. anim.* XII, 21.

on the symbol was adopted by Lagus[1] and the Ptolemies. Yet its antiquity goes further back than the comparatively modern dynasty of the Achaemenids. It figures prominently in the primordial mythology of the Sumerians, and it is well known in the epic of Gilgamesh. It remained established as a chief symbol of the Babylonian and Assyrian rulers, and was adopted as a royal symbol in Ancient Egypt as well. Ancient Persia also appropriated it as the symbol of state, and used it as the chief standard symbol of war, while the Achaeminids venerated it as the heraldic designs of their dynasty.[2] It was natural then that Alexander the Great also adopted it. It is indeed represented on his coins, and this novelty found ready imitators with the *diadochoi*.[3] Octavian imported this custom from Egypt into Rome, and since that time "the royal bird" continues to be used constantly in western symbolics, particularly in gems, numismatics, heraldy, royal insignia, sarcofagi, etc.[4]

Eagle's place in the Aryan mythology is of highest import. It represents there the symbol of divine light, immortality and power, and impersonates the glorious Sun itself. It is called in the Hindu mythology *Garuda*, and is represented as the courser of the God Vishnu, being victorious over all monsters. In the Nordic mythology the divine eagle sits on the topmost bough of the mystical ash tree Yggdrasil (the Nordic "Tree of Life"), and observes everything going on below. Assyria offered the highest honor to her eagle god, Ashur, and Tacitus relates that the eagles which crowned the Roman standarts were "sacred." They naturally were protectors and guides of the Roman legions, as they were defenders and leaders of men of war in ancient Assyria, inasmuch as Seneca relates that "Aquilae hic honos datus est, ut

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[1] Suidas, *s.v.*

[2] "Der Adler war das Feldzeichen der Perser, zugleich aber das Symbol der Reichsgewalt."—M. Niebuhr, *Geschichte Assur's und Babel's seit Phul, etc.* Berlin, 1857, p. 152, n.1.

[3] Cf. Keller's *Tiere der klassischen Altertums, l.c.*

[4] Even the well known 'Byzantine' double-headed eagle originated in the Ancient Orient.—Cp. Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 42 ff. Philadelphia and London, 1915.

magnarum rerum faceret auspicia" (*Nat. quaest.* 232). (This honor was accorded to eagle, that it may augurate great things").[1]

In the Greek mythology the eagle is the sacred bird of Zeus himself. When Zeus prepares for his combat with the Titans, the eagle brings him his arrow; it also holds in its claws Zeus' mightiest weapon, the thunder-bolt. When Prometheus stole fire from heaven and presented it to the mortals, Zeus punished the offender by nailing him to a rock where an eagle devoured his liver, which was perpetually renewed. It is not impossible that, as we read in Reinach's *Orpheus*,[2] the eagle was in primitive mythology "the bird who mounted to the sun and took fire from it to give to man; on the other hand, the eagle was immune from thunderbolts, and was nailed to the summits of buildings to serve as a lightning conductor. Hence the name of eagles (*aetoi*) given to the pediments of Greek temples; hence also the legend of Prometheus, which corresponds to the following ingenuous dialogue: "Why was this eagle crucified?"—"To punish him for stealing fire from heaven." Originally, the legend was that of the eagle's chastisement. When for the *eagle*, *prometheus* (the "far-seeing," a name given to the eagle as a bird of augury), men substituted the Titan, Prometheus, the eagle remained in the legend, but as executioner instead of victim."

However, let us be aware that even Zeus' name derives from the root *div*, meaning "bright," and present in almost all Aryan languages as formative component of divine names, such as the Sanscrit *Dyâus*, i.e., "sky"; also *devas*, in Lithuanian *devas*. In Latin it appears in the names: *divus*, *Diovis*, *Jovis*, *Diepiter*. In the Germano-Slavic languages it sounds: *Tiw*, *Tyr*, *Dyw*, *Tur*. Let us also remember that Zeus used to transform himself into an eagle (or a swan).

As Zeus becomes a high God supreme in heaven and in earth, so also the eagle is proclaimed the king of the birds, and like

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[1] We also find in Sidonius' *Carm.*, 2. 127:

Multos cinerunt aquilae, subitumque per orbem
Lusit venturas famulatrix penna coronas.

[2] Salomon Reinach, *Orpheus, a History of Religions*, p. 90. New York, 1930.

Zeus himself becomes a giver of light, bounty and happiness. As the bird of Zeus it also becomes the symbol of immortality of human soul, which it lifts up, after death, to heaven. It is the chief messenger of Zeus, and a herald of his heavenly master's will. As such it prognosticates victory and supreme power to the heroes, and generally is considered highly auspicious in all kinds and forms of divination.[1]

The Silver Tetradrachme of Alexander.
Avers: Alexander's Head resembling that of Heracles.—Revers: Zeus Aetophoros on Throne.

Let it be now recalled that the divine pedigree of Alexander was generally acknowledged by the Greeks. "It is agreed on all hands," relates Plutarch, "that on the father's side Alexander descended from Heracles by Caranus, and from Aeacus by Neoptolemus on the mother's side."[2] Consequently a great number of Alexander's coins are embellished with a head of young Heracles, with features resembling Alexander's wearing a lion's skin, on their obverse, and with representation of Zeus aetophor himself on their reverse.[3] As such, i.e., as a veritable son of Zeus,

[1] In the iconographic representations of apotheosis of a Roman emperor, an eagle hovers over a stake; it obviously appears there as the divine messenger, carrying the deceased to heaven, as a real conductor of souls, like Hermes Psychopomp, or Mercurius.

In the Christian symbolics an eagle represents the divine inspiration of John, the evangelist.

[2] It is a well known fact that during his expedition to the oracle of Zeus Ammon on the Oasis of Siwa, Alexander was hailed by the priests as son of the god. Alexander's courtiers supported the apotheosis of their heroic leader for reasons easily understood. Alexander himself seems to have liked to play with the belief, at least at some particular moments of his most spectacular career.

[3] A very great number of Alexander's coins are embellished with representations of an eagle holding a serpent, or a fulmen, both emblems of Olympian Zeus.

Alexander appears also on the all-important battle of Gaugamela.

Not only Alexander's physical appearance is immaculately brilliant and divine during his last and decisive encounter with Darius, but also his very armour is worthy of an immortal. The latter is minutely described by Plutarch. The coat was "of the Sicilian make, girt close about him, and over that a breast-piece of thickly quilted linen, which was taken among other booty at the battle of Issus. The helmet, which was made by Theophilus, though of iron, was so well wrought and polished, that it was as bright as the most refined silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword which was the weapon he most used in fight, was given him by the king of the Citieans, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. The belt which he also wore in all engagements was of much richer workmanship than the rest of his armour. It was a work of the ancient Helicon, and had been presented to him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect to him."

While engaged in drawing up his men, or riding about to give orders or directions, or to view them, Alexander "spared Bucephalus, who was now growing old, and made use of another horse," narrates Plutarch; "but when he was actually to fight, he sent for him again, and as soon as he was mounted, commenced the attack."

Now did Alexander really appear before the eyes of all his brave heroes as a veritable demigod radiating unspeakable beauty, majesty and enthusiasm, that only youth combined with gentility and refinement can produce. "He made the longest address that day to the Thessalians and other Greeks," relates further Plutarch, "who answered him with loud shouts, desiring him to lead them on against the barbarians, upon which he shifted his javelin into his left hand, and with his right lifted up towards heaven, besought the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, that if he was of a truth the son of Zeus, they would be pleased to assist and strengthen the Grecians. At the same time the augur Aristander, who had a white mantle about him, and a crown of gold on his head, rode by and showed them an eagle that soared just

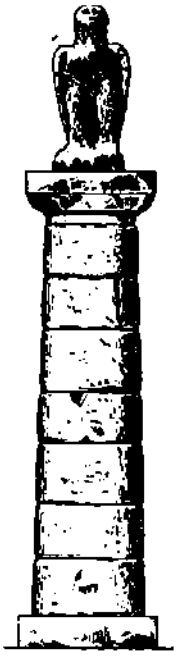
over Alexander, and directed his flight towards the enemy. This so animated the beholders, that after mutual encouragements and exhortations, the horse charged at full speed, and were followed in a mass by the whole phalanx of the foot. But before they could well come to blows with the first ranks, the barbarians shrunk back, and were hotly pursued by Alexander who drove those that fled before him into the middle of the battle where Darius himself was in person, whom he saw from a distance over the foremost ranks, conspicuous in the midst of his life-guard, a tall and fine-looking man, drawn in a lofty chariot, defended by an abundance of the best horse, who stood close in order about it ready to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach was so terrible, forcing those who gave back upon those who yet maintened their ground, that he beat down and dispersed them almost all. Only a few of the bravest opposed the pursuit, who were slain in their king's presence, falling in heaps upon one another and in the very pangs' of death striving to catch hold of the horses. Darius now seeing all was lost, that those who were placed in front to defend him were broken and beat back upon him, that he could not turn or disengage his chariot without great difficulty, the wheels being clogged and entangled among the dead bodies, which lay in such heaps as not only stopped, but almost covered the horses, and made them rear and grow so unruly, that the frightened charioter could govern them no longer, in this extremity was glad to quit his chariot and his arms, and mounting, it is said, upon a mare that had been taken from her foal, betook himself to flight."

"Dichtung und Warheit" intermingles in this narration, but the general picture of the fateful episode is very true, indeed. Alexander's gorgeous armour is minutely represented on the celebrated "Alexander-mosaic of Pompeii," now in the "Museo Nazionale" at Neapol which also is nothing else but "ein Stück petrefakter Alexanderlegende."[1] And the eagle of Aristander still figures prominently not only on Alexander's coins but also

[1] Pfister, *W. f. klass. Philologie*, 1911, 1158; Mederer, *op. cit.*, 1936, p. 35.

on some later pictorial representations of this never fading conflict. It indeed lives in the fascinating stories of the "Romance of Alexander," and it shall live there, repeated in numberless versions and tongues all over the world, till the end of time.

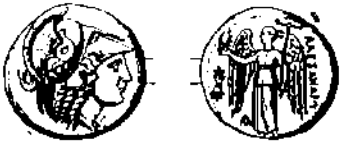
Let us hope that it never shall be erased from the map of the old and venerable Athuria, where it had survived the ravages of man and time under the disguise of a Turkish appellation—"Qaraqosh."



One of the Eagle Columns Guarding the Tumulus of the Queen Isias at Qaraqush, Ancient Commagene.

(*Restoration by Humann-Puchstein*, p. 220)

EPILOGUE



Golden Distater of Alexander.
Avers: The Head of Athena. Revers: Nike.

EPILOGUE

"... wie Treitschke sagt, der Mensch nur das versteht, was er liebt—die Lücken auafühlt: wir sehen nur was er geleistet, nicht was er gekonnt, noch weniger, was er gewollt hat. Wie sollen wir uns vermessen, dem in der Seele zu lesen, den vor zwei Jahrtausenden und mehr ein vorzeitiger Tod hinraffte, bevor er auch nur auf der Höhe seines Schaffens sein könnte!

"Alexanders Absichten und Pläne sind mit ihm zu Grabe gegangen. Wie viel er noch erstrebt und erreicht hätte—wer kann es wissen?"

