

Alexander

By Plutarch, 75 AD in Chaeronea

(died 323 B.C.E.)

Translated by John Dryden 1683-1686

5 bron: <http://classics.mit.edu/Plutarch/alexandr.html>**Alexander door Plutarchus**

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[1] Τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως βίον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρος, ὑφ' οὗ κατελύθη Πομπήϊος, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ γράφοντες, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποκειμένων πράξεων οὐδὲν ἄλλο προερούμεν ἢ παραιτησόμεθα τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἐὰν μὴ πάντα μηδὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξαιρουσάμενος τι τῶν περιβοιῶν ἀπαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτέμνοντες τὰ πλεῖστα, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν. (2) οὕτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους, οὕτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι πάντως ἐνεσι δὴλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιὰ τις ἐμφασιν ἤθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἱ μέγισται καὶ πολιορκίαι πόλεων. (3) ὡςπερ οὖν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὰς ὁμοιότητος ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ὄψιν εἰδῶν οἷς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἦθος ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες, οὕτως ἡμῖν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον, ἐάσαντας ἑτέροις τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας.

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.

[2] Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι τῷ γένει πρὸς πατρός μὲν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης ἀπὸ Καράνου, πρὸς δὲ μητρός Αἰακίδης ἀπὸ Νεοπτολέμου, τῶν πάνυ πεπιστευμένων ἐστί. λέγεται δὲ Φίλιππος ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι συμμηθεῖς, αὐτὸς τε μειράκιον ὧν ἔτι κάκεινης παιδὸς ὀρφανῆς γονέων ἐρασθῆναι, καὶ τὸν γάμον οὕτως ἀρμόσαι, πείσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Ἀρύββαν. (2) ἡ μὲν οὖν νύμφη πρὸ τῆς νυκτός, ἥ συνείρχθησαν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον, ἔδοξε βροντῆς γενομένης ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτῆς τῆς γαστρὶ κεραυνόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς πολὺ πῦρ ἀναφθέν, εἶτα ῥηγνύμενον εἰς φλόγας πάντη φερομένης διαλυθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὸν γάμον εἶδεν ὄναρ αὐτὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα σφραγίδα τῆς γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικός· ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφραγίδος ὡς ᾤετο λέοντος εἶχεν εἰκόνα. (3) τῶν δ' ἄλλων μάντεων ὑφορμῶν τὴν ὄψιν, ὡς ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακῆς δεομένων τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν γάμον, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ Τελμησεύς κύειν ἔφη τὴν ἄνθρωπον· οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀποσφραγίζεσθαι τῶν κενῶν· καὶ κύειν παῖδα θυμοειδῆ καὶ λεοντώδη τὴν φύσιν. (4) ὥφθη δὲ ποτε καὶ δράκων κοιμωμένης τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ σώματι, καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα τοῦ Φιλίππου

τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς φιλοφροσύνας ἀμαυρῶσαι λέγουσιν, ὡς μηδὲ φοιτᾶν ἔτι πολλάκις παρ' αὐτὴν ἀναπαυσόμενον, εἴτε δεῖσαντά τινος μαγείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ φάρμακα τῆς γυναικός, εἴτε τὴν ὀμιλίαν ὡς κρείττονι συνούσης ἀφοσιούμενον. (5) ἕτερος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐστὶ λόγος, ὡς πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ τῆδε γυναικες ἔνοχοι τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὔσαι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ, Κλώδωνές τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσαι, πολλὰ ταῖς Ἡδωνίσι καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν Αἴμον θρησσαις ὁμοια δρῶσιν· ἀφ' ὧν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ θρησκεύειν ὄνομα ταῖς κατακόροις γενέσθαι καὶ περιέργοις ἱερουργίαις· ἢ δ' Ὀλυμπιάς μᾶλλον ἐτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχάς, καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον, ὄφεις μεγάλους χειροθήεις ἐφείλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οἳ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκνων παραναδύομενοι καὶ περιελιττόμενοι τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις, ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἀνδρας.

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.

[3] Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ μὲν μετὰ τὸ φάσμα πέμψαντι Χαίρωνα τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην εἰς Δελφοὺς χρησμὸν κομισθῆναι λέγουσι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, κελεύοντος Ἀμμωνι θύειν καὶ σέβεσθαι μάλιστα τοῦτον τὸν θεόν· ἀποβαλεῖν δὲ τῶν ὄψεων αὐτὸν τὴν ἐτέραν, ἣν τῷ τῆς θύρας ἀρμῷ προσβαλὼν, κατώπτευσεν ