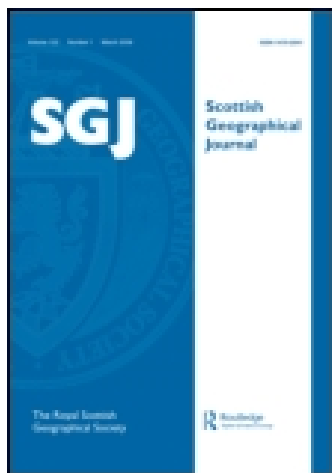


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The campaigns of Alexander the great in Turkestan

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TABLE II.

a. Temperature °C.	b. D value.	c. Logarithm to reduce to ${}_0S_0$	a. Temperature °C.	b. D value.	c. Logarithm to reduce to ${}_0S_0$
0	1·4584		16	1·3869	·0218360
1	1·4528	·0016709	17	1·3836	·0228857
2	1·4475	·0032545	17·5	1·3821	·0233225
3	1·4422	·0048492	18	1·3805	·0238245
4	1·4371	·0063897	19	1·3774	·0248141
5	1·4320	·0079337	20	1·3748	·0256372
6	1·4274	·0093395	21	1·3719	·0265390
7	1·4226	·0107939	22	1·3696	·0272830
8	1·4179	·0122328	23	1·3672	·0280417
9	1·4135	·0135918	24	1·3652	·0286967
10	1·4093	·0148732	25	1·3632	·0293171
11	1·4049	·0162429	26	1·3612	·0299438
12	1·4012	·0173766	27	1·3592	·0306017
13	1·3972	·0186220	28	1·3576	·0311122
14	1·3939	·0196451	29	1·3559	·0316490
15	1·3902	·0207994	30	1·3545	·0320977
15·56	1·3883	·0213934			

The D given above is equal to $\frac{S^t - 1000}{\chi}$ and is not the D of Dittmar (on page 57 of the *Report*), which is the density of sea-water, ${}_4S_t$, minus the density of pure water, ${}_4W_t$, divided by the amount of chlorine, that is, $\frac{{}_4S_t - {}_4W_t}{\chi}$. The value of D in the table may be reduced to that of Dittmar's D by multiplying by ${}_4W_t$ and subtracting ·0016 from the product.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN TURKESTAN.¹

By J. W. McCRINDLE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE geographers who, in days not far remote, set themselves to determine the routes followed by Alexander the Great in his Asiatic Expedition, and to identify the districts, cities, and strongholds which in succession submitted to his arms, met with comparatively few difficulties until they came to deal with the regions in which the great conqueror found himself after he had passed through the Caspian Gates in pursuit of Darius. The countries lying between these Gates and the far-distant banks of the Jaxartes and Indus, which had been subjected to Persian rule by Cyrus and his successors, presented a striking contrast, both in

¹ *Alexander des Grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan.* Von Franz v. Schwarz. München : Dr. E. Wolf, 1893. Pp. 103.

their physical features and in the character and habits of the races by which they were peopled, to the Western dominions of the same empire. In the latter were comprised all those fair and fertile regions in which mankind had first acquired the arts of civilised life. They contained many large and opulent cities with the fame of which the world was filled; and they were traversed by numerous highways, along which frequently passed the caravan of the merchant, and the couriers carrying post-haste the mandates of the Great King. The inhabitants, living in ease and luxury, passively submitted to be despotically ruled; and, when summoned to take the field in arms, trusted more to their numbers than to their valour. The tracts, on the other hand, which lay beyond the Gates consisted for the most part of pathless deserts and of colossal mountain-ranges crested with eternal snow. The inhabitants, as might be expected, were rude and barbarous; but they were at the same time stalwart, intrepid warriors, inured to toil and privations, and animated with a fierce love of independence. Alexander found in them antagonists of far other mettle than those displayed who filled the ranks which he had slaughtered like sheep on the plains of Issus and Arbela. They faced him in fight with numbers but little superior to his own, rose against him even after defeat, and on one occasion totally annihilated a powerful detachment of his troops. It was not until the British armies had conquered Northern India, and until Russia had later on extended her sway in Central Asia to the borders of Afghanistan, that the regions which he overran in the far East were opened up to the investigations of scholars and antiquarians. But since then the work of discovery has proceeded apace, so that we can now trace with certainty the line of march pursued by Alexander from the time he passed through the Gates till he reached the mouth of the Indus. Nay, even the long-hidden recesses of the terrible Gedrosian desert which lay beyond have at length been explored, and the route ascertained by which the Macedonians traversed its burning sands, amidst which so many of them were doomed to perish from the effects of overpowering heat, thirst, and famine.¹

