

[Alexander.02.001] It being my purpose to write the lives of Alexander the king, and of Caesar, by whom Pompey was destroyed, the multitude of their great actions affords so large a field that I were to blame if I should not by way of apology forewarn my reader that I have chosen rather to epitomize the most celebrated parts of their story, than to insist at large on every particular circumstance of it. It must be borne in mind that my design is not to write histories, but lives. And the most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men; sometimes a matter of less moment, an expression or a jest, informs us better of their characters and inclinations, than the most famous sieges, the greatest armaments, or the bloodiest battles whatsoever. Therefore as portrait-painters are more exact in the lines and features of the face, in which the character is seen, than in the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to give my more particular attention to the marks and indications of the souls of men, and while I endeavour by these to portray their lives, may be free to leave more weighty matters and great battles to be treated of by others.

[Alexander.02.002] It is agreed on by all hands, that on the father's side, Alexander descended from Hercules by Caranus, and from Aeacus by Neoptolemus on the mother's side. His father Philip, being in Samothrace, when he was quite young, fell in love there with Olympias, in company with whom he was initiated in the religious ceremonies of the country, and her father and mother being both dead, soon after, with the consent of her brother, Arymbas, he married her. The night before the consummation of their marriage, she dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her body, which kindled a great fire, whose divided flames dispersed themselves all about, and then were extinguished. And Philip, some time after he was married, dreamt that he sealed up his wife's body with a seal, whose impression, as he fancied, was the figure of a lion. Some of the diviners interpreted this as a warning to Philip to look narrowly to his wife; but Aristander of Telmessus, considering how unusual it was to seal up anything that was empty, assured him the meaning of his dream was that the queen was with child of a boy, who would one day prove as stout and courageous as a lion. Once, moreover, a serpent was found lying by Olympias as she slept, which more than anything else, it is said, abated Philip's passion for her; and whether he feared her as an enchantress, or thought she had commerce with some god, and so looked on himself as excluded, he was ever after less fond of her conversation. Others say, that the women of this country having always been extremely addicted to the enthusiastic Orphic rites, and the wild worship of Bacchus (upon which account they were called Clodones, and Mimallones), imitated in many things the practices of the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from whom the word threskeuein seems to have been derived, as a special term for superfluous and over-curious forms of adoration; and that Olympias, zealously, affecting these fanatical and enthusiastic inspirations, to perform them with more barbaric dread, was wont in the dances proper to these ceremonies to have great tame serpents about her, which sometimes creeping out of the ivy in the mystic fans, sometimes winding themselves about the sacred spears, and the women's chaplets, made a spectacle which men could not look upon without terror.

[Alexander.02.003] Philip, after this vision, sent Chaeron of Megalopolis to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, by which he was commanded to perform sacrifice, and henceforth pay particular honour, above all other gods, to Ammon; and was told he should one day lose that eye with which he presumed to peep through that chink of the door, when he saw the god, under the form of a serpent, in the company of his wife. Eratosthenes says that Olympias, when she attended Alexander on his way to the army in his first expedition, told him the secret of his birth, and bade him behave himself with courage suitable to his divine extraction. Others again affirm that she wholly disclaimed any pretensions of the kind, and was wont to say, "When will Alexander leave off slandering me to Juno?" Alexander was born the sixth of Hecatombaeon, which month the Macedonians call Lous, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt; which Hegesias of Magnesia makes the occasion of a conceit, frigid enough to have stopped the conflagration. The temple, he says, took fire and was burnt while its mistress was absent, assisting at the birth of Alexander. And all the Eastern soothsayers who happened to be then at Ephesus, looking upon the ruin of this temple to be the forerunner of some other calamity, ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying that this day had brought forth something that would prove fatal and destructive to all Asia. Just after Philip had taken Potidaea, he received these three messages at one time, that Parmenio had overthrown the Illyrians in a great battle, that his race-horse had won the course at the Olympic games, and that his wife had given birth to Alexander; with which being naturally well pleased, as an addition to his satisfaction, he was assured by the

diviners that a son, whose birth was accompanied with three such successes, could not fail of being invincible.

[Alexander.02.004] The statues that gave the best representation of Alexander's person were those of Lysippus (by whom alone he would suffer his image to be made), those peculiarities which many of his successors afterwards and his friends used to affect to imitate, the inclination of his head a little on one side towards his left shoulder, and his melting eye, having been expressed by this artist with great exactness. But Apelles, who drew him with thunderbolts in his hand, made his complexion browner and darker than it was naturally; for he was fair and of a light colour, passing into ruddiness in his face and upon his breast. Aristoxenus in his Memoirs tells us that a most agreeable odour exhaled from his skin, and that his breath and body all over was so fragrant as to perfume the clothes which he wore next him; the cause of which might probably be the hot and adust temperament of his body. For sweet smells, Theophrastus conceives, are produced by the concoction of moist humours by heat, which is the reason that those parts of the world which are driest and most burnt up afford spices of the best kind and in the greatest quantity; for the heat of the sun exhausts all the superfluous moisture which lies in the surface of bodies, ready to generate putrefaction. And this hot constitution, it may be, rendered Alexander so addicted to drinking, and so choleric. His temperance, as to the pleasures of the body, was apparent in him in his very childhood, as he was with much difficulty incited to them, and always used them with great moderation; though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement, and in his love of glory, and the pursuit of it, he showed a solidity of high spirit and magnanimity far above his age. For he neither sought nor valued it upon every occasion, as his father Philip did (who affected to show his eloquence almost to a degree of pedantry, and took care to have the victories of his racing chariots at the Olympic games engraven on his coin), but when he was asked by some about him, whether he would run a race in the Olympic games, as he was very swift-footed, he answered, he would, if he might have kings to run with him. Indeed, he seems in general to have looked with indifference, if not with dislike, upon the professed athletes. He often appointed prizes, for which not only tragedians and musicians, pipers and harpers, but rhapsodists also, strove to outvie one another; and delighted in all manner of hunting and cudgeling, but never gave any encouragement to contests either of boxing or of the pancratium.

[Alexander.02.005] While he was yet very young, he entertained the ambassadors from the King of Persia, in the absence of his father, and entering much into conversation with them, gained so much upon them by his affability, and the questions he asked them, which were far from being childish or trifling (for he inquired of them the length of the ways, the nature of the road into inner Asia, the character of their king, how he carried himself to his enemies, and what forces he was able to bring into the field), that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the ability so much famed of Philip to be nothing in comparison with the forwardness and high purpose that appeared thus early in his son. Whenever he heard Philip had taken any town of importance, or won any signal victory, instead of rejoicing at it altogether, he would tell his companions that his father would anticipate everything, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illustrious actions. For being more bent upon action and glory than either upon pleasure or riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his father as a diminution and prevention of his own future achievements; and would have chosen rather to succeed to a kingdom involved in troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercise of his courage, and a large field of honour, than to one already flourishing and settled, where his inheritance would be an inactive life, and the mere enjoyment of wealth and luxury. The care of his education, as it might be presumed, was committed to a great many attendants, preceptors, and teachers, over the whole of whom Leonidas, a near kinsman of Olympias, a man of an austere temper, presided, who did not indeed himself decline the name of what in reality is a noble and honourable office, but in general his dignity, and his near relationship, obtained him from other people the title of Alexander's foster-father and governor. But he who took upon him the actual place and style of his pedagogue was Lysimachus the Acarnanian, who, though he had nothing to recommend him, but his lucky fancy of calling himself Phoenix, Alexander Achilles and Philip Peleus, was therefore well enough esteemed, and ranked in the next degree after Leonidas.

[Alexander.02.006] Philonicus the Thessalian brought the horse Bucephalus to Philip, offering to sell him for thirteen talents; but when they went into the field to try him, they found him so very vicious and unmanageable, that he reared up when they endeavoured to mount him, and would not so much as endure the voice of any of

Philip's attendants. Upon which, as they were leading him away as wholly useless and untractable, Alexander, who stood by, said, "What an excellent horse do they lose for want of address and boldness to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of what he said; but when he heard him repeat the same thing several times, and saw he was much vexed to see the horse sent away, "Do you reproach," said he to him, "those who are older than yourself, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage him than they?" "I could manage this horse," replied he, "better than others do." "And if you do not," said Philip, "what will you forfeit for your rashness?" "I will pay," answered Alexander, "the whole price of the horse." At this the whole company fell a-laughing; and as soon as the wager was settled amongst them, he immediately ran to the horse, and taking hold of the bridle, turned him directly towards the sun, having, it seems, observed that he was disturbed at and afraid of the motion of his own shadow; then letting him go forward a little, still keeping the reins in his hands, and stroking him gently when he found him begin to grow eager and fiery, he let fall his upper garment softly, and with one nimble leap securely mounted him, and when he was seated, by little and little drew in the bridle, and curbed him without either striking or spurring him. Presently, when he found him free from all rebelliousness, and only impatient for the course, he let him go at full speed, inciting him now with a commanding voice, and urging him also with his heel. Philip and his friends looked on at first in silence and anxiety for the result, till seeing him turn at the end of his career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burst out into acclamations of applause; and his father shedding tears, it is said, for joy, kissed him as he came down from his horse, and in his transport said, "O my son, look thee out a kingdom equal to and worthy of thyself, for Macedonia is too little for thee."

[Alexander.02.007] After this, considering him to be of a temper easy to be led to his duty by reason, but by no means to be compelled, he always endeavoured to persuade rather than to command or force him to anything; and now looking upon the instruction and tuition of his youth to be of greater difficulty and importance than to be wholly trusted to the ordinary masters in music and poetry, and the common school subjects, and to require, as Sophocles says "The bridle and the rudder too," he sent for Aristotle, the most learned and most celebrated philosopher of his time, and rewarded him with a munificence proportionable to and becoming the care he took to instruct his son. For he repeopled his native city Stagira, which he had caused to be demolished a little before, and restored all the citizens, who were in exile or slavery, to their habitations. As a place for the pursuit of their studies and exercise, he assigned the temple of the Nymphs, near Mieza, where, to this very day, they show you Aristotle's stone seats, and the shady walks which he was wont to frequent. It would appear that Alexander received from him not only his doctrines of Morals and of Politics, but also something of those more abstruse and profound theories which these philosophers, by the very names they gave them, professed to reserve for oral communication to the initiated, and did not allow many to become acquainted with. For when he was in Asia, and heard Aristotle had published some treatises of that kind, he wrote to him, using very plain language to him in behalf of philosophy, the following letter. "Alexander to Aristotle, greeting. You have not done well to publish your books of oral doctrine; for what is there now that we excel others in, if those things which we have been particularly instructed in be laid open to all? For my part, I assure you, I had rather excel others in the knowledge of what is excellent, than in the extent of my power and dominion. Farewell." And Aristotle, soothing this passion for pre-eminence, speaks, in his excuse for himself, of these doctrines as in fact both published and not published: as indeed, to say the truth, his books on metaphysics are written in a style which makes them useless for ordinary teaching, and instructive only, in the way of memoranda, for those who have been already conversant in that sort of learning.

[Alexander.02.008] Doubtless also it was to Aristotle that he owed the inclination he had, not to the theory only, but likewise to the practice of the art of medicine. For when any of his friends were sick, he would often prescribe them their course of diet, and medicines proper to their disease, as we may find in his epistles. He was naturally a great lover of all kinds of learning and reading; and Onesicritus informs us that he constantly laid Homer's Iliads, according to the copy corrected by Aristotle, called the casket copy, with his dagger under his pillow, declaring that he esteemed it a perfect portable treasure of all military virtue and knowledge. When he was in the upper Asia, being destitute of other books, he ordered Harpalus to send him some; who furnished him with Philistus's History, a great many of the plays of Euripides, Sophocles, and Aeschylus, and some dithyrambic odes, composed by Telestes and Philoxenus. For a while he loved and cherished Aristotle no less, as he was wont

200 to say himself, than if he had been his father, giving this reason for it, that as he had received life from the one, so the other had taught him to live well. But afterwards, upon some mistrust of him, yet not so great as to make him do him any hurt, his familiarity and friendly kindness to him abated so much of its former force and affectionateness, as to make it evident he was alienated from him. However, his violent thirst after and passion for learning, which were once
205 implanted, still grew up with him, and never decayed; as appears by his veneration of Anaxarchus, by the present of fifty talents which he sent to Xenocrates, and his particular care and esteem of Dandamis and Calanus.

[Alexander.02.009] While Philip went on his expedition against the Byzantines, he left Alexander, then sixteen years old, his lieutenant in Macedonia, committing the
210 charge of his seal to him; who, not to sit idle, reduced the rebellious Maedi, and having taken their chief town by storm, drove out the barbarous inhabitants, and planting a colony of several nations in their room, called the place after his own name, Alexandropolis. At the battle of Chaeronea, which his father fought against the Grecians, he is said to have been the first man that charged the Thebans' sacred
215 band. And even in my remembrance, there stood an old oak near the river Cephissus, which people called Alexander's oak, because his tent was pitched under it. And not far off are to be seen the graves of the Macedonians who fell in that battle. This early bravery made Philip so fond of him, that nothing pleased him more than to hear his subjects call himself their general and Alexander their king. But the disorders
220 of his family, chiefly caused by his new marriages and attachments (the troubles that began in the women's chambers spreading, so to say, to the whole kingdom), raised various complaints and differences between them, which the violence of Olympias, a woman of a jealous and implacable temper, made wider, by exasperating Alexander against his father. Among the rest, this accident contributed most to their falling
225 out. At the wedding of Cleopatra, whom Philip fell in love with and married, she being much too young for him, her uncle Attalus in his drink desired the Macedonians would implore the gods to give them a lawful successor to the kingdom by his niece. This so irritated Alexander, that throwing one of the cups at his head, "You villain," said he, "what, am I then a bastard?" Then Philip, taking Attalus's part,
230 rose up and would have run his son through; but by good fortune for them both, either his over-hasty rage, or the wine he had drunk, made his foot slip, so that he fell down on the floor. At which Alexander reproachfully insulted over him: "See there," said he, "the man who makes preparations to pass out of Europe into Asia, overturned in passing from one seat to another." After this debauch, he and his mother Olympias
235 withdrew from Philip's company, and when he had placed her in Epirus, he himself retired into Illyria. About this time, Demaratus the Corinthian, an old friend of the family, who had the freedom to say anything among them without offence, coming to visit Philip, after the first compliments and embraces were over, Philip asked him whether the Grecians were at amity with one another. "It will become you," replied
240 Demaratus, "to be so solicitous about Greece, when you have involved your own house in so many dissensions and calamities." He was so convinced by this seasonable reproach, that he immediately sent for his son home, and by Demaratus's mediation prevailed with him to return.

[Alexander.02.010] But this reconciliation lasted not long; for when Pixodorus, viceroy of Caria, sent Aristocritus to treat for a match between his eldest daughter
245 and Philip's son, Arrhidaeus, hoping by this alliance to secure his assistance upon occasion, Alexander's mother, and some who pretended to be his friends, presently filled his head with tales and calumnies, as if Philip, by a splendid marriage and important alliance, were preparing the way for settling the kingdom upon Arrhidaeus.
250 In alarm at this, he despatched Thessalus, the tragic actor, into Caria, to dispose Pixodorus to slight Arrhidaeus, both illegitimate and a fool, and rather to accept of himself for his son-in-law. This proposition was much more agreeable to Pixodorus than the former. But Philip, as soon as he was made acquainted with this transaction, went to his son's apartment, taking with him Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of
255 Alexander's intimate friends and companions, and there reproved him severely, and reproached him bitterly, that he should be so degenerate, and unworthy of the power he was to leave him, as to desire the alliance of a mean Carian, who was at best but the slave of a barbarous prince. Nor did this satisfy his resentment, for he wrote to the Corinthians to send Thessalus to him in chains, and banished Harpalus, Nearchus,
260 Erigyus, and Ptolemy, his son's friends and favourites, whom Alexander afterwards recalled and raised to great honour and preferment. Not long after this, Pausanias, having had an outrage done to him at the instance of Attalus and Cleopatra, when he found he could get no reparation for his disgrace at Philip's hands, watched his opportunity and murdered him. The guilt of which fact was laid for the most part upon

265 Olympias, who was said to have encouraged and exasperated the enraged youth to
 revenge; and some sort of suspicion attached even to Alexander himself, who, it was
 said, when Pausanias came and complained to him of the injury he had received,
 repeated the verse out of Euripides's Medea. "On husband, and on father, and on
 270 bride." However, he took care to find out and punish the accomplices of the
 conspiracy severely, and was very angry with Olympias for treating Cleopatra
 inhumanly in his absence.

[Alexander.02.011] Alexander was but twenty years old when his father was murdered,
 and succeeded to a kingdom, beset on all sides with great dangers and rancorous
 enemies. For not only the barbarous nations that bordered on Macedonia were impatient
 275 of being governed by any but their own native princes, but Philip likewise, though he
 had been victorious over the Grecians, yet, as the time had not been sufficient for
 him to complete his conquest and accustom them to his sway, had simply left all
 things in a general disorder and confusion. It seemed to the Macedonians a very
 critical time; and some would have persuaded Alexander to give up all thought of
 280 retaining the Grecians in subjection by force of arms, and rather to apply himself to
 win back by gentle means the allegiance of the tribes who were designing revolt, and
 try the effect of indulgence in arresting the first motions towards revolution. But
 he rejected this counsel as weak and timorous, and looked upon it to be more prudence
 to secure himself by resolution and magnanimity, than, by seeming to truckle to any,
 285 to encourage all to trample on him. In pursuit of this opinion, he reduced the
 barbarians to tranquility, and put an end to all fear of war from them, he gave rapid
 expedition into their country as far as the river Danube, where he gave Syrmus, King
 of the Triballians, an entire overthrow. And hearing the Thebans were in revolt, and
 the Athenians in correspondence with them, he immediately marched through the pass of
 290 Thermopylae, saying that to Demosthenes, who had called him a child while he was in
 Illyria and in the country of the Triballians, and a youth when he was in Thessaly,
 he would appear a man before the walls of Athens.

When he came to Thebes, to show how willing he was to accept of their repentance for
 what was past, he only demanded of them Phoenix and Prothytes, the authors of the
 295 rebellion, and proclaimed a general pardon to those who would come over to him. But
 when the Thebans merely retorted by demanding Philotas and Antipater to be delivered
 into their hands, and by a proclamation on their part invited all who would assert
 the liberty of Greece to come over to them, he presently applied himself to make them
 feel the last extremities of war. The Thebans indeed defended themselves with a zeal
 300 and courage beyond their strength, being much outnumbered by their enemies. But when
 the Macedonian garrison sallied out upon them from the citadel, they were so hemmed
 in on all sides that the greater part of them fell in the battle; the city itself
 being taken by storm, was sacked and razed. Alexander's hope being that so severe an
 example might terrify the rest of Greece into obedience, and also in order to gratify
 305 the hostility of his confederates, the Phocians and Plataeans. So that, except the
 priests, and some few who had heretofore been the friends and connections of the
 Macedonians, the family of the poet Pindar, and those who were known to have opposed
 the public vote for the war, all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were
 publicly sold for slaves; and it is computed that upwards of six thousand were put to
 310 the sword.

[Alexander.02.012] Among the other calamities that befell the city, it happened that
 some Thracian soldiers, having broken into the house of a matron of high character
 and repute, named Timoclea, their captain, after he had used violence with her, to
 315 satisfy his avarice as well as lust, asked her, if she knew of any money concealed;
 to which she readily answered she did, and bade him follow her into a garden, where
 she showed him a well, into which, she told him, upon the taking of the city, she had
 thrown what she had of most value. The greedy Thracian presently stooping down to
 view the place where he thought the treasure lay, she came behind him and pushed him
 320 into the well, and then flung great stones in upon him, till she had killed him.
 After which, when the soldiers led her away bound to Alexander, her very mien and
 gait showed her to be a woman of dignity, and of a mind no less elevated, not
 betraying the least sign of fear or astonishment. And when the king asked her who she
 was, "I am," said she, "the sister of Theagenes, who fought the battle of Chaeronea
 with your father Philip, and fell there in command for the liberty of Greece."
 325 Alexander was so surprised, both at what she had done and what she said, that he
 could not choose but give her and her children their freedom to go whither they
 pleased.

[Alexander.02.013] After this he received the Athenians into favour, although they
 had shown themselves so much concerned at the calamity of Thebes that out of sorrow
 330 they omitted the celebration of the Mysteries, and entertained those who escaped with

all possible humanity. Whether it were, like the lion, that his passion was now satisfied, or that, after an example of extreme cruelty, he had a mind to appear merciful, it happened well for the Athenians; for he not only forgave them all past offences, but bade them look to their affairs with vigilance, remembering that if he should miscarry, they were likely to be the arbiters of Greece. Certain it is, too, that in aftertime he often repented of his severity to the Thebans, and his remorse had such influence on his temper as to make him ever after less rigorous to all others. He imputed also the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the unwillingness of the Macedonians to follow him against the Indians, by which his enterprise and glory was left imperfect, to the wrath and vengeance of Bacchus, the protector of Thebes. And it was observed that whatsoever any Theban, who had the good fortune to survive this victory, asked of him, he was sure to grant without the least difficulty.

[Alexander.02.014] Soon after, the Grecians, being assembled at the Isthmus, declared their resolution of joining with Alexander in the war against the Persians, and proclaimed him their general. While he stayed here, many public ministers and philosophers came from all parts to visit him and congratulated him on his election, but contrary to his expectation, Diogenes of Sinope, who then was living at Corinth, thought so little of him, that instead of coming to compliment him, he never so much as stirred out of the suburb called the Cranium, where Alexander found him lying along in the sun. When he saw so much company near him, he raised himself a little, and vouchsafed to look upon Alexander; and when he kindly asked him whether he wanted anything, "Yes," said he, "I would have you stand from between me and the sun." Alexander was so struck at this answer, and surprised at the greatness of the man, who had taken so little notice of him, that as he went away he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, that if he were not Alexander, he would choose to be Diogenes. Then he went to Delphi, to consult Apollo concerning the success of the war he had undertaken, and happening to come on one of the forbidden days, when it was esteemed improper to give any answer from the oracle, he sent messengers to desire the priestess to do her office; and when she refused, on the plea of a law to the contrary, he went up himself, and began to draw her by force into the temple, until tired and overcome with his importunity, "My son," said she, "thou art invincible." Alexander taking hold of what she spoke, declared he had received such an answer as he wished for, and that it was needless to consult the god any further. Among other prodigies that attended the departure of his army, the image of Orpheus at Libethra, made of cypress-wood, was seen to sweat in great abundance, to the discouragement of many. But Aristander told him that, far from presaging any ill to him, it signified he should perform acts so important and glorious as would make the poets and musicians of future ages labour and sweat to describe and celebrate them.

[Alexander.02.015] His army, by their computation who make the smallest amount, consisted of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse; and those who make the most of it, speak but of forty-three thousand foot and three thousand horse. Aristobulus says, he had not a fund of above seventy talents for their pay, nor had he more than thirty days' provision, if we may believe Duris; Onesicritus tells us he was two hundred talents in debt. However narrow and disproportionable the beginnings of so vast an undertaking might seem to be, yet he would not embark his army until he had informed himself particularly what means his friends had to enable them to follow him, and supplied what they wanted, by giving good farms to some, a village to one, and the revenue of some hamlet or harbour-town to another. So that at last he had portioned out or engaged almost all the royal property; which giving Perdiccas an occasion to ask him what he would leave himself, he replied, his hopes. "Your soldiers," replied Perdiccas, "will be your partners in those," and refused to accept of the estate he had assigned him. Some others of his friends did the like, but to those who willingly received or desired assistance of him, he liberally granted it, as far as his patrimony in Macedonia would reach, the most part of which was spent in these donations. With such vigorous resolutions, and his mind thus disposed, he passed the Hellespont, and at Troy sacrificed to Minerva, and honoured the memory of the heroes who were buried there, with solemn libations; especially Achilles, whose gravestone he anointed, and with his friends, as the ancient custom is, ran naked about his sepulchre, and crowned it with garlands, declaring how happy he esteemed him, in having while he lived so faithful a friend, and when he was dead, so famous a poet to proclaim his actions. While he was viewing the rest of the antiquities and curiosities of the place, being told he might see Paris's harp, if he pleased, he said he thought it not worth looking on, but he should be glad to see that of Achilles, to which he used to sing the glories and great actions of brave men.

[Alexander.02.016] In the meantime, Darius's captains, having collected large forces, were encamped on the further bank of the river Granicus, and it was necessary to fight, as it were, in the gate of Asia for an entrance into it. The depth of the river, with the unevenness and difficult ascent of the opposite bank, which was to be gained by main force, was apprehended by most, and some pronounced it an improper time to engage, because it was unusual for the kings of Macedonia to march with their forces in the month called Daesius. But Alexander broke through these scruples, telling them they should call it a second Artemisius. And when Parmenio advised him not to attempt anything that day, because it was late, he told him that he should disgrace the Hellespont should he fear the Granicus. And so, without more saying, he immediately took the river with thirteen troops of horse, and advanced against whole showers of darts thrown from the steep opposite side, which was covered with armed multitudes of the enemy's horse and foot, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground and the rapidity of the stream; so that the action seemed to have more frenzy and desperation in it, than of prudent conduct. However, he persisted obstinately to gain the passage, and at last with much ado making his way up the banks, which were extremely muddy and slippery, he had instantly to join in a mere confused hand-to-hand combat with the enemy, before he could draw up his men, who were still passing over, into any order. For the enemy pressed upon him with loud and warlike outcries; and charging horse against horse, with their lances, after they had broken and spent these, they fell to it with their swords. And Alexander, being easily known by his buckler, and a large plume of white feathers on each side of his helmet, was attacked on all sides, yet escaped wounding, though his cuirass was pierced by a javelin in one of the joinings. And Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, falling upon him at once, he avoided one of them, and struck at Rhoesaces, who had a good cuirass on, with such force that, his spear breaking in his hand, he was glad to betake himself to his dagger. While they were thus engaged, Spithridates came up on one side of him, and raising himself upon his horse, gave him such a blow with his battle-axe on the helmet that he cut off the crest of it, with one of his plumes, and the helmet was only just so far strong enough to save him, that the edge of the weapon touched the hair of his head. But as he was about to repeat his stroke, Clitus, called the black Clitus, prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time Alexander despatched Rhoesaces with his sword. While the horse were thus dangerously engaged, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and the foot on each side advanced to fight. But the enemy hardly sustaining the first onset soon gave ground and fled, all but the mercenary Greeks, who, making a stand upon a rising ground, desired quarter, which Alexander, guided rather by passion than judgment, refused to grant, and charging them himself first, had his horse (not Bucephalus, but another) killed under him. And this obstinacy of his to cut off these experienced desperate men cost him the lives of more of his own soldiers than all the battle before, besides those who were wounded. The Persians lost in this battle twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. On Alexander's side, Aristobulus says there were not wanting above four-and-thirty, of whom nine were foot-soldiers; and in memory of them he caused so many statues of brass, of Lysippus's making, to be erected. And that the Grecians might participate in the honour of his victory he sent a portion of the spoils home to them particularly to the Athenians three hundred bucklers, and upon all the rest he ordered this inscription to be set: "Alexander the son of Philip, and the Grecians, except the Lacedaemonians, won these from the barbarians who inhabit Asia." All the plate and purple garments, and other things of the same kind that he took from the Persians, except a very small quantity which he reserved for himself, he sent as a present to his mother.

[Alexander.02.017] This battle presently made a great change of affairs to Alexander's advantage. For Sardis itself, the chief seat of the barbarian's power in the maritime provinces, and many other considerable places, were surrendered to him; only Halicarnassus and Miletus stood out, which he took by force, together with the territory about them. After which he was a little unsettled in his opinion how to proceed. Sometimes he thought it best to find out Darius as soon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a battle; another while he looked upon it as a more prudent course to make an entire reduction of the sea-coast, and not to seek the enemy till he had first exercised his power here and made himself secure of the resources of these provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it happened that a spring of water near the city of Xanthus in Lycia, of its own accord, swelled over its banks, and threw up a copper plate, upon the margin of which was engraven in ancient characters, that the time would come when the Persian empire should be destroyed by the Grecians. Encouraged by this accident, he proceeded to reduce the maritime parts

of Cilicia and Phoenicia, and passed his army along the sea-coasts of Pamphylia with such expedition that many historians have described and extolled it with that height
 465 of admiration, as if it were no less than a miracle, and an extraordinary effect of divine favour, that the waves which usually come rolling in violently from the main, and hardly ever leave so much as a narrow beach under the steep, broken cliffs at any time uncovered, should on a sudden retire to afford him passage. Menander, in one of his comedies, alludes to this marvel when he says: "Was Alexander ever favoured more?
 470 Each man I wish for meets me at my door, And should I ask for passage through the sea, The sea I doubt not would retire for me." But Alexander himself in his epistles mentions nothing unusual in this at all, but says he went from Phaselis, and passed through what they call the Ladders. At Phaselis he stayed some time, and finding the statue of Theodectes, who was a native of this town and was now dead, erected in the
 475 market-place, after he had supped, having drunk pretty plentifully, he went and danced about it, and crowned it with garlands, honouring not ungracefully, in his sport, the memory of a philosopher whose conversation he had formerly enjoyed when he was Aristotle's scholar.

[Alexander.02.018] Then he subdued the Pisidians who made head against him, and
 480 conquered the Phrygians, at whose chief city, Gordium, which is said to be the seat of the ancient Midas, he saw the famous chariot fastened with cords made of the rind of the cornel-tree, which whosoever should untie, the inhabitants had a tradition, that for him was reserved the empire of the world. Most authors tell the story that Alexander finding himself unable to untie the knot, the ends of which were secretly
 485 twisted round and folded up within it, cut it asunder with his sword. But Aristobulus tells us it was easy for him to undo it, by only pulling the pin out of the pole, to which the yoke was tied, and afterwards drawing off the yoke itself from below. From hence he advanced into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, both which countries he soon reduced to obedience, and then hearing of the death of Memnon, the best commander
 490 Darius had upon the sea-coasts, who, if he had lived, might, it was supposed, have put many impediments and difficulties in the way of the progress of his arms, he was the rather encouraged to carry the war into the upper provinces of Asia. Darius was by this time upon his march from Susa, very confident, not only in the number of his men, which amounted to six hundred thousand, but likewise in a dream, which the
 495 Persian soothsayers interpreted rather in flattery to him than according to the natural probability. He dreamed that he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and Alexander waiting on him, clad in the same dress which he himself had been used to wear when he was courier to the late king; after which, going into the temple of Belus, he vanished out of his sight. The dream would appear to have supernaturally
 500 signified to him the illustrious actions the Macedonians were to perform, and that as he, from a courier's place, had risen to the throne, so Alexander should come to be master of Asia, and not long surviving his conquests, conclude his life with glory.

[Alexander.02.019] Darius's confidence increased the more, because Alexander spent so
 505 much time in Cilicia, which he imputed to his cowardice. But it was sickness that detained him there, which some say he contracted from his fatigues, others from bathing in the river Cydnus, whose waters were exceedingly cold. However it happened, none of his physicians would venture to give him any remedies, they thought his case so desperate, and were so afraid of the suspicions and ill-will of the Macedonians if they should fail in the cure; till Philip, the Acarnanian, seeing how critical his
 510 case was, but relying on his own well-known friendship for him, resolved to try the last efforts of his art, and rather hazard his own credit and life than suffer him to perish for want of physic, which he confidently administered to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he desired a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war. At this very time, Parmenio wrote to Alexander from the camp, bidding him have a care of
 515 Philip, as one who was bribed by Darius to kill him, with great sums of money, and a promise of his daughter in marriage. When he had perused the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it so much as to any of his most intimate friends, and when Philip came in with the potion, he took it with great cheerfulness and assurance, giving him meantime the letter to read. This was a spectacle well worth
 520 being present at, to see Alexander take the draught and Philip read the letter at the same time, and then turn and look upon one another, but with different sentiments; for Alexander's looks were cheerful and open, to show his kindness to and confidence in his physician, while the other was full of surprise and alarm at the accusation, appealing to the gods to witness his innocence, sometimes lifting up his hands to
 525 heaven, and then throwing himself down by the bedside, and beseeching Alexander to lay aside all fear, and follow his directions without apprehension. For the medicine at first worked so strongly as to drive, so to say, the vital forces into the interior; he lost his speech, and falling into a swoon, had scarce any sense or pulse

left. However in no long time, by Philip's means, his health and strength returned, and he showed himself in public to the Macedonians, who were in continual fear and dejection until they saw him abroad again.

[Alexander.02.020] There was at this time in Darius's army a Macedonian refugee, named Amyntas, one who was pretty well acquainted with Alexander's character. This man, when he saw Darius intended to fall upon the enemy in the passes and defiles, advised him earnestly to keep where he was, in the open and extensive plains, it being the advantage of a numerous army to have field-room enough when it engaged with a lesser force. Darius, instead of taking his counsel, told him he was afraid the enemy would endeavour to run away, and so Alexander would escape out of his hands. "That fear," replied Amyntas, "is needless, for assure yourself that far from avoiding you, he will make all the speed he can to meet you, and is now most likely on his march toward you." But Amyntas's counsel was to no purpose, for Darius immediately decamping, marched into Cilicia at the same time that Alexander advanced into Syria to meet him; and missing one another in the night, they both turned back again. Alexander, greatly pleased with the event, made all the haste he could to fight in the defiles, and Darius to recover his former ground, and draw his army out of so disadvantageous a place. For now he began to perceive his error in engaging himself too far in a country in which the sea, the mountains, and the river Pinarus running through the midst of it, would necessitate him to divide his forces, render his horse almost unserviceable, and only cover and support the weakness of the enemy. Fortune was not kinder to Alexander in the choice of the ground, than he was careful to improve it to his advantage. For being much inferior in numbers, so far from allowing himself to be outflanked, he stretched his right wing much further out than the left wing of his enemies, and fighting there himself in the very foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. In this battle he was wounded in the thigh, Chares says, by Darius, with whom he fought hand-to-hand. But in the account which he gave Antipater of the battle, though indeed he owns he was wounded in the thigh with a sword, though not dangerously, yet he takes no notice who it was that wounded him. Nothing was wanting to complete this victory, in which he overthrew above an hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, but the taking the person of Darius, who escaped very narrowly by flight. However, having taken his chariot and his bow, he returned from pursuing him, and found his own men busy in pillaging the barbarians' camp, which (though to disburden themselves they had left most of their baggage at Damascus) was exceedingly rich. But Darius's tent, which was full of splendid furniture and quantities of gold and silver, they reserved for Alexander himself, who, after he had put off his arms, went to bathe himself saying, "Let us now cleanse ourselves from the toils of war in the bath of Darius." "Not so," replied one of his followers, "but in Alexander's rather; for the property of the conquered is and should be called the conqueror's." Here, when he beheld the bathing vessels, the water-pots, the pans, and the ointment boxes, all of gold curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into a pavilion of great size and height, where the couches and tables and preparations for an entertainment were perfectly magnificent, he turned to those about him and said, "This, it seems, is royalty."