Fr. Koepp.

BOTH eagle and falcon still have a firm hold upon the imagination of the Anatolians and Mesopotamians. Along with the black raven, they play a prominent role particularly in the eschatological[1] literatures of the local populations. As of old, both are still employed in the chase. Sir A. H. Layard claimed in his *Nineveh and Babylon* (*op. cit.*) that in a bas-relief found by him in the ruins of Khorsabad "there appeared to be a falconer bearing a hawk on his wrist." The fine and ancient art of "hawking" as practised by the modern Assyrians at the end of the past century, is mentioned by Freiherr von Oppenheim (*op. cit.*, vol.

[1] Read interesting information respecting eagle and falcon in Anatolia and Mesopotamia in Max Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. XIV, pp. 195-196. Berlin, 1929.—"Dagegen ist bisweilen auf Leichen in ähnlicher Situation wie die Geier, und oft mit ihnen zusammen, der Rabe dargestellt (Mansell, No. 399, 440)."—*Ibid.*

II, p. 104). Exceptionally fine specimens of trained falcons from Assyria were often presented by the rulers of Persia to their distant northern colleagues of ancient Russia and Poland.

It is as yet quite difficult to ascertain with absolute assurance what the legal relation of Gaugamela was to the unfortunate Darius. According to tradition, it constituted one of the numberless domains of the royal family, and it is quite probable that in the memorable year of 331, B. C., it was one of the extensive estates of Darius situated in the ancient Athuria. At any event, it was at this very Gaugamela that Alexander the Great captured the ancient symbol from Darius Codomannus, the last ruler of the ancient and great dynasty of the Achaemenids, whose royal escutcheon was embellished with the majestic μελανάνετος, περκνόπτερος eagle: in the Hellenistic Greek "Gaugamela," and in the Turkish "Qaraqosh."

May we not venture to assert that on the gigantic stage of the World's History this last spectacular victory of Alexander over Darius represents in fact the first far-famed and far-reaching triumph of the youthful eagle of Europe over the majestic but hoary eagle of Asia?[1]

A magnificent monument commemorating this first all-important and highly eventful encounter between the East and West will doubtless be erected at Qaraqosh in the near future. It shall be worthy of both the immortal heroes of ancient Eurasia —Alexander and Darius.

* * *

Eight years after Gaugamela Alexander was dead being still only thirty three years of age. Yet his heroic performances and accomplishments never cease to excite our wonder, and still compel us to calculate: had Alexander not died in what direction

[1] Paradoxically as it may sound, Alexander's conquest of Asia may be also viewed as the conquest of Europe by Asia, for it threw Europe and particularly Greece (and later on Rome) to Oriental influences even more than it opened way for *"Hellenism"* in Asia.

would had he commanded his further conquests? Would had he placed at his feet Rome, and the rest of Europe, including the entire Gaul, British Isles, Germania, and Sarmatia—Scythia and Ukrainia, as he did the entire grand Empire of Persia? Who can tell? We only can regret with Professor Koepp that, unfortunately, Alexander's intentions and plans had gone with him into the grave, and we only witness today how his deeds, his character, and his policy are still estimated as variously as ever. It doubtless will be all the same a hundred years hence... But whatever the verdict of history may be, one thing will remain true beyond any possibility of doubt: that Alexander was a superman whose extraordinary deeds and achievements surpass anything in history. A king in every inch, he was a kind and just leader of men in peace; as a military genius he was the greatest master and teacher of the art of war, as hardly any other soldier was; as a pupil of Aristotle, he was an enthusiastic protector of arts and sciences, while his bold and far-flung scientific expeditions into the remotest corners of the then known world still overshadow and outshine anything staged by the modern giants of financial and intellectual power, such as Carnegies, Rockefellers, Dukes, and a few others.

Alexander's most urgent longing was to conquer the world —not for the sake of vain glory or loot, but with the purpose of furthering Greek civilization to the countries beyond which ancient Greece had deemed the limits of the world. Hence his extraordinary and unparalleled campaigns such as the world has not since seen and never will see again.

Thus as man and monarch Alexander has no equals in history. Words fail to adequately characterize the remarkable qualities of his powerful and most beautifully shaped body, in which dwelt both an intellect clear and active beyond comparison, and a noble heart full of the loftiest and most generous impulses. "All men agree," related already the erudite Polybius, "that the soul of this king was fashioned on a superhuman pattern,"—and we all must admit today that the memory of this solitary, Titanic, and sovereign superman and hero of all ages still lingers in the

hearts of men. It doubtless will live there to the end of time—not only because hero worship seems to be innate in every human heart, but also because, as the poet says:

"Each man is a hero, and an oracle to somebody."

ALEXANDER
From a Statue in the "Museo Capitolino."

ΟΥΤΟΣ ΜΟΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ
ΑΝΑΓΕΓΡΑΦΘΩ, ΦΕΡΟΝ ΕΣ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΙ-
ΛΙΠΠΟΥ, ΤΟΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΑ

APPENDICES

1. C. J. Rich's *"Notes on the Battle of Arbela,"* 1836.
2. Carl Ritter on *"The Battlefield of Gaugamela,"* 1840.
3. Lieut.-Colonel Chesney on *"The Battle of Gaugamela,"* 1850.
4. Josef Černik and Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld on *"The Battlefield of Gaugamela,"* 1876.
5. J. B. Bury on *"The Battle of Gaugamela,"* 1902.

I.

1836

Claudius James Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan and on the Site of Ancient Nineveh with Journal of a Voyage down the Tigris to Bagdad and an Account of a Visit to Shirauz and Persepolis.* Vol. II, pp. 299-305. London, 1836.

NOTES ON THE BATTLE OF ARBELA

(*Referred to in p.* 15, *Vol. II.*)

(The following fragment of a proposed complete comparison between the ancient descriptions of the battle of Arbela, and the face of the country where it was fought, which was undertaken by Mr. Rich on the spot, with Arrian and Curtius in his hand, but which he left unfinished, is given in its present very imperfect state, as it may be interesting, and even useful, to some future traveller.)

ARRIAN says, that Alexander crossed the Tigris without opposition from Darius, but with difficulty, from the rapidity of the current, and that there he rested his army awhile, and sacrificed on account of the eclipse of the moon. Marching from the Tigris (i. e. the Ford) through Assyria, he had the Sogdian (Curtius says Gordyaean, i. e. Koordish) mountains on the left, and the Tigris on the right.

On the fourth day after the passage, the scouts discovered the enemy's advanced guard of cavalry. (Lib. III, c. 7. p. 194).

Do these four days include the time of halt at the Ford? and how long was that halt?

Quintus Curtius indeed says, that the affair of the advanced guard occurred immediately after the Ford; that Alexander encamped two days in that place, and continued his march on the third. He also says, that the eclipse of the moon took place in the first watch of the third night; that Alexander marched at the second watch, and that at day-break the scouts thought

they perceived the army of Darius, but it turned out to be only the advanced guard of Mazaeus's corps.

Quintus Curtius has evidently made two affairs of one; and the one he has described as the last is clearly the same as the one mentioned by Arrian, who attributes to it the incidents related by Curtius of the first encounter; which therefore must have taken place a few hours' march from the ford of the Tigris. Alexander, we are told, galloped on with the Paeon advanced guard, and some other of the light horse, to disperse this party, ordering the army to *come on* leisurely. The enemy fled, and Alexander pursued them. Some of them falling into his hands, informed him that Darius, with the grand army, was not far off, being encamped at Gaugamela, *on the* Bumadus, about six hundred stadia from the town of Arbela, in a very open and level plain; the Persians having levelled those parts which were too rough for the manoeuvring of chariots.

Alexander, upon hearing this, entrenched his army four days in the very place where he received this intelligence. In this fortified camp he left his baggage and incumbrances, and then marched, at the second watch of the night, to attack the enemy, with whom he expected to come up at day-break.

The camps were sixty stadia distant from each other, but were not visible to one another, on account of intervening hills. Curtius makes the interval to be one hundred and fifty stadia, and agrees that Alexander remained in his fortified camp four days. He also agrees as to the time or distance, given by Arrian, from the ford of the Tigris to the entrenched camp; that is to say, first, from the second watch till day-break; and secondly, from thence slowly, to the place of halt, to which Alexander had pursued the advanced guard of the enemy with his light cavalry; but the two authors differ about the distance of this spot from Darius's camp: and from the time of the halt of four days, the movements are differently reported. Arrian here, however, seems the best authority.

Curtius (lib. IV., p. 454) says, that *after* having encamped four days, letters were intercepted from Darius, offering a re-

ward for the assassination of Alexander, and that the very same day Alexander marched. "*During the march,*" Curtius adds, "a eunuch came to inform him of the sickness of his prisoner, the Queen of Persia, and immediately after another came to announce her death; whereupon he instantly went to *the tent*, where the mother of Darius was sitting by the body of her daughter-in-law." There seems to be a contradiction here. We are told that he was actually marching at the moment when he heard of the Queen's illness. Immediately after, he heard of her death, and then he went to her tent, though nothing is said of the encamping in the meanwhile.

However, Curtius, by making another march, will bring the distance nearer to that assigned by Arrian, for the interval of the two camps; after which another movement is mentioned by Curtius before the final position preceding the battle. The only difference then between them will be in time, which here happens to be of no consequence. But on the whole, I must again repeat, I rely most on Arrian.

We have now to establish the position of Darius's camp, concerning which our data are rather more positive than those we possess as to Alexander, since the situation of the ford of the Tigris from which Alexander's subsequent movements are to be calculated, can only be conjectured (partly from those movements); whereas it is positively asserted that Darius was encamped on the Bumadus.

Curtius (lib. IV, p. 445) says, Darius, arriving at Arbela, from Babylon, left his heavy baggage at that town, and threw a bridge over the Lycus, by which his army was five days defiling. From the passage of the bridge he marched on, eighty stadia, to another river called the Bumadus where he encamped.

Arrian, besides what has been noticed above, says (lib. VI, c. 2, p. 430) that the greatest distance assigned to the field of battle from the town of Arbela was six hundred, and the least, five hundred stadia. He says both Ptolemy and Aristobulus agree that the battle was fought at Gaugamela, which was a large village, on the Bumadus or Bumelus.

Curtius does not mention the distance from Arbela to the bridge of the Lycus; but eighty stadia is correct enough for the distance between the rivers. The six hundred or even five hundred stadia of Arrian are quite unintelligible; and had it not been for the same distance being again given more circumstantially in another part of the work, I should, without hesitation, set this down as an error of the copyists. This distance will bring the battle up, at least, as high as Mousul.

(Arrian, lib. III, c. 9, pp. 197-8.) We have now brought the two armies to the stations they occupied before the battle, and from which the subsequent movements are to be calculated, *i. e.* Darius, on the Bumadus, near Gaugamela, and Alexander sixty stadia from it in his intrenched camp, where he remained four days. There he left all his baggage and incumbrances, and prepared to attack Darius with his efficient men, having nothing but their arms with them. He marched at the second watch of the night. Darius, when he heard of this, also got under arms. The camps, as before said, were sixty stadia from each other, but were not visible on account of the intervening hills. Alexander having marched thirty stadia, reached those hills or mounts which had impeded the view of the Persian army, whence he reconnoitred the enemy's position, and held a council whether it was better to commence the attack directly from that point or bring the troops to the halt while he caused a more particular survey to be made of the whole ground.

Parmenio was for the latter plan, and his advice was taken. The army was accordingly halted there (thirty stadia from Darius's position, p. 199), while Alexander, with a party of cavalry, went over the whole of the ground where the battle was to be fought. After which *he returned* to the army, whom he ordered to refresh and rest. They remained that night in this position, for Parmenio is said to have proposed to fall upon the enemy by night, and Darius expected an attack and remained under arms all night (p. 202). The attack, however did not take place till the next morning.

When the armies approached (by which it should seem that Darius also made a forward movement,—indeed Curtius says positively, c. 13, p. 207, that Darius advanced ten stadia), Alexander inclined to the right—the Persians made a contrary movement to the left.

Alexander still inclined to the right till he was nearly opposite the Persians, when Darius, fearing lest he should get into bad ground where his chariots could be of no avail ordered his further progress in that direction to be opposed.

From this it seems that the bad ground was on the left of Darius's line. The distance which Alexander marched before he came into action is not stated, but I think that if Darius did advance it was for an inconsiderable distance. Curtius (lib. VI, p. 482) says the sun had long been up when Alexander marched to the attack.

We now come to the establishment of positions by the termination of the affair. Curtius (lib. IV, p. 51) says Mazaeus's corps of cavalry retreat not by the straight road, i. e. to Arbela, but by a longer, and therefore safer, circuitous one (non recto itinere, sed majore, et ob it tutiore circuitu, Tigrin superat), by which he passed the Tigris, and retreated to Babylon. It would seem therefore that the battle was not fought near the Tigris.

Darius passed the Zab, and traversing a very considerable tract of country, "ingens spatium fugâ emensus" (p. 513), reached Arbela at midnight.

Alexander moderated the pursuit and arriving at the bridge of the Zab, found it covered with the flying enemies. It has been observed that the crossing of the Bumadus is not mentioned after the battle, and the inference drawn is that the battle was fought between the Bumadus and the Lycus or Zab. But to one who has been on the ground, the reason of its not being mentioned is clear. It afforded no difficulty in passing, not being above the horses' knees, and being fordable anywhere there, on foot or horseback, without the slightest inconvenience; and therefore it would not be worth mentioning but as a station, where it marked the position of Darius. Darius encamped on the Bumadus. The

action must clearly have taken place beyond that stream, unless he made a considerable retrograde movement as soon as he saw Alexander advancing, in order to allow of space for the battle,—a supposition which cannot for a moment be entertained. Besides the same objection concerning the non-mention of the Bumadus holds good respecting the advance as well as the retreat, for it is nowhere said that Alexander crossed the Bumadus in marching to Darius.

But to return from this digression: Alexander returned from the bridge of the Zab to his camp on the field of battle, where he arrived after an unexpected skirmish at night-fall (p. 517). Thus far Curtius. Arrian says Alexander pursued Darius till night-fall, passed the Lycus, and then encamped to rest his troops. When some of his cavalry were refreshed, he set out at midnight for Arbela, where he hoped to take Darius and his treasures. He arrived at Arbela the next day, having pursued the fugitives for the space of about six hundred stadia; but Darius had already left Arbela, and abandoned his treasures. Here again the distance of six hundred stadia from the field of battle to Arbela is positively mentioned.

To resume. By Arrian's account Alexander made one march from the passage of the Tigris to the place where he intrenched his camp, distant sixty stadia from Darius's camp, on the Bumadus, which was five or six hundred stadia from Arbela; and there were hills or interruptions in the interval, which prevented the one camp being seen from the other. Notwithstanding the great distance stated between Arbela and Gaugamela, Arrian says that Alexander after the battle crossed the Zab, and then encamped. This clearly throws all the distance between Arbela and the Zab. Now with their respective and relative positions we are well acquainted, and this shows the error of Arrian. According to Curtius, one march from the Tigris to the intrenched camp, which was a hundred and fifty stadia from Darius; one other march (when the queen died), probably a short one; Darius now advanced (ten stadia); one other march; in all three marches, two of which short ones...

II.

1840.

Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen, oder Allgemeine Vergleichende Geographie... Zweite stark vermehrte und umgearbeitete Ausgabe, Neunter Theil, Drittes Buch. West Asien*, pp. 700-702, Berlin, 1840.

1. *Das Schlachtfeld von Gaugamela (1 Oct. 331 vor Chr. G.)*

OBWOHL wir die Lage Gaugamela's, das nach Strabo's Erklärung so viel als Kameel-Wohnung heissen soll (Strabo, XVI, 737), weil Darius Hystaspis es seinem treuen Kameele, das ihn durch die Wüsten Skythia's auf seinem Feldzuge glücklich hindurch getragen, als Schenkung zugetheilt haben soll, nicht mehr kennen, so ist uns doch die Lage des ganzen Schlachtfeldes bestimmt genug kenntlich, um die irrige bei den Griechen in Gebrauch gekommene Benennung der Schlacht von Arbela einzusehen, welche schon Strabo wie Arrian tadelten (Arrian VI. 11).

Curtius stimmt mit Arrian keinesweges hinsichtlich des Schlachtberichtes in allen Theilen überein, deshalb der jüngste Geschichtschreiber Alexanders auch bei seiner gedrängten Schilderung der Schlacht vorzugsweise und gewiss mit Recht dem Arrian gefolgt ist[1], auf die wir hier wegen der Begebenheit selbst zurückweisen dürfen. Aber auch dieser letztere Autor, der des Ptolomäus und Aristobulos, der Mitkämpfer, Berichte vor Augen hatte, ist wenigstens in den Distanzangaben auch nicht ganz fehlerfrei, wo er sagt, dass das Schlachtfeld bei Gaugamela am Bumadus gewesen sei nach Ptolomäus und Aristobulos Zeugnisse,

[1] *Droysen*: Alexander M., pp. 222-230.

und doch eben diesen Kampfplatz nach dem einen 500, nach dem andern 600 Stadien (d. i. 25 oder 30 Stunden) fern von Arbela setzt, wodurch derselbe viel weiter noch gegen West als Mosul zurückgeschoben werden würde, das nach obigen 3 Tagemärschen doch nur 16 Stunden von Arbela entfernt liegt. Dieser Irrthum bringt jedoch glücklicher Weise dem Inhalt der Schilderung keinen besondern Nachtheil, wie sich aus J. Rich's critischer Vergleichung[1] seiner Berichte mit denen des Curtius an Ort und Stelle ergiebt, da es nur untergeordnete Verwechslungen oder Vermischungen sind, welche die Differenzen zwischen beiden Autoren, wenigstens was die Localität angeht, betreffen.

Hiernach ergiebt es sich, dass Alexander ohne Widerstand der Truppen des Darius den Tigris übersetzte, nicht ohne Mühe wegen seines reissenden Stromes, aber doch ohne Verlust (Arriani de exp. Lib. III, c. 7.); wahrscheinlich bei Bezabde, nahe dem heutigen Jezireh nach Renell[2]. Hier rastete er, weil die eintretende Mondfinsterniss als glückliches Omen ihre Opfer erheischte. Von diesem Eintritt in Assyrien, auf dem Ostufer des Tigris, marschirte er südwarts, die gordyäischen (d. i. Karduchischen bei Curtius, die sogdianischen bei Arrian) Gebirge zur linken Seite habend, den Tigris zur Rechten. Am vierten Tagemarsche nach der Furth stiess man auf die ersten persischen Reiter als Vorposten, die sogleich in die Flucht geschlagen wurden (Arrian III, c. 8, Curtius weicht irrig davon ab). Die Gefangenen dieser Perser sagten aus, dass Darius mit dem gewaltigen Heere nicht weit entfernt stehe, zu Gaugamela am Bumadus sein Lager (600 Stadien von Arbela fehlerhaft) aufgeschlagen habe in einem überall offenen, freien Flachfelde, das er noch von Sandhügeln und Buschwerk habe saubern lassen, um der vielen Reiterei und den vielen Elephanten und Sichelwagen, die er mit sich führe, freien Spielraum gegen den Feind zu geben. An derselben Stelle, wo Alexander diese Nachricht er-

[1] *J. Rich*: Notes on the Battle of Arbela in dess. Narrat. Vol. II, App. p. 299-305; vergl. *Olivier*, Vol. II, p. 370-372.

[2] *Rennell*, Illustrations etc. l.c. p. 154.

fuhr, schlug er sein Lager auf und verweilte hier 4 Tage (Arrian, III, 91) um seinem Heere Ruhe zu gönnen. Er verschanzte es mit Wall un Graben. Das Lager war von dem des Darius am Bumadus 60 Stadien (3 Stunden) fern (beide waren durch zwischenliegende Hügelreihen einander gegenseitig nicht sichtbar).

Für das Perserlager ist die Angabe am Flusse bestimmt, für die der Macedonier nur unbestimmt, hypothetisch zu vermuthen; es mussten denn die Spuren jenes mit Wall und Graben verschanzten Lagers noch aufzufinden sein, was bis jetzt nicht geschehen ist.

Darius war von Babylon heraufgerückt zum grossen Zab (Lycus), hatte eine Brücke über diesen Fluss errichtet, auf der sein Herr 5 Tage zum Uebergange gebrauchte, um in das von da 4 Stunden (80 Stadien) am Bumadus aufgeschlagene Lager einzuziehen (Q. Curtius IV. 9, 9.) was eine ganz der Localität angemessene und nach J. Rich an Ort und Stelle geprüfte Distanz erscheint; denn Rich brauchte vom Eski Kellek zur Bumadus-Furth 3½ Studen Weges, um diese zwischen Minkoube und Zara Khatun zu erreichen, das Lager mag also von hier an noch etwas weiter aufwärts am Flusse oberhalb Minkoube errichtet gewesen sein. Von diesem Lager sind also 3 Stunden (60 Stadien) bis zu Alexanders Lager hinter der Hügelkette, welche die gegenseitige Ansicht beider Lager hinderte. Diese Lagerstelle liesse, sich wohl aus dem Fortgange der Erzählung bei genauerer Localbewanderung auch heute noch ermitteln. Denn Alexander brach (am 30. Sept. 331 v. Chr. G.) aus seinem verschanzten Lager im Dunkel der Nacht auf, um mit der Morgenfrühe den Feind in dem seinigen zu überfallen; als er aber 1½ Stunden (30 Stadien) vorgerückt war, erreichte er die Hügelreihe, von deren Höhe herab er die dunkle Linie des Barbarenlagers von einer Million Menschen und 40,000 Pferden in der Plaine erblicken konnte. Hier anhaltend hielt er Kriegsrath, und verwandte, statt unmittlebar über den Feind herzufallen nach des erfahren Parmenios Rath den Tag dazu, das vorliegende Schlachtfeld zu recognosciren, von wo er dann zu seinen Truppen