The reduction of Turkestan, to which we must now limit our remarks, occupied the arms of Alexander for upwards of two years. Scholars who have hitherto taken in hand to describe the campaigns by which this was effected have found their task beset with unusual difficulty, due partly to their imperfect knowledge of the geography of the seat of war, and partly also to discrepancies in the accounts of these campaigns as given by Arrian and Q. Curtius, who neither drew their facts from the same original sources nor relate them in quite the same order of sequence. It is in these circumstances fortunate that a work has at last appeared, the author of which, in discussing Alexander's operations in the regions of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, writes with full personal knowledge of nearly all the places mentioned by his historians. He informs us in his preface that he resided, without a break,

¹ Colonel Holdich, in a lecture delivered at Simla in June last, and entitled *A Retreat from India*, has from personal knowledge shown the route followed by Alexander in traversing Gedrosia.

for fifteen years in Turkestan, and that during that time he had frequent opportunities of travelling through the territories traversed by Alexander and his Macedonians. These opportunities he has turned to the best account, for he has satisfactorily identified all the important positions, cleared away hitherto prevalent misconceptions, and enabled us, with the aid of the excellent maps which accompany his work, to follow with certainty from point to point the movements of the conqueror from the time he crossed till the time he re-crossed the Indian Caucasus. He sets out by translating from Arrian, whom he has properly selected as his principal authority, those passages of the *Anabasis* in which the campaigns in question are described. Then follows his commentary, in which we find, interspersed, passages from Curtius which supplement or confirm the information supplied by the other historian. The space at our disposal will hardly permit us to do more than to indicate the identifications which he has established without our adducing the proofs by which he supports them.

In the early spring of the year 329 B.C., Alexander left Afghanistan, and, having crossed the lofty range of mountains called by the Greeks Caucasus, and now known as the Hindu-Kush, arrived at Drapsaka, and from thence continued his march to Aornus and Bactra. It has never been doubted that Bactra is Balkh of the present day, but opinions have differed with regard to the situation of the other two places. Our author identifies Drapsaka with Kunduz, and Aornus with Tash-Kurgan, near which lie the ruins of Khulm.¹ From Bactra, Alexander marched through a frightful desert, of which Curtius has given a description as accurate as it is vivid, and reached the banks of the Oxus. The passage of this river, which occupied five days, was made on floats of stuffed skins. Schwarz shows that the passage was made from Kilif and not from Kizil, farther down the stream, as has heretofore been generally supposed. He is also inclined to think that Kilif is the city of the Branchidæ, which, with its inhabitants, Alexander so remorselessly destroyed. From the Oxus, he advanced by way of Karshi (near which, at the hill Kungur-tau, he was wounded in a skirmish) and Jam to Marakanda, which he reached in four days. Marakanda is the famous city of Samarkand, which sixteen centuries later became, under Timour, the capital of an empire in which were included, besides other dominions, all Alexander's Asiatic conquests. It was situated on the banks of the river Polytimêtus, which is the Zerafshan or Kohik of our times. From Marakanda the march was continued to the river Tanais—the Jaxartes or Syr-darya—which bounded the Persian empire on the east, and protected it in some measure from the Scythians who inhabited its farther, or right, bank. On the Persian side of the river, where Khojent now stands, Alexander proceeded to found a city, which, with the view of attracting settlers, he called after his own name, Alexandria. The natives, meanwhile, who had hitherto been quiescent, at the instigation of a bold and enterprising chief called Spitamenes, revolted against him and began to put some of their