[Alexander.02.021] But as he was going to supper, word was brought him that Darius's mother and wife and two unmarried daughters, being taken among the rest of the prisoners, upon the sight of his chariot and bow, were all in mourning and sorrow, imagining him to be dead. After a little pause, more lively affected with their affliction than with his own success, he sent Leonnatus to them, to let them know Darius was not dead, and that they need not fear any harm from Alexander, who made war upon him only for dominion; they should themselves be provided with everything they had been used to receive from Darius. This kind message could not but be very welcome to the captive ladies, especially being made good by actions no less humane and generous. For he gave them leave to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to make use for this purpose of what garments and furniture they thought fit out of the booty. He diminished nothing of their equipage, or of the attentions and respect formerly paid them, and allowed larger pensions for their maintenance than they had before. But the noblest and most royal part of their usage was, that he treated these illustrious prisoners according to their virtue and character, not suffering them to hear, or receive, or so much as to apprehend anything that was unbecoming. So that they seemed rather lodged in some temple, or some holy virgin chambers, where they enjoyed their privacy sacred and uninterrupted, than in the camp of an enemy. Nevertheless Darius's wife was accounted the most beautiful princess then living, as her husband the tallest and handsomest man of his time, and the daughters were not unworthy of their parents. But Alexander, esteeming it more kingly to govern himself

595 than to conquer his enemies, sought no intimacy with any one of them, nor indeed with
any other women before marriage, except Barsine, Memnon's widow, who was taken
prisoner at Damascus. She had been instructed in the Grecian learning, was of a
gentle temper, and by her father, Artabazus, royally descended, with good qualities,
600 added to the solicitations and encouragement of Parmenio, as Aristobulus tells us,
made him the more willing to attach himself to so agreeable and illustrious a woman.
Of the rest of the female captives, though remarkably handsome and well proportioned,
he took no further notice than to say jestingly that Persian women were terrible
eyesores. And he himself, retaliating, as it were, by the display of the beauty of
his own temperance and self-control, bade them be removed, as he would have done so
605 many lifeless images.

[Alexander.02.022] When Philoxenus, his lieutenant on the sea-coast, wrote to him to
know if he would buy two young boys of great beauty, whom one Theodorus, a Tarentine,
had to sell, he was so offended that he often expostulated with his friends what
baseness Philoxenus had ever observed in him that he should presume to make him such
610 a reproachful offer. And he immediately wrote him a very sharp letter, telling him
Theodorus and his merchandise might go with his good-will to destruction. Nor was he
less severe to Hagnon, who sent him word he would buy a Corinthian youth named
Crobylus, as a present for him. And hearing that Damon and Timotheus, two of
Parmenio's Macedonian soldiers, had abused the wives of some strangers who were in
615 his pay, he wrote to Parmenio, charging him strictly, if he found them guilty, to put
them to death, as wild beasts that were only made for the mischief of mankind. In the
same letter he added, that he had not so much as seen or desired to see the wife of
Darius, nor suffered anybody to speak of her beauty before him. He was wont to say
that sleep and the act of generation chiefly made him sensible that he was mortal; as
620 much as to say, that weariness and pleasure proceed both from the same frailty and
imbecility of human nature. In his diet, also, he was most temperate, as appears,
omitting many other circumstances, by what he said to Ada, whom he adopted, with the
title of mother, and afterwards created Queen of Caria. For when she, out of
kindness, sent him every day many curious dishes and sweetmeats, and would have
625 furnished him with some cooks and pastry-men, who were thought to have great skill,
he told her he wanted none of them, his preceptor, Leonidas, having already given him
the best, which were a night march to prepare for breakfast, and a moderate breakfast
to create an appetite for supper. Leonidas also, he added, used to open and search
the furniture of his chamber and his wardrobe, to see if his mother had left him
630 anything that was delicate or superfluous.

[Alexander.02.023] He was much less addicted to wine than was generally believed;
that which gave people occasion to think so of him was, that when he had nothing else
to do, he loved to sit long and talk, rather than drink, and over every cup hold a
long conversation. For when his affairs called upon him, he would not be detained, as
635 other generals often were, either by wine, or sleep, nuptial solemnities, spectacles,
or any other diversion whatsoever; a convincing argument of which is, that in the
short time he lived, he accomplished so many and so great actions. When he was free
from employment, after he was up, and had sacrificed to the gods he used to sit down
to breakfast, and then spend the rest of the day in hunting, or writing memoirs,
640 giving decisions on some military questions, or reading. In marches that required no
great haste, he would practise shooting as he went along, or to mount a chariot and
alight from it in full speed. Sometimes, for sport's sake, as his journals tell us,
he would hunt foxes and go fowling. When he came in for the evening, after he had
bathed and was anointed, he would call for his bakers and chief cooks, to know if
645 they had his dinner ready. He never cared to dine till it was pretty late and
beginning to be dark, and was wonderfully circumspect at meals that every one who sat
with him should be served alike and with proper attention: and his love of talking,
as was said before, made him delight to sit long at his wine. And then, though
otherwise no prince's conversation was ever so agreeable, he would fall into a temper
650 of ostentation and soldierly boasting, which gave his flatterers a great advantage to
ride him, and made his better friends very uneasy. For though they thought it too
base to strive who should flatter him most, yet they found it hazardous not to do it;
so that between the shame and the danger, they were in a great strait how to behave
themselves. After such an entertainment, he was wont to bathe, and then perhaps he
655 would sleep till noon, and sometimes all day long. He was so very temperate in his
eating, that when any rare fish or fruits were sent him, he would distribute them
among his friends, and often reserve nothing for himself. His table, however, was
always magnificent, the expense of it still increasing with his good fortune, till it
amounted to ten thousand drachmas a day, to which sum he limited it, and beyond this
660 he would suffer none to lay out in any entertainment where he himself was the guest.

[Alexander.02.024] Issus, he sent to Damascus to seize upon the money and baggage, the wives and children, of the Persians, of which spoil the Thessalian horsemen had the greatest share; for he had taken particular notice of their gallantry in the fight, and sent them thither on purpose to make their reward suitable to their
665 courage. Not but that the rest of the army had so considerable a part of the booty as was sufficient to enrich them all. This first gave the Macedonians such a taste of the Persian wealth and women and barbaric splendour of living, that they were ready to pursue and follow upon it with all the eagerness of hounds upon a scent. But Alexander, before he proceeded any further, thought it necessary to assure
670 himself of the sea-coast. Those who governed in Cyprus put that island into his possession, and Phoenicia, Tyre only excepted, was surrendered to him. During the siege of this city, which, with mounds of earth cast up, and battering engines, and two hundred galleys by sea, was carried on for seven months together, he dreamt that he saw Hercules upon the walls, reaching out his hands, and calling to him. And many
675 of the Tyrians in their sleep fancied that Apollo told them he was displeased with their actions, and was about to leave them and go over to Alexander. Upon which, as if the god had been a deserting soldier, they seized him, so to say, in the act, tied down the statue with ropes, and nailed it to the pedestal, reproaching him that he was a favourer of Alexander. Another time Alexander dreamed he saw a satyr mocking
680 him at a distance, and when he endeavoured to catch him, he still escaped from him, till at last with much perseverance, and running about after him, he got him into his power. The soothsayers, making two words of Satyrus, assured him that Tyre should be his own. The inhabitants at this time show a spring of water, near which they say Alexander slept when he fancied the satyr appeared to him. While the body of the army
685 lay before Tyre, he made an excursion against the Arabians who inhabit the Mount Antilibanus, in which he hazarded his life extremely to bring off his master Lysimachus, who would needs go along with him, declaring he was neither older nor inferior in courage to Phoenix, Achilles's guardian. For when, quitting their horses, they began to march up the hills on foot, the rest of the soldiers outwent them a
690 great deal, so that night drawing on, and the enemy near, Alexander was fain to stay behind so long, to encourage and help up the lagging and tired old man, that before he was aware he was left behind, a great way from his soldiers, with a slender attendance, and forced to pass an extremely cold night in the dark, and in a very inconvenient place; till seeing a great many scattered fires of the enemy at some
695 distance, and trusting to his agility of body, and as he was always wont by undergoing toils and labours himself to cheer and support the Macedonians in any distress, he ran straight to one of the nearest fires, and with his dagger despatching two of the barbarians that sat by it, snatched up a lighted brand, and returned with it to his own men. They immediately made a great fire, which so alarmed
700 the enemy that most of them fled, and those that assaulted them were soon routed and thus they rested securely the remainder of the night. Thus Chares writes.
[Alexander.02.025] But to return to the siege, it had this issue. Alexander, that he might refresh his army, harassed with many former encounters, had led only a small party towards the walls, rather to keep the enemy busy than with any prospect of much
705 advantage. It happened at this time that Aristander, the soothsayer, after he had sacrificed, upon view of the entrails, affirmed confidently to those who stood by that the city should be certainly taken that very month, upon which there was a laugh and some mockery among the soldiers, as this was the last day of it. The king, seeing him in perplexity, and always anxious to support the credit of the predictions, gave
710 order that they should not count it as the thirtieth, but as the twenty-third of the month, and ordering the trumpets to sound, attacked the walls more seriously than he at first intended. The sharpness of the assault so inflamed the rest of his forces who were left in the camp, that they could not hold from advancing to second it, which they performed with so much vigour that the Tyrians retired, and the town was
715 carried that very day. The next place he sat down before was Gaza, one of the largest cities of Syria, when this accident befell him. A large bird flying over him let a clod of earth fall upon his shoulder, and then settling upon one of the battering engines, was suddenly entangled and caught in the nets, composed of sinews, which protected the ropes with which the machine was managed. This fell out exactly
720 according to Aristander's prediction, which was, that Alexander should be wounded and the city reduced. From hence he sent great part of the spoils to Olympias, Cleopatra, and the rest of his friends, not omitting his preceptor Leonidas, on whom he bestowed five hundred talents' weight of frankincense and an hundred of myrrh, in remembrance of the hopes he had once expressed of him when he was but a child. For Leonidas, it
725 seems, standing by him one day while he was sacrificing, and seeing him take both his hands full of incense to throw into the fire, told him it became him to be more

sparing in his offerings, and not to be so profuse till he was master of the countries which those sweet gums and saying, come from. So Alexander now wrote to him, saying, "We have sent you abundance of myrrh and frankincense, that for the future you may not be stingy to the gods."

730 [Alexander.02.026] Among the treasures and other booty that was taken from Darius, there was a very precious casket, which being brought to Alexander for a great rarity, he asked those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it; and when they had delivered their various opinions, he told them he should keep Homer's Iliad in it. This is attested by many credible authors, and if what those of Alexandria tell us, relying upon the authority of Heraclides, be true, Homer was 735 neither an idle nor an unprofitable companion to him in his expedition. For when he was master of Egypt, designing to settle a colony of Grecians there, he resolved to build a large and populous city, and give it his own name. In order to which, after 740 he had measured and staked out the ground with the advice of the best architects, he chanced one night in his sleep to see a wonderful vision; a grey-headed old man, of a venerable aspect, appeared to stand by him, and pronounce these verses: "An island lies, where loud the billows roar, Pharos they call it, on the Egyptian shore." Alexander upon this immediately rose up and went to Pharos, which, at that time, was 745 an island lying a little above the Canobic mouth of the river Nile, though it has now been joined to the mainland by a mole. As soon as he saw the commodious situation of the place, it being a long neck of land, stretching like an isthmus between large lagoons and shallow waters on one side and the sea on the other, the latter at the end of it making a spacious harbour, he said, Homer, besides his other excellences, 750 was a very good architect, and ordered the plan of a city to be drawn out answerable to the place. To do which, for want of chalk, the soil being black, they laid out their lines with flour, taking in a pretty large compass of ground in a semi-circular figure, and drawing into the inside of the circumference equal straight lines from each end, thus giving it something of the form of a cloak or cape; while he was 755 pleasing himself with his design, on a sudden an infinite number of great birds of several kinds, rising like a black cloud out of the river and the lake, devoured every morsel of the flour that had been used in setting out the lines; at which omen even Alexander himself was troubled, till the augurs restored his confidence again by telling him it was a sign the city he was about to build would not only abound in all 760 things within itself, but also be the nurse and feeder of many nations. He commanded the workmen to proceed, while he went to visit the temple of Ammon. This was a long and painful, and, in two respects, a dangerous journey; first, if they should lose their provision of water, as for several days none could be obtained; and, secondly, if a violent south wind should rise upon them, while they were travelling through the 765 wide extent of deep sands, as it is said to have done when Cambyses led his army that way, blowing the sand together in heaps, and raising, as it were, the whole desert like a sea upon them, till fifty thousand were swallowed up and destroyed by it. All these difficulties were weighed and represented to him; but Alexander was not easily to be diverted from anything he was bent upon. For fortune having hitherto seconded 770 him in his designs, made him resolute and firm in his opinions, and the boldness of his temper raised a sort of passion in him for surmounting difficulties; as if it were not enough to be always victorious in the field, unless places and seasons and nature herself submitted to him.

[Alexander.02.027] In this journey, the relief and assistance the gods afforded him 775 in his distresses were more remarkable, and obtained greater belief than the oracles he received afterwards, which, however, were valued and credited the more on account of those occurrences. For first, plentiful rains that fell preserved them from any fear of perishing by drought, and, allaying the extreme dryness of the sand, which now became moist and firm to travel on, cleared and purified the air.

780 Besides this, when they were out of their way, and were wandering up and down, because the marks which were wont to direct the guides were disordered and lost, they were set right again by some ravens, which flew before them when on their march, and waited for them when they lingered and fell behind; and the greatest miracle, as Callisthenes tells us, was that if any of the company went astray in the night, they 785 never ceased croaking and making a noise till by that means they had brought them into the right way again. Having passed through the wilderness, they came to the place where the high priest, at the first salutation, bade Alexander welcome from his father Ammon. And being asked by him whether any of his father's murderers had escaped punishment, he charged him to speak with more respect, since his was not a 790 mortal father. Then Alexander, changing his expression, desired to know of him if any of those who murdered Philip were yet unpunished, and further concerning dominion, whether the empire of the world was reserved for him? This, the god answered, he

795 should obtain, and that Philip's death was fully revenged, which gave him so much satisfaction that he made splendid offerings to Jupiter, and gave the priests very rich presents. This is what most authors write concerning the oracles. But Alexander, in a letter to his mother, tells her there were some secret answers, which at his return he would communicate to her only. Others say that the priest, desirous as a piece of courtesy to address him in Greek, "O Paidion," by a slip in pronunciation ended with the s instead of the n, and said "O Paidios," which mistake Alexander was 800 well enough pleased with, and it went for current that the oracle had called him so. Among the sayings of one Psammon, a philosopher, whom he heard in Egypt, he most approved of this, that all men are governed by God, because in everything, that which is chief and commands is divine. But what he pronounced himself upon this subject was even more like a philosopher, for he said God was the common father of us all, but 805 more particularly of the best of us.

[28] Καθόλου δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους σοβαρὸς ἦν καὶ σφόδρα πεπεισμένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ γενέσεως καὶ τεκνώσεως ὁμοιος, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλησι μετρίως καὶ ὑποφειδομένως ἑαυτὸν ἐξεθείαζε· πλὴν περὶ Σάμου γράφων Ἀθηναίοις "ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν" 810 φησὶν "ὑμῖν ἐλευθέραν πόλιν ἔδωκα καὶ ἔνδοξον· ἔχετε δ' αὐτὴν λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ τότε κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ προσαγορευομένου," λέγων τὸν Φίλιππον. ὕστερον δὲ πληγῆ περιπεσὼν ὑπὸ τοξεύματος καὶ περιαλγῆς γενόμενος·

"τοῦτο μὲν" εἶπεν "ὦ φίλοι τὸ ρέον αἷμα καὶ οὐκ "ἰχώρ, οἷός περ τε ρέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν".

815 ἐπεὶ δὲ μεγάλης ποτὲ βροντῆς γενομένης καὶ πάντων ἐκπλαγέντων Ἀνάξαρχος ὁ σοφιστῆς παρῶν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν "μή τι σὺ τοιοῦτον ὁ τοῦ Διός;" γελάσας ἐκεῖνος "οὐ βούλομαι γὰρ" εἶπε "φοβερὸς εἶναι τοῖς φίλοις, ὥσπερ σὺ με κελεύεις ὁ καταφασκίζων μου τὸ δεῖπνον, ὅτι ταῖς τραπέζαις ἰχθύας ὀρεῖς ἐπικειμένους, οὐ σατραπῶν κεφαλῆς". τῷ γὰρ ὄντι λέγεται τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον ἰχθυδίων Ἡφαιστίωνι πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν προειρημένον ἐπιφθέγγασθαι λόγον, οἷον ἐξευτελίζοντα καὶ κατειρωνευόμενον τοὺς τὰ 820 περιβλεπτά μεγάλοις πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις διώκοντας, ὡς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν ἐν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἀπολαύσεσι πλέον ἔχοντας τῶν ἄλλων. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων δῆλός ἐστιν αὐτὸς οὐδὲν πεπονθῶς οὐδὲ τετυφωμένος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄλλους καταδουλούμενος τῇ δόξῃ τῆς θεϊότητος.

To the barbarians he carried himself very haughtily, as if he were fully persuaded of 825 his divine birth and parentage; but to the Grecians more moderately, and with less affectation of divinity, except it were once in writing to the Athenians about Samos, when he tells them that he should not himself have bestowed upon them that free and glorious city; "You received it," he says, "from the bounty of him who at that time was called my lord and father," meaning Philip. However, afterwards being wounded 830 with an arrow, and feeling much pain, he turned to those about him, and told them, "This, my friends, is real flowing blood, not Ichor.

"Such as immortal gods are wont to shed."

And another time, when it thundered so much that everybody was afraid, and Anaxarchus, the sophist, asked him if he who was Jupiter's son could do anything like 835 this, "Nay," said Alexander, laughing, "I have no desire to be formidable to my friends, as you would have me, who despised my table for being furnished with fish, and not with the heads of governors of provinces."

For in fact it is related as true, that Anaxarchus, seeing a present of small fishes, which the king sent to Hephaestion, had used this expression, in a sort of irony, and 840 disparagement of those who undergo vast labours and encounter great hazards in pursuit of magnificent objects which after all bring them little more pleasure or enjoyment than what others have. From what I have said upon this subject, it is apparent that Alexander in himself was not foolishly affected, or had the vanity to think himself really a god, but merely used his claims to divinity as a means of 845 maintaining among other people the sense of his superiority.

[29] Εἰς δὲ Φοινίκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πομπὰς ἐπετέλει καὶ χορῶν {ἐγ}κυκλίων καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀμίλλαις λαμπροῦς γενομένους. ἐχορήγουν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, 850 ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ κληρούμενοι κατὰ φυλάς, καὶ ἠγωνίζοντο θαυμαστῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. μάλιστα δὲ Νικοκρέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος καὶ Πασικράτης ὁ Σόλιος διεφιλονίκησαν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἔλαχον τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις ὑποκριταῖς χορηγεῖν, Πασικράτης μὲν Ἀθηνοδῶρῳ, Νικοκρέων δὲ Θεσσαλῷ, περὶ ὃν ἐσπουδάκει καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. οὐ μὴν διέφηνε τὴν σπουδὴν πρότερον ἢ ταῖς ψήφοις ἀναγορευθῆναι νικῶντα τὸν Ἀθηνοδῶρον. τότε δ' ὡς 855 εἰοικεν ἀπιὼν ἔφη τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς ἐπαινεῖν, αὐτὸς μέντοι μέρος ἂν ἡδέως προσέθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Θεσσαλὸν ἰδεῖν νενικημένον. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀθηνοδῶρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Διονυσίων οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἠξίου γράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ἀπέστειλε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Λύκωνος δὲ

860 τοῦ Σκαρφέως εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ στίχον εἰς τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἐμβαλόντος αἰτησὶν
 περιέχοντα δέκα ταλάντων, γελάσας ἔδωκε.
 At his return out of Egypt into Phoenicia, he sacrificed and made solemn processions,
 to which were added shows of lyric dances and tragedies, remarkable not merely for
 the splendour of the equipage and decorations, but for the competition among those
 who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were here the exhibitors, just in the
 865 same manner as at Athens those who are chosen by lot out of the tribes.
 And, indeed, they showed the greatest emulation to outvie each other; especially
 Nicocreon, King of Salamis, and Pasicrates of Soli, who furnished the chorus, and
 defrayed the expenses of the two most celebrated actors, Athenodorus and Thessalus,
 the former performing for Pasicrates, and the latter for Nicocreon. Thessalus was
 870 most favoured by Alexander, though it did not appear till Athenodorus was declared
 victor by the plurality of votes. For then at his going away, he said the judges
 deserved to be commended for what they had done, but that he would willingly have
 lost part of his kingdom rather than to have seen Thessalus overcome. However, when
 he understood Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for being absent at the
 875 festivals of Bacchus, though he refused his request that he would write a letter in
 his behalf, he gave him a sufficient sum to satisfy the penalty. Another time, when
 Lycon of Scarphia happened to act with great applause in the theatre, and in a verse
 which he introduced into the comic part which he was acting, begged for a present of
 ten talents, he laughed and gave him the money.

880 Δαρείου δὲ πέμπσαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φίλους δεομένους, μύρια μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἑαλωκότων λαβεῖν τάλαντα, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ἔχοντα καὶ γήμαντα μίαν τῶν
 θυγατέρων φίλον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον, ἐκοινοῦτο τοῖς ἐταίροις· καὶ Παρμενίωνος εἰπόντος
 "ἐγὼ μὲν εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦμην, ἔλαβον ἂν ταῦτα," "κάγῳ νῆ Δία" εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, "εἰ
 Παρμενίων". πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔγραψεν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχῆσει τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἐλθῶν
 885 πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐκείνον ἤδη πορεύσεσθαι.
 Darius wrote him a letter, and sent friends to intercede with him, requesting him to
 accept as a ransom of his captives the sum of a thousand talents, and offering him in
 exchange for his amity and alliance all the countries on this side the river
 Euphrates, together with one of his daughters in marriage. These propositions he
 890 communicated to his friends, and when Parmenio told him that, for his part, if he
 were Alexander, he should readily embrace them, "So would I," said Alexander, "if I
 were Parmenio." Accordingly, his answer to Darius was, that if he would come and
 yield himself up into his power he would treat him with all possible kindness; if
 not, he was resolved immediately to go himself and seek him.

895 [30] Ταχὺ μέντοι μετεμελήθη, τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης ἐν ὤδισι,
 καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἀνιῶμενος ὡς ἐπίδειξιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀφρημένος χρησιμότητος. ἔθαψεν οὖν
 τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν οὐδεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φειδόμενος. τῶν δὲ θαλαμηπόλων τις εὐνούχων, οἱ
 συναλώκεισαν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πρὸς Δαρεῖον
 900 ἀφιππασάμενος, Τίρεως ὄνομα, φράζει τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικὸς. ὡς δὲ πληξάμενος
 τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀνακλαύσας "φεῦ τοῦ Περσῶν" ἔφη "δαίμονος, εἰ δεῖ τὴν βασιλέως
 γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν οὐ μόνον αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι ζῶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἄμοιρον
 κεῖσθαι ταφῆς βασιλικῆς," ὑπολαβὼν ὁ θαλαμηπόλος "ἀλλὰ ταφῆς γε χάριν" εἶπεν
 905 But the death of Darius's wife in childbirth made him soon after regret one part of
 this answer, and he showed evident marks of grief at thus deprived of a further
 opportunity of exercising his clemency and good nature, which he manifested, however,
 as far as he could, by giving her a most sumptuous funeral.
 Among the eunuchs who waited in the queen's chamber, and were taken prisoners with
 the women, there was one Tireus, who, getting out of the camp, fled away on horseback
 910 to Darius, to inform him of his wife's death. He, when he heard it, beating his head,
 and bursting into tears and lamentations, said, "Alas! how great is the calamity of
 the Persians! Was it not enough that their king's consort and sister was a prisoner
 in her lifetime, but she must, now she is dead, also be but meanly and obscurely
 buried?"

915 "ὦ βασιλεῦ καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος οὐδὲν ἔχεις αἰτιάσασθαι τὸν πονηρὸν
 δαίμονα Περσῶν. οὔτε γὰρ ζῶσῃ τῇ δεσποίνῃ Στατεΐρα καὶ μητρὶ σῆ καὶ τέκνοις οὐδὲν
 ἐνέδει τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἢ τὸ σὸν ὄραν φῶς, ὃ πάλιν ἀναλάμψει λαμπρὸν ὃ
 κύριος Ὠρομάσθης, οὐτ' ἀποθανοῦσα κόσμου τινὸς ἄμοιρος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμίων
 τετίμηται δάκρυσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐστὶ χρηστὸς κρατήσας Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς δεινὸς μαχόμενος".
 920 ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντα Δαρεῖον ἡ ταραχὴ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐξέφερε πρὸς ὑποψίας ἀτόπους, καὶ τὸν
 εὐνούχον ἐνδοτέρῳ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀπαγαγὼν, "εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῆς Περσῶν" ἔφη "τύχης
 μακεδονίζεις, ἀλλ' ἐτι σοι δεσπότης ἐγὼ Δαρεῖος, εἶπέ μοι σεβόμενος Μίθρου τε φῶς
 μέγα καὶ δεξιᾶν βασιλείων, ἄρα μὴ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν Στατεΐρας κλαίω κακῶν, οἰκτρότερα
 δὲ ζώσης ἐπάσχομεν, καὶ μάλλον ἂν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐδυστυχοῦμεν ὡμῶ καὶ σκυθρωπῶ

- 925 περιπεσόντες ἐχθρῶ; τί γὰρ εὐπρεπὲς ἀνδρὶ νέῳ πρὸς ἐχθροῦ γυναικὰ μέχρι τιμῆς
τοσαύτης συμβόλαιον;"
- "O king," replied the eunuch, "as to her funeral rites, or any respect or honour that
should have been shown in them, you have not the least reason to accuse the ill
fortune of your country; for to my knowledge neither your queen Statira when alive,
930 nor your mother, nor children, wanted anything of their former happy condition,
unless it were the light of your countenance, which I doubt not but the lord
Oromasdes will yet restore to its former glory. And after her decease, I assure you,
she had not only all due funeral ornaments, but was honoured also with the tears of
your very enemies; for Alexander is as gentle after victory as he is terrible in the
935 mind." At the bearing of these words, such was the grief and emotion of Darius's
mind, that they carried him into extravagant suspicions; and taking Tiresus aside into
a more private part of his tent, "Unless thou likewise," said he to him, "hast
deserted me, together with the good fortune of Persia, and art become a Macedonian in
thy heart; if thou yet ownest me for thy master Darius, tell me, I charge thee, by
940 the veneration thou payest the light of Mithras, and this right hand of thy king, do
I not lament the least of Statira's misfortunes in her captivity and death? Have I
not suffered something more injurious and deplorable in her lifetime? And had I not
been miserable with less dishonour if I had met with a more severe and inhuman enemy?
For how is it possible a young man as he is should treat the wife of his opponent
945 with so much distinction, were it not from some motive that does me disgrace?"
- ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας Τίρεως αὐτὸν ἰκέτευεν εὐφημεῖν, καὶ μὴτ'
Ἀλέξανδρον ἀδικεῖν, μήτε τὴν τεθνεῶσαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυναῖκα καταισχύνειν, μήθ' αὐτοῦ
τὴν μεγίστην ὧν ἔπταικεν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι παραμυθίαν, τὸ δοκεῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἠτιῆσθαι
κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς πλείονα
950 ταῖς Περσῶν γυναιξὶ σωφροσύνην ἢ Πέρσαις ἀνδρείαν ἐπίδεδειγμένον. ἅμα δ' ὄρκους τε
φρικῶδεις τοῦ θαλαμηπόλου κινουῦντος ὑπὲρ τούτων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας καὶ
μεγαλοψυχίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντος, ἐξελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ τὰς
χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐπέυξατο. "θεοὶ γενέθλιοι καὶ βασίλαιοι, μάλιστα
955 ἂν μοὶ διδοίητε τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν εἰς ὄρθον αὐθις σταθεῖσαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐδεξάμην ἀγαθοῖς
ἀπολαβεῖν, ἵνα κρατήσας ἀμείψωμαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου χάριτας, ὧν εἰς τὰ φίλιτατα πταίσας
ἔτυχον· εἰ δ' ἄρα τις οὗτος εἰμαρτὸς ἤκει χρόνος, ὀφειλόμενος νεμέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ,
παύσασθαι τὰ Περσῶν, μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων καθίσειεν εἰς τὸν Κύρου θρόνον πλην
Ἀλεξάνδρου". ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι τε καὶ λεχθῆναί φασιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν
συγγραφέων.
- 960 Whilst he was yet speaking, Tiresus threw himself at his feet, and besought him
neither to wrong Alexander so much, nor his dead wife and sister, as to give
utterance to any such thoughts, which deprived him of the greatest consolation left
him in his adversity, the belief that he was overcome by a man whose virtues raised
him above human nature; that he ought to look upon Alexander with love and
965 admiration, who had given no less proofs of his continence towards the Persian women,
than of his valour among the men. The eunuch confirmed all he said with solemn and
dreadful oaths, and was further enlarging upon Alexander's moderation and magnanimity
on other occasions, when Darius, breaking away from him into the other division of
the tent, where his friends and courtiers were, lifted up his hands to heaven and
970 uttered this prayer, "Ye gods," said he, "of my family, and of my kingdom, if it be
possible, I beseech you to restore the declining affairs of Persia, that I may leave
them in as flourishing a condition as I found them, and have it in my power to make a
grateful return to Alexander for the kindness which in my adversity he has shown to
those who are dearest to me. But if, indeed, the fatal time be come, which is to give
975 a period to the Persian monarchy, if our ruin be a debt that must be paid to the
divine jealousy and the vicissitude of things, then I beseech you grant that no other
man but Alexander may sit upon the throne of Cyrus." Such is the narrative given by
the greater number of the historians.
- 980 [31] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος,
ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον, ἑκατὸν μυριάσι στρατοῦ καταβαίνοντα. καὶ τις αὐτῷ φράζει τῶν
ἑταίρων, ὡς δὴ γέλωτος ἀξιὸν πρᾶγμα, τοὺς ἀκολούθους παίζοντας εἰς δύο μέρη
διηρηκέναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὧν ἑκατέρου στρατηγὸν εἶναι καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον,
985 τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευόμενον· ἀρξαμένους δὲ βῶλοις ἀκροβολίζεσθαι πρὸς
ἀλλήλους, εἶτα πυγμαῖς, τέλος ἐκκεκαῦσθαι τῇ φιλονικίᾳ καὶ μέχρι λίθων καὶ ξύλων,
πολλοὺς καὶ δυσκαταπαύστους γεγονότας. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς μονομαχεῖν
τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ὤπλισε, τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον Φιλώτας. ἔθεᾶτο δ'
ὁ στρατὸς, ἐν οἰωνῷ τινι τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθέμενος τὸ γιγνόμενον. ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης
990 γενομένης, ἐνίκησεν ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ δωρεὰν ἔλαβε δώδεκα κώμας καὶ στολῆ
Περσικῇ χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐρατοσθένης ἱστορήκε.

But to return to Alexander. After he had reduced all Asia on this side the Euphrates, he advanced towards Darius, who was coming down against him with a million of men. In his march a very ridiculous passage happened. The servants who followed the camp for sport's sake divided themselves into two parties, and named the commander of one of them Alexander, and the other Darius. At first they only pelted one another with clods of earth, but presently took to their fists, and at last, heated with contention, they fought in good earnest with stones and clubs, so that they had much ado to part them; till Alexander, upon hearing of it, ordered the two captains to decide the quarrel by single combat, and armed him who bore his name himself, while Philotas did the same to him who represented Darius. The whole army were spectators of this encounter, willing from the event of it to derive an omen of their own future success. After they had fought stoutly a pretty long while, at last he who was called Alexander had the better, and for a reward of his prowess had twelve villages given him, with leave to wear the Persian dress. So we are told by Eratosthenes.

995 Τὴν δὲ μεγάλην μάχην πρὸς Δαρεῖον οὐκ ἐν Ἀρβήλοις, ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γενέσθαι συνέπεσε. σημαίνειν δέ φασιν οἶκον καμήλου τὴν διάλεκτον, ἐπεὶ τῶν πάλαι τις βασιλέων ἐκφυγῶν πολεμίους ἐπὶ καμήλου δρομάδος ἐνταῦθα καθίδρυσεν αὐτήν, ἀποτάξας τινὰς κάμας καὶ προσόδους εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.

1000 Ἡ μὲν οὖν σελήνη τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἐξέλιπε περὶ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχήν, ἐνδεκάτη δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως νυκτὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀλλήλων ἐν ὄψει γεγονότων, Δαρεῖος μὲν ἐν ὄπλοις συνεῖχε τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὸ λαμπάδων ἐπιπορευόμενος τὰς τάξεις· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναπαυομένων αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς μετὰ τοῦ μάντεως Ἀριστάνδρου διέτριβεν, ἱερουργίας τινὰς ἀπορρήτους ἱερουργούμενος καὶ τῷ φόβῳ σφαγιαζόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ μάλιστα Παρμενίων, ὡς τὸ μὲν πεδῖον

1005 τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Νιφάτου καὶ τῶν ὄρων τῶν Γορδυαίων ἅπαν ἑωρᾶτο καταλαμπόμενον τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς φέγγεσιν, ἀτέκμαρτος δὲ τις φωνὴ συμμεμειγμένη καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καθάπερ ἐξ ἀχανοῦς προσήχει πελάγους, θαυμάσαντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντες, ὡς μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον εἶη συμπεσόνας ἐκ προφανοῦς τοσοῦτον ὡσαύθαι πόλεμον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθόντες, ἐπειθον αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρῆσαι νύκτωρ τοῖς πολεμίους καὶ τῷ σκότῳ τὸ φοβερώτατον συγκαλύψαι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγῶνος.

But the great battle of all that was fought with Darius was not, as most writers tell us, at Arbela, but at Gaugamela, which, in their language, signifies the camel's house, forasmuch as one of their ancient kings having escaped the pursuit of his enemies on a swift camel, in gratitude to his beast, settled him at this place, with an allowance of certain villages and rents for his maintenance. It came to pass that in the month Boedromion, about the beginning of the feast of Mysteries at Athens, there was an eclipse of the moon, the eleventh night after which, the two armies being now in view of one another, Darius kept his men in arms, and by torchlight took a general review of them. But Alexander, while his soldiers slept, spent the night before his tent with his diviner, Aristander, performing certain mysterious ceremonies, and sacrificing to the god Fear. In the meanwhile the oldest of his commanders, and chiefly Parmenio, when they beheld all the plain between Niphates and the Gordyaeen mountains shining with the lights and fires which were made by the barbarians, and heard the uncertain and confused sounds of voices out of their camp, like the distant roaring of a vast ocean, were so amazed at the thoughts of such a multitude, that after some conference among themselves, they concluded it an enterprise too difficult and hazardous for them to engage so numerous an enemy in the day, and therefore meeting the king as he came from sacrificing, besought him to attack Darius by night, that the darkness might conceal the danger of the ensuing battle.

1010 ὁ δὲ τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἰπὼν "οὐ κλέπτω τὴν νίκην," ἐνίοις μὲν ἔδοξε μειρακιώδη καὶ κενὴν ἀπόκρισιν πεποιῆσθαι, παίζων πρὸς τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τῷ παρόντι θαρρεῖν καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς, μὴ διδοῦς πρόφασιν ἠττηθέντι Δαρείῳ πρὸς ἀλλήν αὐθις ἀναθαρρῆσαι πεῖραν, αἰτιωμένῳ τούτων νύκτα καὶ σκότος, ὡς ὄρη καὶ στενὰ καὶ θάλασσαν τῶν προτέρων. οὐ γὰρ ὄπλων οὐδὲ σωματίων ἀπορίᾳ παύσεσθαι πολεμοῦντα Δαρεῖον ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀφῆ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, δι' ἐμφανοῦς ἠττης κατὰ κράτος ἐξελεγχθεῖς.

1015 To this he gave them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal a victory," which though some at the time thought a boyish and inconsiderate speech, as if he played with danger, others, however, regarded as an evidence that he confided in his present condition, and acted on a true judgment of the future, not wishing to leave Darius, in case he were worsted, the pretext of trying his fortune again, which he might suppose himself to have, if he could impute his overthrow to the disadvantage of the night, as he did before to the mountains, the narrow passages, and the sea. For while he had such numerous forces and large dominions still remaining, it was not any want

of men or arms that could induce him to give up the war, but only the loss of all courage and hope upon the conviction of an undeniable and manifest defeat.

- 1060 [32] Απελθόντων δὲ τούτων, κατακλιθεῖς ὑπὸ σκηνὴν λέγεται τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ βαθεῖ κρηνηθῆναι παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐπελθόντος ὀρθρου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν παράγγελμα πρῶτον ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἔπειτα τοῦ καιροῦ κατεπεύγοντος, εἰσελθόντα Παρμενίωνα καὶ παραστάνα τῆ κλίνῃ δις ἢ τρίς αὐτοῦ φθέγγασθαι τούνομα, καὶ διεγερθέντος οὕτως
- 1065 ἔρωτῶν, ὃ τι δὴ πεπονθὼς ὑπνον καθεύδοι νενικηκότος, οὐχὶ μέλλοντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγῶνων. τὸν δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶπεῖν διαμειδιάσαντα· "τί γάρ; οὐκ ἤδη σοι νενικηκένα δοκοῦμεν, ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ διώκειν ἐν πολλῇ καὶ κατεφθαρμένῃ φυγομαχοῦντα χώρα Δαρείου;" οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπεδείξατο μέγαν καὶ συνεστηκότα τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτὸν.
- 1070 After they were gone from him with this answer, he laid himself down in his tent and slept the rest of the night more soundly than was usual with him, to the astonishment of the commanders, who came to him early in the morning, and were fain themselves to give order that the soldiers should breakfast. But at last, time not giving them leave to wait any longer, Parmenio went to his bedside, and called him twice or
- 1075 thrice by his name, till he waked him, and then asked him how it was possible, when he was to fight the most important battle of all, he could sleep as soundly as if he were already victorious. "And are we not so, indeed," replied Alexander, smiling, "since we are at last relieved from the trouble of wandering in pursuit of Darius through a wide and wasted country, hoping in vain that he would fight us?"
- 1080 Ἔσχε γὰρ ὁ ἀγὼν ὑποτροπὴν καὶ σάλον ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι κατὰ Παρμενίωνα, τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἵππου ῥόθῳ πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ βίας παρεμπεισοῦσης εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Μαζαίου δὲ περιπέμπσαντος ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἵππεῖς τοῖς σκευοφυλακοῦσι προσβαλοῦντας. διὸ καὶ θορυβούμενος ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Παρμενίων ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγγέλους, φράζοντας οἴχεσθαι τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος βοήθειαν ἰσχυρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ
- 1085 στόματος πέμψειε τοῖς ὀπισθεν. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφόδου διδοῦς σημεῖον· ὡς δ' ἤκουσε τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, οὐκ ἔφραζε ἀποφρονεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδ' ἐντὸς εἶναι τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιλελησθαι ταραττόμενον, ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν προσκίθονται καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἠττωμένοις δὲ φροντιστέον οὐ χρημάτων οὐδ' ἀνδραπόδων, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀποθανοῦνται καλῶς καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενοι.
- 1090 And not only before the battle, but in the height of the danger, he showed himself great, and manifested the self-possession of a just foresight and confidence. For the battle for some time fluctuated and was dubious. The left wing, where Parmenio commanded, was so impetuously charged by the Bactrian horse that it was disordered and forced to give ground, at the same time that Mazaeus had sent a detachment round
- 1095 about to fall upon those who guarded the baggage, which so disturbed Parmenio that he sent messengers to acquaint Alexander that the camp and baggage would be all lost unless he immediately relieved the rear by a considerable reinforcement drawn out of the front. This message being brought him just as he was giving the signal to those about him for the onset, he bade them tell Parmenio that he must have surely lost the use of his reason, and had forgotten, in his alarm, that soldiers, if victorious, became masters of their enemies' baggage; and if defeated, instead of taking care of their wealth or their slaves, have nothing more to do but to fight gallantly and die with honour.
- 1105 Ταῦτ' ἐπιστείλας Παρμενίῳ, τὸ κράνος περιέθετο, τὸν δ' ἄλλον ὀπλισμὸν εὐθύς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς εἶχεν, ὑπένδυμα τῶν Σικελικῶν ζωστόν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ θώρακα διπλοῦν λινοῦν ἐκ τῶν ληφθέντων ἐν Ἰσσοῦ. τὸ δὲ κράνος ἦν μὲν σιδηροῦν, ἐστίλβε δ' ὡσπερ ἄργυρος καθαρός, ἔργον Θεοφίλου· συνήρμοστο δ' αὐτῷ περιτραχήλιον ὁμοίως σιδηροῦν, λιθοκόλλητον· μάχαιραν δὲ θαυμαστὴν βαφῆ καὶ κουφότητι, δωρησαμένου τοῦ Κιτιέων βασιλέως, {ἦν} εἶχεν, ἡσκημένος τὰ πολλὰ χρῆσθαι μαχαίρᾳ παρὰ τὰς μάχας. ἐπιπόρρωμα δ' ἐφόρει τῆ μὲν ἐργασίᾳ σοβαρώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον ὀπλισμὸν· ἦν γὰρ ἔργον Ἑλικῶνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, τιμὴ δὲ τῆς Ῥοδίων πόλεως, ὑφ' ἧς ἐδόθη δῶρον· ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν συντάτιων τι τῆς φάλαγγος ἢ παρακελεύόμενος ἢ διδάσκων ἢ ἐφορῶν παρεξήλαυνεν, ἄλλον ἵππον εἶχε, τοῦ Βουκεφάλα φειδόμενος, ἤδη παρήλικος ὄντος· χωροῦντι δὲ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκεῖνος προσήγετο, καὶ μεταβάς εὐθύς ἤρχεν ἐφόδου.
- 1110 When he had said this, he put on his helmet, having the rest of his arms on before he came out of his tent, which were a coat 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
- 1120 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 Citiæans, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. The belt which he also wore

1125 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. So long as he was engaged in drawing up his men, or riding about to give orders or directions, or to view them, he spared Bucephalus, who was now growing old, and made use of another horse; but when he was actually to fight, he sent for him again, and as soon as he was mounted, commenced the attack.

1130 [33] Τότε δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς πλεῖστα διαλεχθεῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν, ὡς ἐπέρρωσαν αὐτὸν βοῶντες ἀγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὸ ξυστὸν εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν μεταλαβὼν, τῇ δεξιᾷ παρεκάλει τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησὶν, ἐπευχόμενος, εἶπερ ὀντως Διόθεν ἐστὶ γεγονός, ἀμῦναι καὶ συνεπιρρῶσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὁ δὲ μάντις Ἀρίστανδρος, χλανίδα λευκὴν ἔχων καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον, ἐπεδείκνυτο παριππεύων ἀετὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου συνεπαιωρούμενον καὶ κατευθύνοντα τὴν πτῆσιν ὀρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥστε πολὺ μὲν θάρσος ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ὀρῶσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θαρρεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀλλήλους δρόμῳ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν ἰεμένοις ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπικυμαίνειν τὴν φάλαγγα. πρὶν δὲ συμμεῖξαι τοὺς πρώτους, ἐξέκλιναν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ διωγμὸς ἦν πολὺς, εἰς τὰ μέσα συνελαύνοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ νικώμενον, ὅπου Δαρεῖος ἦν. πόρρωθεν γὰρ αὐτὸν κατεῖδε, διὰ τῶν προτεταγμένων ἐν βάθει τῆς βασιλικῆς ἴλης ἐκφανέντα, καλὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μέγαν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὑψηλοῦ βεβῶτα, πολλοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ λαμπροῖς καταπεφραγμένον, εὖ μάλα συνεσπειραμένοις περὶ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ παρατεταγμένοις δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ὄφθεις ἐγγύθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τοὺς μένοντας, ἐξέπληξε καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ πλεῖστον.

1145 He made the longest address that day to the Thessalians and other Greeks, 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 Jupiter, 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; which 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 maintained their ground, that he beat down and dispersed them almost all.

1165 οἱ δ' ἀριστοὶ καὶ γενναϊότατοι πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φονευόμενοι καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων πίπτοντες, ἐμποδῶν τῆς διώξεως ἦσαν, ἐμπλεκόμενοι καὶ περισπαίροντες αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵπποις. Δαρεῖος δέ, τῶν δεινῶν ἀπάντων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντων, καὶ τῶν προτεταγμένων δυνάμεων ἐρειπομένων εἰς αὐτόν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἀποστρέψαι τὸ ἄρμα καὶ διεξελάσαι ῥάδιον, ἀλλ' οἱ τε τροχοὶ συνείχοντο πτώμασι πεφυρμένοι τοσοῦτοις, οἱ θ' ἵπποι καταλαμβανόμενοι καὶ ἀποκruptόμενοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεκρῶν, ἐξήλλοντο καὶ συνειτάρατιον τὸν ἡνίοχον, ἀπολείπει μὲν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, θήλειαν δ' ὡς φασὶ νεοτόκον ἵππον περιβὰς ἔφυγεν. οὐ μὴν τότε γ' ἂν ἐδόκει διαφυγεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἄλιν ἦκον ἕτεροι παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἵππεῖς μετακαλοῦντες Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς συνεστῶσης ἔτι πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐκεῖ καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐνδιδόντων. ὅλως γὰρ αἰτιῶνται Παρμενίωνα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν μάχην νωθρὸν γενέσθαι καὶ δύσεργον, εἴτε τοῦ γήρωσ ἤδη τι παραλύοντος τῆς τόλμης, εἴτε τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησὶ, τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυνάμεως βαρυνόμενον καὶ προσφθοροῦντα. τότε δ' οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνιαθεὶς τῇ μεταπέμψει, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις οὐκ ἔφρασε τὸ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄδην ἔχων τοῦ φονεύειν, καὶ σκότους ὄντος, ἀνάκλησιν ἐσήμανεν· ἐλαύνων δὲ πρὸς τὸ κινδυνεῦον μέρος, ἤκουσε καθ' ὁδὸν ἠτιῆσθαι παντιάσι καὶ φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους.

1180 Only a few of the bravest and valiantest 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 charioteer 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.

1190 But he had not escaped so either, if Parmenio had not sent fresh messengers to Alexander, to desire him to return and assist him against a considerable body of the enemy which yet stood together, and would not give ground.

For, indeed, Parmenio is on all hands accused of having been sluggish and unserviceable in this battle, whether age had impaired his courage, or that, as Callisthenes says, he secretly disliked and envied Alexander's growing greatness.

1195 Alexander, though he was not a little vexed to be so recalled and hindered from pursuing his victory, yet concealed the true reason from his men, and causing a retreat to be sounded, as if it were too late to continue the execution any longer, marched back towards the place of danger, and by the way met the news of the enemy's total overthrow and flight.

1200 [34] Τοῦτο τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης λαβούσης τὸ πέρασ, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ παντάπασιν ἢ Περσῶν ἐδόκει καταλελύσθαι, βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνηγορευμένος, ἔθυσε τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἔδωρεῖτο πλοῦτους καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἡγεμονίας. φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἔγραψε τὰς τυραννίδας πάσας καταλυθῆναι καὶ πολιτεύειν αὐτονόμους, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Πλαταιεῦσι τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν, ὅτι τὴν χώραν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας παρέσχον. ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κροτωνιάταις εἰς Τιαλίαν μέρος τῶν λαφύρων, τὴν Φαύλλου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ τιμῶν προθυμίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ὃς περὶ τὰ Μηδικά, τῶν ἄλλων Τιαλιωτῶν ἀπεγνωκότων τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἰδιόστολον ἔχων ναῦν ἐπλευσεν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, τοῦ κινδύνου συμμεθέξων. οὕτω τις εὐμενῆς ἦν πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων φύλαξ καὶ οἰκέτιος.

This battle being thus over, seemed to put a period to the Persian empire; and Alexander, who was now proclaimed King of Asia, returned thanks to the gods in magnificent sacrifices, and rewarded his friends and followers with great sums of money, and places, and governments of provinces. Eager to gain honour with the Grecians, he wrote to them that he would have all tyrannies abolished, that they might live free according to their own laws, and specially to the Plataeans, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had permitted their countrymen of old to make their territory the seat of the war when they fought with the barbarians for their common liberty. He sent also part of the spoils into Italy, to the Crotoniats, to honour the zeal and courage of their citizen Phayllus, the wrestler, who, in the Median war, when the other Grecian colonies in Italy disowned Greece, that he might have a share in the danger, joined the fleet at Salamis, with a vessel set forth at his own charge. So affectionate was Alexander to all kind of virtue, and so desirous to preserve the memory of laudable actions.

1215 1220 1225 [35] Ἐπιῶν δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, ἅπασαν εὐθύς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην, ἐθαύμασε μάλιστα τὸ τε χάσμα τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις, ὡσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς συνεχῶς ἀναφερομένου, καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ νάφθα, λιμνάζοντος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ χάσματος· ὃς τᾶλλα μὲν ἀσφάλτῳ προσέοικεν, οὕτω δ' εὐπαθῆς πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐστίν, ὥστε πρὶν ἢ θιγεῖν τὴν φλόγα δι' αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ φῶς ἐξαπτόμενος ἀυγῆς τὸν μεταξὺ πολλάκις ἀέρα συνεκκαίειν. ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἀγοντα πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ βασιλέως στενωπὸν ἐλαφρῶς τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατεψέκασαν· εἶτα στάντες ἐπ' ἄκρῳ τοὺς λαμπτήρας τοῖς βεβρεγμένοις προσέθηκον· ἤδη γὰρ συνεσκόταξε. τῶν δὲ πρώτων εὐθύς ἀψαμένων, οὐκ ἔσχεν ἢ ἐπινομῆ χρόνον αἰσθητόν, ἀλλ' ἅμα νοῆατι διῆκτο πρὸς θάτερον πέρασ, καὶ πῦρ ἐγεγόνει συνεχῆς ὁ στενωπός. Ἦν δὲ τις Ἀθηνοφάνης Ἀθηναῖος τῶν περὶ ἀλειμμα καὶ λουτρῶν εἰωθότων τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμμελῶς ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ῥάθισμον. οὗτος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι τότε παιδαρίου τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρεστῶτος εὐτελοῦς σφόδρα καὶ γελοίου τὴν ὄψιν, ῥῆδοντος δὲ χαριέντως, Στέφανος ἐκαλεῖτο, "βούλει" φησὶν "ᾧ βασιλεῦ διάπειραν ἐν Στεφάνῳ τοῦ φαρμάκου λάβωμεν; ἂν γὰρ ἀψηται τούτου καὶ μὴ κατασβεσθῆ, παντάπασιν ἂν φαίην ἄμαχον καὶ δεινὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν εἶναι".

From hence he marched through the province of Babylon, which immediately submitted to him, and in Ecbatana was much surprised at the sight of the place where fire issues in a continuous stream, like a spring of water, out of a cleft in the earth, and the stream of naphtha, which, not far from this spot, flows out so abundantly as to form a sort of lake. This naphtha, in other respects resembling bitumen, is so subject to take fire, that before it touches the flame it will kindle at the very light that surrounds it, and often inflame the intermediate air also. The barbarians, to show the power and nature of it, sprinkled the street that led to the king's lodgings with little drops of it, and when it was almost night, stood at the further end with torches, which being applied to the moistened places, the first at once taking fire, instantly, as quick as a man could think of it, it caught from one end to another, in such a manner that the whole street was one continued flame. Among those who used to wait on the king and find occasion to amuse him when he anointed and washed himself

- 1255 there was one Athenophanes, an Athenian, who desired him to make an experiment of the naphtha upon Stephanus, who stood by in the bathing place, a youth with a ridiculously ugly face, whose talent was singing well, "For," said he, "if it take hold of him and is not put out, it must undeniably be allowed to be of the most invincible strength."
- 1260 προθύμως δέ πως καὶ τοῦ παιδαρίου διδόντος ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὴν πεῖραν, ἅμα τῷ περιλαεῖψαι καὶ θιγεῖν ἐξήνθησε φλόγα τοσαύτην τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρὶ κατεσχέθη τὸ πᾶν, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς πᾶν ἀπορίας καὶ δέους ἐλθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ τύχην πολλοὶ παρήσαν ἀγγεῖα πρὸς τὸ λουτρὸν ὕδατος διὰ χειρῶν ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἂν ἐφθασεν ἡ βοήθεια τὴν ἐπινομήν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μόγις κατέσβεσαν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς δι' ὅλου πῦρ γενόμενον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.
- 1265 Εἰκότως οὖν ἔνιοι τὸν μῦθον ἀνασφάζοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τοῦτό φασιν εἶναι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας φάρμακον, ᾧ τὸν τραγωδοῦμενον στέφανον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἔχρισεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων οὐδ' ἀπ' αὐτομάτου λάμψαι τὸ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ φλογὸς ἐγγύθεν παρατεθείσης ὀξεῖαν ὀλκήν καὶ συναφὴν ἀδηλον αἰσθήσει γενέσθαι. τὰς γὰρ ἀκτῖνας καὶ τὰ ρεύματα τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπῶθεν ἐπερχόμενα, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σώμασι φῶς καὶ θερμότητα προσβάλλειν μόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ξηρότητα πνευματικὴν ἢ νοτίδα λιπαρὰν καὶ διαρκῆ κεκτημένοις ἀθροιζόμενα καὶ πυριγονοῦντα μεταβάλλειν ὀξεῶς τὴν ὕλην. παρεῖχε δ' ἀπορίαν ἡ γένεσις - - - εἴτε μᾶλλον ὑπέκκαυμα τῆς φλογὸς ὑπορρεῖ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, φύσιν λιπαρὰν καὶ πυριγόνον ἐχούσης. καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ Βαβυλωνία σφόδρα πυρώδης, ὥστε τὰς μὲν κριθὰς χαμόθεν
- 1270 ἐκπηδᾶν καὶ ἀποπάλλεσθαι πολλάκις, οἶον ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς τῶν τόπων σφυγμοὺς ἐχόντων, τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ἐπ' ἀσκῶν πεπληρωμένων ὕδατος καθεύδειν.
- 1275 The youth, as it happened, readily consented to undergo the trial, and as soon as he was anointed and rubbed with it, his whole body broke out into such a flame, and was so seized by the fire, that Alexander was in the greatest perplexity and alarm for him, and not without reason; for nothing could have prevented his being consumed by it, if by good chance there had not been people at hand with a great many vessels of water for the service of the bath, with all which they had much ado to extinguish the fire; and his body was so burned all over that he was not cured of it for a good while after. Thus it is not without some plausibility that they endeavour to reconcile the fable to truth, who say this was the drug in the tragedies with which Medea anointed the crown and veil which she gave to Creon's daughter. For neither the things themselves, nor the fire, could kindle of its own accord, but being prepared for it by the naphtha, they imperceptibly attracted and caught a flame which happened to be brought near them.
- 1280 For the rays and emanations of fire at a distance have no other effect upon some bodies than bare light and heat, but in others, where they meet with airy dryness, and also sufficient rich moisture, they collect themselves and soon kindle and create a transformation. The manner, however, of the production of naphtha admits of a diversity of opinion... of whether this liquid substance that feeds the flame does not rather proceed from a soil that is unctuous and productive of fire, as that of the province of Babylon is, where the ground is so very hot that oftentimes the grains of barley leap up and are thrown out, as if the violent inflammation had made the earth throb; and in the extreme heats the inhabitants are wont to sleep upon skins filled with water.
- 1285 Ἄρπαλος δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπιμελητῆς, καὶ φιλοκαλῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς φυτεῖαις διακοσμησαὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τοὺς περιπάτους, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐκράτησε, τὸν δὲ κιττὸν οὐκ ἔστεξεν ἢ γῆ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ διέφθειρεν οὐ φέροντα τὴν κρᾶσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πυρώδης, ὁ δὲ φιλόψυχρος. τῶν μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτων παρεκβάσεων, ἂν μέτρον ἔχωσιν, ἤτιον ἴσως οἱ δύσκολοι κατηγορήσουσιν.
- 1290 Harpalus, who was left governor of this country, and was desirous to adorn the palace gardens and walks with Grecian plants, succeeding in raising all but ivy, which the earth would not bear, but constantly killed. For being a plant that loves a cold soil, the temper of this hot and fiery earth was improper for it. But such digressions as these the impatient reader will be more willing to pardon if they are kept within a moderate compass.
- 1295 [36] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Σούσων κυριεύσας, παρέλαβεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τετρακισμύρια τάλαντα νομίματος, τὴν δ' ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἀδιήγητον. ὅπου φασὶ καὶ πορφύρας Ἑρμιονικῆς εὐρεθῆναι τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια, συγκειμένης μὲν ἐξ ἐτῶν δέκα δεόντων διακοσίων, πρόσφατον δὲ τὸ ἀνθος ἔτι καὶ νεαρὸν φυλαττιούσης. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τὸ τὴν βαφὴν διὰ μέλιτος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἀλουργῶν, δι' ἐλαίου δὲ λευκοῦ τῶν λευκῶν· καὶ γὰρ τούτων τὸν ἴσον χρόνον ἐχόντων τὴν λαμπρότητα καθαρὰν καὶ στίλβουσαν ὀρᾶσθαι. Δίνων δὲ φησι καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Νεῖλου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεταπεμπομένους εἰς τὴν γάζαν ἀποτίθεσθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἶον ἐκβεβαιουμένους
- 1300 τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ κυριεύειν ἀπάντων.

At the taking of Susa, Alexander found in the palace forty thousand talents in money ready coined, besides an unspeakable quantity of other furniture and treasure; amongst which was five thousand talents' worth of Hermionian purple, that had been laid up there an hundred and ninety years, and yet kept its colour as fresh and lively as at first. The reason of which, they say, is that in dyeing the purple they made use of honey, and of white oil in the white tincture, both which after the like space of time preserve the clearness and brightness of their lustre. Dinon also relates that the Persian kings had water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, which they laid up in their treasuries as a sort of testimony of the greatness of their power and universal empire.

[37] Τῆς δὲ Περσίδος οὐσης διὰ τραχύτητα δυσεμβόλου καὶ φυλαττομένης ὑπὸ τῶν γενναιοτάτων Περσῶν (Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ ἐπεφεύγει), γίγνεταιί τινος περιόδου κύκλον ἐχούσης οὐ πολὺν ἡγεμῶν αὐτῷ δίγλωσσος ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ πατρὸς Λυκίου, μητρὸς δὲ Περσίδος γεγονώς· ὁ φασιν ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Πυθίαν προειπεῖν, ὡς Λύκιος ἔσται καθηγεμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορείας****.

Φόνον μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα πολὺν τῶν ἀλίσκομένων γενέσθαι συνέπεσε· γράφει γὰρ αὐτός, ὡς νομίζω αὐτῷ τοῦτο λυσιτελεῖν, ἐκέλευεν ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· νομίσματος δ' εὐρεῖν πλῆθος ὅσον ἐν Σούσοις, τὴν δ' ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκκομισθῆναί φασι μυρίοις ὀρικοῖς ζεύγεσι καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις καμήλοις.

The entrance into Persia was through a most difficult country, and was guarded by the noblest of the Persians, Darius himself having escaped further. Alexander, however, chanced to find a guide in exact correspondence with what the Pythia had foretold when he was a child, that a lycus should conduct him into Persia. For by such an one, whose father was a Lycian, and his mother a Persian, and who spoke both languages, he was now led into the country, by a way something about, yet without fetching any considerable compass. Here a great many of the prisoners were put to the sword, of which himself gives this account, that he commanded them to be killed in the belief that it would be for his advantage. Nor was the money found here less, he says, than at Susa, besides other movables and treasure, as much as ten thousand pair of mules and five thousand camels could well carry away.

Ἐέρξου δ' ἀνδριάντα μέγαν θεασάμενος ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν ὠθουμένων εἰς τὰ βασίλεια πλημμελῶς ἀνατετραμμένον, ἐπέστη, καὶ καθάπερ ἔμψυχον προσαγορεύσας "πότερόν σε" εἶπε "διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας στρατείαν κείμενον παρέλθωμεν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην μεγαλοφροσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐγεῖρωμεν;" τέλος δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος καὶ σιωπήσας, παρήλαθε. βουλόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν χειμῶνος ὥρα), τέσσαρας μῆνας αὐτόθι διήγαγε.

Amongst other things he happened to observe a large statue of Xerxes thrown carelessly down to the ground in the confusion made by the multitude of soldiers pressing into the palace. He stood still, and accosting it as if it had been alive, "Shall we," said he, "neglectfully pass thee by, now thou art prostrate on the ground because thou once invadedst Greece, or shall we erect thee again in consideration of the greatness of thy mind and thy other virtues?" But at last, after he had paused some time, and silently considered with himself, he went on without taking any further notice of it. In this place he took up his winter quarters, and stayed four months to refresh his soldiers.

Λέγεται δὲ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τὸν χρυσοῦν οὐρανίσκον ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θρόνῳ, τὸν Κορίνθιον Δημάρατον, εὖνουν ὄντι' ἄνδρα καὶ πατρῶον φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρου, πρεσβυτικῶς ἐπιδακρῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς μεγάλης ἡδονῆς ἔστεροῖντιο τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τεθνηκότες πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον.

It is related that the first time he sat on the royal throne of Persia under the canopy of gold, Demaratus the Corinthian, who was much attached to him and had been one of his father's friends, wept, in an old man's manner, and deplored the misfortune of those Greeks whom death had deprived of the satisfaction of seeing Alexander seated on the throne of Darius.

[38] Ἐκ τούτου μέλλων ἐξελαύνειν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον, ἔτυχε μὲν εἰς μέθην τινὰ καὶ παιδιὰν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἑαυτὸν δεδωκώς, ὥστε καὶ γυναῖα συμπίνειν, ἐπὶ κῶμον ἤκοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἔραστάς. ἐν δὲ τούτοις εὐδοκιμοῦσα μάλιστα θαῖς ἡ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὕστερον ἐταίρα, γένος Ἀττικῆ, τὰ μὲν ἐμμελῶς ἐπαινοῦσα, τὰ δὲ παίζουσα πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἅμα τῇ μέθῃ λόγον εἶπεῖν προήχθη, τῷ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ἡθεὶ πρέποντα, μείζονα δ' ἢ καθ' αὐτήν. ἔφη γὰρ, ὧν πεπόνθηκε πεπλανημένη τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀπολαμβάνειν χάριν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐντρυφῶσα τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις Περσῶν βασιλείοις· ἔτι δ' ἂν ἡδίων ὑποπρῆσαι κωμάσασα τὸν Ἐέρξου τοῦ κατακαύσαντος τὰς Ἀθήνας οἶκον, αὐτῇ τὸ πῦρ ἄψασα τοῦ βασιλέως ὀρώντος, ὡς ἂν λόγος ἔχη πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι τῶν ναυμάχων καὶ πεζομάχων ἐκείνων στρατηγῶν τὰ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου γυναῖα μείζονα δίκην

1390 ἐπέθηκε Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἄμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ κρότου καὶ θορύβου γενομένου καὶ παρακελεύσεως τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἐπισπασθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἔχων στέφανον καὶ λαμπάδα προῆγεν· οἱ δ' ἐπόμενοι κῶμῳ καὶ βοῇ περιίσταντο τὰ βασιλεία, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων οἱ πυνθανόμενοι συνέτρεχον μετὰ λαμπάδων χαίροντες. ἤλπιζον γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς οἴκοι προσέχοντός ἐστι τὸν νοῦν καὶ μὴ μέλλοντος ἐν βαρβάροις οἴκειν τὸ πιμπρᾶναι τὰ βασιλεία καὶ διαφθείρειν. οἱ μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα γενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ γνώμης· ὅτι δ' οὖν μετενόησε ταχὺ καὶ κατασβέσαι προσέταξεν, ὁμολογεῖται.

1395 From hence designing to march against Darius, before he set out he diverted himself with his officers at an entertainment of drinking and other pastimes, and indulged so far as to let every one's mistress sit by and drink with them. The most celebrated of them was Thais, an Athenian, mistress of Ptolemy, who was afterwards King of Egypt. She, partly as a sort of well-turned compliment to Alexander, partly out of sport, as the drinking went on, at last was carried so far as to utter a saying, not

1400 misbecoming her native country's character, though somewhat too lofty for her own condition. She said it was indeed some recompense for the toils she had undergone in following the camp all over Asia, that she was that day treated in, and could insult over, the stately palace of the Persian monarches. But, she added, it would please her much better if, while the king looked on, she might in sport, with her own hands, set fire to the court of that Xerxes who reduced the city of Athens to ashes, that it

1405 might be recorded to posterity that the women who followed Alexander had taken a severer revenge on the Persians for the suffering, and affronts of Greece, than all the famed commanders had been able to do by sea or land.

1410 What she said was received with such universal liking and murmurs of applause, and so seconded by the encouragement and eagerness of the company, that the king himself, persuaded to be of the party, started from his seat, and with a chaplet of flowers on his head and a lighted torch in his hand, led them the way, while they went after him in a riotous manner, dancing and making loud cries about the place; which when the rest of the Macedonians perceived, they also in great delight ran thither with

1415 torches; for they hoped the burning and destruction of the royal palace was an argument that he looked homeward, and had no design to reside among the barbarians. Thus some writers give their account of this action, while others say it was done deliberately; however, all agree that he soon repented of it, and gave order to put out the fire.

1420 [39] Φύσει δ' ὦν μεγαλοδωρότατος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πραγμάτων αὐξομένων· καὶ προσῆν ἢ φιλοφροσύνη, μεθ' ἧς μόνης ὡς ἀληθῶς οἱ διδόντες χαρίζονται. μνησθήσομαι δ' ὀλίγων. Ἀρίστων ὁ τῶν Παιόνων ἡγούμενος, ἀποκτείνας πολέμιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιδειξάμενος αὐτῷ, "τοῦτ'" εἶπεν "ὦ βασιλεῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκπώματος χρυσοῦ τιμᾶται τὸ δῶρον". ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας "κενοῦ γ'" εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ δέ σοι μεστὸν ἀκράτου προπίομαι". τῶν δὲ πολλῶν τις Μακεδόνων ἠλαυνεν ἡμίονον, βασιλικὸν χρυσίον κομίζοντα· κάμνοντος δὲ τοῦ κτήνους, αὐτὸς ἀράμενος ἐκόμιζε τὸ φορτίον. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς θλιβόμενον αὐτὸν σφόδρα καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πρᾶγμα, μέλλοντος κατατίθεσθαι, "μὴ κάμης" εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ πρόσθεσ ἐτι τὴν λοιπὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν, ἑαυτῷ τοῦτο κομίσας". ὅλως δ' ἤχθετο τοῖς μὴ λαμβάνουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς αἰτούσι. καὶ Φωκίῳ μὲν ἐγράψεν ἐπιστολήν, ὡς οὐ χρησόμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ τὸ λοιπόν, εἰ διωθοῖτο τὰς χάριτας.

Alexander was naturally most munificent, and grew more so as his fortune increased, accompanying what he gave with that courtesy and freedom which, to speak truth, is necessary to make a benefit really obliging. I will give a few instances of this kind. Ariston, the captain of the Paeonians, having killed an enemy, brought his head to show him, and told him that in his country such a present was recompensed with a cup of gold. "With an empty one," said Alexander, smiling, "but I drink to you in this, which I give you full of wine." Another time, as one of the common soldiers was driving a mule laden with some of the king's treasure, the beast grew tired, and the soldier took it upon his own back, and began to march with it, till Alexander seeing the man so overcharged asked what was the matter; and when he was informed, just as he was ready to lay down his burden for weariness, "Do not faint now," said he to him, "but finish the journey, and carry what you have there to your own tent for yourself." He was always more displeased with those who would not accept of what he gave than with those who begged of him. And therefore he wrote to Phocion, that he would not own him for his friend any longer if he refused his presents.

1450 Σεραπίῳ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σφαίρας τινὶ νεανίσκῳ οὐδὲν ἐδίδου διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αἰτεῖν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὸ σφαιρίζειν παραγενόμενος ὁ Σεραπίων ἄλλοις ἐβαλλε τὴν σφαῖραν, εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως "ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ δίδως;" "οὐ γὰρ αἰτεῖς" εἶπε, τούτῳ μὲν δὴ γελάσας πολλὰ δέδωκε. Πρωτέα δὲ τινὶ τῶν περὶ σκάμματα καὶ πότον οὐκ ἀμούσῳ ἐδοξε δι' ὀργῆς γεγενῆσθαι· τῶν δὲ φίλων δεομένων κάκεινου δακρύνοντος, ἔφη διαλλάττεσθαι· κάκεινος "οὐκοῦν" εἶπεν "ὦ

- 1455 βασιλεῦ δὸς τί μοι πιστὸν πρῶτον". ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ πέντε τάλαντια δοθῆναι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι νεμομένων πλούτων, ἡλίκον εἶχον ὄγκον, ἐμφαίνει δι' ἐπιστολῆς Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣν ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν. "ἄλλως" φησὶν "εὖ ποίει τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἔχε· νῦν δ' ἰσοβασιλέας πάντας ποιεῖς, καὶ πολυφιλίας παρασκευάζεις αὐτοῖς, ἑαυτὸν δ' ἐρημοῖς". πολλάκις δὲ τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος γραφούσης, ἐφύλατιεν ἀπόρρητα τὰ γράμματα, πλὴν ἅπαξ Ἡφαιστίωνος ὥσπερ εἰώθει λυθεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ
- 1460 συναναγινώσκοντος, οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δακτύλιον ἀφελόμενος τὸν αὐτοῦ, προσέθηκε τῷ ἐκείνου στόματι τὴν σφραγίδα. Μαζαίου δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου παρὰ Δαρείῳ γενομένου παιδὶ σατραπείαν ἔχοντι δευτέραν προσετίθει μείζονα. παραιτούμενος δ' ἐκείνος εἶπεν· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τότε μὲν ἦν εἷς Δαρεῖος, νῦν δὲ σὺ πολλοὺς πεποίηκας Ἀλεξάνδρους".
- 1465 He had never given anything to Serapion, one of the youths that played at ball with him, because he did not ask of him, till one day, it coming to Serapion's turn to play, he still threw the ball to others, and when the king asked him why he did not direct it to him, "Because you do not ask for it," said he; which answer pleased him so that he was very liberal to him afterwards. One Proteas, a pleasant, jesting, drinking fellow, having incurred his displeasure, got his friends to intercede for him, and begged his pardon himself with tears, which at last prevailed, and Alexander
- 1470 declared he was friends with him. "I cannot believe it," said Proteas, "unless you first give me some pledge of it." The king understood his meaning, and presently ordered five talents to be given him. How magnificent he was in enriching his friends, and those who attended on his person, appears by a letter which Olympias wrote to him, where she tells him he should reward and honour those about him in a more moderate way. "For now," said she, "you make them all equal to kings, you give them power and opportunity of making many friends of their own, and in the meantime you leave yourself destitute." She often wrote to him to this purpose, and he never communicated her letters to anybody, unless it were one which he opened when Hephaestion was by, whom he permitted, as his
- 1475 custom was, to read it along with him; but then as soon as he had done, he took off his ring, and set the seal upon Hephaestion's lips. Mazaeus, who was the most considerable man in Darius's court, had a son who was already governor of a province. Alexander bestowed another upon him that was better; he, however, modestly refused, and told him, instead of one Darius, he went the way to make many Alexanders.
- 1480 Παρμενίωνι μὲν οὖν τὸν Βαγῶου ἔδωκεν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται τῶν περισσῶν ἱματισμὸν χιλίων τάλαντων εὕρεθῆναι. πρὸς δ' Ἀντίπατρον ἔγραφε κελεύων ἔχειν φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐπιβουλευόμενον. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδωρεῖτο καὶ κατέπεμπεν, οὐκ εἶα δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν· ἐγκαλούσης δὲ πρῶτος ἔφερε τὴν χαλεπότητα. πλὴν ἅπαξ ποτ' Ἀντιπάτρου μακρὰν κατ' αὐτῆς γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν, ἀναγνοὺς ἀγνοεῖν εἶπεν
- 1490 Ἀντίπατρον, ὅτι μυρίας ἐπιστολάς ἐν δάκρυσιν ἀπαλείφει μητρός. To Parmenio he gave Bagoas's house, in which he found a wardrobe of apparel worth more than a thousand talents. He wrote to Antipater, commanding him to keep a life-guard about him for the security of his person against conspiracies. To his mother he sent many presents, but would never suffer her to meddle with matters of state or
- 1495 war, not indulging her busy temper, and when she fell out with him on this account, he bore her ill-humour very patiently. Nay more, when he read a long letter from Antipater full of accusations against her, "Antipater," he said, "does not know that one tear of a mother effaces a thousand such letters as these."
- 1500 [40] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑώρα παντάπασιν ἐκτετρυφηκότας καὶ φορτικοὺς ταῖς διαίταις καὶ πολυτελείαις ὄντας, ὥσθ' Ἄγνωνα μὲν τὸν Τήϊον ἀργυροῦς ἐν ταῖς κρηπίσιν ἡλοὺς φορεῖν, Λεοννάτῳ δὲ πολλαῖς καμήλοις ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου κόνιν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια παρακομίζεσθαι, Φιλώτῳ δὲ πρὸς θήρας σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἀύλαϊας †
- 1505 γεγονέναι, μύρῳ δὲ χρωμένους ἰέναι πρὸς ἀλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν ὁσῶ πρότερον οὐδ' ἐλαίῳ, τρίπτιας δὲ καὶ κατευναστὰς περιαιγομένους, ἐπετίμησε πρῶτος καὶ φιλοσόφως, θαυμάζειν φάμενος, εἰ τοσοῦτους ἡγωνισμένοι καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγῶνας, οὐ μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι τῶν καταπονηθέντων οἱ καταπονήσαντες ἡδίων καθεύδουσιν, οὐδ' ὀρῶσι τοῖς Περσῶν βίοις τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παραβάλλοντες, ὅτι δουλικώτατον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν, βασιλικώτατον δὲ τὸ πονεῖν.
- 1510 But when he perceived his favourites grow so luxurious and extravagant in their way of living and expenses that Hagnon, the Teian, wore silver nails in his shoes, that Leonnatus employed several camels only to bring him powder out of Egypt to use when he wrestled, and that Philotas had hunting nets a hundred furlongs in length, that
- 1515 more used precious ointment than plain oil when they went to bathe, and that they carried about servants everywhere with them to rub them and wait upon them in their chambers, he reprov'd them in gentle and reasonable terms, telling them he wondered that they who had been engaged in so many single battles did not know by experience, that those who labour sleep more sweetly and soundly than those who are laboured for,

- and could fail to see by comparing the Persians' manner of living with their own that
 1520 it was the most abject and slavish condition to be voluptuous, but the most noble and
 royal to undergo pain and labour.
 "καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις" ἔφη "δι' ἑαυτοῦ θεραπεύσειεν ἵππον ἢ λόγχην ἀσκήσειεν ἢ κράνος,
 ἀπειθικῶς τοῦ φιλιότατου σώματος ἀπτεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας;" "οὐκ ἴστί'" εἶπεν "ὅτι τοῦ
 1525 κρατεῖν πέρας ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ταῦτά ποιεῖν τοῖς κεκρατημένοις;" ἐπέτεινεν οὖν εἶτι
 μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις κακοπαθῶν καὶ
 παραβαλλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ Λάκωνα πρεσβευτήν, παραγενόμενον αὐτῷ λέοντα καταβάλλοντι
 μέγαν, εἰπεῖν· "καλῶς γ' Ἀλέξανδρε πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἠγώνισαι περὶ τὰς βασιλείας".
 τοῦτο τὸ κυνήγιον Κρατερός εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκεν, εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς ποιησάμενος τοῦ
 1530 λέοντος καὶ τῶν κυνῶν, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ λέοντι συνεσιῶτος, καὶ αὐτοῦ
 προσβοηθοῦντος, ὃν τὰ μὲν Λύσιππος ἐπλασε, τὰ δὲ Λεωχάρης.
 He argued with them further, how it was possible for any one who pretended to be a
 soldier, either to look well after his horse, or to keep his armour bright and in
 good order, who thought it much to let his hands be serviceable to what was nearest
 to him, his own body.
 1535 "Are you still to learn," said he, "that the end and perfection of our victories is
 to avoid the vices and infirmities of those whom we subdue? And to strengthen his
 precepts by example, he applied himself now more vigorously than ever to hunting and
 warlike expeditions, embracing all opportunities of hardship and danger, insomuch
 that a Lacedaemonian, who was there on an embassy to him and chanced to be by when he
 1540 encountered with and mastered a huge lion, told him he had fought gallantly with the
 beast, which of the two should be king. Craterus caused a representation to be made
 of this adventure, consisting of the lion and the dogs, of the king engaged with the
 lion, and himself coming in to his assistance, all expressed in figures of brass,
 some of which were by Lysippus, and the rest by Leochares;
 1545 [and had it dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.]
- [41] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῶν ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παροξύνων
 πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκινδύνευεν· οἱ δὲ φίλοι διὰ πλοῦτον καὶ ὄγκον ἤδη τρυφᾶν βουλόμενοι καὶ
 1550 σχολάζειν, ἐβαρύνοντο τὰς πλάνας καὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω προήλθον εἰς
 τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ κακῶς λέγειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρῶτος ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς ταῦτα
 διέκειτο, φάσκων βασιλικὸν εἶναι τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν εὖ ποιοῦντα. καίτοι τὰ μὲν
 μικρότατα τῶν γενομένων τοῖς συνήθεσι παρ' αὐτοῦ σημεῖα μεγάλης ὑπῆρχεν εὐνοίας καὶ
 τιμῆς· ὃν ὀλίγα παραθήσομαι.
 Alexander exposed his person to danger in this manner, with the object both of
 1555 inuring himself and inciting others to the performance of brave and virtuous actions.
 But his followers, who were grown rich, and consequently proud, longed to indulge
 themselves in pleasure and idleness, and were weary of marches and expeditions, and
 at last went on so far as to censure and speak ill of him. All which at first he bore
 very patiently, saying it became a king well to do good to others, and be evil spoken
 1560 of.
 Meantime, on the smallest occasions that called for a show of kindness to his
 friends, there was every indication on his part of tenderness and respect.
 Πευκέστα μὲν ἔγραψε μεμφόμενος, ὅτι δηχθεὶς ὑπ' ἄρκτου τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγραψεν, αὐτῷ
 δ' οὐκ ἐδήλωσεν. "ἀλλὰ νῦν γε" φησί "γράψον τε πῶς ἔχεις, καὶ μὴ τινὲς σε τῶν
 1565 συγκυνηγετούντων ἐγκατέλιπον, ἵνα δίκην δῶσι". τοῖς δὲ περὶ Ἥφαιστίωνα διὰ πράξεις
 τινὰς ἀποῦσιν ἔγραψεν, ὅτι παιζόντων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἰχνεύμονα τῷ Περδίκκου δορατίῳ
 περιπεσῶν Κρατερός τοὺς μηροὺς ἐτρώθη. Πευκέστα δὲ σωθέντος ἔκ τινος ἀσθενείας,
 ἔγραψε πρὸς Ἀλέξιππον τὸν ἰατρὸν εὐχαριστῶν. Κρατεροῦ δὲ νοσοῦντος ὄψιν ἰδὼν καθ'
 ὕπνον, αὐτὸς τέ τινος θυσίας ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, κάκεῖνον {θῦσαι} ἐκέλευσεν.
 1570 Hearing Peucestes was bitten by a bear, he wrote to him that he took it unkindly he
 should send others notice of it and not make him acquainted with it; "But now," said
 he, "since it is so, let me know how you do, and whether any of your companions
 forsook you when you were in danger, that I may punish them." He sent Hephaestion,
 who was absent about some business, word how, while they were fighting for their
 1575 diversion with an ichneumon, Craterus was by chance run through both thighs with
 Perdicas's javelin. And upon Peucestes's recovery from a fit of sickness, he sent a
 letter of thanks to his physician Alexippus. When Craterus was ill, he saw a vision
 in his sleep, after which he offered sacrifices for his health, and bade him do so
 likewise.
 1580 ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Πausanία τῷ ἰατρῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν Κρατερὸν ἐλλεβορίσαι, τὰ μὲν ἀγωνιῶν,
 τὰ δὲ παραινῶν ὅπως χρήσιται τῇ φαρμακείᾳ. τοὺς δὲ πρῶτους τὴν Ἀρπάλου φυγὴν καὶ
 ἀπόδρασιν ἀπαγγείλαντας ἔδησεν, Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Κίsson, ὡς καταψευδομένους τοῦ ἀνδρός.
 ἐπεὶ δέ, τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ γέροντας εἰς οἶκον ἀποσιτέλλοντος, Εὐρύλοχος
 Αἰγαῖος ἐνέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς νοσοῦντας, εἶτα φωραθεὶς ἔχων οὐδὲν κακόν,

1585 ὠμολόγησε Τελεσίππας ἔρᾶν καὶ συνεπακολουθεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπιούσης ἐκείνης, ἠρώτησε
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τὸ γύναιον. ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἑταῖρων "ἡμᾶς μὲν" εἶπεν
 "ὦ Εὐρύλοχε συνερῶντας ἔχεις· ὄρα δ' ὅπως πείθωμεν ἢ λόγοις ἢ δώροις τὴν Τελεσίππαν,
 ἐπειδὴ περ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἐστί".

1590 He wrote also to Pausanias, the physician, who was about to purge Craterus with
 hellebore, partly out of an anxious concern for him, and partly to give him a caution
 how he used that medicine. He was so tender of his friends' reputation that he
 imprisoned Ephialtes and Cissus, who brought him the first news of Harpalus's flight
 and withdrawal from his service, as if they had falsely accused him. When he sent the
 old and infirm soldiers home, Eurylochus, a citizen of Aegae, got his name enrolled
 1595 among the sick, though he ailed nothing, which being discovered, he confessed he was
 in love with a young woman named Telesippa, and wanted to go along with her to the
 sea-side. Alexander inquired to whom the woman belonged, and being told she was a
 free courtesan, "I will assist you," said he to Eurylochus, "in your amour if your
 mistress be to be gained either by presents or persuasions; but we must use no other
 1600 means, because she is free-born."

[42] Θαυμάσαι δ' αὐτὸν ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ μέχρι τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν
 τοῖς φίλοις ἐσχόλαζεν· οἷα γράφει παῖδα Σελεύκου εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀποδεδρακότα κελεύων
 ἀναζητηῆσαι, καὶ Πευκέστιαν ἐπαινῶν ὅτι Νίκωνα Κρατεροῦ δοῦλον συνέλαβε, καὶ Μεγαβύζῳ
 1605 περὶ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζομένου, κελεύων αὐτὸν ἂν δύνηται συλλαβεῖν
 ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλεσάμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ μὴ προσάπτεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δίκας
 διακρίνων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰς θανατικὰς τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ὧτων τῷ ἐτέρῳ προστιθέναι τοῦ κατηγόρου
 λέγοντος, ὅπως τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καθαρὸν φυλάττηται καὶ ἀδιάβλητον.

1610 It is surprising to consider upon what slight occasions he would write letters to
 serve his friends. As when he wrote one in which he gave order to search for a youth
 that belonged to Seleucus, who was run away into Cilicia; and in another thanked and
 commanded Peucestes for apprehending Nicon, a servant of Craterus; and in one to
 Megabyzus, concerning a slave that had taken sanctuary in a temple, gave direction
 that he should not meddle with him while he was there, but if he could entice him out
 1615 by fair means, then he gave him leave to seize him.

It is reported of him that when he first sat in judgment upon capital causes he would
 lay his hand upon one of his ears while the accuser spoke, to keep it free and
 unprejudiced in behalf of the party accused.

1620 ἀλλ' ὕστερόν γ' αὐτὸν ἐξετράχυναν αἱ πολλαὶ διαβολαί, διὰ τῶν ἀληθῶν πάροδον καὶ
 πίστιν ἐπὶ τὰ ψευδῆ λαβοῦσαι, καὶ μάλιστα κακῶς ἀκούων ἐξίστατο τοῦ φρονεῖν, καὶ
 χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, ἅτε δὴ τὴν δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἠγαπηκῶς.
 But afterwards such a multitude of accusations were brought before him, and so many
 proved true, that he lost his tenderness of heart, and gave credit to those also that
 were false; and especially when anybody spoke ill of him, he would be transported out
 1625 of his reason, and show himself cruel and inexorable, valuing his glory and
 reputation beyond his life or kingdom.

Τότε δ' ἐξήλαυνεν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον, ὡς πάλιν μαχοῦμενος· ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Βήσσου
 γενομένην αὐτοῦ σύλληψιν, ἀπέλυσε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς οἰκάδε, δισχίλια τάλαντα δωρεὰν
 ἐπιμετρήσας ταῖς μισθοφοραῖς. πρὸς δὲ τὴν δίωξιν, ἀργαλέαν καὶ μακρὰν γινομένην
 1630 (ἐνδεκα γὰρ ἡμέραις ἵππασατο τρισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους), ἀπηγόρευσαν μὲν
 οἱ πλεῖστοι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἀνυδρον. ἔνθα δὴ Μακεδόνες ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ τινες
 ὕδωρ ἐν ἄσκοις ἐφ' ἡμιόνων κομίζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον
 ἤδη μεσημβρίας οὔσης κακῶς ὑπὸ δίψους ἔχοντα, ταχὺ πλησάμενοι κράνος προσήνεγκαν.
 πυθομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τίσι κομίζοιεν, "υἱοῖς" ἔφασαν "ἰδίοις· ἀλλὰ σοῦ ζῶντος ἐτέρους

1635 ποιησόμεθα, κἂν ἐκείνους ἀπολέσωμεν". ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ἔλαβεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸ κράνος·
 περιβλέψας δὲ καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς ἅπαντας ἐγκεκλικότας ταῖς
 κεφαλαῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέποντας, ἀπέδωκεν οὐ πιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 [Het volgende deel komt van een andere website, nl. <http://englishare.net/World%20Lit/WL1--Lesson08-Reading-Plutarch.htm>]

1640 He now, as we said, set forth to seek Darius, expecting he should be put to the
 hazard of another battle, but heard he was taken and secured by Bessus, upon which
 news he sent home the Thessalians, and gave them a largess of two thousand talents
 over and above the pay that was due to them. This long and painful pursuit of Darius
 (for in eleven days he marched thirty-three hundred furlongs) exhausted his soldiers
 1645 so that most of them were ready to give it up, chiefly for want of water. While they
 were in this distress, it happened that some Macedonians who had fetched water in
 skins upon their mules from a river they had found out came about noon to the place
 where Alexander was, and seeing him almost choked with thirst, presently filled an
 helmet and offered it him. He asked them to whom they were carrying the water, they
 1650 told him to their children, adding, that if his life were but saved, it was no matter

for them, they should be able well enough to repair that loss, though they all perished. Then he took the helmet into his hands, and looking round about, when he saw all those who were near him stretching their heads out and looking earnestly after the drink, he returned it again with thanks without tasting a drop of it.

1655 "ἀν γὰρ αὐτὸς" ἔφη "πίω μόνος, ἀθυμήσουσιν οὗτοι". θεασάμενοι δὲ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν οἱ ἵππεῖς ἀγειν ἀνέκραγον θαρροῦντα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐμάστιζον· οὔτε γὰρ κάμνειν οὔτε διψᾶν οὔθ' ὄλως θνητοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν αὐτούς, ἕως ἂν ἔχῃσι βασιλέα τοιοῦτον.

"For," said he, "if I alone drink, the rest will be out of heart."

1660 The soldiers no sooner took notice of his temperance and magnanimity upon this occasion, but they one and all cried out to him to lead them forward boldly, and began whipping on their horses. For whilst they had such a king they said they defied both weariness and thirst, and looked upon themselves to be little less than immortal.

1665 [43] Ἡ μὲν οὖν προθυμία πάντων ἦν ὁμοία, μόνους δὲ φασιν ἐξήκοντα συνεισπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺν μὲν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐρριμμένον ὑπερβαίνοντες, πολλὰς δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀρμαμάξας ἠνιόχων ἐρήμους διαφερομένας παρερχόμενοι, τοὺς πρώτους ἐδίωκον, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις Δαρεῖον ὄντα. μόλις

1670 δ' εὐρίσκεται πολλῶν ἀκοντισμάτων κατάπλεως τὸ σῶμα κείμενος ἐν ἀρμαμάξῃ, μικρὸν ἀπολείπων τοῦ τελευτᾶν· ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ πιεῖν ἤτησε, καὶ πῶν ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν δόντα Πολύστρατον· "ᾧ ἄνθρωπε, τοῦτό μοι πέρας γέγονε δυστυχίας ἀπάσης, εὗ παθεῖν ἀμείψασθαι μὴ δυνάμενον· ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποδώσει σοι τὴν χάριν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δ' οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐπιεικειάς, ᾧ ταύτην δίδωμι τὴν δεξιὰν διὰ σοῦ".

1675 But though they were all equally cheerful and willing, yet not above three-score horse were able, it is said, to keep up, and to fall in with Alexander upon the enemy's camp, where they rode over abundance of gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a great many chariots full of women that wandered here and there for want of drivers, they endeavored to overtake the first of those that fled, in hopes to meet with Darius among them.

1680 And at last, after much trouble, they found him lying in a chariot, wounded all over with darts, just at the point of death. However, he desired they would give him some drink, and when he had drunk a little cold water, he told Polystratus, who gave it him, that it had become the last extremity of his ill fortune to receive benefits and not be able to return them. "But Alexander," said he, "whose kindness to my mother, my wife, and my children I hope the gods will recompense, will doubtless thank you for your humanity to me. Tell him, therefore, in token of my acknowledgment, I give him this right hand,"

1690 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Πολυστράτου χειρός, ἐξέλιπεν.

1695 Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὡς ἐπήλθεν, ἀλγῶν τε τῷ πάθει φανερὸς ἦν, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα λύσας ἐπέβαλε τῷ σώματι καὶ περιέστειλε. καὶ Βῆσσον μὲν ὕστερον εὐρῶν διεσφενδόνησεν, ὀρθίων δένδρων εἰς ταῦτὸ καμφθέντων ἐκατέρῳ μέρος προσαρτήσας τοῦ σώματος, εἴτα μεθεῖς ἐκάτερον, ὡς ᾠρητο ρύμη φερόμενον, τὸ προσῆκον αὐτῷ μέρος νείμασθαι. τότε δὲ τοῦ Δαρεῖου τὸ μὲν σῶμα κεκοσμημένον βασιλικῶς πρὸς τὴν μητέρ' ἀπέστειλε, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν Ἐξάθρην εἰς τοὺς ἐταίρους ἀνέλαβεν.

with which words he took hold of Polystratus's hand and died. When Alexander came up to them, he showed manifest tokens of sorrow, and taking off his own cloak, threw it upon the body to cover it.

1700 Some time afterwards, when Bessus was taken, he ordered him to be torn in pieces in this manner. They fastened him to a couple of trees which were bound down so as to meet, and then being let loose, with a great force returned to their places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it that was tied to it.

1705 Darius's body was laid in state, and sent to his mother with pomp suitable to his quality. His brother Exathres, Alexander received into the number of his intimate friends.

[44] Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀκμαιοτάτης δυνάμεως εἰς Ὑρκανίαν κατέβαινε, καὶ πελάγους ἰδὼν κόλπον οὐκ ἐλάττονα μὲν τοῦ Πόντου φανέντα, γλυκύτερον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης, σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσχε πυθέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα δ' εἶκασε τῆς Μαϊώτιδος λίμνης ἀνακοπὴν εἶναι. καίτοι τοὺς γε φυσικοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔλαθε τάληθές, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἱστορήκασιν, ὅτι τεσσάρων κόλπων εἰσεχόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξω θαλάσσης βορειότατος οὗτός ἐστι, τὸ Ὑρκάνιον πέλαγος καὶ Κάσπιον ὁμοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.

1715 And now with the flower of his army he marched into Hyrcania, where he saw a large bay of an open sea, apparently not much less than the Euxine, with water, however,

- sweeter than that of other seas, but he could learn nothing of certainty concerning it, further than that in all probability it seemed to him to be an arm issuing from the lake of Maeotis. However, the naturalists were better informed of the truth, and
 1720 had given an account of it many years before Alexander's expedition; that of four gulfs which out of the main sea enter into the continent, this, known indifferently as the Caspian and as the Hyrcanian Sea, is the most northern.
- Ἐνταῦθα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἀπροσδοκῆτως περιτυχόντες τοῖς ἄγουσι τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ τὸν Βουκεφάλαν λαμβάνουσιν. ὁ δ' ἠνεγκεν οὐ μετρίως, ἀλλὰ κήρυκα πέμψας ἠπέιλησε πάντας
 1725 ἀποκτενεῖν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ μὴ ἀναπέμψειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον {αὐτῷ} ἄγοντες ἤκον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρίζοντες, ἐχρήσατο φιλανθρώπως πᾶσι καὶ τοῦ ἵππου λύτρα τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἔδωκεν.
- Here the barbarians, unexpectedly meeting with those who led Bucephalus, took them prisoners, and carried the horse away with them, at which Alexander was so much vexed
 1730 that he sent an herald to let them know he would put them all to the sword, men, women, and children, without mercy, if they did not restore him. But on their doing so, and at the same time surrendering their cities into his hands, he not only treated them kindly, but also paid a ransom for his horse to those who took him.
- [45] Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν Παρθικὴν ἀναζεύξας καὶ σχολάζων, πρῶτον ἐνεδύσατο
 1735 τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολὴν, εἴτε βουλόμενος αὐτὸν συνοικειοῦν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ὡς μέγα πρὸς ἐξημέρωσιν ἀνθρώπων τὸ σύνθηρες καὶ ὁμόφυλον, εἴτ' ἀπόπειρά τις ὑφείτιο τῆς προσκυνήσεως αὐτῇ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν ἐκδιδάτῃσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐθιζομένοις. οὐ μὴν τὴν γε Μηδικὴν ἐκείνην προσήκατο, παντάπασι βαρβαρικὴν
 1740 καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὔσαν, οὐδ' ἀναξυρίδας οὐδὲ κάνδυν οὐδὲ τιάραν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς μειζάμενος εὔ πως, ἀτυφοτέραν μὲν ἐκείνης, ταύτης δὲ σοβαρωτέραν οὔσαν.
- From hence he marched into Parthia, where not having much to do, he first put on the barbaric dress, perhaps with the view of making the work of civilizing them the
 1745 easier, as nothing gains more upon men than a conformity to their fashions and customs. Or it may have been as a first trial, whether the Macedonians might be brought to adore as the Persians did their kings, by accustoming them by little and little to bear with the alteration of his rule and course of life in other things. However, he followed not the Median fashion, which was altogether foreign and
 1750 uncouth, and adopted neither the trousers nor the sleeved vest, nor the tiara for the head, but taking a middle way between the Persian mode and the Macedonian, so contrived his habit that it was not so flaunting as the one, and yet more pompous and magnificent than the other.
- ἐχρητο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις κατ' οἶκον, εἶτα
 1755 τοῖς πολλοῖς οὕτως ἐξελαύνων καὶ χρηματίζων ἔωρᾶτο. καὶ λυπηρὸν μὲν ἦν τοῖς Μακεδόσι τὸ θέαμα, τὴν δ' ἄλλην αὐτοῦ θαυμάζοντες ἀρετὴν ᾗοντο δεῖν ἐνια τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἐπιχωρεῖν. ὅς γε πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐναγχος τόξευμα μὲν εἰς τὴν κνήμην λαβὼν, ὑφ' οὗ τῆς κερκίδος τὸ ὀστέον ἀποθραυσθὲν ἐξέπεσε, λίθῳ δὲ πληγείς πάλιν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς ὀψεσιν ἀχλὺν ὑποδραμεῖν παραμείνασαν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον,
 1760 ὁμῶς οὐκ ἐπάυετο χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ὀρεξάρτην διαβάς ποταμόν, ὃν αὐτὸς ᾗετο Τάναϊν εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τρεψάμενος, ἐδίωξεν ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατόν, ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ διαρροίας.
- At first he wore this habit only when he conversed with the barbarians, or within doors, among his intimate friends and companions, but afterwards he appeared in it
 1765 outside, when he rode, and at public audiences, a sight which the Macedonians beheld with grief, but they so respected his other virtues and good qualities that they felt it reasonable in some things to gratify his fancies and his passion of glory, in pursuit of which he hazarded himself so far, that, besides his other adventures, he had but lately been wounded in the leg by an arrow, which had so shattered the shank-bone that splinters were taken out. And on another occasion he received a violent
 1770 blow with a stone upon the nape of the neck, which dimmed his sight for a good while afterwards. And yet all this could not hinder him from exposing himself freely to any dangers, insomuch that he passed the river Orexartes, which he took to be the Tanais, and putting the Scythians to flight, followed them above a hundred furlongs, though
 1775 suffering all the time from a diarrhoea.
- [46] Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀμαζόνα οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ᾧν καὶ Κλειταρχὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Ὀνησίκριτος καὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Ἴστρος. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀντικλείδης καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεύς καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος πλάσμα φασὶ γεγονέναι τοῦτο. καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔοικεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἀντιπᾶτρῳ γὰρ ἅπαντα γράφων ἀκριβῶς, τὸν μὲν Σκύθην φησὶν αὐτῷ