zurückkehrte. Von keinen Vorposten der in ihrer eingebildeten Kraft zu sicheren und in der Ebene sich schon als die Meister betrachtenden Perser ist die Rede, welche etwa diese Höhe besetzt gehabt hätten, um dem Feinde die Erspähung der Gelegenheit unmöglich zu machen. Das Griechenheer blieb auf der Höhe indess den ganzen Tag und die folgende Nacht gelagert, wo es sich durch Nahrung und Schlaf zum folgenden Schlachtage starkte (Arrian, III. 10). Alexander entwarf hier seinen Operationsplan, und die glückliche Ausführung am folgenden Tage gab den Sieg. Die persische Reiterei unter Mazaeus Commando entfloh, als die blutige Entscheidung keine Frist mehr gestattete, vom Schlachtfelde nicht auf geradem Wege (über Arbela nach Babylon), sondern auf sicheren Umwegen uber den Tigris, den sie durchsetzen musste (Curtius IV. 16.7); Darius aber mit wenig Gefolge jagte aus der Mitte des furchtbaren Getümmels mit entsetzlicher Eile über die Zab-Brücke (ingens spatium fuga emensus, Curtius ibid.) und erreichte Arbela um Mitternacht. Alexander setzte dem Feinde bis zur Brücke nach, wo das Gedränge der Fliegenden so furchtbar war, dass weder die Brücke noch der Fluss sie fassen konnte, und viele ihren Untergang fanden. Curtius lässt ihn von da zum Lager des Darius zurückkehren (IV. 16.16). Er rückte noch eine Strecke weiter über die Brücke bis in die sinkende Nacht hinaus (nach Arrian III, c. 15) und liess daselbst seinen Truppen einige Stunden Rast zur Erholung von der Anstrengung des Tages, während Parmenio das Persenlager in Besitz nahm. Aber schon nach Mitternacht brach Alexander mit einem Trupp Reiterei wieder auf, um in Arbela noch den Darius mit seinem Schatze und Hofstaate zu erreichen. Doch schon zu spät kam er dahin, als Darius mit 3000 Reitern seine Flucht schon weiter nach Medien fortgesetzt hatte. Im Schlachtgewühl waren Hunderttausend der Feinde verunglückt, und ihr Heer musste der eignen Masse erliegen.

Die topographischen Details, wie wir sie bis jetzt kennen, stimmen nicht uneben mit den historischen Angaben der Autoren überein; doch würde eine specielle Durchforschung jenes merkwürdigen Schlachtfeldes auch heute noch erwünscht sein.

III.

1850.

Lieut.-Colonel Chesney, R.A., F.R.S. F.R.G.S., *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by Order of the British Government, in the years* 1835, 1836, *and* 1837, *etc.*, vol. II, pp. 286-295. London, 1850.

WHILST crossing upper Mesopotamia, it was ascertained from some of his scouts who had been taken, that Darius was encamped with a numerous army in a position where he intended to dispute the passage of the Tigris (Arrian, III, 7). On receiving this intelligence, Alexander directed his march towards the spot that had been indicated; but on arriving there, he neither found Darius nor any of his troops, therefore he only experienced the difficulty of fording a stream which, owing to its depth and rapidity, is all but impracticable for an army.

The passage is supposed to have taken place in the vicinity of Eski Mósul, which point would have been speedily reached if, as is probable, Alexander took a more easterly direction when he reached the vicinity of either Márdín or Nisibín. It appears that Darius on reaching upper Mesopotamia, suddenly turned to the right, and crossed first the Tigris and then the Caprus or Leser Záb, and halted at Arbela, now Arbíl, a small town with a ruined castle, situated on an artificial mound 742 feet above the sea. It is not stated why Darius quitted the favourable ground in Mesopotamia, where there was scope for the whole of his forces, including the chariots, but it may be inferred from his attempts to negotiate (Quintus Curtius, IV, ii), that a peaceable reunion with his family, and not a battle, had been his object; and thus he lost the opportunity of crippling if not destroying, Alexander's army, first when crossing at Thapsacus, and again at Eski Mósul.

But having at length resolved to meet his enemy, Darius left the greater part of his baggage, provisions, etc., at Arbela, crossed the Lycus, or Great Záb, and encamped on the river Bumadus, at a village called Gaugamela, which is about 600 stadia from Arbela (Arrian, III, 8). In the meanwhile, Alexander, with his usual tact, quieted an alarm, which the occurence of a total eclipse of the moon at the moment of passing the Tigris had caused in the camp, by directing Aristander, the soothsayer, to assure the soldiers that the eclipse portended evil to Persia, and not to Macedonia. Being ignorant of the position of Darius, he followed the course of the Tigris into Assyria, having the Gordyaean mountains on his left; but during his fourth march, his uncertainty was relieved by learning from some prisoners that Darius occupied a strong camp at no great distance; and he halted, in consequence, to prepare for battle.

Darius appears to have taken this opportunity to make his third and final proposals for peace, to which he was alike inclined by a quiet disposition, and personal esteem for Alexander; whose greatness of mind in the first instance towards Statira, and particularly his feeling conduct at the time of the queen's death had inspired an affectionate husband with the warmest gratitude and the greatest admiration. With tears in his eyes, and his hands raised towards heaven, Darius prayed that God, who disposes of all things, would preserve to him the empire of the Persians and Medes as it had been received; but he added, as the recollections of the husband overcame the pride of the monarch, "if it be otherwise decided, and the glory of the Persians must fall, may not but Alexander sit upon the throne of Cyrus." (Quint. Curt., IV, ii).

The princely offer of 30,000 talents of gold and all the territory lying between the Hellespont and Euphrates, as a dower with his second daughter, having been made by the ambassadors, couched in language which enhanced the value (for Darius was ready to divide the empire itself,) it was a matter of form referred to the council. But the peaceable course advised by Parmenio, with the silent sanction of his colleagues, not being palat-

able, Alexander told the deputies that with the exception of the money, which he did not want, the rest was already in his possession; and attributing to Darius the design of endeavouring to corrupt his friends, and bribe his soldiers to kill their prince, he added, that he would pursue him to the last extremity, not as an open enemy, but as an assassin and a poisoner (ibid.). To these reproaches they simply replied, that since Alexander was resolved to continue to make war, his frankness was praiseworthy, and it was time they should hasten to apprise Darius of the necessity of being prepared for an immediate battle. Accordingly, Darius took something like a decided step by detaching 3,000 horse under Mazaeus to endeavor to obstruct the enemy, who by this time had almost reached the Persian camp.

It has been seen that the hope of peace, and the prospect of recovering his family, had caused Darius to commit the unpardonable oversight of allowing the invaders to cross two mighty rivers, and without interruption to traverse extensive plains, where the Persian cavalry might have watched their movements at some distance; leaving them only a desert as they advanced. But instead of being thus harassed, Alexander's forces, numbering about 40,000 European infantry and 7,000 cavalry (Arrian, III, XI), independently of the Asiatic levies, entered Assyria in the most efficient state, advancing with the infantry forming two columns in the centre, the cavalry on the flanks, and the baggage in the rear (Quint. Curt., IV, 12). After advancing about 30 stadia, the cavalry under Mazaeus was seen retiring from some hillocks, which being immediately occupied, the Persian army was indistinctly visible through the fog (compare Quint. Curt., IV, 12, with Arrian, III, ii). The long-wished-for opportunity of meeting his adversary for the moment perplexed rather than encouraged Alexander, who instead of closing with the enemy as usual determined by the advise of Parmenio to delay the attack. Taking the light horse and the royal cohort, Alexander examined the camp of Darius, and having made himself well acquainted with the position of the enemy, and strengthened his own, by means of a palisade, a council of

war was summoned to deliberate. Parmenio and some others recommended a night attack as being likely to be unexpected, and therefore terrible as well as destructive. To this, the uncertainty of attacks in the dark, the superior knowledge possessed of the country by the enemy, and the difficulties of a retreat were opposed; and the meeting was remaineded that it was incumbent on Alexander to conquer openly. Orders were now issued to take some repose preparatory to a regular battle, and the different commanders were desired to make known to the soldiers that the contest was not for a petty province such as Phoenicia, Syria, or even Egypt, but for the empire of Asia; and the success would depend upon the courage and united exertions of every individual (Arrian, III, 9).

Although a feeling of anxiety, if not of alarm, was manifested about the result of the contemplated struggles, the address of Darius was powerful. Not long ago, he observed to his army, they had marched against Greece, but the inconstancy of fortune at the Granicus, and again at the Issus, had removed the barrier of two great rivers, and placed the Persians on the defensive, in the heart of the kingdom. But his duty had been performed by assembling a force which this vast plain could scarcely contain; he had likewise furnished the necessary arms, equipments, and provisions, with suitable battle ground for this multitude: the rest he added, depended upon themselves. "It is," observed the king to the soldiers "become a contest for existence, and, what is dearer still the liberty of your wives and children who must fall into the hands of the enemy, unless your bodies become a rampart to save them from captivity." Darius added, that his own mother and his children were still in that prison where Statira had lately perished, and now appealed to their compassion and fidelity for deliverance from a prolonged captivity. His eloquent address concluded with this remarkable peroration: "The enemy," said king, "is at hand; and as this contest must either overturn or establish the greatest empire in the world, I conjure you by the splendour of the sun, by the fires on our altars, which represent this luminary, and by the immortal memory of Cyrus,

the great founder of the empire, to maintain the glory of the nation unsullied." (Quint. Curt., IV, 15).

Darius now proceeded to make the following arrangements. On the left, the principal line consisted of Dahians, Arachosians, horse and foot intermingled; in front were the Bactrian and Scythian horse with 100 two-wheeled chariots; and in rear, forming a third line, were the Cadusians and a mixed body of Persian horse (Comp. Quint. Curt., IV, 13, with Arrian, III, ii). The right was also formed in three lines, the principal of which was composed of Caelo-Syrians, Mesopotamians, Medes, Parthians, and Sacae, in addition to Tapurians and Hyrcanians supported by another line composed of Albanians and Sacesinae; with a third in front, of chariots and cavalry, namely, the Armenian and Cappadocian horse. In the centre under Darius himself were the royal kinsmen, the Persian Melophori, who were distinguished by grenades of gold. (Herod., VII, 41), the Indians, the Carian exiles, and Mardian archers; with the Greek mercenaries on each side. In front were 50 chariots and 15 elephants, and in the third or supporting line, were the Uxians, the Babylonians, the Sitaceni and the people bordering upon the Erythrean Sea (Comp. Quint. Curt., IV, 13, with Arrian, III, ii).

A document containing the preceding plan of Darius having been intercepted on the eve of the battle, Alexander was not only informed of the whole of the details, but he appears likewise to have known that Darius meant to keep his forces under arms, expecting a night attack (ibid).

The Macedonians passed the night in a state of anxiety, in which contrary to his wont, Alexander largely shared (Quint. Curt., ibid.). The soothsayer Aristander was summoned, and after endeavouring to propitiate Jupiter, Minerva, and Victory by prayers and sacrifices, Alexander retired, but not to sleep. Absorbed with anxiety about the result of the coming battle against such fearful odds at one time he planned a general attack with his whole force on the Persian right, at another a general attack in front was contemplated, and this again gave place to a meditated attack on the left wing; and in this unset-

tled state the great captain continued till at length his bodily frame being completely exhausted, he found relief from the all-absorbing anxieties of the mind and a deep sleep was the consequence, which continued till long after day-light. On being awoke with some difficulty by Parmenio, Alexander briefly directed the commanders to take post and await his orders (Comp. Diod. Sic., XVII, 8, with Quint. Curt., IV, 13). He speedily appeared in the unusual equipment of armour, displaying a cheerful countenance, from which the army confidently augured victory; and the palisade being overturned to give space, the troops were immediately formed, nominally in two wings with the cavalry in front, but actually in a grand hollow square, in order to resist the general attack intended to be simultaneously made on the front, flanks, and rear by the enemy's forces which greatly outflanked the Macedonians.

The latter were thus detailed: the right wing comprised the auxiliary horse called Agema, and was supported by the squadrons of Philotas and Meleagre, etc. To these succeded the phalanx and the Argyraspides, strengthened by the corps of Caenus, the Orestae and Lyncestae, who were followed by the foreign levies under Amynthas with the Phrygians, who completed this wing (Diod. Sic., ibid.; Quint. Curt., ibid.; Arrian III, ii). The formation of the left wing was nearly similar, having the Peloponesian and other cavalry in front, the Thessalian horse, with the phalanx and infantry, in the rear. A moveable phalanx was ready to support any part of each wing, prepared to contract or dilate its front as occasion required; an auxiliary corps were placed ready for action towards the flanks and rear, both of which were as well protected as the front itself (Quint. Court., IV, 13; Arrian, III, 12, 13); and in order to avoid the most formidable arm of the enemy, Alexander desired a passage to be opened for the chariots and the horses, with a view to the latter being speared as they passed (Arrian and Quint. Curt., ibid.). Parmenio commanded the left wing, and as usual the king led the right, which was advancing, when Bion a deserter came at full speed to indicate the position of the caltrops, the

cavalry avoided them in consequence by taking an oblique direction.

But Darius commenced the battle at this moment, by making a signal for his chariots to advance, and Bessus to charge Alexander's left flanks simultaneously with the Massagetian cavalry. The former caused considerable loss and disorder as they broke through the first line of the Macedonians at full speed, and the danger was increased by Mazaeus having got into the rear of the Macedonian left; at the head of 1,000 horse he reached the baggage, and not only released many of the captives who were slightly guarded, but he was at the point of also rescuing the family of his master (Quint. Curt., IV, 13, 15).

Parmenio being alarmed, sent Polydamus for orders; when Alexander replied, that victory will not only recover what is lost, but obtain what belong to the enemy also; "Let him not, therefore," said the king, "weaken the order of battle or be influenced by the loss of baggage, but continue to fight in a manner worthy of Philip and Alexander."

Amyntas, however, with some squadrons, made an attempt to rescue the baggage and on being repulsed by the Cadusians and Scythians, he retreated towards the king, who was so uneasy lest the soldiers might quit their ranks to save their effects, that he despatched Aretas with his lancers to attack the latter (Ibid., 15).

By this time the chariots had penetrated the phalanx, and the flanks of the horses being pierced right and left, they became unmanageable; a frightful carnage ensued of horses and men, and there was a general discomfiture; some penetrated to the rear, mangling and killing the unfortunate beings whom happened to meet. In the meanwhile Aretas killed the chief of the Scythians whilst pillaging and pursued his people; but the Bactrians having recovered the lost ground, the Macedonians sought safety by flying towards Alexander (ibid.). Uttering the cry of victory, the Persians fell with fury upon the enemy as if he had been everywhere defeated; which, in fact, must have been the result, had not the intrepid leader maintained the contest

almost single handed. Having at length by his animating example, reproaching and exciting alternately, renewed the courage of his soldiers, and a successful charge being made at their head, it was followed up by an attack on the Persians; but being taken in reverse as he advanced by the left wing of the enemy, Alexander would have been destroyed, if the Agrian cavalry had not attacked the latter in rear, and obliged them to face about to defend themselves (Quint. Curt., IV, 15).

This caused an extraordinary, if not an unprecedented state of things. Alexander was engaged at the same time with an enemy in his front and another in the rear. The latter were attacked by the Agrians and these in turn by the Bactrians, who had returned with their pillage, and being unable to resume their ranks, fought according to chance in a desultory manner.

A succession of hostile bodies encircling one another in deadly strife, must ere long have been fatal to one of the armies, and owing to what was of itself an accidental circumstance this melée ended by the total overthrow of the Persians. Darius was in a chariot, Alexander on horseback and each surrounded by followers ready either to conquer his rival, or fall under the eye of their prince, when the death of his charioteer, who was killed by a dart thrown by Alexander himself, gave rise to the belief in both armies that Darius himself had fallen (Diod. Sic., XVII, 8; Arrian does not mention this circumstance).

Previously the battle had been stoutly and successfully contested. The baggage and spoil of Alexander's army had been plundered by Mazaeus, his right wing was taken in reverse, his left was worsted by the Massagetian horse (Quint. Curt., IV, 15), and even in the heat of battle, after their chief dependence, the chariots, had been overthrown, the Persians maintained their ground during the carnage, till they thought they saw their sovereign fall. (ibid). From this instant there was a complete panic, the centre and left flying amidst indescribable and irremediable confusion; and Darius was hurried along in a cloud of dust, so dense, that it is said the sound of the whips urging the horses was the only guide by which Alexander pursued te fugitive mo-

narch. (ibid.). The historian who appears to have been most familiar with the details of this momentous battle (Quint. Curt., IV, 16), observes, that the calamities of a whole century seemed to be comprised within the short space of that fatal day. Some of the fugitives strove to save themselves at all risks by taking the shortest road, others directed their steps towards difficult defiles, or paths unknown to their pursuers. Horse and foot, armed and unarmed, the healthy, the sick, and the wounded, without a chief, hastened onward in a frightful state of confusion which was increased if possible by efforts to find the means of alleviating their thirst. Regardless of all other considerations, they drank to such excess on reaching the river Lycus, that they were unable to continue their flight, and the bridge, which, in consideration of the fugitives rather than himself, Darius had purposely left, being soon overcrowded and choked numbers were driven into the stream (ibid.). Alexander, however, did not continue the pursuit, alleging that his troops were exhausted, their weapons blunted, and that the day had closed; but, in reality he halted with vexation and rage because he was aware that the retrograde movement, which he was about to make to relieve Parmenio from his critical situation, must permit the enemy to escape. But he had not proceeded far, when he met the Persian and Parthian cavalry in full retreat. The intelligence of the fall of Darius had caused Mazaeus to relax in his efforts, and ultimately to retreat, taking a circuitous route with the remainder of Darius' forces to Babylon (Comp. Quint. Curt., IV, 16, with Arrian, III, 15). No longer obstructed, Parmenio made an onward movement with the left wing, seizing the enemy's tents as he proceeded, he subsequently captured their baggage, camels, elephants, etc., and continued to advance till Alexander himself returned to the Lycus; and after a short rest resumed the pursuit, hoping to complete the wonderful success of the day, by capturing the fugitive king (Arrian, ibid.).

Niebuhr (Travels, II, p. 342, Copenhagen edition) supposed Gaugamela to be represented by the village of Karmelis which is situated on the Khazir stream, about sixteen miles eastward

of Mósul, but it does not appear that there is any local tradition regarding this most important battle ground mentioned in Asiatic history, excepting Beit Germá, or house of bones, which possibly may be connected therewith (*Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia*, by W. F. Ainsworth, F. G. S., F.R.G.S., vol II, pp. 135, 136); and the circumstance that Arbela was built by Darius (Rich's *Kurdistán* vol. II, p. 18). In all likelihood the battle took place between 'Ain-el-Bertha (Mons Nicator) and the great Záb, probably on that part of the plain which is watered by the Khazír-sú or Bumadus (Ainsworth's *Travels*, etc., vol. II, pp. 135, 136).

Beyond a hollow square to protect the flanks and rear, there was nothing remarkable in the order of the battle of Arbela, which was only a fierce protracted melée, and Alexander, who was most indebted to his personal bravery, and the steady discipline of his troops, particularly in sustaining the shock of the chariots, at length gained the victory.

IV.

1876.

Josef Černik und Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *Topographische Erläuterungen über das Schlachtfeld von Gaugamela.* Ergänzungsheft No. 45 zu *Petermann's Geographische Mittheilungen*, pp. 3-4. Gotha. 1876.

ES BRAUCHT für die Kenner der Literatur der Vorderasiatischen Reisen, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten bereits auf eine anscheinliche Zahl von Bänden herangewachsen ist, wohl nicht besonders betont zu werden, dass bereits von namhaften Forschern der Versuch angestellt wurde, die Lokalität jener denkwürdigen Schlacht nach Möglichkeit der vorhandenen antiken Quellen festzustellen. Immerhin aber darf angenommen werden, dass das mangelhafte topographische Material jede kritische Vergleichung des Territoriums mit den Angaben der alten Schriftsteller, wie Strabo, Ptolomäus und Arrian, unzulässig machte, und die Sache somit so ziemlich im Dunklen verblieb. Mit Zuhilfenahme der Distanzzahlen, wie sie bei jenen antiken Schriftstellern vorkommen, erscheint es aber leicht, bei einem Detailplane, der, wie Ingenieur Černik's Karte, jede Terrainwelle angibt, sowohl die Stellungen der beiden Armeen, wie den unmittelbaren Kampfplatz festzustellen.

Nach Arrian marschirte Alexander, nachdem er den Tigris überschritten (wahrscheinlich bei Djezireh), südlich, am Westhange der sogdianischen Gebirge, und stiess am vierten Tagesmarche auf die ersten Persischen Reiter, welche bei ihrer Gefangennehmung aussagten, Darius stande am Bumadus (dem heutigen Ghazir) in einer weiten, offenen Gegend, die nur seiner Reiterei und seinen Siechelwagen durch Gestrüpp und Sandhügel Hindernisse bereitete. Es wurde auch in Erfahrung ge-

bracht, dass der Perserkönig diese Hindernisse habe wegraumen lassen und ein ungeheures Heer, von nahezu einer Million Streitern, in jener Ebene am Bumadus (Ghazir) aufstellte, Front gegen Westen (sic!) und gedeckt durch eine Hügelreihe.

Nach dieser Angabe muss Darius etwas östlicher als das heutige Kermelis gestanden haben (sic!).

Arrian sagt nun weiter, dass sich das verschanzte Lager Alexander's 60 Stadien (d. i. 3 Stunden) von jenem des Darius befunden habe, für welche Angabe die Lokalität von Abu Zuaya stimmt, das, wie vorher erwähnt, in der Vertiefung zwischen den beiden Hügelreihen gelegen ist, und zwar 11 Kilometer, d. i. circa 3 Stunden, von Kermelis. Da in den Shriften bei Arrian berichtet wird, Alexander sei in der Nacht vom 29 zum 30. September aufgebrochen, in der Absicht die Perser zu überfallen, und habe nach 30 Stadien (d. e. 1½ Stunden) die Hügelreihe erreicht, so stimmt diess um so besser, denn auf dem halben Wege zwischen Abu Zuaya und Kermelis liegt heute das Dorf Börtela, gerade auf der Höhe der grossen Terrainwelle zwischen jenen beiden Ortschaften. Von dessen Stärke überrascht, hielt er auf seinem Marsche inne. Es war der gewiegte Feldherr Parmenios, welcher den Rath ertheilte, einerseits den Truppen Ruhe zu gönnen, andererseits aber das vorliegende Terrain zu rekogniscieren, um den nächsten Tag um so entschiedener zum Angriffe vorgehen zu können. Alexander handelte, wie ihm gerathen wurde, und am 1. October endlich kam es zur Schlacht, die mit der theilweisen Vernichtung des Perserheeres endete.

Man weiss, dass die persische Reiterei unter Mazäus vergebens sich bemühte, dem Gefechte einen andern Ausgang zu geben, und schliesslich über den Tigris in die Mesopotamische Niederung entfloh; auch die Rückzugslinie des Darius mit seinem Gefolge und einem Häuflein ist insoweit bekannt, als es sowohl bei Arrian als Curtius heisst, er sei während des wildesten Schlachtgetümmels aus den Reihen seiner Schaaren entflohen, um die Zarb-Brücke, welche er zum ersten Übergange hatte schlagen lassen, zu erreichen, und von da seine Flucht nach Arbela fortzu-

setzen. Da es nun bei Curtius heisst, Darius sei von Babylon heraufgezogen und habe die Brücke über den Lycus (Gr. Zarb) errichten lassen, um von da 4 Stunden weiter am Bumadus (Ghazir) Stellung zu nehmen, so kann diese Brücke niemals bei Eski-Kellek, wie J. Rich behauptet, hergestellt worden sein, da einerseits nicht anzunehmen ist, Darius sei mit seinem Heere von 1 Million Streitern, darunter zahlreichen Reitern, Elephanten und Sichelwagen, die im gebirgigen Terrain eben nicht sehr operationsfähig gewesen sein mögen, im Zarb-Thale stromaufwärts, zwischen hohen, zerrisssenen Gebirgen bis Eski-Kelleg gezogen, um daselfst plötzlich im rechten Winkel gegen den Bumadus abzuschwenken, anderseits die Distanz von 4 Studen von der Ghazir-Mündung bis zum Plateaurand von Kermelis vollkommen passt, schliesslich aber selbst von einem antiken Strategen nicht zu erwarten steht, dass er seine Rückzugslinie über die unwirthlichen Ketten des Arka Dagh und über die Ausläufer des Dehir Dagh genommen habe. Der natürliche Anmarsch von Babylon herauf bedingt somit ein Überschreiten des Zarb dort, wo er in die Ebene eintritt, die natürliche Rückzugslinie vom Bumadus nach Arbela ist aber jene durchs "Schemamlik" und die flachen Formen des Said-Hawa-Dere. Die Brücke kann somit nur dort gewesen sein, wo sich heute die unterste Zarb-Überfuhr befindet, und die Lokalität des dortselbst gelegenen Ruinenhügels mag mit dem alten Gaugamela ubereinstimmen. Auch wäre es dem Perserkönig unmöglich gewesen, auf jenem Umwege, wie ihn ein Überschreiten des Zarb bei Eski-Kellek bedingen würde, noch in derselben Nacht Arbela zu erreichen, was doch, wie Curtius berichtet, geschah.

* * *

The concluding deductions of Amand Freiherr v. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld are perfectly correct. He says: "Als Alexander mit einem Trupp Reiter dem fliehenden Darius nachsetzte, um ihn noch in Arbela einzuholen, war dieser bereits aus dem Orte fortgezogen und hatte seinen Rückzug weiter nach Medien bewirkt. Bei Arbela hat somit kein Kampf stattgefunden, und

wenn die Doppelbenennung die "Schlacht von Gaugamela und Arbela" schon einzelne antike Schriftsteller tadeln, so erscheint es um so nothwendiger, heute desto schärfer gegen diese fälschliche Benennung aufzutreten, da sie aus unseren besten Geschichtswerken noch immer nicht ausgemerzt ist."

V.

1902.

J. B. Bury, *"Battle of Gaugamela, and Conquest of Babylonia."* In *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*, vol. II., pp. 367-373, London, 1902.

THE new lord of Egypt and Syria returned with the spring to Tyre. The whole coastland was now in his possession, and he controlled the sea; the time had come to advance into the heart of the Persian empire. Having spent some months in the Phoenician city, busied with various matters of policy and administration, as well as with plans for his next campaign, he set forth at the head of 40,000 infantry and 7000 horses, and reached Thapsacus on Euphrates at the beginning of August. The building of two bridges had been already begun, but the Persian Mazaeus, who was stationed with troops on the further shore, had hindered their completion. When Alexander arrived, he withdrew; the bridges were finished, and the army passed over. The objective of Alexander was Babylon. At that time of year it would have been mad to follow the direct route down the Euphrates which was traversed by Cyrus and the Ten Thousand. Alexander chose the other road, across the north of Mesopotamia and down the Tigris on its eastern bank. Throughout the Asiatic campaigns of Alexander we are struck by the perfect organization of his transports and supplies; but we are struck even more by the certainty of his movements through strange lands, as if he had a map of the country before him. His intelligence department must have been excellent, and, though our records give us no intimations on the subject, it has been supposed with much plausibility that here the invader received help from the Jews, who ever since the Captivity were

scattered about Media and Babylonia. It is certain that Alexander had shown favour to the race of Israel at the foundation of Egyptian Alexandria; he had invited a Jewish colony to settle there, enjoying the rights of citizens, and yet living in a separate quarter and keeping their own national customs.

From some Persian scouts who were captured it was ascertained that Darius, with a yet larger multitude than that which had succumbed at Issus, was on the other side of the river, determined to contest the passage. Alexander crossed the Tigris, not at Nineveh, the usual place of crossing, but higher up at Bezabde. On the same night the moon went into eclipse, and men anxiously sought in the phenomenon a portent of the issue of the coming struggle for the lordship of Asia[1].

Marching southward for some days, Alexander learned that Darius was encamped in a plain near Gaugamela on the river Bumodus. The numbers of the army were reported at 1,000,000 foot and 40,000 horse. Having given his men four days' rest, Alexander moved on by the night and halted on a hill looking down on the plain where the enemy lay prepared for battle. A council of war was held, and the question was discussed whether the attack should be made immediately; but Parmenio counselled a day's delay, for the purpose of reconnoitering fully the enemy's position and discovering whether perchance covered pits had been dug, or stakes laid in the ground. Parmenio's counsel was followed, and the troops pitched their camp in the order in which they were to fight. Alexander rode over the plain and found that the Persians had cleared it of all bushes and obstacles which might impede the movements of their cavalry or the effect of their scythed charriots.[2]

The following night[3] was spent by the Persians under arms, for their camp was unfortified and they feared a night attack.

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[1] Eclipse of the moon, Sept. 20, 331 B.C. Alexander reaches the plain of Gaugamela.

[2] Sept. 30.

[3] Night before the battle.

And a night attack was recommended by Parmenio, but Alexander preferred to trust the issue to his generalship and the superior discipline of his troops, and not to brave the hazards of a struggle in the dark. He said to Parmenio, "I do not steal victory," and under the gallantry of this reply he concealed, in his usual manner, the prudence and policy of his resolve. A victory over the Persian host, won in the open field in the light of day, would have a far greater effect in establishing his prestige in Asia than an advantage stolen by night.

The Great King, according to wont, was in the "center" of the Persian array, surrounded by his kinsfolk and his Persian bodyguard. On either side of them were Greek mercenaries, Indian auxiliaries with a few elephants, and Carians whose ancestors had been settled in Upper Asia. The center was strengthened and deepened by a second line, composed of the Babylonian troops, and the men from the shores of the Persian gulf, and the Uxians who dwelt east of Susa, and the Sitacenes. On the "left" wing, the Cadusians from the shores of the Caspian and the men of Susa were nearest the center, next came a mixed host of Persian horse and foot; and at the extreme left were the troops from the far east, from Arachosia and Bactria. This wing was covered by 1000 Bactrian cavalry, 100 scythe-armed chariots, and the Scythian cavalry from the desert districts of Lake Aral. On the *right* were the contingents of the Caucasian folks; the Hyrcanians and Tapurians from the south-eastern shores of the Caspian; the Parthians, who were destined in the future to found a new oriental monarchy; the Sacae from the slopes of the Hindu-Kush; the Medes, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia and northern Syria.

Against the host, of which the cavalry alone is said to have been as numerous as all the infantry of the enemy, Alexander descended the hill in the morning. On his "left" wing—commanded as usual by Parmenio—were the cavalry of the Thessalian and confederate Greeks; in the "centre" the six regiments of the phalanx; on the "right," the hypaspists, and the eight squadrons of the companions, the royal squadron of Clitus

being at the extreme right. Covering the right wing far outflanked on both sides by the enemy, and the danger which Alexander had most to fear, as at the battle of Issus, was that of being attacked in rear or flanks; only that, whereas in the plain of Issus his right alone was threatened, here both wings were in peril. He sought to meet these contingencies by forming behind each wing a second line, which by facing round a quarter or half circle could meet an attack on flank or rear. Behind the *left* wing were placed Thracian foot and horse some Greek confederate cavalry, and Greek mercenary cavalry; behind the *right*, the old Greek mercenaries under Cleander, the Macedonian archers, some of the Agrianian spear-throwers, the mounted pikemen, the light Paeonian cavalry; and, at the extreme right, to bear the brunt of a flank assault, the new Greek mercenaries under Menidas.

As he advanced, Alexander and his right wing were opposite to the center of the enemy's line, and he was outflanked by the whole length of the enemy's left. He therefore bore obliquely to the right, and, even when the Scythian horsemen riding forward came into contact with his own light troops, he continued to move his squadrons of heavy cavalry in the same direction. Darius saw with anxiety that this movement would bring the Macedonian right outside the ground which he had carefully levelled and prepared for the action of his scythed chariots, and, as he had set no small part of his hopes in the deadly effect of these chariots, he commanded the Scythian and Bactrian cavalry to ride round and deliver a flank-charge, in order to hinder any further advance towards the right. The charge was met by the new mercenaries of Menidas; but they were too few, they were driven back, until the Paeonians and the old mercenaries were bidden to come to their support. Then the barbarians gave way, but in a short while, reinforced by more troops, they returned to charge. The battle raged, and it was well if the Macedonians, far outnumbered, could hold their ground.

Meanwhile Darius had loosed his scythed cars, to whirl destruction into the ranks of the Companions and the hypaspists. But the archers and the Agrinian spear-throwers received them with showers of spears and arrows; some of these active hillsmen seized the reigns of the horses and pulled the drivers from their seats, while the hypaspits, swiftly and undismayed, opened their ranks, and the terrible chariots rattled down the intervals.

The whole Persian line was now advancing to attack, and Alexander was waiting for the moment to deliver his cavalry charge. He had to send his mounted pikemen to the help of the light cavalry, who were being hard pressed on the right by the Scythians and Bactrians; and as a counter-check to this reinforcement, squadrons of Persian cavalry were dispatched to the assistance of their fellows. By the withdrawal of these squadrons a gap was caused in the left wing, and into this gap Alexander plunged at the head of his cavalry column and split the line in two. Thus the left side of the cavalry's center was exposed, and turning obliquely Alexander charged into its ranks. Meanwhile the bristling phalanx was moving forward and was soon engaged in close combat with another part of the Persian center. The storm of battle burst with wildest fury around the spot where the Persian king was trembling, and what befell at Issus befell again at Gaugamela. The Great King turned his chariot and fled, his Persians fled with him, and swept along in their flight the troops who had been posted in the rear.