¹ The modern names of places are not spelled as by Schwarz, but as in Curzon's well-known map of Persia, where they are nearly all to be found.

towns into a state of defence. These, however, he quickly captured. They were seven in number, but the names of two only have been recorded—Gaza and Cyropolis. The former Schwarz identifies with Nau, and the latter with Ura-tübe, a considerable city about forty miles distant from Khojent, which occupies a commanding position and is strongly fortified. Cyropolis, as its name shows, had been founded by Cyrus the Great, who meant it to serve as the frontier bulwark of his empire against Scythian inroads. Having quelled the revolt in this quarter, Alexander crossed the Jaxartes to call the Scythians to account who had shown themselves in threatening masses along their own side of the river. He defeated them in battle, and pursued them as far as what Curtius calls the boundary-stones of Father Bacchus, which our author describes as a pass over Mogul-tau, near the post-station Mursa-rabat, which is about seventeen miles distant from Khojent. He then hastened back to Marakanda, having learned that a large body of his troops had been utterly destroyed by Spitamenes in the ravines of the Polytimétus, and he reached that place in three days. As the distance from Khojent to Samarkand is 172 English miles, this march, made in broiling heat, and through a country without roads, must have tried to the utmost the powers of endurance of the Macedonian soldiers, some of whom were hoplites wearing their brazen helmets, carrying their shields, and clad in mail. Spitamenes, who had returned from the scene of his victory to renew the siege of Marakanda, on learning that the enemy was approaching, fled back to the desert, and, though hotly pursued, escaped into its wilds. Alexander, on reaching the island in the Polytimétus where his men had fallen in squadrons, transfixed with the arrows of the Scythian horsemen, buried their remains, and to revenge their death ravaged all the country with fire and sword. Nothing is known of the island, and it probably no longer exists, as the sands of the desert have in these parts been making continual encroachments on the cultivated lands. Schwarz thinks it must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Ziadin and Kermineh. From thence Alexander, burning with vindictive rage, pursued his way down the course of the river past Bokhara, the Sogdian capital, till he reached Karakul, beyond which the river is lost in the sands of the desert. He then retired to Zariaspa, where he allowed his troops some repose during the winter season. Zariaspa has generally been taken to be another name of Bactra, but Schwarz shows conclusively that this is an altogether erroneous opinion, and identifies the place with Charjui, which is some six or seven miles distant from the Oxus where it is spanned by the bridge of the Trans-Caspian Railway.

From a passage in Curtius which states that Alexander, after having crossed the Ochus and the Oxus, arrived at Margiana, it has been concluded that Alexander made about this time an excursion from Bokhara to Merv, which stands on the river known to the Greeks as the Margus, and is now the Murgh-âb. Our author, however, points out that a march of some 215 miles through the intervening desert, which is very scantily supplied with wells, would have been utterly impracticable; and he therefore refers the visit to the time when Alexander had as yet

advanced no farther eastward than Parthia, and supposes it may have been made from Sarakhs. From Zariaspa, Alexander returned to Marakanda, passing on his way by Karakul, Bokhara, Kermineh, and Kata-Kurgan. The places in Sogdiana which still held out were then reduced, and Coenus was directed to act against the redoubtable Spitamenes, who had mustered a force of 600 Scythian cavalry. At the head of this he made an irruption into Bactriana, captured a fort, and swept away a large booty from the neighbourhood of Zariaspa itself, though some Macedonian soldiers had been left there as invalids. These men, mustering a small band, attacked the raiders somewhere on the verge of the Turkoman desert, but were repulsed with some loss. Coenus, on receiving tidings of this fresh disaster, made a forced march to overtake the Scythians, whose numbers had meanwhile been considerably augmented, and after a fierce engagement put them to rout. Spitamenes, however, again turned upon him, and with a body of 3000 Scythian horsemen, whom he had collected at Bagae, prepared to invade Sogdiana. Our author identifies Bagae with Ustuk, a fortress on the Bokharan frontier on the Oxus, about 28 miles below Charjui, but on the opposite side of the river. In the fight which followed, Coenus was victorious; and the Scythians who fled into the desert with Spitamenes turned traitors, cut off the head of their leader, and sent it as a peace-offering to Alexander. So perished the most astute, audacious, and persistent enemy with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Alexander had meanwhile withdrawn to Nautaka, where he remained during the winter of 328-327 B.C. Nautaka has generally been identified with Karshi, but Schwarz takes it to be Shaar, which lies 40 miles to the south of Samarkand.