- 1785 διδόναι τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον, Ἀμαζόνος δ' οὐ μνημονεύει. λέγεται δὲ πολλοῖς χρόνοις Ὀνησίκριτος ὕστερον ἤδη βασιλεύοντι Λυσιμάχῳ τῶν βιβλίων τὸ τέταρτον ἀναγινώσκειν, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται περὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος· τὸν οὖν Λυσίμαχον ἀτρέμα μειδιάσαντα "καὶ ποῦ" φάναι "τότ' ἤμην ἐγώ;" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἂν τις οὔτ' ἀπιστῶν ἤτιον οὔτε πιστεύων μᾶλλον Ἀλέξανδρον θαυμάσειε.
- 1790 Here many claim that the Amazon came to give him a visit. So Clitarchus, Polyclitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister tell us. But Aristobulus and Chares, who held the office of reporter of requests, Ptolemy and Anticlides, Philon the Theban, Philip of Theangela, Hecataeus the Eretrian, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris the Samian, say it is wholly a fiction. And truly Alexander himself seems to confirm the latter statement, for in a letter in which he gives Antipater an account of all that happened, he tells him that the King of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but makes no mention at all of the Amazon. And many years after, when Onesicritus
- 1795 read this story in his fourth book to Lysimachus, who then reigned, the king laughed quietly and asked, "Where could I have been at that time?" But it means little to Alexander whether it really happened or not.
- 1800 [47] Φοβούμενος δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας μὴ εἰς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῆς στρατείας ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πλῆθος εἶασε κατὰ χώραν, τοὺς δ' ἀρίστους ἔχων ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τρισχιλίους ἵππεῖς, πείραν προσέβαλε, λέγων ὡς νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς † ἐνύπνιον τῶν βαρβάρων ὄρωντων, ἂν δὲ μόνον ταραξάντες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπίωσιν, ἐπιθησομένων εὐθύς ὥσπερ γυναίξιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀφιέναι γε τοὺς βουλομένους ἔφη, καὶ
- 1805 μαρτυράμενος ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῖς Μακεδόσι κτώμενος ἐγκαταλέλειπται, **** μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐθελόντων στρατεύειν. ταῦτα σχεδὸν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπται, καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐξέκραγον, ὅπου βούλεται τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄγειν. δεξαμένων δὲ τούτων τὴν πείραν, οὐκέτ' ἦν χαλεπὸν προσαχθῆναι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως ἐπηκολούθησεν.
- 1810 Certain it is, that apprehending the Macedonians would be weary of pursuing the war, he left the greater part of them in their quarters; and having with him in Hyrcania the choice of his men only, amounting to twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, he spoke to them to this effect: That hitherto the barbarians had seen them no otherwise than as it were in a dream, and if they should think of returning when they
- 1815 had only alarmed Asia, and not conquered it, their enemies would set upon them as upon so many women. However he told them he would keep none of them with him against their will, they might go if they pleased; he should merely enter his protest, that when on his way to make the Macedonians the masters of the world, he was left alone with a few friends and volunteers. This is almost word for word as he wrote in a
- 1820 letter to Antipater, where he adds, that when he had thus spoken to them, they all cried out, they would go along with him whithersoever it was his pleasure to lead them. After succeeding with these, it was no hard matter for him to bring over the multitude, which easily followed the example of their superiors.
- 1825 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν δίαίταν ἐτι μᾶλλον ὁμοίου τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἑαυτόν, ἐκείνους τε προσῆγε τοῖς Μακεδονικοῖς ἔθεσιν, ἀνακράσει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ μᾶλλον δι' εὐνοίας καταστήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα νομίζων ἢ βίᾳ, μακρὰν ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ τρισμυρίους παῖδας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε γράμματά τε μανθάνειν Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ Μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοὺς ἐπιστάτας καταστήσας, καὶ τὰ περὶ Ῥωξάνην ἔρωτι μὲν ἐπράχθη, καλὴν καὶ ὠραίαν ἐν τινι χορῷ παρὰ πότον ὄφθεισαν, ἔδοξε δ' οὐκ ἀνάρμοστα τοῖς
- 1830 ὑποκειμένοις εἶναι πράγμασιν. ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τοῦ γάμου, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερηγάπησαν, ὅτι σωφρονέστατος περὶ ταῦτα γεγονὼς οὐδ' ἦς μόνης ἠτιήθη γυναικὸς ἄνευ νόμου θιγεῖν ὑπέμεινεν.
- 1835 Now, also, he more and more accommodated himself in his way of living to that of the natives, and tried to bring them also as near as he could to the Macedonian customs, wisely considering that whilst he was engaged in an expedition which would carry him far from thence, it would be wiser to depend upon the good-will which might arise from intermixture and association as a means of maintaining tranquility, than upon force and compulsion. In order to this, he chose out thirty thousand boys, whom he put under masters to teach them the Greek tongue, and to train them up to arms in the
- 1840 Macedonian discipline. As for his marriage with Roxana, whose youthfulness and beauty had charmed him at a drinking entertainment, where he first happened to see her taking part in a dance, it was, indeed a love affair, yet it seemed at the same time to be conducive to the object he had in hand. For it gratified the conquered people to see him choose a wife from among themselves, and it made them feel the most lively affection for him, to find that in the only passion which he, the most temperate of
- 1845 men, was overcome by, he yet forbore till he could obtain her in a lawful and honorable way.
- Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἑώρα τῶν μεγίστων Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐπαينوῦντα καὶ

1850 συμμετακοσμούμενον αὐτῷ, Κρατερὸν δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένοντα, δι' ἐκείνου μὲν
 ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς βαρβάροις, διὰ τούτου δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· καὶ ὅλως τὸν
 μὲν ἐφίλει μάλιστα, τὸν δ' ἐτίμα, νομίζων καὶ λέγων αἰεὶ, τὸν μὲν Ἡφαιστίωνα
 φιλαλέξανδρον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Κρατερὸν φιλοβασιλέα. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπούλως
 1855 ἔχοντες, συνέκρουον πολλάκις, ἅπαξ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον
 σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐκατέρῳ παραβοηθούτων, προσελάσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
 ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα φανερώς, ἐμπληκτον καλῶν καὶ μαινόμενον, εἰ μὴ συνίησιν ὡς
 ἐάν τις αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφέληται, μηδὲν ἐστίν· ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κρατεροῦ πικρῶς
 καθήψατο, καὶ συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλλάξας, ἐπώμοσε τὸν Ἄμμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 θεοὺς, ἧ μὴν μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐκείνους· ἂν δὲ πάλιν αἰσθηταὶ
 1860 διαφερομένους, ἀποκτενεῖν ἀμφοτέρους ἢ τὸν ἀρξάμενον. ὅθεν ὕστερον οὐδὲ παίζοντες
 εἶπεῖν τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ πρᾶξιαι λέγονται.
 Noticing also that among his chief friends and favorites, Hephaestion most approved
 all that he did, and complied with and imitated him in his change of habits, while
 Craterus continued strict in the observation of the customs and fashions of his own
 1865 country, he made it his practice to employ the first in all transactions with the
 Persians, and the latter when he had to do with the Greeks or Macedonians. And in
 general he showed more affection for Hephaestion, and more respect for Craterus --
 Hephaestion, as he used to say, being Alexander's, and Craterus the king's friend.
 And so these two friends always bore in secret a grudge to each other, and at times
 quarreled openly, so much so that once in India they drew upon one another, and were
 1870 proceeding in good earnest, with their friends on each side to second them, when
 Alexander rode up and publicly reprovved Hephaestion, calling him fool and madman, not
 to be sensible that without his favor he was nothing. He rebuked Craterus also in
 private, severely, and then causing them both to come into his presence, he
 reconciled them, at the same time swearing by Amun and the rest of the gods that he
 1875 loved them two above all other men, but if ever he perceived them fall out again he
 would be sure to put both of them to death, or at least the aggressor. After which
 they neither ever did or said anything, so much as in jest, to offend one another.

[48] Φιλώτας δ' ὁ Παρμενίωνος ἀξίωμα μὲν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσι
 1880 μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρείος ἐδόκει καὶ καρτερικὸς εἶναι, φιλόδωρος δὲ καὶ φιλέταιρος ὡς
 μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδεὶς. λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι τῶν συνήθων τινὸς αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον,
 ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι· φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μὴ ἔχειν, "τί λέγεις;" εἶπεν "οὐδὲ
 ποτήριον ἔχεις οὐδ' ἱμάτιον;" ὄγκῳ δὲ φρονήματος καὶ βάρει πλοῦτου καὶ τῆ περὶ τὸ
 1885 σῶμα θεραπείᾳ καὶ διαίτη χρώμενος ἐπαχθέστερον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν
 καὶ ὑψηλὸν οὐκ ἐμμελῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνευ χαρίτων τῷ σολοίκῳ καὶ παρασῆμῳ μιμούμενος, ὑποψίαν
 εἶχε καὶ φθόνον, ὥστε καὶ Παρμενίωνά ποτ' εἶπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν·

There was scarcely any one who had greater repute among the Macedonians than
 Philotas, the son of Parmenio. For besides that he was valiant and able to endure any
 1890 fatigue of war, he was also next to Alexander himself the most munificent, and the
 greatest lover of his friends, one of whom asking him for some money, he commanded
 his steward to give it him; and when he told him he had not wherewith, "Have you not
 any plate, then," said he, "or any clothes of mine to sell?" But he carried his
 arrogance and his pride of wealth and his habits of display and luxury to a degree of
 1895 assumption unbecoming a private man; and affecting all the loftiness without
 succeeding in showing any of the grace or gentleness of true greatness, by this
 mistaken and spurious majesty he gained so much envy and ill-will, that Parmenio
 would sometimes tell him,

"ὦ παῖ, χείρων μοι γίνου". πρὸς δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ πάνυ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐτύγχανε
 1900 διαβεβλημένος. ὅτε γὰρ τὰ περὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐάλω χρήματα Δαρείου νικηθέντος ἐν Κιλικίᾳ,
 πολλῶν σωμάτων κομισθέντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, εὐρέθη γύναιον ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, τῷ
 μὲν γένει Πυδναῖον, εὐπρεπὲς δὲ τὴν ὄψιν· ἐκαλεῖτο δ' Ἀντιγόνη· τοῦτ' ἔσχεν ὁ
 Φιλώτας. οἷα δὲ νέος πρὸς ἐρωμένην καὶ σὺν οἴνῳ πολλὰ φιλότιμα καὶ στρατιωτικὰ
 παρρησιαζόμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων ἀπέφαινε καὶ τοῦ πατρός, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ
 1905 μειράκιον ἀπεκάλει, δι' αὐτοὺς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα καρπούμενον. ταῦτα τῆς γυναικὸς
 ἐκφερούσης πρὸς τινὰ τῶν συνήθων, ἐκείνου δ' ὡς εἰκὸς πρὸς ἕτερον, περιῆλθεν εἰς
 Κρατερὸν ὁ λόγος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ γύναιον εἰσήγαγε κρύφα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. ἀκούσας δ'
 ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευσε φοιτᾶν εἰς ταῦτ' οὐτὶς Φιλώτα καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκπύθηται τούτου, πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἀπαγγέλλειν βαδίζουσαν.

"My son, to be not quite so great would be better." For he had long before been
 1910 complained of, and accused to Alexander. Particularly when Darius was defeated in
 Cilicia, and an immense booty was taken at Damascus, among the rest of the prisoners
 who were brought into the camp, there was one Antigone of Pydna, a very handsome
 woman, who fell to Philotas's share. The young man one day in his cups, in the
 vaunting, outspoken, soldier's manner, declared to his mistress, that all the great

- 1915 actions were performed by him and his father, the glory and benefit of which, he said, together with the title of king, the boy Alexander reaped and enjoyed by their means. She could not hold, but discovered what he had said to one of her acquaintance, and he, as is usual in such cases, to another, till at last the story came to the ears of Craterus, who brought the woman secretly to the king.
- 1920 [49] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλώτας ἐπιβουλευόμενος οὕτως ἠγνόει καὶ συνῆν τῇ Ἀντιγόνῃ, πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ μεγαλαυχίαν κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ῥήματα καὶ λόγους ἀνεπιτηδείους προΐεμενος. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος, καίπερ καρτερᾶς ἐνδείξεως κατὰ τοῦ Φιλώτου προσπεσούσης, ἐκαρτέρησε σιωπῇ καὶ κατέσχευεν, εἴτε θαρρῶν τῇ Παρμενίωνος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴτε δεδιῶς τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν.
- 1925 When Alexander had heard what she had to say, he commanded her to continue her intrigue with Philotas, and give him an account from time to time of all that should fall from him to this purpose. He, thus unwittingly caught in a snare, to gratify sometimes a fit of anger, sometimes a love of vainglory, let himself utter numerous foolish, indiscreet speeches against the king in Antigone's hearing, of which, though Alexander was informed and convinced by strong evidence, yet he would take no notice of it at present, whether it was that he confided in Parmenio's affection and loyalty, or that he apprehended their authority and interest in the army.
- 1930 Ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ Μακεδῶν ὄνομα Λίμνος ἐκ Χαλαίστρας {χαλεπῶς} ἐπιβουλεύων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Νικόμαχόν τινα τῶν νέων, πρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς ἐρωτικῶς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς πράξεως παρεκάλει. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου, φράσαντος δὲ τὰδελφῶ Κεβαλίνῳ τὴν πείραν, ἐλθῶν ἐκεῖνος πρὸς Φιλώταν ἐκέλευσεν εἰσάγειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς περὶ ἀναγκαίων ἔχοντας ἐντυχεῖν καὶ μεγάλων. ὁ δὲ Φιλώτας, ὅτι δὴ παθῶν (ἄδηλον γὰρ ἐστίν), οὐ παρήγεν αὐτούς, ὡς πρὸς ἄλλοις μείζοσι γινομένου τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ τοῦτο δις ἐποίησεν. οἱ δὲ καθ' ὑπερῷαν ἤδη τοῦ Φιλώτου τραπόμενοι πρὸς ἕτερον καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνου τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσαχθέντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τοῦ Λίμνου κατεῖπον, ἔπειτα παρεδήλωσαν ἡσυχῇ τὸν Φιλώταν ὡς ἀμελήσειεν αὐτῶν δις ἐντυχόντων.
- 1935 But about this time, one Limnus, a Macedonian of Chalastra, conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his design to a youth whom he was fond of, named Nicomachus, inviting him to be of the party. But he not relishing the thing, revealed it to his brother Balinus, who immediately addressed himself to Philotas, requiring him to introduce them both to Alexander, to whom they had something of great moment to impart which very nearly concerned him. But he, for what reason is uncertain, went not with them, professing that the king was engaged with affairs of more importance.
- 1940 And when they had urged him a second time, and were still slighted by him, they applied themselves to another, by whose means being admitted into Alexander's presence, they first told about Limnus' conspiracy, and by the way let Philotas's negligence appear who had twice disregarded their application to him.
- 1945 αἱ τοῦτο δὴ σφόδρα παρῶξυνε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν Λίμνον, ὡς ἡμύνετο συλλαμβανόμενος, ἀποκτείναντος αὐτόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον διεταράχθη, τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐκπεφευγέναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς νομίζων, καὶ πικρῶς ἔχων πρὸς τὸν Φιλώταν ἐπεσπάσατο τοὺς πάλαι μισοῦντας αὐτόν, ἤδη φανερῶς λέγοντας, ὡς ῥαθυμία τοῦ βασιλέως εἶη Λίμνον οἰομένου Χαλαιστραῖον ἄνθρωπον ἐπιχειρῆσαι τολμήματι τοσοῦτῳ καθ' αὐτόν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ὑπερέτην εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ' ὄργανον ἀπὸ μείζονος ἀρχῆς ἀφιέμενον, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ζητητέον οἷς μάλιστα ταῦτα λανθάνειν συνέφερε. τοιοῦτοις λόγοις καὶ ὑπονοίαις ἀναπετάσαντος τὰ ὅτα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπήγον ἤδη μυρίας κατὰ τοῦ Φιλώτου διαβολάς. ἐκ τούτου δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐφεσιῶτων ταῖς βασάνοις, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατακούοντος ἔξωθεν ἀυλαίας παρατεταμένης· ὅτε δὴ καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν, οἰκτρὰς καὶ ταπεινὰς τοῦ Φιλώτου φωνὰς καὶ δεήσεις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα προσφέροντος· "οὕτῳ δὲ μαλακὸς ὦν ὃ Φιλῶτα καὶ ἄνανδρος ἐπεχειρεῖς πράγμασι τηλικούτοις;"
- 1950 Alexander was greatly incensed, and upon finding that Limnus had defended himself, and had been killed by the soldier who was sent to seize him, he was still more discomposed, thinking he had thus lost the means of detecting the plot. As soon as his displeasure against Philotas began to appear, presently all his old enemies showed themselves, and said openly, the king was too easily imposed on, to imagine that one so inconsiderable as Limnus, a Chalastrian, should of his own head undertake such an enterprise; that in all likelihood he was but subservient to the design, an instrument that was moved by some greater spring; that those ought to be more strictly examined about the matter whose interest it was so much to conceal it. When they had once gained the king's ear for insinuations of this sort, they went on to show a thousand grounds of suspicion against Philotas, till at last they prevailed to have him seized and put to the torture, which was done in the presence of the principal officers, Alexander himself being placed behind some tapestry to understand what passed. Where, when he heard in what a miserable tone, and with what abject
- 1955
- 1960
- 1965
- 1970
- 1975
- 1980

submissions Philotas applied himself to Hephaestion, he broke out, it is said, in this manner: "Are you so mean-spirited and effeminate, Philotas, and yet can engage in so desperate a design?"

- 1985 Αποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλώτου, καὶ Παρμενίωνα πέμψας εὐθύς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνεΐλεν, ἄνδρα πολλὰ μὲν Φιλίππῳ συγκατεργασάμενον, μόνον δ' ἢ μάλιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φίλων
- 1990 Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξορμήσαντα διαβῆναι, τριῶν δ' υἱῶν οὓς ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς δύο μὲν ἐπιδόντα πρότερον ἀποθανόντας, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ συναναιρεθέντα. Ταῦτα πραχθέντα πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων φοβερὸν ἐποίησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μάλιστα δ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ, καὶ πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπεμψε κρύφα, πίστεις διδοὺς καὶ λαμβάνων. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ
- 1995 Ἀλέξανδρον Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ τὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἣν πυθόμενος οὐκ Οἰνιαδῶν ἔφη παῖδας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐπιθήσειν δίκην Αἰτωλοῖς.
- 2000 After Philotas' death, Alexander presently sent into Media, and put also Parmenio, his father, to death, who had done brave service under Philip, and was the only man of his older friends and counselors who had encouraged Alexander to invade Asia. Of three sons whom he had had in the army, he had already lost two, and now was himself put to death with the third. These actions rendered Alexander an object of terror to many of his friends, and chiefly to Antipater, who, to strengthen himself, sent messengers privately to treat for an alliance with the Aetolians, who stood in fear of Alexander, because they had destroyed the town of the Oeniadae; on being informed of which, Alexander had said the children of the Oeniadae need not revenge their father's quarrel, for he would himself take care to punish the Aetolians.

- [50] Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον συνηνέχθη καὶ τὰ περὶ Κλεῖτον, οὕτω μὲν ἀπλῶς πυθόμενοις τῶν κατὰ Φιλώταν ἀγριώτερα· λόγῳ μέντοι συντιθέντες ἅμα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ
- 2005 τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἀλλὰ δυστυχίᾳ τινὶ ταῦθ' εὐρίσκομεν πεπραγμένα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὀργὴν καὶ μέθην πρόφασιν τῷ Κλεΐτου δαίμονι παρασχόντος. ἐπράχθη δ' οὕτως. ἦκόν τινες ὀπώραν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζοντες. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ κάλλος, ἐκάλει τὸν Κλεῖτον, ἐπιδεῖξαι καὶ μεταδοῦναι
- 2010 βουλόμενος. ὁ δὲ θύων μὲν ἐτύγγανεν, ἀφείξαι δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐβάδιζε, καὶ τρία τῶν κατεπεισμένων προβάτων ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεκοινοῦτο τοῖς μάντεσιν Ἀριστάνδρῳ καὶ Κλεομένει τῷ Λάκωνι· φησάντων δὲ πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκθύσασθαι κατὰ τάχος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κλεΐτου· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἰδεῖν ὄψιν ἀτοπον· δόξαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Κλεῖτον μετὰ τῶν Παρμενίωνος υἱῶν ἐν
- 2015 μέλασιν ἱματίοις καθέζεσθαι, τεθνηκότων ἀπάντων. οὐ μὴν ἐφθασεν ὁ Κλεῖτος ἐκθυσάμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἦκε, τεθυκότος τοῦ βασιλέως Διοσκοῦροις. πότου δὲ νεανικοῦ συρραγέντος, ἦδετο ποιήματα Πρανίχου τινός, ὡς δὲ φασιν ἔνιοι Πιερίωνος, εἰς τοὺς στρατηγούς πεποιημένα τοὺς ἐναγχος ἠττημένους ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ καὶ γέλῳτι. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων δυσχεραίνόντων καὶ λοιδορούντων τὸν τε ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν ἄδοντα, τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἠδέως ἀκρωμένων καὶ λέγειν κελευόντων,
- 2020 ὁ Κλεῖτος ἤδη μεθύων, καὶ φύσει τραχὺς ὦν πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ αὐθάδης, ἠγανάκτει μάλιστα, φάσκων οὐ καλῶς ἐν βαρβάροις καὶ πολεμίοις ὑβρίζεσθαι Μακεδόνας, πολὺ βελτίονας τῶν γελώντων, εἰ καὶ δυστυχίᾳ κέχρηται. φησάντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Κλεῖτον αὐτῷ συνηγορεῖν, δυστυχίαν ἀποφαίνοντα τὴν δειλίαν, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ Κλεῖτος "αὐτὴ μέντοι ς'" εἶπεν "ἢ δειλία τὸν ἐκ θεῶν, ἤδη τῷ Σπιθριδάτου ξίφει τὸν νῶτον ἐπιτρέποντα,
- 2025 περιεποίησε, καὶ τῷ Μακεδόνων αἵματι καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι τούτοις ἐγένου τηλικούτος, ὥστ' Ἄμμωνι σαυτὸν εἰσποιεῖν, ἀπειπάμενος Φίλιππον".

- Not long after this happened came the deplorable end of Clitus, which, to those who first hear the matter, may seem more inhuman than that of Philotas. If we consider the story with its circumstance of time, and weigh the cause, however, we shall find it to have occurred rather through a sort of accident of the king's, whose anger and over-drinking offered an occasion to the evil genius of Clitus.
- 2030 The king had a present of Grecian fruit brought him from the sea-coast, which was so fresh and beautiful that he was surprised at it, and called Clitus to him to see it, and to give him a share of it. Clitus was then sacrificing, but he immediately left off and came, followed by three sheep, on whom the drink-offering had been already poured preparatory to sacrificing them. Alexander, being informed of this, told his diviners, Aristander and Cleomantis the Lacedaemonian, and asked them what it meant; on whose assuring him it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all haste to offer sacrifices for Clitus' safety, forasmuch as three days before he himself had seen a

- 2035 strange vision in his sleep, of Clitus all in mourning, sitting by Parmenio's sons who were dead. Clitus, however, did not stay to finish his devotions, but came straight to supper with the king, who had sacrificed to Castor and Pollux. When they had drunk pretty hard, some of the company began singing the verses of one Pranichus, or as others say of Pierion, which were made upon those captains who had been lately worsted by the barbarians, on purpose to disgrace and turn them to
- 2040 ridicule. This gave offence to the older men who were there, and they upbraided both

- 2045 When they had drunk pretty hard, some of the company began singing the verses of one Pranicus, or as others say of Pierion, which were made upon those captains who had been lately worsted by the barbarians, on purpose to disgrace and turn them to ridicule. This gave offence to the older men who were there, and they upbraided both

- the author and the singer of the verses, though Alexander and the younger men about him thought they were funny, and encouraged them to go on, till at last Clitus, who had drunk too much, and was besides of a forward and willful temper, was so nettled that he could stay silent no longer. He said it was not well done to expose the Macedonians before the barbarians and their enemies, since though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better men than those who laughed at them. And when Alexander remarked, that Clitus was pleading his own cause, giving cowardice the name of misfortune, Clitus started up: "This cowardice, as you are pleased to term it," said he to him, "saved the life of a son of the gods, when in flight from Spithridates's sword; it is by the expense of Macedonian blood, and by these wounds, that you are now raised to such a height as to be able to disown your father Philip, and call yourself the son of Amun."
- [51] Παροξυνθείς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος "ἦ ταῦτ'" εἶπεν "ᾧ κακὴ κεφαλὴ σὺ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐκάστοτε λέγων καὶ διαστασιάζων Μακεδόνας χαιρήσεις νομίζεις;" "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν" ἔφη "χαίρομεν Ἀλέξανδρε, τοιαῦτα τέλη τῶν πόνων κομιζόμενοι, μακαρίζομεν δὲ τοὺς ἤδη τεθνηκότας, πρὶν ἐπιθεῖν Μηδικαῖς ῥάβδοις ξαινομένους Μακεδόνας, καὶ Περσῶν δεομένους ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέλθωμεν". τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κλείτου παρρησιαζομένου, καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντανισταμένων καὶ λοιδορούντων αὐτόν, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατέχειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸν θόρυβον. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποστραφεὶς πρὸς Ξενόδοχον τὸν Καρδιανὸν καὶ τὸν Κολοφώνιον Ἀρτέμιον, "οὐ δοκοῦσιν" εἶπεν "ὑμῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὡσπερ ἐν θηρίοις ἡμίθεοι περιπατεῖν;"
- "You base fellow," said Alexander, who was now thoroughly exasperated, "do you think you can speak these things everywhere about me, and stir up the Macedonians to rebellion? Do you think you will not be punished for it?"
- "We are punished enough already," answered Clitus, "if this is how we are paid for our work! Theirs is a happy lot who have not lived to see their countrymen beaten with Median whips and forced to beg to the Persians to have access to their king."
- While he talked thus at random, and those near Alexander got up from their seats and began to revile him in turn, the older men did what they could to compose the disorder. Alexander, in the meantime turning about to Xenodochus, the Pardian, and Artemius, the Colophonian, asked if they were not of opinion that the Greeks, in comparison with the Macedonians, behaved themselves like so many demigods among wild beasts.
- τοῦ δὲ Κλείτου μὴ εἰκοντος, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον ἔαν ἃ βούλεται λέγειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύοντος, ἢ μὴ καλεῖν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἄνδρας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρρησίαν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ βαρβάρων ζῆν καὶ ἀνδραπόδων, οἱ τὴν Περσικὴν ζώνην καὶ τὸν διάλευκον αὐτοῦ χιτῶνα προσκυνήσουσιν, οὐκέτι φέρων τὴν ὀργὴν Ἀλέξανδρος, μήλων παρακειμένων ἐνὶ βαλῶν ἔπαισεν αὐτόν καὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐζήτει. τῶν δὲ σωματοφυλάκων ἐνὸς Ἀριστοφάνους φθάσαντος ὑφελέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων περιεχόντων καὶ δεομένων, ἀναπηδήσας ἀνεβόα Μακεδονιστὶ καλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς· τοῦτο δ' ἦν σύμβολον θορύβου μεγάλου· καὶ τὸν σαλπικτιὴν ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν καὶ πῦξ ἔπαισεν ὡς διατρίβοντα καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὕστερον εὐδοκίμησεν, ὡς τοῦ μὴ συνταραχθῆναι τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰτιώτατος γενόμενος. τὸν δὲ Κλείτον οὐχ ὑφιέμενον οἱ φίλοι μόλις ἐξέσωσαν τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος· ὁ δὲ κατ' ἄλλας θύρας αὔθις εἰσῆει, μάλ' ὀλιγῶρος καὶ θρασέως Εὐριπίδου τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης ἰαμβεῖα ταῦτα περαίων·
- οἴμοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται.
- *****
- But Clitus for all this would not stop, desiring Alexander to speak out if he had anything more to say, or else why did he invite men who were freeborn and accustomed to speak their minds openly without restraint to sup with him. He had better live and converse with barbarians and slaves who would not scruple to bow the knee to his Persian girdle and his white tunic.
- These words so provoked Alexander that, not able to suppress his anger any longer, he threw one of the apples that lay upon the table at him, and it hit him. He then looked for his sword, but Aristophanes, one of his guards, had hidden it away. Other men came about him and pleaded with him to stop, but their efforts were in vain. Breaking away from them, he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian language, which was a certain sign of some great disturbance in him, and he commanded a trumpeter to sound, giving him a blow with his clenched fist for not instantly obeying him (though afterwards the same man was commended for disobeying an order which would have put the whole army into tumult and confusion).
- Clitus still refused to yield, and was pushed with much trouble by his friends out of the room. But he came in again immediately at another door, very irreverently and confidently singing the verses out of Euripides's Andromache,
- "In Greece, alas! how ill things ordered are."

- 2115 Οὕτω δὴ λαβὼν παρά τινος τῶν δορυφόρων Ἀλέξανδρος αἰχμὴν, ἀπαντῶντα τὸν Κλεῖτον αὐτῷ καὶ παράγοντα τὸ πρὸ τῆς θύρας παρακάλυμμα διελαύνει. πεσόντος δὲ μετὰ στεναγμοῦ καὶ βρυχήματος, εὐθύς ἀφῆκεν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτόν, καὶ γενόμενος παρ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἰδὼν ἀφώνους ἐστῶτας, ἐλκύσασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἔφθασε, παῖσαι δ' ἑαυτὸν ὀρμήσας παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπεσχέθη, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ λαβόντων καὶ τὸ σῶμα βίᾳ παρενεγκόντων εἰς τὸν θάλαμον.
- 2120 Upon this, at last, Alexander, snatching a spear from one of the soldiers, met Clitus as he was coming forward by the curtain that hung before the door, and he ran him through the body. Clitus fell at once with a cry and a groan. Upon which the king's anger immediately vanishing, he came perfectly to himself, and when he saw his friends about him all in a profound silence, he pulled the spear out of the dead body, and would have thrust it into his own throat, if the guards had not held his hands and by main force carried him away into his chamber, where all that night and the next day he wept bitterly, till being quite spent with lamenting and exclaiming, he lay as it were speechless, only fetching deep sighs.
- 2130 [52] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα κακῶς κλαίων διήνεγκε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἤδη τῷ βοᾷν καὶ θρηνεῖν ἀπειρηκῶς ἀναυδὸς ἔκειτο, βαρεῖς ἀναφέρων στεναγμούς, δέισαντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν ἀποσιώπησιν εἰσήλθον βίᾳ. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ προσίετο τοὺς λόγους, Ἀριστάνδρου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπομιμνήσκοντος αὐτὸν τὴν τ' ὄψιν ἣν εἶδε περὶ τοῦ Κλεῖτου καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὡς δὴ πάλαι καθειμαρμένων τούτων, ἔδοξεν ἐνδιδόναι.
- 2135 His friends apprehending some harm from his silence, broke into the room, but he took no notice of what any of them said, till Aristander putting him in mind of the vision he had seen concerning Clitus, and the prodigy that followed, as if all had come to pass by an unavoidable fatality, he then seemed to moderate his grief.
- 2140 Διὸ Καλλισθένην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον παρεισήγαγον, Ἀριστοτέλους οἰκεῖον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην Ἀνάξαρχον. ὧν Καλλισθένης μὲν ἠθικῶς ἐπειράτο καὶ πρῶως ὑποδυσόμενος τῷ λόγῳ καὶ περιῶν ἀλύπως λαβέσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δ' Ἀνάξαρχος ἰδίαν τινὰ πορευόμενος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄδον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, καὶ δόξαν εἰληφῶς ὑπεροψίας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας τῶν συνήθων, εὐθύς εἰσελθὼν ἀνεβόησεν· "οὐτός ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη νῦν ἀποβλέπει· ὁ δ' ἔρριπται κλαίων ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδον, ἀνθρώπων νόμον καὶ ψόγον δεδοικῶς, οἷς αὐτὸν προσήκει νόμον εἶναι καὶ ὄρον τῶν δικαίων, ἐπεὶ περ ἄρχειν καὶ κρατεῖν νενίκηκεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλεύειν ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης κεκρατημένον". "οὐκ οἶσθ'" εἶπεν "ὅτι τὴν Δίκην ἔχει πάρεδρον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τὴν θέμιν, ἵνα πᾶν τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεμιτὸν ᾦ καὶ δίκαιον;"
- 2145 They now brought Callisthenes, the philosopher, who was the near friend of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera, to him. Callisthenes used moral language, and gentle and soothing means, hoping to find access for words of reason, and get a hold upon the passion. But Anaxarchus, who had always taken a course of his own in philosophy, and had a name for despising and slighting his contemporaries, as soon as he came in, cried aloud, "Is this the Alexander whom the whole world looks to, lying here weeping like a slave, for fear of the censure and reproach of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law and measure of equity, if he would use the right his conquests have given him as supreme lord and governor of all, and not be the victim of a vain and idle opinion? Do not you know," said he, "that Zeus is represented to have Justice and Law on each hand of him, to signify that all the actions of a conqueror are lawful and just?"
- 2150 τοιοῦτοις τισὶ λόγοις χρησάμενος ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος, τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκούφισε τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ δ' ἦθος εἰς πολλὰ χαυνότερον καὶ παρανομώτερον ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ δαιμονίως ἐνήρμοσε, καὶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους τὴν ὁμιλίαν, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐπίχαριν διὰ τὸ αὐστηρὸν οὔσαν, προσδιέβαλε.
- 2155 Λέγεται δὲ ποτε παρὰ δεῖπνον ὑπὲρ ὧρῶν καὶ κράσεως τοῦ περιέχοντος λόγων ὄντων τὸν Καλλισθένην, μετέχοντα δόξης τοῖς {δὲ} λέγουσι τάκεῖ μᾶλλον εἶναι ψυχρὰ καὶ δυσχεῖμερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐναντιουμένου τοῦ Ἀναξάρχου καὶ φιλονικοῦντος, εἶπεῖν· "ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνάγκη σοὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι ψυχρότερα· σὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐν τρίβωνι διεχειμάζεις, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τρεῖς ἐπιβεβλημένος δάπιδας κατάκεισαι".
- 2160 With these and similar speeches, Anaxarchus indeed stopped the king's grief, but at the same time corrupted his character, rendering him more assertive and lawless than he had been. Nor did Anaxarchus fail to insinuate himself into Alexander's his favor, and to make Callisthenes's company, which at all times, because of his austerity, was not very acceptable, more uneasy and disagreeable to Alexander.
- 2165 It happened that these two philosophers met at an entertainment where conversation turned on the subject of climate and the temperature of the air. Callisthenes joined with their opinion, who held that those countries were colder, and the winter sharper there than in Greece. Anaxarchus would by no means allow this, but argued against it with some heat. "Surely," said Callisthenes, "you must admit this country to be

- colder than Greece, for there you used to have but one threadbare cloak to keep out the coldest winter, and here you must have three good warm cloaks one over another." τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀνάξαρχον καὶ τοῦτο προσπαρώξυνε. This insinuation irritated Anaxarchus and the other pretenders to learning,
- [53] Τοὺς δ' ἄλλους σοφιστὰς καὶ κόλακας ὁ Καλλισθένης ἐλύπει, σπουδαζόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νέων διὰ τὸν λόγον, οὐχ ἥτιον δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀρέσκων διὰ τὸν βίον, εὐτακτον ὄντα καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ βεβαιοῦντα τὴν λεγομένην τῆς ἀποδημίας πρόφασιν, ὅτι τοὺς πολίτας καταγαγεῖν καὶ κατοικίσει πάλιν τὴν πατρίδα φιλοτιμούμενος ἀνέβη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. φθονούμενος δὲ διὰ τὴν δόξαν, ἔστιν ἂ καὶ καθ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς διαβάλλουσι παρεῖχε, τὰς τε κλήσεις τὰ πολλὰ διωθούμενος, ἐν τε τῷ συνείναι βαρύτητι καὶ σιωπῇ δοκῶν οὐκ ἐπαίνειν οὐδ' ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ· μισῶ σοφιστὴν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός. Λέγεται δέ ποτε πολλῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπαίνεσαι κελευσθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιηρίου Μακεδόνας ὁ Καλλισθένης οὕτως εὐροῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὥστ' ἀνισταμένους κροτεῖν καὶ βάλλειν τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' αὐτόν·
- and the crowd of flatterers in general could not endure to see Callisthenes so much admired and followed by the young men, and no less esteemed by the older men for his orderly life and his gravity, and for being contented with his condition, and for confirming his goal with Alexander, that it was only to get his countrymen recalled from banishment, and to rebuild and re-people his native town.
- Besides the envy which his great reputation raised, Callisthenes also, by his own behavior, gave his ill-wishers opportunity to do him harm. For when he was invited to public entertainments, he would most times refuse to come, or if he were present at any, he put a constraint upon the company by his austerity and silence, which seemed to intimate his disapproval of what he saw. Alexander himself said in application to him, "That vain pretence to wisdom I detest, where a man's blind to his own interest."
- Being with many more invited to dine with the king, he was called upon when the cup came to him, to make an oration extempore in praise of the Macedonians, and he did it with such a flow of eloquence, that all who heard it rose from their seats to clap and applaud him, and threw their garland upon him.
- εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι, κατ' Εὐριπίδην, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν λόγων καλὰς ἀφορμὰς οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν· ἄλλ' ἐνδειξαί" φάναι "τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἡμῖν κατηγορήσας Μακεδόνων, ἵνα καὶ βελτίους γένωνται μαθόντες ἂ πλημμελοῦσιν". οὕτω δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὴν παλινωδίαν τραπόμενον πολλὰ παρρησιάσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν στάσιν αἰτίαν ἀποφῆναντα τῆς γενομένης περὶ Φίλιππον αὐξήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως, εἰπεῖν· ἐν δὲ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔλλαχε τιμῆς· ἐφ' ᾧ πικρὸν καὶ βαρὺ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐγγενέσθαι μῖσος, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐ τῆς δεινότητος ὁ Καλλισθένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς δυσμενείας Μακεδόσιν ἀπόδειξιν δέδωκε.
- Only Alexander told him out of Euripides, "I wonder not that you have spoken so well: it's easy on good subjects to excel." "Therefore," said Alexander, "if you will show the force of your eloquence, tell my Macedonians their faults, and dispraise them, that by hearing their errors they may learn to be better for the future." Callisthenes presently obeyed him, retracting all he had said before, and, inveighing against the Macedonians with great freedom. He added that Philip had thrived and grown powerful, chiefly by the discord of the Greeks. He applied to Philip this verse, "In civil strife even villains rise to fame," which so offended the Macedonians, that Callithenes was odious to them ever after. And Alexander said, that instead of his eloquence, he had only made his ill-will appear in what he had spoken.
- [54] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἑρμιππὸς φησι τὸν ἀναγνώστην τοῦ Καλλισθένου Στροῖβον Ἀριστοτέλει διηγεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην συνέντα τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τοῦ βασιλέως δις ἢ τρίς ἀπιόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· κάθθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.
- οὐ φαύλως οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔοικεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι Καλλισθένης λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δυνατὸς καὶ μέγας, νοῦν δ' οὐκ εἶχεν. Ἀλλὰ τὴν γε προσκύνησιν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπώσάμενος καὶ φιλοσόφως, καὶ μόνος ἐν φανερωῖ διελθὼν ἂ κρύφα πάντες οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἠγανάκτουσιν, τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας αἰσχύνῃς ἀπήλλαξε μεγάλης, καὶ μείζονος Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀποτρέψας τὴν προσκύνησιν, αὐτὸν δ' ἀπώλεσεν, ἐκβιάσασθαι δοκῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα.
- Hermippus assures us that one Stroebeus, a servant whom Callisthenes kept to read to him, told the whole story afterwards to Aristotle. When Callisthenes saw the king growing more and more hostile to him, two or three times, as he departed, he recited Homer's verses, "Death seized at last on great Patroklos, too, Though in virtue he

2245 far exceeded you." Not without reason, therefore, did Aristotle give this character
of Callisthenes, that he was, indeed, a powerful speaker, but he had no tact. He
acted certainly a true philosopher's part in refusing to pay adoration and in
speaking out openly against faults that the most powerful and serious of the
Macedonians only discussed in private. He delivered the Greeks and Alexander from
2250 disgrace, when he was successful in his criticisms, but he ruined himself by it,
because he went too roughly to work, as if he would have forced the king to that
which he should done by reason and persuasion.
Χάρης δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖός φησι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πιόντα φιάλην προτεῖναι
2255 τινι τῶν φίλων· τὸν δὲ δεξάμενον πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστῆναι, καὶ πιόντα προσκυνῆσαι
πρῶτον, εἶτα φιλήσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον {ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ} καὶ κατακλιθῆναι. πάντων δὲ
τοῦτο ποιούντων ἐφεξῆς, τὸν Καλλισθένην λαβόντα τὴν φιάλην, οὐ προσέχοντος τοῦ
βασιλέως, ἀλλ' Ἡφαιστίωνι προσδιαλεγομένου, πιόντα προσιέναι φιλήσοντα· Δημητρίου δὲ
2260 τοῦ προσονομαζομένου Φεΐδωνος εἰπόντος "ᾧ βασιλεῦ, μὴ φιλήσης· οὗτος γάρ σε μόνος οὐ
προσεκύνησε," διακλῖναι τὸ φίλημα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην μέγα φθεγγάμενον
εἶπεῖν· "φιλήματι τοίνυν ἔλασσον ἔχων ἄπειμι".
Chares of Mitylene writes, that at a banquet Alexander, after he had drunk, gave the
cup to one of his friends, who, on receiving it, rose up towards the domestic altar,
and when he had drunk, first adored and then kissed Alexander, and afterwards laid
2265 himself down at the table with the rest. All the rest of the company performed the
same ritual, one after another, until it came to Callisthenes's turn, who took the
cup and drank, while the king, who was engaged in conversation with Hephaestion, was
not observing, and then came and offered to kiss him. But Demetrius Phidon stopped
him, warning, "Sir, by no means let him kiss you, for he only of us all has refused
to adore you." The king declined the kiss, and the only concern that Callisthenes
2270 showed was that he said aloud, "Then I go away with a kiss less than the rest."
The displeasure Callisthenes incurred by this action gave support to Hephaestion's
declaration that he had broken his word to the king in not paying the same veneration
that others did, as it was his duty to do. And to finish his disgrace, a number of
men, such as Lysimachus and Hagnon, now came in with their accusations that the
2275 sophist went about everywhere boasting of his resistance to arbitrary power, and that
the young men all ran after him, and honored him as the only man among so many
thousands who had the courage to preserve his liberty.

[55] Τοιαύτης ὑπογινομένης ἀλλοτριότητος, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡφαιστίων
2280 ἐπιστεύετο λέγων, ὅτι συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλισθένης προσκυνῆσαι, ψεύσαιτο τὴν
ὁμολογίαν· ἔπειτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Ἄγωνες ἐπεφύοντο, φάσκοντες περιϊέναι τὸν σοφιστὴν
ὡς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τυραννίδος μέγα φρονούντα, καὶ συντρέχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ μειράκια καὶ
περιέπειν, ὡς μόνον ἐλεύθερον ἐν τισαύταις μυριάσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόλαον
ἐπιβουλεσάντων τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ φανερῶν γενομένων, ἔδοξαν ἀληθέσιν ὁμοῖα κατηγορεῖν
2285 οἱ διαβάλλοντες, ὡς τῷ μὲν προβαλόντι, πῶς ἂν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτ' ἄνθρωπος, εἶπεν "ἂν
ἀποκτείνῃ τὸν ἐνδοξότατον," τὸν δ' Ἑρμόλαον ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν παροξύνων ἐκέλευε μὴ
δεδιέναι τὴν χρυσοῦν κλίνην, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύειν ὅτι καὶ νοσοῦντι καὶ τιτρωσκομένῳ
πρόσεισιν ἄνθρωπῳ. καίτοι τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόλαον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης τοῦ
Καλλισθένους κατεῖπεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς εὐθύς Κρατερῶ γράφων καὶ Ἀτίτῳ καὶ
2290 Ἀλκέτῃ φησὶ τοὺς παῖδας βασανιζομένους ὁμολογεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πράξειαν, ἄλλος δ'
οὐδεὶς συνειδείῃ.

Therefore when a conspiracy by Hermolaus came to be discovered, the charges which
Callisthenes' enemies brought against him were the more easily believed, particularly
the charge that when Hermolaus asked him what he should do to be the most illustrious
2295 person on earth, Callisthenes told him the readiest way was to kill the person who
was already so, and that to incite him to commit the deed, he told him not be awed by
the golden couch, but remember Alexander was a man equally infirm and vulnerable as
any other. However, none of Hermolaus's accomplices, in the utmost extremity under
torture, made any mention of Callisthenes's being engaged in the conspiracy. Indeed,
2300 Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote soon after to Craterus, Attalus, and
Alcetas, tells them that the young men who were put to the torture declared they had
entered into the plot of themselves, without any others being privy to or guilty of
it.

ἕστερον δὲ γράφων πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν Καλλισθένην συνεπαίτιασάμενος, "οἱ μὲν
2305 παῖδες" φησὶν "ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελεύσθησαν, τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν ἐγὼ κολάσω καὶ τοὺς
ἐκπέψαντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας,"
ἀντικρὺς ἐν γε τούτοις ἀποκαλυπτόμενος πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέθραπτο
Καλλισθένης παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἐξ Ἡροῦς γεγονώς, ἀνεψιᾶς Ἀριστοτέλους.
ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου κρεμασθέντα λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐν πέδαις
2310 δεδεμένον καὶ νοσήσαντα, Χάρης δὲ μετὰ τὴν σύλληψιν ἐπιτὰ μῆνας φυλάττεσθαι δεδεμένον,

ὡς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κριθείη παρόντος Ἀριστοτέλους· ἐν αἷς δ' ἡμέραις Ἀλέξανδρος {ἐν Μαλλοῖς Ὁξυδράκαις} ἐτρώθη περὶ τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπέρπαχυν γενόμενον καὶ φθειριάσαντα.

2315 But yet later, in a letter to Antipater, Alexander accuses Callisthenes. "The young men," he says, "were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but for the sophist [meaning Callisthenes] I will take care also to punish the one who sent him to me, and all those who harbor in their cities persons who conspire against my life." This is an unequivocal threat against Aristotle, in whose house Callisthenes, being his niece Hero's son, had been educated.

2320 Callisthenes' death is variously reported. Some say he was hanged by Alexander's orders. Others say that he died of sickness in prison. Chares writes he was kept in chains seven months after he was arrested, so that he might be prosecuted in full council, when Aristotle would be present, but he contracted a disease of vermin in prison, he grew swollen and there died, about the time that Alexander was wounded in
2325 India, in the country of the Malli Oxhydracae, all which came to pass afterwards.

[56] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη. Δημάρατος δ' ὁ Κορίνθιος ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐφιλοτιμήθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀναβῆναι· καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν εἶπε μεγάλης ἡδονῆς ἐστερησθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι τεθνήκασι πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλέον γε τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέλαυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρρωστίας ἀποθανῶν ἐκηδεύθη μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ τάφον ἔχωσεν ὁ στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῇ περιμέτρῳ μέγαν, ὕψος δὲ πηχῶν ὀγδοήκοντα· τὰ δὲ λείψανα τέθριππον κεκοσμημένον λαμπρῶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατεκόμισε.

2330 For to go on in order, Demaratus of Corinth, now quite an old man, had made a great effort, about this time, to pay Alexander a visit; and when he had seen him, said he pitied the misfortune of those Greeks, who were so unhappy as to die before they had beheld Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But he did not long enjoy the benefit of the king's kindness for him, any otherwise than that soon after falling sick and dying, he had a magnificent funeral, and the army raised him a monument of earth fourscore cubits high, and of a vast circumference. His ashes were conveyed in
2335 a very rich chariot, drawn by four horses, to the seaside.

[57] Μέλλων δ' ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ὡς ἑώρα πλήθει λαφύρων τὴν στρατιάν ἤδη βαρεῖαν καὶ δυσκίνητον οὔσαν, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ συνεσκευασμένων τῶν ἀμαξῶν πρῶτας μὲν ὑπέπηρσε τὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐταίρων, μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἐκέλευσε καὶ ταῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐνεῖναι πῦρ. καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ βούλευμα μεῖζον ἐφάνη καὶ δεινότερον ἢ τὸ ἔργον· ὀλίγους μὲν γὰρ ἠνίασεν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι βοῆ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς δεομένοις μεταδιδόντες, τὰ δὲ περιόντια τῆς χρείας αὐτοὶ κατακαίοντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλασαν τὸν
2350 Ἀλέξανδρον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος κολαστῆς τῶν πλημμελοῦντων· καὶ γὰρ Μένανδρόν τινα τῶν ἐταίρων ἀρχοντα φρουρίου καταστήσας, ὡς οὐκ ἐβούλετο μένειν, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ἀποστάντων βαρβάρων Ὀρσοδάτην αὐτὸς κατετόξευσε.

Alexander, now intent upon his expedition into India, took notice that his soldiers were so charged with booty that it hindered their marching. Therefore, at break of
2355 day, as soon as the baggage wagons were laden first he set fire to his own, and to those of his friends, and then commanded those to be burnt which belonged to the rest of the army. An act which in the deliberation of it had seemed more dangerous and difficult than it proved in the execution, with which few were dissatisfied for most of the soldiers, as if they had been inspired, uttering loud outcries and warlike shoutings, supplied one another with what was absolutely necessary, and burnt and destroyed all that was superfluous, the sight of which redoubled Alexander's zeal and eagerness for his design. And, indeed, he was now grown very severe and inexorable in punishing those who committed any fault. For he put Menander, one of his friends, to death for deserting a fortress where he had placed him in garrison, and shot
2360 Orsodates, one of the barbarians who revolted from him, with his own hand.

προβάτου δὲ τεκόντος ἄρνα περὶ τῆ κεφαλῆ σχῆμα καὶ χρῶμα τιάρας ἔχοντα καὶ διδύμους ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῆς, βδελυχθεὶς τὸ σημεῖον ἐκαθάρθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οὓς ἐξ ἔθους ἐπήγετο πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, διελέχθη δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνους ταραττοίτο, μὴ τὸ κράτος εἰς ἀγεννῆ καὶ ἀναλκιν ἄνθρωπον ἐκλιπόντος αὐτοῦ
2370 περισῆση τὸ δαιμόνιον.

At this time a sheep happened to yean a lamb, with the perfect shape and color of a tiara upon the head, and testicles on each side; which portent Alexander regarded with such dislike, that he immediately caused his Babylonian priests, whom he usually carried about with him for such purposes, to purify him, and told his friends he was
2375 not so much concerned for his own sake as for theirs, out of an apprehension that after his death the divine power might suffer his empire to fall into the hands of

some degenerate, impotent person.

2380 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βέλτιόν τι σημεῖον γενόμενον τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔλυσεν. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
στρωματοφυλάκων τεταγμένος ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν ὄνομα Πρόξενος, τῆ βασιλικῆ σκηνῆ χώραν
ὀρύτιων παρὰ τὸν Ὠξὸν ποταμόν, ἀνεκάλυψε πηγὴν ὑγροῦ λιπαροῦ καὶ πιμελώδους·
ἀπαντιλουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου, καθαρὸν ἀνέβλυζεν ἤδη καὶ διαυγές {ἐλαίον}, οὔτ' ὁσμῆ
δοκοῦν ἐλαίου διαφέρειν οὔτε γεύσει, στιλπνότητά τε καὶ λιπαρότητα παντάπασιν
2385 ἀπαράλλακτον, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς χώρας μὴδ' ἐλαίας φερούσης. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Ὠξὸν
αὐτὸν εἶναι μαλακώτατον ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὸ δέρμα τοῖς λουομένοις ἐπιλιπαίνειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
καὶ θαυμαστῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἠσθεὶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν γράφει πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ἐν τοῖς
μεγίστοις τοῦτο τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότων αὐτῷ τιθέμενος. οἱ δὲ μάντιες ἐνδόξου μὲν
στρατείας, ἐπιπόνου δὲ καὶ χαλεπῆς τὸ σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο· πόνων γὰρ ἀρωγὴν ἐλαίον
ἀνθρῶποις ὑπὸ θεοῦ δεδῶσθαι.

2390 But this fear was soon removed by a wonderful thing that happened not long after, and
was thought to presage better. For Proxenus, a Macedonian, who was the chief of those
who looked to the king's furniture, as he was breaking up the ground near the river
Oxus, to set up the royal pavilion, discovered a spring of a fat oily liquor, which,
after the top was taken off, ran pure, clear oil, without any difference either of
2395 taste or smell, having exactly the same smoothness and brightness, and that, too, in
a country where no olives grew. The water, indeed, of the river Oxus, is said to be
the smoothest to the feeling of all waters, and to leave a gloss on the skins of
those who bathe themselves in it. Whatever might be the cause, certain it is that
Alexander was wonderfully pleased with it, as appears by his letters to Antipater,
where he speaks of it as one of the most remarkable presages that God had ever
2400 favored him with. The diviners told him it signified his expedition would be glorious
in the event, but very painful and attended with many difficulties; for oil, they
said, was bestowed on mankind by God as a refreshment of their labors.

2405 [58] Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς μάχας αὐτῷ κίνδυνοι συνέπεσον,
καὶ τραύμασι νεανικοῖς ἀπήνησε, τὴν δὲ πλείστην φθορὰν ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ
δυσκρασίαι τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀπειργάσαντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ τόλμη τὴν τύχην
ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀρετῆ φιλοτιμούμενος, οὐδὲν ᾤετο τοῖς θαρροῦσιν ἀνάλωτον
οὔδ' ὄχυρόν εἶναι τοῖς ἀτόλμοις.

2410 Nor did they judge wrong, for he exposed himself to many hazards in the battles which
he fought, and received very severe wounds, but the greatest loss in his army was
occasioned through the unwholesomeness of the air and the lack of necessary
provisions. But he still applied himself to overcome fortune and whatever opposed
him, by resolution and virtue, and thought nothing impossible to true intrepidity,
and on the other hand nothing secure or strong for cowardice.

2415 λέγεται δὲ τὴν Σισιμίθρου πολιορκῶν πέτραν, ἀπότομον οὔσαν καὶ ἀπρόσβατον, ἀθυμούντων
τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν Ὀξυάρτην, ποῖός τις αὐτὸς εἶη τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ Σισιμίθρης.
φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀξυάρτου δειλότατον ἀνθρώπων, "λέγεις σύ γε" φάναι "τὴν πέτραν
ἀλώσιμον ἡμῖν εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον αὐτῆς οὐκ ὄχυρόν ἐστι". ταύτην μὲν οὖν ἐκφοβήσας
τὸν Σισιμίθρην ἔλαβεν.

2420 It is told of him that when he besieged Sisimithres, who held an inaccessible,
impregnable rock against him, and his soldiers began to despair of taking it, he
asked Oxyartes whether Sisimithres was a man of courage, who assuring him he was the
greatest coward alive, "Then you tell me," said he, "that the place may easily be
taken, since what is in command of it is weak." And in a little time he so terrified
2425 Sisimithres that he took it without any difficulty.

ἐτέρῳ δ' ὁμοίως ἀποτόμῳ προσβαλὼν ἔχων τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἀλέξανδρον τινα
καλούμενον προσαγορεύσας, "ἀλλὰ σοί γ' " εἶπεν "ἀνδραγαθεῖν προσήκει καὶ διὰ τὴν
ἐπωνυμίαν". ἐπεὶ δὲ λαμπρῶς ὁ νεανίας ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν, οὐ μετρίως ἐδήχθη. τῆ δὲ
καλουμένη Νύση τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀκνοῦντων προσάγειν (καὶ γὰρ ποταμὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτῆ
2430 βαθύς), ἐπιστάς "τί γάρ;" εἶπεν "ὁ κάκιστος ἐγὼ νεῖν οὐκ ἔμαθον;" καὶ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν
ἀσπίδα περὰν ἠθέλησεν. *** ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπαύσαντος τὴν μάχην αὐτοῦ παρήσαν ἀπὸ τῶν
πολιορκουμένων πόλεων πρέσβεις δεησόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν ὀφθεῖς ἀθεράπευτος ἐν τοῖς
ὄπλοις, ἐξέπληξεν αὐτούς· ἔπειτα προσκεφαλαίου τινὸς αὐτῷ κομισθέντος, ἐκέλευσε
λαβόντα καθίσει τὸν πρεσβύτατον· Ἄκουφισ ἐκαλεῖτο. θαυμάσας οὖν τὴν {λαμ}πραότητα καὶ
2435 φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ Ἄκουφισ ἠρώτα, τί βούλεται ποιοῦντας αὐτούς ἔχειν φίλους. φήσαντος δὲ
τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου "σὲ μὲν ἄρχοντα καταστήσαντας αὐτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς πέμψαντας ἕκατον
ἀνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους," γελάσας ὁ Ἄκουφισ "ἀλλὰ βέλτιον" εἶπεν "ἄρξω βασιλεῦ, τοὺς
κακίστους πρὸς σὲ πέμψας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀρίστους".

2440 At an attack which he made upon such another precipitous place with some of his
Macedonian soldiers, he called to one whose name was Alexander, and told him he at
any rate must fight bravely if it were but for his name's sake. The youth fought
gallantly and was killed in the action, at which he was sensibly afflicted. Another

time, seeing his men march slowly and unwillingly to the siege of the place called Nysa, because of a deep river between them and the town, he advanced before them, and
 2445 standing upon the bank, "What a miserable man," said he, "am I, that I have not learned to swim!" and then was hardly dissuaded from endeavoring to pass it upon his shield. Here, after the assault was over, the ambassadors who from several towns which he had blocked up came to submit to him and make their peace, were surprised to
 2450 find him still in his armor, without any one in waiting or attendance upon him, and when at last some one brought him a cushion, he made the eldest of them, named Acuphis, take it and sit down upon it. The old man, marveling at his magnanimity and courtesy, asked him what his countrymen should do to merit his friendship. "I would have them," said Alexander, "choose you to govern them, and send one hundred of the most worthy men among them to remain with me as hostages." Acuphis laughed and
 2455 answered, "I shall govern them with more ease, sir, if I send you so many of the worst, rather than the best of my subjects."

[59] Ὁ δὲ Ταξίλης λέγεται μὲν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔχειν μοῖραν οὐκ ἀποδέουσιν Αἰγύπτου τὸ μέγεθος, εὖβοτον δὲ καὶ καλλίκαρπον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, σοφὸς δὲ τις ἀνὴρ εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασάμενος "τί δεῖ πολέμων" φάναι "καὶ μάχης ἡμῖν Ἀλέξανδρον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήθ' ὕδωρ ἀφαιρησόμενος ἡμῶν ἀφίξαι, μήτε τροφὴν ἀναγκαίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν μόνων ἀνάγκη διαμάχεσθαι νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις; τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις χρήμασι καὶ κτήμασι λεγομένοις, εἰ μὲν εἰμι κρείττων, ἔτοιμος εὖ ποιεῖν, εἰ δ' ἤτιτων, οὐ φεύγω χάριν ἔχειν εὖ παθῶν". ἤσθεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτόν, "ἦ που νομίζεις" ἔφη
 2460 "δίχα μάχης ἔσσεσθαι τὴν ἔντευξιν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοιούτων λόγων καὶ φιλοφροσύνης; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν σοι πλέον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ διαμαχοῦμαι ταῖς χάρισιν, ὡς μου χρηστὸς ὧν μὴ περιγένη". λαβῶν δὲ δῶρα πολλὰ καὶ δούς πλείονα, τέλος χίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προέπειν· ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἡμερωτέρως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν.

The extent of King Taxiles's dominions in India was thought to be as large as Egypt, abounding in good pastures, and producing beautiful fruits. The king himself had the reputation of a wise man, and at his first interview with Alexander he spoke to him in these terms: "To what purpose," said he, "should we make war upon one another, if the design of your coming into these parts be not to rob us of our water or our
 2470 necessary food, which are the only things that wise men are indispensably obliged to fight for? As for other riches and possessions, as they are accounted in the eye of the world, if I am better provided of them than you, I am ready to let you share with me; but if fortune has been more liberal to you than me, I have no objection to be obliged to you." This discourse pleased Alexander so much that, embracing him, "Do you think," said he to him, "your kind words and courteous behavior will bring you off in this interview without a contest? No, you shall not escape so. I shall contend and do battle with you so far, that no matter how obliging you are, you shall not have the better of me." Then receiving some presents from him, he returned him others of greater value, and to complete his bounty gave him in money ready coined one
 2485 thousand talents; at which his old friends were much displeased, but it gained him the hearts of many of the barbarians.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μισθοφοροῦντες ἐπεφοίτων ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐρωμένως ἀμύνοντες, καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκακοποιοῦν, σπεισάμενος ἐν τινὶ πόλει πρὸς αὐτοῦς, ἀπιόντας ἐν ὁδῷ λαβῶν ἀπαντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἄλλα νομίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντος, ὥσπερ κηλὶς πρόσεστιν. Οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ τούτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι πράγματα παρέσχον αὐτῷ, τοὺς τε προστιθεμένους τῶν βασιλέων κακίζοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους δήμους ἀφιστάντες. διὸ καὶ τούτων πολλοὺς ἐκρέμασε.

The best soldiers of the Indians now entered into the pay of several of the cities, to defend them, and did it so bravely that they put Alexander to a great deal of trouble, until at last they surrendered, and as they were marching away, Alexander put them all to the sword. This breach of his word remains as a blemish upon his achievements in war, which he otherwise had performed throughout with justice and honor that befits a king. Nor was he less disturbed by the Indian philosophers, who criticized those princes who joined his party, and who solicited the free nations to
 2495 oppose him. Alexander took several of these also and caused them to be hanged.

[60] Τὰ δὲ πρὸς Πῶρον αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὡς ἐπράχθη γέγραφε. φησὶ γάρ, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ῥέοντος, ἀντιπρώρους ἰστάντα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἀεὶ τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν διάβασιν. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ θόρυβον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολύν, ἐθίζοντα τοὺς βαρβάρους μὴ φοβεῖσθαι· νυκτὸς δὲ χειμερίου καὶ ἀσελήνου λαβόντα τῶν πεζῶν μέρος, ἵππεῖς δὲ τοὺς κρατίστους, καὶ προελθόντα πόρρω τῶν πολεμίων, διαπερᾶσαι πρὸς νῆσον οὐ μεγάλην.

- 2510 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ῥαγδαίου μὲν ἐκχυθέντος ὄμβρου, πρησιτήρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν εἰς τὸ στρατιόπεδον φερομένων, ὅμως ὀρών ἀπολλυμένους τινὰς καὶ συμφλεγομένους ὑπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς νησιδος ἄρας προσφέρεσθαι ταῖς ἀντιπέρας ὄχθαις. τραχὺν δὲ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπιόντα καὶ μετέωρον ἔκρηγμα ποιῆσαι μέγα, καὶ πολὺ μέρος ἐκεῖνη φέρεσθαι τοῦ ῥεύματος, αὐτοὺς δὲ δέξασθαι τὸ μέσον οὐ βεβαίως, ἅτε δὴ συνολισθάνον καὶ περιρρηγνύμενον. ἐνταῦθα δ' εἰπεῖν φασιν αὐτόν·
- 2515 Alexander, in his own letters, has given us an account of his war with Porus. He says the two armies were separated by the Hydaspes River, on whose opposite bank Porus continually kept his elephants in order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard the passage; that he, on the other hand, made every day a great noise and clamor in his camp, to dissipate the apprehensions of the barbarians; that
- 2520 one stormy dark night he passed the river, at a distance from the place where the enemy lay, into a little island, with part of his foot and the best of his horse. Here there fell a most violent storm of rain, accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and seeing some of his men burnt and dying with the lightning, he nevertheless quitted the island and made over to the other side. The Hydaspes, he
- 2525 says, now after the storm, was so swollen and grown so rapid as to have made a breach in the bank, and a part of the river was now pouring in here, so that when he came across it was with difficulty he got a footing on the land, which was slippery and unsteady, and exposed to the force of the currents on both sides. This is the occasion when he is related to have said,
- 2530 "ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄρα γε πιστεύσαίτ' ἂν, ἡλικίους ὑπομένω κινδύνους ἔνεκα τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν εὐδοξίας;" ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν Ὀνησίκριτος εἶρηκεν· αὐτὸς δέ φησι τὰς σχεδίας ἀφέντας αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τὸ ἔκρηγμα διαβαίνειν, ἄχρι μαστῶν βρεχομένους, διαβάς δὲ τῶν πεζῶν εἴκοσι σταδίους προῖππεῦσαι, λογιζόμενος, εἰ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς ἵπποις προσβάλοιεν, πολὺ κρατήσειν, εἰ δὲ κινοῖεν τὴν φάλαγγα, φθῆσεσθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς αὐτῷ
- 2535 προσγενομένους· θάτερον δὲ συμβῆναι. τῶν γὰρ ἵππέων χιλίους καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐξήκοντα συμπεσόντα τρεψάμενος, τὰ μὲν ἄρματα λαβεῖν ἅπαντα, τῶν δ' ἵππέων ἀνελεῖν τετρακοσίους. οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσαντα τὸν Πῶρον, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη διαβεβηκῶς Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰέναι μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, πλὴν ὅσον ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τοῖς διαβαίνουσι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπέλιπε· φοβηθεῖς δὲ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸς μὲν
- 2540 ἐνσεῖσαι κατὰ θάτερον κέρας, Κοῖνον δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ προσβαλεῖν κελεῦσαι. γενομένης δὲ τροπῆς, ἐκατέρωθεν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία καὶ συνειλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκβιαζομένους, ὅθεν ἤδη τὴν μάχην ἀναμειγμένην εἶναι, καὶ μόλις ὀγδόης ὥρας ἀπειπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ τῆς μάχης ποιητῆς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἶρηκεν. "Ο ye Athenians, will ye believe what dangers I incur to merit your praise?" This,
- 2545 however, is Onesicritus's story. Alexander says, here the men left their boats, and passed the breach in their armor, up to the breast in water, and that then he advanced with his horse about twenty furlongs before his foot, concluding that if the enemy charged him with their cavalry he should be too strong for them; if with their foot, his own would come up time
- 2550 enough to his assistance. Nor did he judge wrongly, for being charged by a thousand horse and sixty armed chariots, which advanced before their main body, he took all the chariots, and killed four hundred of the horse. Porus, by this time, guessing that Alexander himself had crossed over, came on with his whole army, except a party which he left behind, to hold the rest of the
- 2555 Macedonians in play, if they should attempt to pass the river. But he, apprehending the multitude of the enemy, and to avoid the shock of their elephants, dividing his forces, attacked their left wing himself, and commanded Coenus to fall upon the right, which was performed with good success. For by this means both wings being broken, the enemies fell back in their retreat upon the center, and crowded in upon
- 2560 their elephants. There rallying, they fought a hand-to-hand battle, and it was the eighth hour of the day before they were entirely defeated. This description the conqueror himself has left us in his own epistles. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν Πῶρον, ὑπεραίροντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν σπιθαμῇ τὸ μῆκος, ἵππότου μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐλέφαντα συμμετρία διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ σώματος· καίτοι μέγιστος ἦν ὁ ἐλέφας· σύνεσιν δὲ θαυμαστὴν ἐπεδείξατο καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐρρωμένου μὲν ἔτι θυμῷ τοὺς προσμαχομένους ἀμυνόμενος καὶ ἀνακόπτων, ὡς δ' ἦσθετο βελῶν πλήθει καὶ τραυματίων κάμνοντα, δείσας μὴ περιρρηῆ, τοῖς μὲν γόνασιν εἰς γῆν ὑψῆκε πρῶως ἑαυτόν, τῇ δὲ προνομίᾳ λαμβάνων
- 2570 ἀτρέμα τῶν δορατίων ἕκαστον ἐξήρει τοῦ σώματος. Almost all the historians agree in relating that Porus was four cubits and a span high, and that when he was upon his elephant, which was of the largest size, his stature and bulk were so answerable, that he appeared to be proportionately mounted, as a horseman on his horse. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave many singular proofs of sagacity and of particular care of the king, whom as long as he

2575 was strong and in a condition to fight, he defended with great courage, repelling those who set upon him; and as soon as he perceived him overpowered with his numerous wounds and the multitude of darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he softly knelt down and began to draw out the darts with his proboscis.