Thus the Persian center and the neighboring part of the left wing were cut down or routed by the phalanx, the hypaspists and the Companions. And in the meantime, the severe struggle of the light cavalry on the uttermost left had also ended in victory for the Macedonians.

The regiments of the phalanx in their rapid advance had failed to keep abreast, and it would seem that when the regiment of Craterus, on the extreme left, was already far forward in the thick of the flight, the regiment commanded by Simmias, second from the left, was considerably in the rear. From his position Simmias saw that the Thessalian cavalry on the left

wing were pressed hard by their adversaries, and he halted his regiment, in order apparently to make a movement to assist them. But the Indian and Persian cavalry of the hostile center rushed through the gap in the phalanx and rode straight onward to the Macedonian camp, unhindered by the rear line of the left wing who did not expect an enemy on that side. The captives in the camp burst out and helped their friends to murder the Thracians who had been set to guard it. The Greek mercenaries and Thracians of the rear line soon perceived what had happened; they turned round, attacked the plunderers in the rear, and overcame them.

Meanwhile Parmenio was hard bestead. The Mesopotamians and Syrians of the extreme Persian right had attacked his cavalry in the flank or rear. Parmenio sped a messenger to Alexander entreating aid, and Alexander desisted from the pursuit of his fleeing rival to restore the battle on his left wing. Riding back with his fleeing Companions he encountered a large body of cavalry, Persians, Parthians, and Indians, in full retreat, but in orderly array. A desperate conflict ensued perhaps the most fearful in the whole battle, the Persians fighting not for victory but for life. Sixty of the Companions fell, but Alexander was again victorious and rode on to the help of Parmenio. But Parmenio no longer needed his help. Not the least achievement of this day of great deeds was the brilliant fighting of the Thessalian cavalry, who not only sustained the battle against the odds which had wrung from Parmenio the cry for aid, but in the end routed their foemen before Alexander could reach the spot. The battle was won, and the fate of the Persian empire was decided.

Alexander did not tarry on the field. He lost not a moment in resuming the chase which he had abandoned, and, riding eastward through the night on the tracks of the Persian king, he reached Arbela on the morrow. It befell now as it had befallen after Issus. He did not take the king, but found at Arbela his chariot, his shield, and his bow. Darius fled into the hilands of

Media, and Ariobarzanes with a host of the routed army hastened southward to Persia. Alexander did not follow either king or satrap, but pursued his way to Babylon.

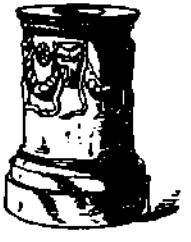
It might have been expected, and Alexander seems to have expected, that the men of Babylon trusting in their mighty walls, would have offered to the victory of Gaugamela the same defiance which the men of Tyre offered to the victory of Issus. He was disappointed. When he approached the city, with his army arrayed for action, the gates opened and the Babylonians streamed out, led by their priests and chief men. The satrap Mazaeus, who had fought bravely in the recent battle, surrendered the city and citadel. In Babylonia, Alexander followed the same policy which he had already followed in Egypt. He appeared as the protector of the national religions which had been depressed and slighted by the fire-worshippers. He rebuilt the Babylonian temples which had been destroyed, and above all he commanded the restoration of the marvelous temple of Bel, standing on its eight towers, on which the rage of Xerxes had vented itself when he returned from the rout of Salamis. The Persian Mazaeus was retained in his post as satrap of Babylonia.

TOPOGRAPHY OF GAUGAMELA IN HURLBUT'S ATLAS, 1928.

The "Battle Field" between Alexander and Darius is located "on the tongue of land intermediate between the Zab and its tributary the Khazr" (*Jones*), while "Keremlis" is designated "Gaugamela."

ALEXANDER THE GREAT
AND
GAUGAMELA

AN ALBUM



"Let him who rides this spell between Keremlis and Arbela cast a pebble to the manes of ninety thousand Persian soldiers, whose ghosts still haunt their place of death; where Alexander, hasting from the ford Thapsacus to this side the Tigris, met the hords of Darius Codomannus in the autumn of the year 331. *Poor wretches! They broke and fled before the Macedonian weapons pursued for two score miles to Arbela across two rivers, dried in some measure by the summer heats, before they reached sanctuary."*

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

THE "ARBELA" - GAUGAMELA STELE

(From the so-called "Chigi-Relief")

"Einzelne Begebenheiten aus Alexanders Geschichte müssen nicht selten dargestellt sein; vgl. "Malerei" über das berühmte pompejanische Mosaic der Schlacht bei Arbela. Ein Marmorrelief (Millin, G. M., 90, 364) zeigt Asia und Europa, einen grossen Schild über einen Altar haltend, auf welchem dieselbe Schlacht mehr typisch in der Weise der Amazonenkämpfe dargestellt ist, mit Beischriften und Distichen zum Ruhme Alexanders."—A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, vol. I, p. 43. München, 1885.

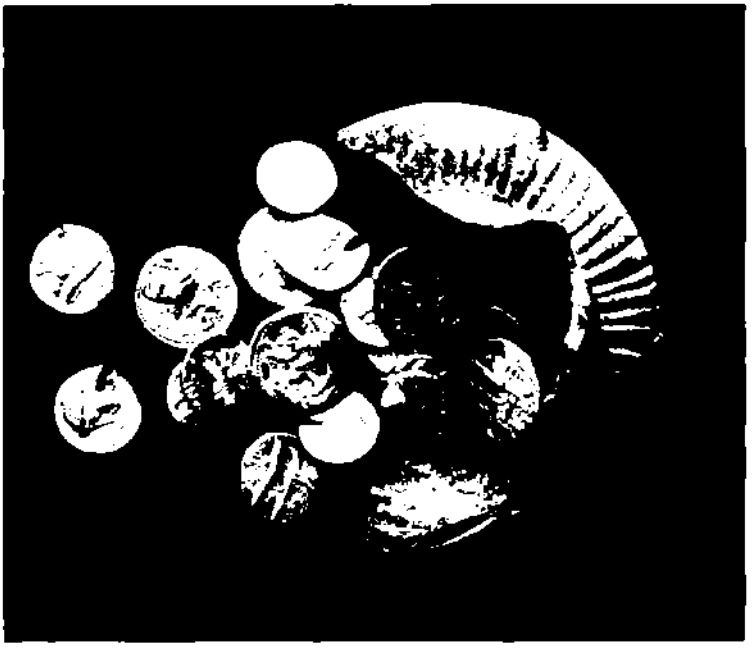

EUROPÆ
Scythæ
Europæi
Scythæ Asiatici
Abij Scythæ
Getæ
Autariatæ
Pontus Euxinus
Cercetæ
COLCHIS
Mare Hyrcanum sive
Caspium
SOGDIA
GABASA
Dae
Saca
Adra
ASIA
MINOR
Leucosyri
Mosini
Amazonum
Campi
ARMENIA
MAJOR
MEDIA
MESOPO
TAMIA
ASSYRIA
PARTHIA
ARIA
CARMANIA
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
Drangæ
PERSIS
PARS.
LIBYÆ
sive
AFRICÆ
PARS
ÆGYPTUS
Cyprus
Abastani
Xatri
Sambastæ
INDIÆ INTRA
GANGEM
PARS
Massani
Sodræ, qui et Sabracæ
Musicani et Dachi-
nabades
Præstæ
ARABIÆ FE-
LICIS PARS.
LONDON.
Printed for T.Worrall I.Gray
L.Gilliver and R.Willock.
1729.

ALEXANDER.
From a Statue of Alexander in the Glypothek at Munich.

THE ALEXANDER MOSAIC OF POMPEII.
Uncovered in the *Casa del Fauno* at Pompeii, in 1831, now at the *Museo Nazionale* in Naples.

PROELIVM AD ARBELAM INTER ALEXANDRVM ET DARIVM ET FVGA EJVS

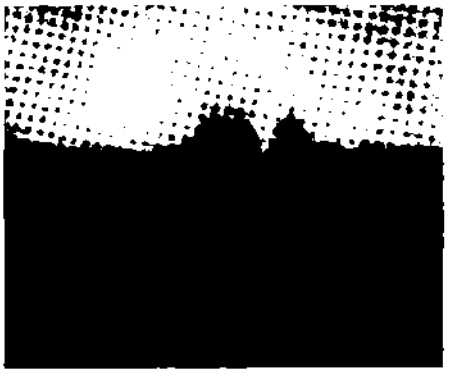
Golden Distater of Alexander.



Courtesy University of Chicago

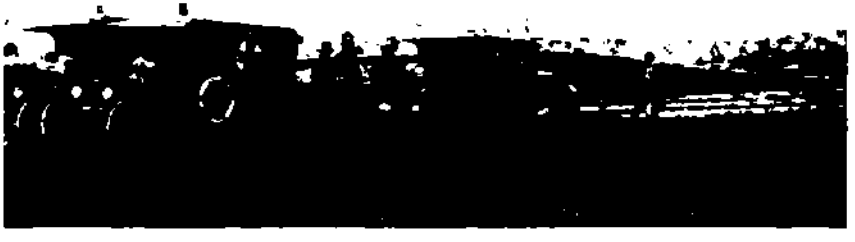
The Kücük-Köhne Hoard.

Silver Tetradrachme of Alexander.



Courtesy Field Museum

QARAQOSH.



Courtesy University of Chicago

Notables of Qaraqosh Meeting American Archaeologists.

Courtesy Field Museum

THE PRIEST OF QARAQOSH.

Courtesy Field Museum

THE CITIZENS OF QARAQOSH

Courtesy Field Museum

THE WATER NYMPHS OF QARAQOSH.

Courtesy Field Museum

YOUTH AND OLD AGE IN QARAQOSH.

Courtesy Field Museum

THE BEAUTIES OF QARAQOSH

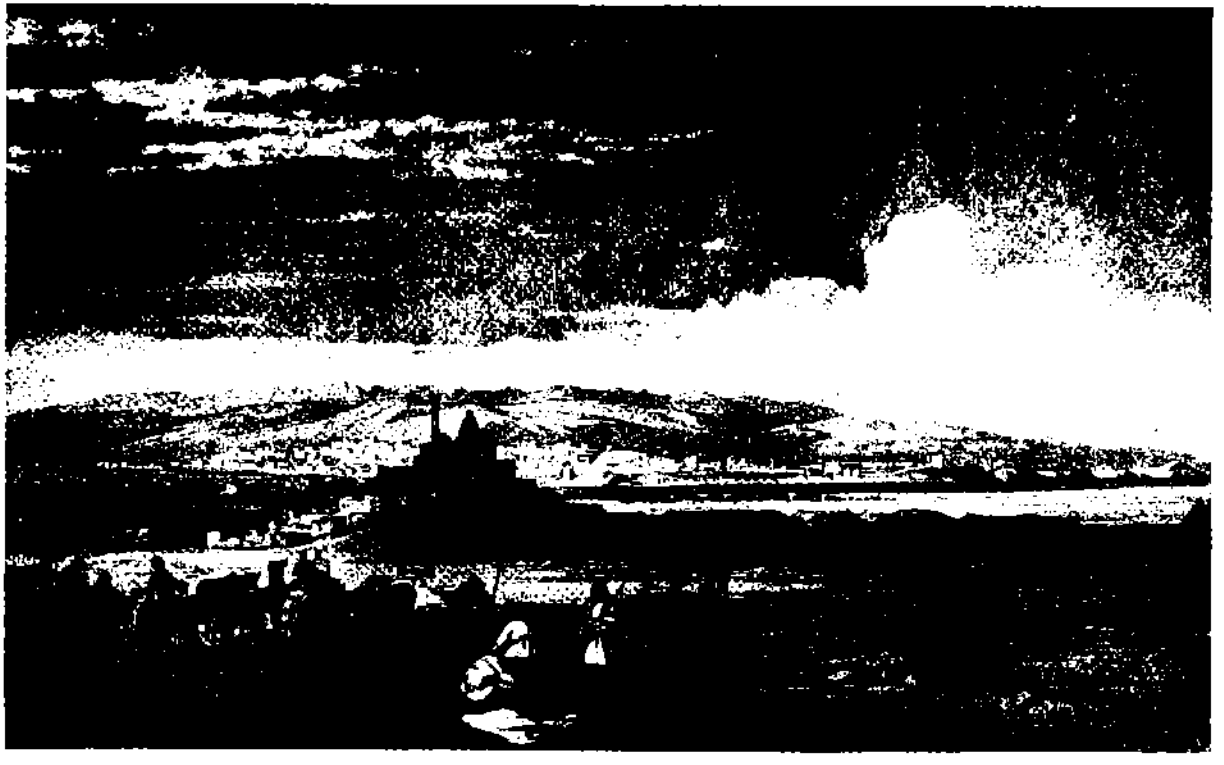
"And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth.

"He was a mighty hunter before the Lord ... And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.

"Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehobot, and Calah.

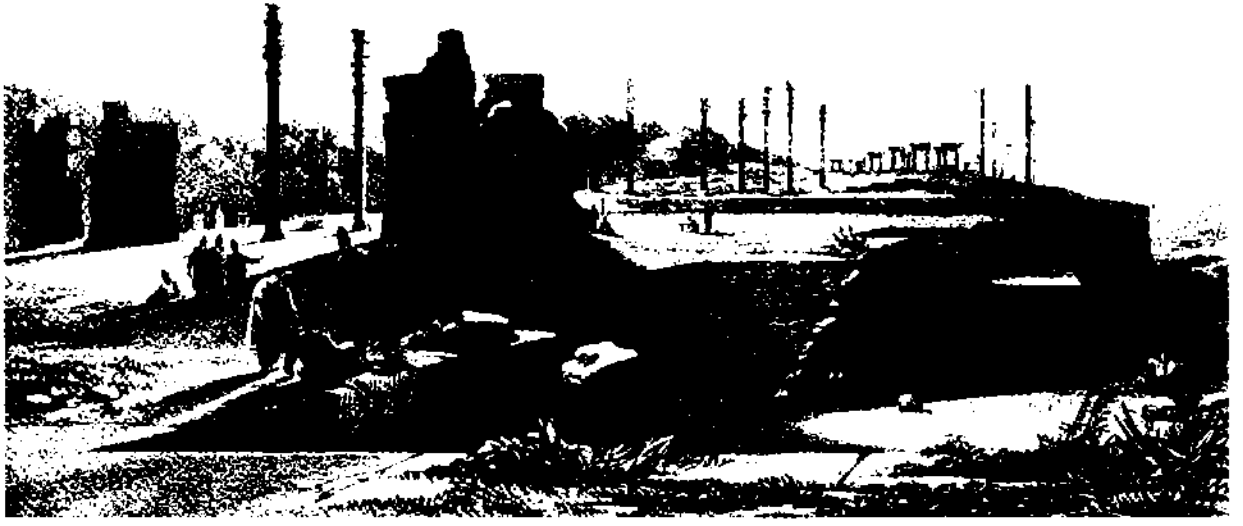
"And Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city."—GENESIS, 10.

NINEVEH.
After Rich, *c.* 1816.



NINEVEH.
After Rich, *c.* 1816.

ARBELA
After Rich, c. 1816.



PERSEPOLIS.
After Col. d'Arcy, *c.* 1835.

Courtesy University of Chicago

THE UNFINISHED TOMB OF DARIUS III. CODOMANNUS.

Naksh-i-Rustum, on Ridge South of Terrace, Persepolis.

THE "GREAT KING" ANTIOCHUS OF COMMAGENE
From a Colossal Statue Guarding the Tumulus of the "Great King" Antiochus at Nemrud-Dagh, erected *c.* 38 B. C.
(After Humann-Puchstein, Album. Pl. XXX. 3)

Courtesy University of Chicago
BASALT STELE OF KILAFIK-HÖYÜK.
Commemorating the "Great King" Antiochus of Commagene.
(*C.* 50 B. C.)

NOTES

I.

BASALT STELE OF ANTIOCHUS I. OF COMMAGENE

Antiochus, Theos, Dikaios, Epiphanes, Philoromaios, Philhellene, the son of the King Mithridates I. Kallenikos, and of Queen Laodice, Thea, Philadelphos, was a king of Commagene, the most northerly district of Syria. He was born *c.* 98 B. C., and reigned *c.* 70-30 B.C.

The above reproduced inscription reads:

[Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ]
[ΒΑΣ]ΙΛΕΑ ΑΝΤΙ[ΟΧΟΝ]
[Θ]ΕΟΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟ[Ν]
[Ε]ΠΙΦΑΝΗΝ ΦΙΛΟΡ[Ω]
[ΜΑΙΟ]Ν ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ[Α]
ΤΟΝ ΕΓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ]
[ΜΙ]ΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΛ[Ι]
ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙ
ΣΗΣ ΛΑΟΔΙΚ[ΗΣ]
ΘΕΑΣ [ΦΙΛ]Α
[ΔΕΛΦΟΥ]

A similar inscription was perpetuated on a statue erected in honor of Antiochus at Ephesus; the latter inscription was published by LeBas-Waddington, *Inscriptions*, *III*, 2, p. 61 n. 136d.

Several portraits of Antiochus, executed in stone and metal, have been preserved up to our days. An imposing representation of Antiochus was cut in a lofty cliff at Gerger (ancient Arsamenia), on the upper Euphrates (Murad Su, east of Petrgo). The remains of this magnificent ἱεροθέσιον still stand on the lofty summit of Nemrud-Dagh, between Kiakhta and Petrgo,

about fifty kilometers to the north of Samosata, the ancient capital city of Commagene (the modern village of Samsât).

Commagene, the ancient *Kummukh*, lay between Cilicia and Athuria. It became a separate kingdom in the second century B. C., and was made a Roman province in A. D. 17. In 38, Caligula restored the kingdom for the benefit of his friend Antiochus IV, son of Antiochus III; it again became a Roman province in A.D. 72.

The above reproduced basalt stele of Antiochus I was found in 1931 by H. H. Von der Osten at Kilafik-Höyük (Kiepert's Kalafa) on the bank of the river Gök Su, to the south of Börgenek half-way between Adyiamân and Behisni (Kiepert's *Besni*, on the way from Samosata to Besni).

About fifteen kilometers to the south of Kilafik lies Sesönk (about thirty five kilometers to the west of Samosata), while "Kara-Kush" and Nemrud Dagh are located east of Adyiamân, in the close proximity of Kiakhta, about forty-five kilometers to the north of Samosata.

For further information consult: Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin, 1890 (Text and Atlas), and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumwiss., Neue Bearbeitung*, vol. XV, Stuttgart, 1932, cc. 2213 (29), and vol. I, Stuttgart, 1894, cc. 2487-2489 (37), *s.v.* "Antiochos II." Also: *Geogr. Journal*, VIII, 322, and the works of Mommsen, Staehelin, Spiegel, Rawlinson, Schneiderwirth, A. v. Gutschmidt, Niese, Reinach, Wroth, Babelon, Imhoof-Blumer, Langlois, and Friedländer.

II.

A COMBAT BETWEEN ALEXANDER AND DARIUS

"The Alexander-Mosaic of Pompeii"

(See illustration on p. 146).

The magnificent mosaic, hailed as a masterpiece of ancient draftsmanship and composition, was uncovered October 24, 1831, in the "Casa del Fauno" at Pompeii, where it covered the floor

of an 'exedra.' It is treasured now in the 'Museo Nazionale' at Naples. Its size is 6.3x3.8 meters, and its composition required over one million and a half of little pieces of colored marble.

The mosaic represents one of the most celebrated episodes of the historic antiquity: the momentous clash of arms between Alexander and Darius. In artistic comprehension, finess and execution, it by far surpasses the fine 'Pompeian paintings' produced by the mere house-decorators. It is hardly possible that the gorgeous tableau really represents a mosaic copy of the lost painting executed by the famous lady-painter of Alexandria, Helena, and imported into Rome by the Emperor Vespasian. On the other hand it is highly probable that it represents a priceless original of a superb Hellenistic mosaic imported into Italy from Alexandria. The Roman architects and decorators were perfectly familiar with the delicate technic of transplantation of the mosaics.[1]

Much time and energy were expended by many a good historian in solving the much baffling problem whether this precious object of art bestowed upon us by classic antiquity represents the battle at Issus or that at Gaugamela? It is our candid opinion that it represents neither of them, or rather both of them, for it is almost self-evident that its ingenious creator wanted to immortalize in his wonderful work a mere combat between the two outstanding and most representative personages of the ancient world of Europe and Asia, regardless of its local coloring.

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[1] "Das hervoragendste aller Mosaiken ist ohne Zweifel das sogenannte Alexandermosaik in Neapel... Man wollte es früher gewöhnlich auf ein Bild der Malerin Helena aus Aegypten zurückführen, das Vespasian nach Rom gebracht habe, allein eine derartige Beziehung ist nicht möglich, da das Alexandermosaik schon lange vor Vespasian in Pompeji vorhanden gewesen sein muss, wie aus den bei dem Erdbeben 63 n. Chr. erlittenen Beschädigungen und antiken Ausbesserungen mit Sicherheit hervorgeht. Anders stellt sich die Frage, wenn man annehmen will, dass das Mosaik als solches nicht in Pompeji entstanden, sondern von Osten, z. B. von Alexandria aus, nach Pompeji übertragen worden ist. Das wäre an sich möglich, da die Alten in der Uebertragung der Mosaiken wohl bewandert waren; dass dann zwischen dem Mosaik und dem Bilde der Helena vorpompejanische uns unbekannte Beziehungen bestanden haben können, bedarf keiner besonderen Hervorhebung."—Guhl und Koner, *Leben der Griechen und Römer*, 6th ed. (ed. by R. Engelmann), pp. 723-725. Berlin, 1893.

Hence the absolute absence of secondary accessories in the composition, and hence the only logical deduction expressed in our head-title that the grand mosaic of Pompeii immortalizes nothing else and nothing short but a typical and not a specific "combat between Alexander and Darius," manifestly tinct with a refined heroic hue. Hence also the happy (in our opinion) expression used by the German scholars that "die Alexandermosaik aus *Casa del Fauno* in Pompeji (jetzt in Neapel) ist ein Stück petrefakter Alexanderlegende."

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