Alexander left Nautaka early in spring, before the snows of winter had yet fled; and the next place which requires identification is the famous Sogdian Rock, which is connected with one of the most romantic episodes in his whole career. The Rock was deemed impregnable, and within the fortress which crowned its summit, Oxyartes, a Sogdian chief, had placed for safety his wife and daughters, the eldest of whom, Roxana, was considered by the Greeks to be the most beautiful woman in all Asia, next after the wife of Darius. Alexander captured both the Rock and the fortress; and when the maiden was brought into his presence, he was so fascinated with her surpassing beauty that he fell in love with her at first sight, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends made her his wife. Curtius calls this stronghold the Rock of Arimazes. Some have identified it with the steep crags, about 500 feet in height, which on one side line the narrow gorge in the neighbourhood of Derbent, which is called the Iron Gate, and which forms the only direct approach from West Bokhara to Hissar. Schwarz allows that this is a very strong position, but says that the Iron Gate, through which he has himself passed six times, answers neither to the description of Arrian nor of Curtius. The position which he himself has selected is a mountain which ascends precipitously from a gorge similar to that of the Iron Gate, and distant from it some five miles in a north-east direction. Some of the commentators of Curtius, taking his Rock of Arimazes to be different from the Sogdian Rock, have assigned

to the former a position somewhere on the route between Merv and Balkh, regardless of the fact that on that route there are no mountains at all.

From the Rock, Alexander marched eastward into the country of the Parætacæ, which, as this name shows, was a mountainous region. It is easily to be identified with Hissar. In this district Alexander's progress was arrested by another mountain fortress no less formidable than the Sogdian. It is called by Arrian the Rock of Chorienes, and by Curtius the Rock of Sysmithres. Its identification presents no difficulty, as in all Hissar, our author says, there is but one place which suits the indications given by the two historians. It is the narrow pass at the river Waksh where the suspension-bridge of Pul-i-Sangin overspans it on the way from Hissar through Faizabad to Badshuan; and this pass, he says, is the most remarkable point to which he came in the course of his travels. Chorienes, notwithstanding the extraordinary strength of his position, surrendered—partly through fear inspired by the sight of the formidable preparations which Alexander was making for an assault, and partly through the persuasions of Oxyartes. The conqueror did not advance farther in this direction, but returned to Balkh by way of Faizabad, Hissar, and Karatag to Yurchi, and thence down the right bank of the Surkhan to Tormiz, a place now in ruins, and to the passage of the Oxus at Pata-gisar. On reaching Bactra he began to make his preparations for the invasion of India, and, having completed them, set out on this long-meditated expedition in the summer of 327 B.C. In ten days he recrossed the Hindu-Kush, and arrived at Alexandria, the city which he had founded at the foot of that range before he first crossed it to enter Bactria. Our author takes this place to be Kabul, but we cannot accept such an identification. Kabul has been proved to be beyond question the *Ortospanum* mentioned in the famous itinerary preserved by Pliny, which states that the City of Alexander was distant therefrom 50 miles. We are thus directed to the neighbourhood of Charikar, a village in the valley of Koh-daman, where the three roads dispart which lead from Afghanistan into the regions of the Upper Oxus, and where, in a position of great strategic strength and importance, extensive ruins have been found, apparently those of an ancient city, which can be no other than Alexandria-apud-Caucasum.

We may add that this excellent volume, besides making Alexander's campaigns in Turkestan clearly intelligible, contains valuable information on other points—as, for instance, on the origin, racial affinities, and distinctive physical characteristics of the various tribes by which Turkestan is inhabited. It is, we are told, the precursor of a larger work now in preparation, and treating at length of the same country. Its appearance, we doubt not, will be gladly welcomed in all geographical circles.