2580 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ληφθέντα τὸν Πῶρον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠρώτα, πῶς αὐτῷ χρήσεται, "βασιλικῶς" εἶπε· προσπυθόμενου δὲ μή τι καὶ ἄλλο λέγει, "πάντ'" εἶπεν "ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῶς". οὐ μόνον οὖν ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ὧν ἐβασίλευε σατράπην καλούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέθηκε χώραν {καὶ} τῆς αὐτονόμου καταστρεψάμενος, ἐν ᾗ πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ἔθνη, πόλεις δὲ πεντακισχιλίας ἀξιολόγους, κόμας δὲ παμπόλλας εἶναι φασιν· ἄλλης δὲ τρεῖς τοσαύτης Φίλιππον τινα τῶν ἐταίρων σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν.

2585 When Porus was taken prisoner, and Alexander asked him how he expected to be used, he answered, "As a king." For that expression, he said, when the same question was put to him a second time, comprehended everything. And Alexander, accordingly, not only suffered him to govern his own kingdom as satrap under himself, but gave him also the additional territory of various independent tribes whom he subdued, a district which, 2590 it is said, contained fifteen several nations, and five thousand considerable towns, besides abundance of villages. To another government, three times as large as this, he appointed Philip, one of his friends.

2595 [61] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς Πῶρον μάχης καὶ ὁ Βουκεφάλας ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκ εὐθύς, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τραυμάτων θεραπευόμενος, ὡς δ' Ὀνησίκριτος, διὰ γῆρας ὑπέρπονος γενόμενος· τριάκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. ἐδήχθη δ' ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ συνήθη καὶ φίλον ἀποβεβληκέναι νομίζων, καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσας ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην Βουκεφαλίαν προσηγόρευσε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ κύνα Περίταν ὄνομα τεθραμμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ στεργόμενον ἀποβαλὼν, κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. τοῦτο δὲ Σωτίων φησὶ Ποτάμωνος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Λεσβίου.

2600 Some little time after the battle with Porus, Bucephalus died, as most of the authorities state, under cure of his wounds, or, as Onesicritus says, of fatigue and age, being thirty years old. Alexander was no less concerned at his death than if he had lost an old companion or an intimate friend, and built a city, which he named 2605 Bucephalia, in memory of him, on the bank of the river Hydaspes. He also, we are told, built another city, and called it after the name of a favorite dog, Peritas, which he had brought up himself. So Sotion assures us he was informed by Potamon of Lesbos.

2610 [62] Τοὺς μέντοι Μακεδόνας ὁ πρὸς Πῶρον ἀγὼν ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε, καὶ τοῦ πρόσω τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐτι προελθεῖν ἐπέσχε. μόλις γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ὠσάμενοι, δισμυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ δισχιλίοις ἵππεῦσι παραταξάμενοι, ἀντίστησαν ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βιαζομένῳ καὶ τὸν Γάγγην περᾶσαι ποταμόν, εὖρος μὲν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων εἶναι πυνθανόμενοι καὶ βάθος ὀργυιᾶς ἑκατόν, ἀντιπέρας δὲ τὰς ὄχθας ἀποκεκρῦφθαι 2615 πλήθεσιν ὄπλων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων. ἐλέγοντο γὰρ ὀκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας ἵπποῦν, εἴκοσι δὲ πεζῶν, ἄρματα δ' ὀκτακισχίλια καὶ μαχίμους ἐλέφαντας ἑξακισχιλίους ἔχοντες οἱ Γανδαριτῶν καὶ Πραισίων βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν. καὶ κόμπος οὐκ ἦν περὶ ταῦτα.

2620 Ἀνδρόκοιτος γὰρ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ βασιλεύσας Σελεύκῳ πεντακοσίους ἐλέφαντας ἐδώρησατο, καὶ στρατοῦ μυριάσιν ἐξήκοντα τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπῆλθεν ἅπασαν καταστρεφόμενος.

2620 But this last combat with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonians' courage, and stayed their further progress into India. For having found it hard enough to defeat an enemy who brought but twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field, they thought they had reason to oppose Alexander's design of leading them on to pass the Ganges, too, which they were told was thirty-two furlongs broad and as many 2625 fathoms deep, and the banks on the further side covered with multitudes of enemies. For they were told the kings of the Gandaritans and Praesians expected them there with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. Nor was this a mere vain report, spread to discourage them. For Androcottus, who not long after reigned in those parts, made a

2630 present of five hundred elephants at once to Seleucus, and with an army of six hundred thousand men subdued all India.

2635 τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὑπὸ δυσθυμίας καὶ ὀργῆς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν καθείρξας ἔκειτο, χάριν οὐδεμίαν εἰδὼς τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις, εἰ μὴ περάσειε τὸν Γάγγην, ἀλλ' ἐξομολόγησιν ἠτις τιθέμενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ὡς δ' οἱ τε φίλοι τὰ εἰκότα παρηγοροῦντες αὐτόν, οἱ τε στρατιῶται κλαυθμῷ καὶ βοῇ προσιστάμενοι ταῖς θύραις ἰκέτευον, ἐπικλασθεῖς ἀνεζεύγνυσε, πολλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἀπατηλὰ καὶ σοφιστικὰ μηχανώμενος. καὶ γὰρ ὄπλα μείζονα καὶ φάτνας ἵππων καὶ χαλινοὺς βαρυτέρους κατασκευάσας ἀπέλιπέ τε καὶ διέρριψεν. ἰδρύσατο δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν, οὓς μέχρι νῦν οἱ Πραισίων βασιλεῖς 2640 διαβαίνοντες σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν Ἑλληνικὰς θυσίας. Ἀνδρόκοιτος δὲ μετράκιον ὧν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδε, καὶ λέγεται πολλακίς εἰπεῖν ὕστερον, ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθε τὰ πράγματα

λαβεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος, μισουμένου τε καὶ καταφρονουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μοχθηρίαν καὶ δυσγένειαν.

2645 Alexander at first was so grieved and enraged at his men's reluctance that he shut himself up in his tent and threw himself upon the ground, declaring, if they would not pass the Ganges, he owed them no thanks for anything they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now was plainly to confess himself vanquished. But at last the reasonable persuasions of his friends and the cries and lamentations of his soldiers, who in a suppliant manner crowded about the entrance of his tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet he could not refrain from leaving behind him various
2650 deceptive memorials of his expedition, to impose upon aftertimes, and to exaggerate his glory with posterity, such as arms larger than were really worn, and mangers for horses, with bits and bridles above the usual size, which he set up, and distributed in several places. He erected altars, also, to the gods, which the kings of the Praesians even in our time do honor to when they pass the river, and offer sacrifice
2655 upon them after the Grecian manner. Androcottus, then a boy, saw Alexander there, and is said often afterwards to have been heard to say, that he missed but little of making himself master of those countries; their king, who then reigned, was so hated and despised for the viciousness of his life and the meanness of his extraction.

2660 [63] Ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἐπίδειν, καὶ πολλὰ πορθμεῖα κωπήρη καὶ σχεδιάς πηξάμενος, ἐκομίζετο τοῖς ποταμοῖς ὑποφερόμενος σχολαίως. ὁ δὲ πλοῦς οὐκ ἀργὸς ἦν οὐδ' ἀπόλεμος, προσβάλλων δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ ἀποβαίνων, ἐχειροῦτο πάντα. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καλουμένοις Μαλλοῖς, οὓς φασιν Ἰνδῶν μαχιμωτάτους γενέσθαι, μικρὸν ἐδέησε κατακοπήναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν
2665 ἀπεσκέδασε, πρῶτος δὲ διὰ κλίμακος τεθείσης ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἢ τε κλίμαξ συνετρίβη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφισταμένων παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλάμβανε πληγὰς κάτωθεν, ὀλιγοστός ὢν συστρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς μέσους ἀφῆκε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὀρθὸς ἔστη. τιναξαμένου δὲ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἔδοξαν οἱ βάρβαροι σέλας τι καὶ φάσμα πρὸ τοῦ σώματος φέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔφυγον καὶ διεσκεδάσθησαν· ὡς δ' εἶδον αὐτὸν μετὰ
2670 δεῦν ὑπαπιστῶν, ἐπιδραμόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασι διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν συνετίρωσκον ἀμυνόμενον, εἷς δὲ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω στάς, ἐφῆκεν ἀπὸ τόξου βέλος οὕτως εὔτονον καὶ βίαιον, ὥστε τὸν θώρακα διακόψαν ἐμπαγήναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν μασθὸν ὀστέοις. πρὸς δὲ τὴν πληγὴν ἐνδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα κάψαντος, ὁ μὲν βαλὼν ἐπέδραμε, βαρβαρικὴν μάχαιραν σπασάμενος, Πευκέστας δὲ καὶ Λιμναῖος προέστησαν· ὧν πληγέντων
2675 ἑκατέρων, ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανε, Πευκέστας δ' ἀντεῖχε, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπέκτεινεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τραύματα πολλὰ λαβὼν, τέλος δὲ πληγεὶς ὑπέρω κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου, προσήρεισε τῷ τείχει τὸ σῶμα, βλέπων πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων περιχυθέντων, ἀρπασθεὶς ἀναίσθητος ἤδη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐκομίζετο. καὶ παρατύκα μὲν ὡς τεθνεῶτος ἦν λόγος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ πολυπόνως τὸν
2680 οὔσιον ἐκπρισάντων ξύλινον ὄντα, καὶ τοῦ θώρακος οὕτω μόλις ἀπολυθέντος, περὶ τὴν ἐκκοπὴν ἐγίνοντο τῆς ἀκίδος, ἐνδεδουκίας ἐνὶ τῶν ὀστέων. λέγεται δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος τριῶν δακτύλων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τεσσάρων· διὸ ταῖς λιποθυμίαις ἔγγιστα θανάτου συνελαυνόμενος ἐξαίρουμένης αὐτῆς, ὅμως ἀνέλαβε, καὶ διαφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔτι δ' ἀσθενῆς ὢν καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν διαίτη καὶ θεραπείαις ἔχων αὐτόν, ἔξω θορυβοῦντας ὡς
2685 ἦσθετο ποθοῦντας αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, λαβὼν ἱμάτιον προῆλθε, καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς αὐθις ἀνήχθη καὶ παρεκομίζετο, χῶραν τε πολλὴν καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καταστρεφόμενος.

Alexander was now eager to see the ocean. He caused a great many tow-boats and rafts to be built, in which he moved down river at his leisure, yet so that his navigation
2690 was neither unprofitable nor inactive. For by several descents upon the bank, he made himself master of the fortified towns, and consequently of the country on both sides. But at a siege of a town of the Mallians, who have the repute of being the bravest people of India, he ran in great danger of his life. For having driven off the defendants with showers of arrows, he was the first man that mounted the wall by a scaling-ladder, which, as soon as he was up, broke and left him almost alone, exposed
2695 to the darts which the barbarians threw at him in great numbers from below. In this distress, turning himself as well as he could, he leaped down in the midst of his enemies, and had the good fortune to light upon his feet. The brightness and clattering of his armor when he came to the ground made the barbarians think they saw rays of light, or some bright phantom playing before his body, which frightened them so at first that they ran away and dispersed. Seeing him seconded only by two of his guards, however, they fell upon him hand-to-hand, and tried to wound him through his armor with their swords and spears. An archer who stood further off drew a bow with such strength that the arrow, finding its way through his cuirass, stuck in his ribs
2700 under the breast. This stroke was so violent that it made him give back, and set one knee to the ground, upon which the man ran up with his drawn scimitar, thinking to

despatch him, and had done it, if Peucestes and Limnaeus -- who were both wounded, Limnaeus mortally, but Peucestes stood his ground -- had not rescued him. Alexander killed these barbarians but was not free him from danger for, besides many other
 2710 wounds, at last he received so strong a stroke of a club upon his neck that he was forced to lean his body against the wall, still, however, facing the enemy. At this extremity, the Macedonians made their way in and gathered round him. They took him up, just as he was fainting away, having lost all sense of what was done near him, and conveyed him to his tent, upon which it was presently reported all over the camp
 2715 that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains sawed off the shaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and so with much trouble got off his cuirass, they came to cut the head of it, which was three fingers broad and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. During the operation he was taken with almost mortal swooning, but when it was out he
 2720 came to himself again. Yet though all danger was past, he continued very weak, and confined himself a great while to a regular diet and the method of his cure, until one day hearing the Macedonians clamoring outside in their eagerness to see him, he took his cloak and went out. And having sacrificed to the gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coasted along subdued a great deal of the country on
 2725 both sides of the river, including several considerable cities.

[64] Τῶν δὲ Γυμνοσοφιστῶν τοὺς μάλιστα τὸν Σάββαν ἀναπεΐσαντας ἀποσιῆσαι καὶ κακὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς Μακεδόσι παρασχόντας λαβὼν δέκα, δεινοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι περὶ
 2730 τὰς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ βραχυλόγους, ἐρωτήματα προὔθηκεν αὐτοῖς ἄπορα, φήσας ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρινόμενον πρῶτον, εἴτ' ἐφεξῆς οὕτω τοὺς ἄλλους· ἓνα δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπικρίνειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος ἐρωτηθεὶς, πότερον οἶεται τοὺς ζῶντας εἶναι πλείονας ἢ τοὺς τεθνηκότας, ἔφη τοὺς ζῶντας· οὐκέτι γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς τεθνηκότας. ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὴν θάλατταν μείζονα τρέφειν θηρία, τὴν γῆν ἔφη· ταύτης γὰρ μέρος εἶναι τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ποῖόν ἐστι ζῶον
 2735 πανουργότατον, ὃ μέχρι νῦν, εἶπεν, ἀνθρωπος οὐκ ἐγνώκεν. ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ἀνακρινόμενος, τίνοι λογισμῶ τὸν Σάββαν ἀπέστησεν, ἀπεκρίνατο, καλῶς ζῆν βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἢ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος ἐρωτηθεὶς, πότερον οἶεται τὴν ἡμέραν πρότερον ἢ τὴν νύκτα γεγονέναι, τὴν ἡμέραν, εἶπεν, ἡμέρα μίᾱ· καὶ προσεπεῖπεν οὕτως, θαυμάσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅτι τῶν ἀπόρων ἐρωτήσεων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπόρους εἶναι. μεταβαλὼν
 2740 οὖν τὸν ἕκτον ἠρώτα, πῶς ἂν τις φιληθείη μάλιστα· ἂν κράτιστος ᾖν, ἔφη, μὴ φοβερὸς ᾦ. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν ὁ μὲν ἐρωτηθεὶς, πῶς ἂν τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένοιτο θεός, εἴ τι πράξειεν, εἶπεν, ὃ πράξαι δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου, πότερον ἰσχυρότερον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν ζωὴν, τσαῦτα κακὰ φέρουσιν. ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος, μέχρι τίνος ἂν ἀνθρώπον καλῶς ἔχοι ζῆν, μέχρι οὗ μὴ νομίζει τὸ τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν
 2745 ἄμεινον. οὕτω δὲ τραπόμενος πρὸς τὸν δικαστήν, ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τοῦ δ' ἕτερον ἐτέρου χειρὸν εἰρηκέναι φήσαντος, "οὐκοῦν" ἔφη "καὶ σὺ πρῶτος ἀποθανῆ τοιαῦτα κρίνων". "οὐκ ἂν γ'" εἶπεν "ᾧ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὴ σὺ ψεύδῃ, φήσας πρῶτον ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον κάκιστα".

In this voyage he took ten of the Indian philosophers prisoners who had been most
 2750 active in persuading Sabbas to revolt, and had caused the Macedonians a lot of trouble. These men, called Gymnosophists, were reputed to be extremely ready and succinct in their answers, which he made trial of, by putting difficult questions to them, letting them know that those whose answers were not pertinent should be put to death, on which he made the eldest of them judge. The first being asked which he
 2755 thought the most numerous, the dead or the living, answered, "The living because those who are dead are not at all." Of the second, he desired to know whether the earth or the sea produced the largest beasts; who told him, "The earth, for the sea is but a part of it." His question to the third was, Which is the most cunning of beasts? "That," said he, "which men have not yet found out." He bade the fourth tell
 2760 him what argument he used to Sabbas to persuade him to revolt. "No other," said he, "than that he should either live or die nobly." Of the fifth he asked, Which was the eldest, night or day? The philosopher replied, "Day was eldest, by one day at least." But perceiving Alexander not well satisfied with that account, he added, that he ought not to wonder if strange questions had as strange answers made to them. Then he
 2765 went on and inquired of the next, what a man should do to be exceedingly beloved. "He must be very powerful," said he, "without making himself too much feared." The answer of the seventh to his question, how a man might become a god, was, "By doing that which was impossible for men to do." The eighth told him, "Life is stronger than death, because it supports so many miseries." And the last being asked, how long he
 2770 thought it decent for a man to live, said, "Till death appeared more desirable than life." Then Alexander turned to him whom he had made judge, and commanded him to give sentence. "All that I can determine," said he, "is, that they have every one answered

worse than another." "Nay," said the king, "then you shall die first, for giving such a sentence." "Not so, O king," replied the gymnosophist, "unless you said falsely that he should die first who made the worst answer." In conclusion he gave them presents and dismissed them.

[65] Τούτους μὲν οὖν ἀφῆκε δωρησάμενος· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ζῶντας ἐπεμψεν Ὀνησίκριτον, ἀφικέσθαι δεόμενος πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δ' Ὀνησίκριτος ἦν φιλόσοφος τῶν Διογένοι τῶ κυνικῶ συνεσχολακότων· καὶ φησι τὸν μὲν Καλανὸν ὑβριστικῶς πάνυ καὶ τραχέως κελεύειν ἀποδύντα τὸν χιτῶνα γυμνὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν λόγων· ἄλλως δ' οὐ διαλέξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδ' εἰ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἀφίκται. τὸν δὲ Δάνδαμιν πρῶτον εἶναι, καὶ διακούσαντα περὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Διογένοους, εἰπεῖν ὡς εὐφραδίᾳ μὲν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, λίαν δὲ τοὺς νόμους αἰσχυρόμενοι βεβιωκέναι. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ τὸν Δάνδαμιν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν ἄλλ' ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον· "τίνος χάριν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁδὸν τοσαύτην δεῦρ' ἦλθε;" τὸν μὲντοι Καλανὸν ἐπεισεν ὁ Ταξίλης ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σφίνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ' Ἰνδικὴν γλῶττιαν τῷ καλῆ προσαγορεύων ἀντὶ τοῦ χαίρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἡσπάζετο, Καλανὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὠνομάσθη. τοῦτον δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προθέσθαι· καταβαλὼν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ βύρσαν τινὰ ξηρὰν καὶ κατεσκληκυῖαν, ἐπάτησε τὸ ἄκρον· ἢ δ' εἰς ἐν πιεσθεῖσα, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπήρηθη μέρεσι. καὶ τοῦτο περιῖων ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ πιέζων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐδείκνυε γιγνόμενον, ἄχρι οὐ τὸ μέσον ἐπιστάς κατέσχε, καὶ πάνθ' οὕτως ἡρέμησεν. ἐβούλετο δ' ἢ εἰκῶν ἐνδειξις εἶναι τοῦ τὰ μέσα δεῖν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς πιέζειν καὶ μὴ μακρὰν ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

But to those who were in greatest reputation among them for wisdom, and lived a private quiet life, he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, asking them to come to him. Calanus, it is said, arrogantly and roughly commanded him to strip himself and hear what he said naked; otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though he came from Zeus himself! Dandamis received him with more civility, and hearing him talk about Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, told him he thought them men of great parts who erred only in having too great respect for the laws and customs of their country. Others say Dandamis only asked him the reason why Alexander undertook so long a journey to come into those parts. Taxiles, however, persuaded Calanus to stay with Alexander. His proper name was Sphines, but because he always said "cale," which in the Indian tongue is a word of greeting, the Greeks called him Calanus.

He is said to have shown Alexander an instructive emblem of government, which was this. He threw a dry shriveled hide upon the ground, and stepped upon the edges of it. The skin when it was pressed in one place still rose up in another, wheresoever he stepped round about its edges, until he set his foot in the middle, which made all the parts lie even and quiet. The meaning of this show being that he ought to reside most in the middle of his empire, and not spend too much time on the borders of it.

[66] Ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπαγωγὴ μηνῶν ἐπιτὰ χρόνον ἀνάλωσεν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανόν, ἀνέπλευσε πρὸς νῆσον, ἣν Σκιλλοῦστιν αὐτὸς ὠνόμασεν, ἕτεροι δὲ Ψιλτοῦκιν. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἀποβάς ἔθυσε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐπέιδε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ τῆς παραλίας, ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἦν· εἴτ' ἐπευξάμενος μηδὲν μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς ὅρους τῆς στρατείας, ἀνέστρεψε. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐκέλευσε παραπλεῖν, ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐχούσας, ἡγεμόνα μὲν Νέαρχον ἀποδείξας, ἀρχικυβερνήτην δ' Ὀνησίκριτον· αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ δι' ὤρειτῶν πορευόμενος, εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν προήχθη, καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεσε τοσοῦτον, ὥστε τῆς μαχίμου δυνάμεως μηδὲ τὸ τέταρτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀπαγαγεῖν. καίτοι δώδεκα μὲν μυριάδες ἦσαν οἱ πεζοί, τὸ δ' ἵππικὸν εἰς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους. ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσοι χαλεπαὶ καὶ δίαίται πονηραὶ καὶ καύματα ξηρὰ καὶ πλείστους ὁ λιμὸς διέφθειρεν, ἄσπορον χώραν ἐπιόντας ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων, ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννῆ πρόβατα κεκτημένων, ἃ τοὺς θαλαττίους ἰχθύς εἰθισμένα προσφέρεσθαι σάρκα μοχθηρὰν εἶχε καὶ δυσώδη. μόλις οὖν ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα ταύτην διελθὼν καὶ τῆς Γεδρωσίας ἀψάμενος, εὐθύς ἐν ἀφθόνοισι ἦν πᾶσι, τῶν ἐγγιστα σατραπῶν καὶ βασιλέων παρασκευασάντων.

His voyage down the rivers took up seven months' time, and when he came to the sea, he sailed to an island which he himself called Scillustis, or Psiltucis, where going ashore, he sacrificed, and made what observations he could as to the nature of the sea and the sea-coast. Then having besought the gods that no other man might ever go beyond the bounds of this expedition, he ordered his fleet, of which he made Nearchus admiral and Onesicritus pilot, to sail round about, keeping the Indian shore on the right hand, and returned himself by land through the country of the Orites, where he was reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and lost a vast number of his men, so that of an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, he scarcely brought back above a fourth part out of India, they were so

diminished by disease, ill diet, and the scorching heats, but most by famine. For
 2840 their march was through an uncultivated country whose inhabitants fared hardly,
 possessing only a few sheep, and those of a wretched kind, whose flesh was rank and
 unsavory, by their continual feeding upon sea-fish.
 After sixty days' march he came into Gedrosia, where he found great plenty of all
 2845 things, which the neighboring kings and governors of provinces, hearing of his
 approach, had taken care to provide.

[67] Αναλαβὼν οὖν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δύναμιν, ἐξώρμησε κώμῳ χρώμενος ἐφ' ἡμέρας
 ἐπτὰ διὰ τῆς Καρμανίας. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ἵπποι σχέδην ἐκόμιζον ὀκτώ, μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων
 2850 ὑπὲρ θυμέλης ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ περιφανεῖ πλαισίῳ πεπηγυίας εὐωχοῦμενον συνεχῶς ἡμέρας καὶ
 νυκτός· ἄμαξαι δὲ παμπληθεῖς, αἱ μὲν ἀλουργοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις περιβολαίοις, αἱ δ' ὕλης
 ἀεὶ προσφάτου καὶ χλωρᾶς σκιαζόμεναι κλάδοις, εἶποντο, τοὺς ἄλλους ἄγουσαι φίλους καὶ
 ἡγεμόνας, ἔστεφανωμένους καὶ πίνοντας. εἶδες δ' ἂν οὐ πέλιτην, οὐ κράνος, οὐ σάρισαν,
 2855 ἀλλὰ φιάλαις καὶ ῥυτοῖς καὶ θηρικλείοις παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται
 κυαθίζοντες ἐκ πίθων μεγάλων καὶ κρατήρων ἀλλήλοις προέπινον, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ προάγειν
 ἄμα καὶ βαδίζειν, οἱ δὲ κατακείμενοι. πολλὴ δὲ μοῦσα συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ὄδῃς τε καὶ
 ψαλμοῦ καὶ βακχεῖα γυναικῶν κατεῖχε πάντα τόπον. τῷ δ' ἀτάκτῳ καὶ πεπλανημένῳ τῆς
 πορείας παρείπετο {ταῖς φιάλαις} καὶ παιδιὰ βακχικῆς ὕβρεως, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος
 αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπαρᾶπέμποντος τὸν κῶμον.

When he had here refreshed his army, he continued his march through Carmania,
 2860 feasting all the way for seven days together. He with his most intimate friends
 banqueted and reveled night and day upon a platform erected on a lofty, conspicuous
 scaffold, which was slowly drawn by eight horses. This was followed by a great many
 chariots, some covered with purple and embroidered canopies, and some with green
 2865 boughs, which were continually supplied afresh, and in them the rest of his friends
 and commanders drinking, and crowned with garlands of flowers. Here was now no target
 or helmet or spear to be seen; instead of armor, the soldiers handled nothing but
 cups and goblets and Thericlean drinking vessels, which, along the whole way, they
 dipped into large bowls and jars, and drank healths to one another, some seating
 themselves to it, others as they went along. All places resounded with music of pipes
 2870 and flutes, with harping and singing, and women dancing as in the rites of Bacchus.
 For this disorderly, wandering march, besides the drinking part of it, was
 accompanied with all the sportiveness and insolence of bacchanals, as much as if the
 god himself had been there to countenance and lead the procession.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκε τῆς Γεδρωσίας εἰς τὸ βασιλείον, αὐθις ἀνελάμβανε τὴν στρατιὰν
 2875 πανηγυρίζων. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μεθύοντα θεωρεῖν ἀγῶνας χορῶν, τὸν δ' ἐρώμενον Βαγῶαν
 χορεύοντα νικῆσαι καὶ κεκοσμημένον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου παρελθόντα καθίσει παρ' αὐτόν·
 ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας κροτεῖν καὶ βοᾶν φιλεῖν καὶ κελεύοντας, ἄχρι οὗ περιβαλὼν
 κατεφίλησεν.

As soon as he came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he again refreshed and feasted
 2880 his army; and one day after he had drunk pretty hard, it is said, he went to see a
 prize of dancing contended for, in which his favorite Bagoas, having gained the
 victory, crossed the theatre in his dancing habit, and sat down close by him, which
 so pleased the Macedonians that they made loud acclamations for him to kiss Bagoas,
 and never stopped clapping their hands and shouting till Alexander put his arms round
 2885 him and kissed him.

[68] Ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Νέαρχον ἀναβάντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἡσθεῖς καὶ διακούσας
 τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν ὥρμησεν αὐτὸς πλεύσας κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην στόλῳ μεγάλῳ, εἶτα περὶ τὴν
 2890 Ἀραβίαν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην παρακομισθεῖς, διὰ στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐντὸς
 θάλασσαν, καὶ πλοῖα παντοδαπὰ περὶ θάψακον ἐπήγνυτο, καὶ συνήγοντο ναῦται καὶ
 κυβερνηταὶ πανταχόθεν. ἡ δ' ἄνω στρατεία χαλεπὴ γενομένη, καὶ τὸ περὶ Μαλλοῦς τραῦμα,
 καὶ ἡ φθορὰ πολλὴ λεχθεῖσα τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπιστίᾳ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ τὰ θ' ὑπήκοα πρὸς
 ἀποστάσεις ἐπῆρε, καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ σατράπαις ἀδικίαν πολλὴν καὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ
 2895 ὕβριν ἐνεποίησε, καὶ ὅλως διέδραμε σάλος ἀπάντων καὶ νεωτερισμός. ὅπου καὶ πρὸς
 Ἀντίπατρον Ὀλυμπιάς καὶ Κλεοπάτρα στασιάσασαι, διεῖλοντο τὴν ἀρχὴν, Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν
 Ἥπειρον, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Μακεδονίαν παραλαβοῦσα. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος βέλτιον
 ἔφη βεβουλεῦσθαι τὴν μητέρα· Μακεδόνας γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι βασιλευσμένους ὑπὸ
 γυναικός.

Here his admiral, Nearchus, came to him, and delighted him so with the narrative of
 2900 his voyage, that he resolved himself to sail out of the mouth of the Euphrates with a
 great fleet, with which he designed to go round by Arabia and Africa, and so by
 Hercules's Pillars into the Mediterranean; in order for which, he directed all sorts
 of vessels to be built at Thapsacus, and made great provisions everywhere of seamen
 and pilots. But the news of the difficulties Alexander had suffered in his Indian

- 2905 expedition, the danger of his person among the Mallians, the reported loss of a considerable part of his forces, and a general doubt as to his own safety, had begun to give occasion for revolt among many of the conquered nations, and for acts of great injustice, avarice, and insolence on the part of the satraps and commanders in the provinces, so that there seemed to be serious trouble everywhere. Even at home,
- 2910 Olympias and Cleopatra had raised a faction against Antipater, and divided his government between them, Olympias seizing upon Epirus, and Cleopatra upon Macedonia. When Alexander was told of it, he said his mother had made the best choice, for the Macedonians would never endure to be ruled by a woman.
- 2915 διὰ ταῦτα Νέαρχον μὲν αὐθις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐπεμψεν, ἐμπλήσαι πολέμων ἅπασαν ἐγνωκῶς τὴν παραλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων ἐκόλαζε τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν. τῶν δ' Ἀβουλίτου παίδων ἓνα μὲν Ὀξυάρτην αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε σαρίση διελάσας, Ἀβουλίτου δὲ μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων παρασκευάσαντος, ἀλλ' ἢ τρισχίλαι τάλαντα νομίματος αὐτῷ προσαγαγόντος, ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ἀργύριον παραβαλεῖν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐγεύοντο, φήσας "τί οὖν ὄφελος ἡμῖν τῆς σῆς παρασκευῆς;" καθεῖρξε τὸν Ἀβουλίτην.
- 2920 Upon this he despatched Nearchus again to his fleet, to carry the war into the maritime provinces, and as he marched that way himself he punished those commanders who had behaved ill, particularly Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abuletes, whom he killed with his own hand, thrusting him through the body with his spear. And when Abuletes, instead of the necessary provisions which he ought to have furnished,
- 2925 brought him three thousand talents in coined money, he ordered it to be thrown to his horses, and when they would not touch it, "What good," he said, "will this provision do us?" and sent him away to prison.
- [69] Ἐν δὲ Πέρσαις πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸ νόμισμα ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ὡσπερ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὡσάκις εἰς Πέρσας ἀφίκοιντο, διδόναι χρυσοῦν ἐκάστη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασιν ἐνίους μὴ πολλάκις, Ἰχον δὲ μηδ' ἅπαξ εἰς Πέρσας παραγενέσθαι, διὰ μικρολογίαν ἀποξενώσαντα τῆς πατρίδος ἑαυτόν.
- 2930 Ἐπειτα τὸν Κύρου τάφον εὐρῶν διορυσμένον, ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, καίτοι Πελλαῖος ἦν οὗ τῶν ἀσημοτάτων ὁ πλημμελής, ὄνομα Πουλαμάχος. τὴν δ' ἐπιγραφὴν ἀναγνοῦς, ἐκέλευσεν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑποχαράξαι γράμμασιν. εἶχε δ' οὕτως· "ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ὅστις εἶ καὶ ὀπόθεν ἦκεις, ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἤξεις οἶδα, ἐγὼ Κύρος εἰμι ὁ Πέρσαις κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. μὴ οὖν τῆς ὀλίγης μοι ταύτης γῆς φθονήσης ἢ τοῦμόν σῶμα περικαλύπτει". ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐμπαθῆ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν, ἐν νῷ λαβόντα τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἀδηλόγητα καὶ μεταβολήν.
- 2935 When he came into Persia, he distributed money among the women, as their own kings had been wont to do, who as often as they came thither gave every one of them a piece of gold; on account of which custom, some of them, it is said, had come but seldom, and Ochus was so sordidly covetous that, to avoid this expense, he never visited his native country once in all his reign. Then finding Cyrus's sepulchre opened and rifled, he put Polymachus, who did it, to death, though he was a man of some distinction, a born Macedonian of Pella. And after he had read the inscription, he caused it to be cut again below the old one in Greek characters; the words being these: "O man, whosoever thou art, and from whencesoever thou comest (for I know thou wilt come), I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire; do not grudge me this little earth which covers my body." The reading of this sensibly touched Alexander, filling him with the thought of the uncertainty and mutability of human affairs.
- 2940 Ὁ δὲ Καλανὸς ἐνταῦθα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑπὸ κοιλίας ἐνοχληθεὶς, ἤτήσατο πυρὰν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· καὶ κοιμισθεὶς ἵππῳ πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπείσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος, ἀναβαίνων ἐδεξιοῦτο τοὺς παρόντας τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν
- 2945 ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἠδέως γενέσθαι καὶ μεθυσθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκείνον ἔφη μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ὄψεσθαι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, κατακλιθεὶς καὶ συγκαλυψάμενος, οὐκ ἐκινήθη τοῦ πυρὸς πλησιάζοντος, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ κατεκλίθη σχήματι, τοῦτο διατηρῶν, ἐκαλλιέρησεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ σοφιστῶν. τοῦτο πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἄλλος Ἰνδὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις Καίσαρι συνὼν ἐποίησε, καὶ δείκνυται μέχρι νῦν
- 2950 τὸ μνημεῖον, Ἰνδοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.
- 2960 At the same time Calanus, having been a little while troubled with a disease in the bowels, requested that he might have a funeral pile erected, to which he came on horseback, and, after he had said some prayers and sprinkled himself and cut off some of his hair to throw into the fire, before he ascended it, he embraced and took leave of the Macedonians who stood by, desiring them to pass that day in mirth and good-fellowship with their king, whom in a little time, he said, he doubted not to see again at Babylon. Having this said, he lay down, and covering up his face, he stirred not when the fire came near him, but continued still in the same posture as at first, and so sacrificed himself, as it was the ancient custom of the philosophers in those countries to do. The same thing was done long after by another Indian who came with
- 2965
- 2970

Caesar to Athens, where they still show you, "the Indian's monument."

[70] Ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς γενόμενος, καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἀγῶνα προὔθηκε καὶ στέφανον ἀκρατοποσίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον πιῶν Πρόμαχος ἀχρι χοῶν τεσσάρων προῆλθε· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ νικητήριον, στέφανον ταλαντιαῖον, ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπέζησε· τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὡς Χάρης φησί, τετταράκοντα καὶ εἷς ἀπέθανον πιόντες, ἰσχυροῦ τῆ μέθῃ κρούς ἐπιγενομένου.

At his return from the funeral pile, Alexander invited a great many of his friends and principal officers to supper, and proposed a drinking match, in which the victor should receive a crown. Promachus drank twelve quarts of wine, and won the prize, which was a talent from them all; but he survived his victory but three days, and was followed, as Chares says, by forty-one more, who died of the same debauch, some extremely cold weather having set in shortly after.

Τῶν δ' ἑταίρων γάμον ἐν Σούσοις ἐπιτελῶν, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν αὐτὸς γυναῖκα τὴν Δαρείου θυγατέρα Στάτειραν, διανέμων δὲ τὰς ἀρίστας τοῖς ἀρίστοις, κοινὸν δὲ τῶν ἤδη προγεγαμηκότων Μακεδόνων γάμον {καλὸν} ἐστίασας, ἐν ᾧ φασιν, ἐνακισχιλίων τῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ὄντων, ἐκάστῳ χρυσὴν φιάλην πρὸς τὰς σπονδὰς δοθῆναι, τὰ τ' ἄλλα θαυμαστῶς ἐλαμπρύνατο, καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δανείσασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀφειλόντων αὐτὸς διαλύσας, τοῦ παντὸς ἀναλώματος ἐλάσσοнос μυρίων ταλάντων ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα

At Susa, he married Darius's daughter Statira, and celebrated also the nuptials of his friends, bestowing the noblest of the Persian ladies upon the worthiest of them, at the same time making it an entertainment in honor of the other Macedonians whose marriages had already taken place. At this magnificent festival, it is reported, there were no less than nine thousand guests, to each of whom he gave a golden cup for the libations. Not to mention other instances of his wonderful magnificence, he paid the debts of his army, which amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents.

ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντιγένης ὁ ἑτερόφθαλμος ὡς ὀφείλων ἀπεγράψατο ψευδῶς, καὶ παραγαγὼν τινα φάσκοντα δεδανεικέναι πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπέτεισε τὸ ἀργύριον, εἴτ' ἐφωράθη ψευδόμενος, ὀργισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπήλασε τῆς αὐλῆς αὐτὸν καὶ παρείλετο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἦν δὲ λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὁ Ἀντιγένης, καὶ ἔτι {δὲ} νέος ὢν, Φιλίππου πολιορκουῦντος Πέρινθον, ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ καταπελτικοῦ βέλους εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, οὐ παρέσχε βουλομένοις ἐξελεῖν τὸ βέλος οὐδ' ὑπήκατο πρὶν ᾧσασθαι προσμαχόμενος καὶ κατακλεῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. οὐ μετρίως οὖν τότε τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἔφευγεν, ἀλλὰ δῆλος ἦν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ βαρυθυμίας διαχρησόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὰ χρήματ' ἔχειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν.

Antigenes, who had lost one of his eyes, though he owed nothing, got his name set down in the list of those who were in debt, and bringing one who pretended to be his creditor, and to have supplied him from the bank, received the money. But when the cheat was found out, the king was so incensed at it, that he banished him from court, and took away his command, though he was an excellent soldier and a man of great courage. For when he was but a youth, and served under Philip at the siege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye by an arrow shot out of an engine, he would neither let the arrow be taken out nor be persuaded to quit the field till he had bravely repulsed the enemy and forced them to retire into the town. Accordingly he was not able to support such a disgrace with any patience, and it was plain that grief and despair would have made him kill himself, but the king fearing it, not only pardoned him, but let him also enjoy the benefit of his deceit.

[71] Τῶν δὲ παίδων τῶν τρισμυρίων, οὓς ἀσκουμένους καὶ μανθάνοντας ἀπέλιπε, τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀνδρείων φανέντων καὶ τοῖς εἰδεσιν εὐπρεπῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς μελέταις εὐχέρειαν καὶ κουφότητα θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδειξαμένων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἦσθη, τοῖς δὲ Μακεδόσι δυσθυμία παρέστη καὶ δέος, ὡς ἦττον αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως προσέξοντος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ πεπηρωμένους αὐτοῦ καταπέμποντος ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ὑβριν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ προπηλακισμόν, ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρησάμενον εἰς ἀπαντα, νῦν ἀποτίθεσθαι σὺν αἰσχύνη καὶ προσρίπτειν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς γονεῦσιν, οὐ τοιοῦτους παραλαβόντα. πάντας οὖν ἐκέλευον ἀφιέναι καὶ πάντας ἀχρήστους νομίζειν Μακεδόνας, ἔχοντα τοὺς νέους τούτους πυρριχιστάς, σὺν οἷς ἐπιῶν κατακτιῆσεται τὴν οἰκουμένην. πρὸς ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὀργὴν, ἀπελάσας δὲ τὰς φυλακὰς παρέδωκε Πέρσαις, καὶ κατέστησεν ἐκ τούτων δορυφόρους καὶ ῥάβδοφόρους, ὑφ' ὧν ὀρῶντες αὐτὸν παραπεμπόμενον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἀπειργομένους καὶ προπηλακίζομένους, ἐταπεινοῦντο, καὶ διδόντες λόγον εὕρισκον αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου δεῖν μανέντας ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας καὶ ὀργῆς. τέλος δὲ συμφρονήσαντες ἐβάδιζον ἀνοπλοὶ καὶ μονοχίτωνες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ κλαυθμοῦ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ χρήσασθαι κελεύοντες ὡς κακοῖς καὶ ἀχαρίστοις. ὁ δ' οὐ προσέειπε, καίπερ ἤδη μαλασσόμενος· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας δύο καὶ

νύκτας οὕτω προσεσιῶτες καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ κοίρανον ἀνακαλοῦντες ἐκαρτίευσαν. τῇ δὲ
 τρίτῃ προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος οἰκτροὺς καὶ τεταπεινωμένους, ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον·
 εἶτα μεμψάμενος μέτρια καὶ προσαγορεύσας φιλανθρώπως, ἀπέλυσε τοὺς ἀχρήστους,
 3040 δωρησάμενος μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ γράψας πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ὅπως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς
 θεάτροις προεδρίαν ἔχοντες ἐστεφανωμένοι καθέζοιντο. τῶν δὲ τεθνηκότων τοὺς παῖδας
 ὀρφανοὺς ὄντας ἐμμίσθους ἐποίησεν.

The thirty thousand boys whom he left behind him to be taught and disciplined were so
 improved at his return, both in strength and beauty, and performed their exercises
 3045 with such dexterity and wonderful agility, that he was extremely pleased with them,
 which grieved the Macedonians and made them fear he would have the less value for
 them. And when he proceeded to send down the infirm and maimed soldiers to the sea,
 they said they were unjustly and infamously dealt with, after they were worn out in
 his service upon all occasions, now to be turned away with disgrace and sent home
 3050 into their country among their friends and relations in a worse condition than when
 they came out; therefore they desired him to dismiss them one and all, and to account
 his Macedonians useless, now he was so well furnished with a set of dancing boys,
 with whom, if he pleased, he might go on and conquer the world. These speeches so
 incensed Alexander that, after he had given them a great deal of reproachful language
 3055 in his passion, he drove them away, and committed the watch to Persians, out of whom
 he chose his guards and attendants.

When the Macedonians saw him escorted by these men, and themselves excluded and
 shamefully disgraced, their high spirits fell, and conferring with one another, they
 found that jealousy and rage had almost distracted them. But at last coming to
 3060 themselves again, they went without their arms, with only their under garments on,
 crying and weeping to offer themselves at his tent, and desired him to deal with them
 as their baseness and ingratitude deserved. However, this would not prevail; for
 though his anger was already something mollified, yet he would not admit them into
 his presence, nor would they stir from thence, but continued two days and nights
 3065 before his tent, bewailing themselves, and imploring him as their lord to have
 compassion on them. But the third day he came out to them, and seeing them very
 humble and penitent, he wept himself a great while, after a gentle reproof spoke
 kindly to them, and dismissed those who were unserviceable with magnificent rewards,
 and with his recommendation to Antipater, that when they came home, at all public
 3070 shows and in the theatres, they should sit on the best and foremost seats, crowned
 with chaplets of flowers. He ordered, also, that the children of those who had lost
 their lives in his service should have their father's pay continued to them.

[72] Ὡς δ' ἦκεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας καὶ διώκησε τὰ κατεπείγοντα,
 3075 πάλιν ἦν ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ἅτε δὴ τρισχιλίων αὐτῷ τεχνιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 ἀφιγμένων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας Ἡφαιστίων πυρέσσων· οἷα δὲ νέος καὶ
 στρατιωτικὸς οὐ φέρων ἀκριβῆ δίαιταν, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαῦκον ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ
 θέατρον περὶ ἄριστον γενόμενος καὶ καταφαγὼν ἀλεκτρυόνα ἐφθὼν καὶ ψυκτιῆρα μέγαν
 ἐκπιῶν οἴνου, κακῶς ἔσχε καὶ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν ἀπέθανε.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had dispatched his most urgent affairs, he
 began to divert himself again with spectacles and public entertainments, to carry on
 which he had a supply of three thousand actors and artists, newly arrived out of
 Greece. They were soon interrupted by Hephaestion's falling sick of a fever, in
 3080 which, being a young man and a soldier, too, he could not confine himself to so exact
 a diet as was necessary; for whilst his physician, Glaucus, was gone to the theatre,
 he ate a fowl for his dinner, and drank a large draught of wine, upon which he became
 very ill, and shortly after died.

τοῦτ' οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος Ἀλέξανδρος ἠνεγκεν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς μὲν ἵππους τε κεῖραι
 3090 πάντας ἐπὶ πένθει καὶ ἡμιόνους ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἀφεῖλε τὰς ἐπάλλξεις,
 τὸν δ' ἀθλιὸν ἰατρὸν ἀνεσταύρωσεν, αὐλοὺς δὲ κατέπαυσε καὶ μουσικὴν πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως ἐξ Ἀμμωνος ἦλθε μαντεία, τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ θύειν ὡς
 ἡρωῖ παρακελεύουσα. τοῦ δὲ πένθους παρηγορία τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ
 κυνηγέσιον ἀνθρώπων ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ Κοσσαίων ἔθνος κατεστρέφετο, πάντας ἠβηδὸν
 ἀποσφάπτων. τοῦτο δ' Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐναγισμὸς ἐκαλεῖτο.

At this misfortune, Alexander was so beyond all reason transported that, to express
 his sorrow, he immediately ordered the manes and tails of all his horses and mules to
 be cut, and threw down the battlements of the neighboring cities. The poor physician
 he crucified, and forbade playing on the flute or any other musical instrument in the
 camp a great while, until directions came from the oracle of Amun, and enjoined him
 3100 to honor Hephaestion, and sacrifice to him as a hero. Then seeking to alleviate his
 grief in war, he set out, as it were, to a hunt and chase of men, for he fell upon
 the Cossaeans, and put the whole nation to the sword. This was called a sacrifice to

Hephaestion's ghost.

3105 τύμβον δὲ καὶ ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον ἀπὸ μυρίων ταλάντων ἐπιτελέσαι
 διανοούμενος, ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τῷ φιλοτέχνῳ καὶ περιττῷ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν δαπάνην,
 ἐπόθησε μάλιστα τῶν τεχνιτῶν Στασικράτην, μεγαλουργίαν τινὰ καὶ τόλμαν καὶ κόμπον ἐν
 ταῖς καινοτομίαις ἐπαγγελλόμενον. οὗτος γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον ἐντυχὼν ἔφη τῶν ὀρῶν
 3110 μάλιστα τὸν θρόκιον Ἄθων διατύπωσιν ἀνδρείκελον δέχεσθαι καὶ διαμόρφωσιν· ἂν οὖν
 κελεύῃ, μονιμώτατον ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῷ καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξεργάσεσθαι τὸν Ἄθων, τῇ μὲν
 ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ περιλαμβάνοντα μυριάνδρον πόλιν οἰκουμένην, τῇ δὲ δεξιᾷ σπένδοντα
 ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα δαψιλὲς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρέοντος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρητήσατο, πολλὰ
 δ' ἀτοπώτερα καὶ δαπανηρότερα τούτων σοφίζόμενος τότε καὶ συμμηχανώμενος τοῖς
 τεχνίταις διέτριβεν.
 3115 In his sepulchre and monument and the adorning of them he intended to bestow ten
 thousand talents; and designing that the excellence of the workmanship and the
 singularity of the design might outdo the expense, his wishes turned, above all other
 artists, to Stasicrates, because he always promised something very bold, unusual, and
 magnificent in his projects. Once when they had met before, he had told him that, of
 3120 all the mountains he knew, that of Athos in Thrace was the most capable of being
 adapted to represent the shape and lineaments of a man; that if he pleased to command
 him, he would make it the noblest and most durable statue in the world, which in its
 left hand should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and out of its right should
 pour a copious river into the sea. Though Alexander declined this proposal, yet now
 he spent a great deal of time with workmen to invent and contrive others even more
 3125 extravagant and sumptuous.

[73] Εἰς δὲ Βαβυλῶνα προάγοντος αὐτοῦ, Νέαρχος (ἀφίκετο γὰρ αὐθις
 εἰσπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης) ἔφη τινὰς ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ
 3130 Χαλδαίους, παραινούντας ἀπέχεσθαι Βαβυλῶνος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ'
 ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσι γενόμενος, ὄρᾳ κόρακας πολλοὺς διαφερομένους καὶ
 τύπτοντας ἀλλήλους, ὧν ἔνιοι κατέπεσον παρ' αὐτόν. ἔπειτα μηνύσεως γενομένης κατ'
 Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, ὡς εἶη περὶ αὐτοῦ τεθυμένος, ἐκάλει
 Πυθαγόραν τὸν μάντιν. οὐκ ἀρνούμενος δὲ τὴν πράξιν, ἠρώτησε τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν τρόπον·
 3135 φήσαντος δ' ὅτι τὸ ἦπαρ ἦν ἄλοβον, "παπαί" εἶπεν, "ἰσχυρὸν τὸ σημεῖον". καὶ τὸν
 Πυθαγόραν οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, ἤχθετο δὲ μὴ πεισθεὶς τῷ Νεάρχῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος
 ἔξω κατασκηνῶν καὶ περιπλέων τὸν Εὐφράτην διέτριβεν.
 As he was upon his way to Babylon, Nearchus, who had sailed back out of the ocean up
 the mouth of the river Euphrates, came to tell Alexander he had met with some
 3140 Chaldaean diviners, who had warned him against Alexander's going there. Alexander,
 however, took no thought of it, and went on, and when he came near the walls of the
 place, he saw a great many crows fighting with one another, some of whom fell down
 just by him. After this, being privately informed that Apollodorus, the governor of
 Babylon, had sacrificed, to know what would become of him, he sent for Pythagoras,
 3145 the soothsayer, and on his admitting the thing, asked him in what condition he found
 the victim; and when he told him the liver was defective in its lobe, "A great
 presage indeed!" said Alexander. However, he offered Pythagoras no injury, but was
 sorry that he had neglected Nearchus's advice, and stayed for the most part outside
 the town, removing his tent from place to place, and sailing up and down the
 Euphrates.
 3150 ἠνώχλει δ' αὐτόν καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα πολλά. καὶ γὰρ λέοντα τῶν τρεφομένων μέγιστον καὶ
 κάλλιστον ἡμερος ὄνος ἐπελθὼν καὶ λακτίσας ἀνεῖλεν. ἀποδυσασμένου δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς
 ἄλειμμα καὶ σφαῖραν (αὐτοῦ) παίζοντος, τῶν νεανίσκων οἱ συσφαιρίζοντες, ὡς ἔδει πάλιν
 λαβεῖν τὰ ἱμάτια, καθορῶσιν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ καθεζόμενον σιωπῇ, τὸ διάδημα καὶ
 3155 τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν περικείμενον. οὗτος ἀνακρινόμενος ὅστις εἶη, πολὺν χρόνον
 ἀναυδος ἦν· μόλις δὲ συμφρονήσας, Διονύσιος μὲν ἔφη καλεῖσθαι, Μεσσήνιος δ' εἶναι τὸ
 γένος, ἐκ δὲ τινος αἰτίας καὶ κατηγορίας ἐνταῦθα κομισθεὶς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, πολὺν
 γεγονέναι χρόνον ἐν δεσμοῖς· ἄρτι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν Σάραπιν ἐπιστάντα τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἀνεῖναι
 καὶ προαγαγεῖν δεῦρο, καὶ κελεῦσαι λαβόντα τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸ διάδημα καθίσαι καὶ
 σιωπᾶν.

3160 Besides this, he was disturbed by many other prodigies. A tame ass fell upon the
 biggest and handsomest lion that he kept, and killed him by a kick. And one day after
 he had undressed himself to be anointed, and was playing at ball, just as they were
 going to bring his clothes again, the young men who played with him perceived a man
 clad in the king's robes with a diadem upon his head, sitting silently upon his
 3165 throne. They asked him who he was, to which he gave no answer a good while, till at
 last, coming to himself, he told them his name was Dionysius that he was of Messenia,
 that for some crime of which he was accused he was brought thither from the seaside,
 and had been kept long in prison, that Serapis appeared to him, had freed him from

3170 his chains, conducted him to that place, and commanded him to that place, and
 commanded him to put on the king's robe and diadem, and to sit where they found him,
 and to say nothing.

[74] Ταῦτι' ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ὡςπερ ἐκέλευον
 οἱ μάντιες, ἠφάνισεν· αὐτὸς δ' ἠθύμει καὶ δύσελπις ἦν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
 3175 φίλους ὑποπτος.

Μάλιστα δ' Ἀντίπατρον ἐφοβεῖτο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ὧν Ἰόλας μὲν ἀρχαιονοχὸς ἦν, ὁ δὲ
 Κάσανδρος ἀφῖκτο μὲν νεωστί, θεασάμενος δὲ βαρβάρους τινὰς προσκυνοῦντας, ἅτε δὴ
 τεθραμμένος Ἑλληνικῶς καὶ τοιοῦτο πρότερον μηδὲν ἑωρακῶς, ἐγέλασε προπετιέστερον. ὁ δ'
 3180 Ἀλέξανδρος ὠργίσθη, καὶ δραξάμενος αὐτοῦ τῶν τριχῶν σφόδρα ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις,
 ἔπαισε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον. αὐθις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Ἀντιπάτρου
 λέγειν τι βουλόμενον τὸν Κάσανδρον ἐκκρούων, "τί λέγεις;" ἔφη· "τοσαύτην ὁδὸν
 ἀνθρώπους μηδὲν ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ συκοφαντοῦντας ἐλθεῖν;" φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Κασάνδρου
 3185 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν, ὅτι μακρὰν ἤκουσι τῶν ἐλέγχων, ἀναγελάσας ὁ
 Ἀλέξανδρος "ταῦτι' ἐκεῖνα" ἔφη "σοφίσματα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς ἑκάτερον τὸν λόγον,
 οἰμωξομένων, ἂν καὶ μικρὸν ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φανῆτε". τὸ δ' ὅλον οὕτω φασὶ
 δεινὸν ἐνδύναμι καὶ δευσοποιὸν ἐγγενέσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ Κασάνδρου τὸ δέος, ὡςθ' ὕστερον
 χρόνοις πολλοῖς, ἤδη Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντα καὶ κρατοῦντα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν Δελφοῖς
 περιπατοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, εἰκόνας Ἀλεξάνδρου φανείσης ἄφνω πληγέντα
 3190 φρῖξαι καὶ κραδανθῆναι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μόλις ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτὸν, ἰλιγγιάσαντα πρὸς τὴν
 ὄψιν.

Alexander, when he heard this, by the direction of his soothsayers, put the fellow to
 death, but he lost his spirits, and grew diffident of the protection and assistance
 of the gods, and suspicious of his friends.

3195 His greatest apprehension was of Antipater and his sons, one of whom, Iolaus, was his
 chief cupbearer; and Cassander, who had lately arrived, and had been bred up in Greek
 manners, the first time he saw some of the barbarians adore the king could not
 forbear laughing at it aloud, which so incensed Alexander he took him by the hair
 with both hands and dashed his head against the wall. Another time, Cassander would
 have said something in defense of Antipater to those who accused him, but Alexander
 3200 interrupting him, said, "What is it you say? Do you think people, if they had
 received no injury, would come such a journey only to calumniate your father?"
 To which when Cassander replied, that their coming so far from the evidence was a
 great proof of the falseness of their charges, Alexander smiled, and said those were
 some of Aristotle's sophisms, which would serve equally on both sides; and added,
 3205 that both he and his father should be severely punished, if they were found guilty of
 the least injustice towards those who complained. All of this made such a deep
 impression of terror in Cassander's mind that, long after, when he was King of
 Macedonia and master of Greece, as he was walking up and down at Delphi, and looking
 at the statues, at the sight of that of Alexander he was suddenly struck with alarm,
 3210 and shook all over, his eyes rolled, his head grew dizzy, and it was long before he
 recovered himself.

[75] Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐνέδωκε τότε πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, ταραχῶδης
 γενόμενος καὶ περίφοβος τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐδὲν ἦν μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν ἀήθων καὶ ἀτόπων, ὁ
 3215 μὴ τέρας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ θυομένων καὶ καθαιρόντων καὶ μαντευόντων μεστὸν
 ἦν τὸ βασίλειον καὶ ἀναπληρούστων ἀβελτερίας καὶ φόβου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. οὕτως ἄρα
 δεινὸν μὲν ἢ ἀπιστία πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ περιφρόνησις αὐτῶν, δεινὴ δ' αὐθις ἢ
 δεισιδαιμονία, δίκην ὕδατος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινούμενον {καὶ ἀναπληροῦν ἀβελτερίας καὶ
 φόβου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον} γενόμενον****.

3220 When once Alexander had given way to fears of supernatural influence, his mind grew
 so disturbed and so easily alarmed that, if the least unusual or extraordinary thing
 happened, he thought it a prodigy or a presage, and his court was thronged with
 diviners and priests whose business was to sacrifice and purify and foretell the
 future. So miserable a thing is incredulity and contempt of divine power on the one
 3225 hand, and so miserable, also, superstition on the other, which like water, where the
 level has been lowered, flowing in and never stopping, fills the mind with slavish
 fears and follies, as now in Alexander's case.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ χρησμῶν γε τῶν περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐκ θεοῦ κομισθέντων, ἀποθέμενος τὸ
 3230 πένθος αὐθις ἦν ἐν θυσίαις καὶ πότοις. ἐστιάσας δὲ λαμπρῶς τοὺς περὶ Νέαρχον, εἶτα
 λουσάμενος ὡςπερ εἰώθει μέλλων καθεύδειν, Μηδίου δεηθέντος ᾗχετο κωμασόμενος πρὸς
 αὐτόν· κάκεῖ πῶν ὄλην τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν, ἤρξατο πυρέττειν, οὔτε
 σκύφον Ἡρακλέους ἐκπιῶν οὔτ' ἄφνω διαλαγῆς γενόμενος τὸ μετὰφρενον ὡςπερ λόγχη
 πεπληγῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά τινες ᾗοντο δεῖν γράφειν, ὡςπερ δράματος μεγάλου τραγικὸν
 ἐξόδιον καὶ περιπαθὲς πλάσαντες. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν πυρέττοντα νεανικῶς,

3235 διψήσαντα δὲ σφόδρα, πιεῖν οἶνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ φρενιτιᾶσαι καὶ τελευτῆσαι τριακάδι
 Δαισίου μηνός.
 But upon some answers which were brought him from the oracle concerning Hephaestion,
 he laid aside his sorrow, and fell again to sacrificing and drinking; and having
 given Nearchus a splendid entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his custom, just
 3240 as he was going to bed, at Medius's request he went to supper with him. Here he drank
 all the next day, and was attacked with a fever, which seized him, not as some write,
 after he had drunk of the bowl of Hercules, nor was he taken with any sudden pain in
 his back, as if he had been struck with a lance, for these are the inventions of some
 authors who thought it their duty to make the last scene of so great an action as
 3245 tragic and moving as they could. Aristobulus tells us, that in the rage of his fever
 and a violent thirst, he took a draught of wine, upon which he fell into delirium,
 and died on the thirtieth day of the month Daesius.

[76] Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτως γέγραπται τὰ περὶ τὴν νόσον.
 3250 ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ Δαισίου μηνός ἐκάθευδεν ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι διὰ τὸ πυρέξαι. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς
 λουσάμενος εἰς τὸν θάλαμον μετῆλθε, καὶ διημέρευσε πρὸς Μήδιον κυβεύων. εἴτ' ὀψὲ
 λουσάμενος, καὶ τὰ ἱερά τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθείς, ἐμφαγὼν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐπύρεξε. τῇ εἰκάδι
 λουσάμενος πάλιν ἔθυσσε τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν, καὶ κατακείμενος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι τοῖς
 3255 δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος ταῦτ' αὖ ποιήσας, μᾶλλον ἀνεφλέχθη, καὶ τὴν νύκτα βαρέως ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν
 ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐπύρετε σφόδρα. καὶ μεταρθεὶς κατέκειτο παρὰ τὴν μεγάλην
 κολυμβήθραν, ὅτε δὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διελέχθη περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων ἡγεμονίας τάξεων, ὅπως
 καταστήσῃ δοκιμάσαντες. ἐβδόμῃ σφόδρα πυρέττων, ἔθυσεν ἔξαρθεὶς πρὸς τὰ ἱερά· τῶν
 3260 δ' ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευε τοὺς μεγίστους διατρίβειν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ
 πεντακοσιάρχους ἔξω νυκτερεύειν. εἰς δὲ τὰ πέραν βασιλεία διακομισθεὶς, τῇ ἕκτῃ
 μικρὸν ὑπνωσεν, ὃ δὲ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἀνῆκεν· ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἦν ἄφωνος, ὁμοίως
 δὲ καὶ τὴν πέμπτην. διὸ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἔδοξε τεθνάναι, καὶ κατεβῶν ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ
 τὰς θύρας, καὶ διηπειλοῦντο τοῖς ἐταίροις, ἕως ἐβιάσαντο, καὶ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῖς
 3265 ἀνοιχθειῶν, ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσι καθ' ἓνα πάντες παρὰ τὴν κλίνην παρεξῆλθον. ταύτης δὲ τῆς
 ἡμέρας οἱ περὶ Πύθωνα καὶ Σέλευκον εἰς τὸ Σεραπεῖον ἀποσταλέντες, ἡρώτων εἰ κομίσωσιν
 ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃ δὲ θεὸς κατὰ χώραν ἔαν ἀνεῖλε. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ φθίνοντος πρὸς
 δείλην ἀπέθανε.

But the journals give the following record. On the eighteenth day of the month he
 3270 slept in the bathing-room on account of his fever. The next day he bathed and removed
 into his chamber, and spent his time in playing at dice with Medius. In the evening
 he bathed and sacrificed, and ate freely, and had the fever on him through the night.
 On the twentieth, after the usual sacrifices and bathing, he lay in the bathing-room
 and heard Nearchus's narrative of his voyage, and the observations he had made in the
 great sea. The twenty-first he passed in the same manner, his fever still increasing,
 3275 and suffered much during the night. The next day the fever was very violent, and he
 had himself removed and his bed set by the great bath, and discoursed with his
 principal officers about finding fit men to fill up the vacant places in the army. On
 the twenty-fourth he was much worse, and was carried out of his bed to assist at the
 sacrifices, and gave order that the general officers should wait within the court,
 3280 whilst the inferior officers kept watch without doors. On the twenty-fifth he was
 removed to his palace on the other side the river, where he slept a little, but his
 fever did not abate, and when the generals came into his chamber he was speechless
 and continued so the following day.

The Macedonians supposed he was dead, and came with great clamors to the gates, and
 3285 menaced his friends so that they were forced to admit them, and let them all pass
 through unarmed by his bedside. The same day Python and Seleucus were dispatched to
 the temple of Serapis to ask if they should bring Alexander thither, and were
 answered by the god that they should not remove him. On the twenty-eighth, in the
 evening, he died. This account is most of it word for word as it is written in the
 3290 diary.

[77] Τούτων τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτως γέγραπται.
 Φαρμακείας δ' ὑποψίαν παραυτίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν, ἔκτῳ δ' ἔτει φασὶ μηνύσεως
 3295 γενομένης τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελεῖν, ἐκρίψαι δὲ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Τόλα
 τεθνηκότος, ὡς τούτου τὸ φάρμακον ἐγγέαντος. οἱ δ' Ἀριστοτέλην φάσκοντες Ἀντιπάτρῳ
 σύμβουλον γεγενῆσθαι τῆς πράξεως καὶ ὅλως δι' ἐκείνου κομισθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον
 Ἀγνόθεμιν τινα διηγεῖσθαι λέγουσιν ὡς Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούσαντα· τὸ δὲ
 3300 φάρμακον ὕδωρ εἶναι ψυχρὸν καὶ παγετῶδες, ἀπὸ πέτρας τινὸς ἐν Νωνάκριδι † οὔσης ἦν
 ὡσπερ δρόσον λεπτὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰς ὄνου χηλὴν ἀποτίθενται· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐδὲν
 ἀγγείων στέγειν, ἀλλὰ διακόπτειν ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ δριμύτητος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τὸν

λόγον ὅλως οἴονται πεπλάσθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας, καὶ τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐ μικρόν, ὅτι τῶν ἡγεμόνων στασιασάντων ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀθεράπευτον τὸ σῶμα κείμενον ἐν τόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πνιγώδεσιν οὐδὲν ἔσχε τοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε καθαρὸν καὶ πρόσφατον.

3305 At the time, nobody had any suspicion of his being poisoned, but upon some information given six years after, they say Olympias put many to death, and scattered the ashes of Iolaus, then dead, as if he had given it him. But those who affirm that Aristotle counseled Antipater to do it, and that by his means the poison was brought, adduced one Hagnothemis as their authority, who, they say, heard King Antigonos speak
3310 of it, and tell us that the poison was water, deadly cold as ice, distilled from a rock in the district of Nonacris, which they gathered like a thin dew, and kept in an ass's hoof; for it was so very cold and penetrating that no other vessel would hold it. However, most are of opinion that all this is a mere made-up story, no slight evidence of which is, that during the dissensions among the commanders, which lasted
3315 several days, the body continued clear and fresh, without any sign of such taint or corruption, though it lay neglected in a close sultry place.

Ἡ δὲ Ῥωξάνη κύουσα μὲν ἐτύγχανε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμωμένη παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· δυσζήλως δ' ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν, ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν ἐπιστολῇ τινὶ πεπλασμένη παραγενέσθαι, καὶ προσαγαγοῦσα μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ κατέβαλε
3320 καὶ συνέχωσεν, εἰδότος ταῦτα Περδίκκου καὶ συμπράττοντος. ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐθύς ἐν δυνάμει μεγίστη, τὸν Ἀρριδαῖον ὡσπερ δορυφόρημα τῆς βασιλείας ἐφελκόμενος, γεγονότα μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀδόξου καὶ κοινῆς Φιλίνης, ἀτελῆ δὲ τὸ φρονεῖν ὄντα διὰ σώματος νόσον, οὐ μὴν φύσει προσπεσοῦσαν οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φασὶ παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ διαφαίνεσθαι χάριεν ἦθος καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννές, εἴτα μέντοι φαρμάκοις ὑπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος
3325 κακωθέντα διαφθαρῆναι τὴν διάνοια

Roxana, who was now with child, and upon that account much honored by the Macedonians, being jealous of Statira, sent for her by a counterfeit letter, as if Alexander had been still alive; and when she had her in her power, killed her and her sister, and threw their bodies into a well, which they filled up with earth, not
3330 without the advice and help of Perdiccas, who in the time immediately following the king's death, under cover of the name of Arrhidaeus, whom he carried about him as a sort of guard to his person, exercised the chief authority. Arrhidaeus, who was Philip's son by an obscure woman of the name of Philinna, was himself of weak intellect, not that he had been originally deficient either in body or mind, on the
3335 contrary, in his childhood, he had showed a happy and promising character enough. But a diseased habit of body, caused by drugs which Olympias gave him, had ruined, not only his health, but his understanding.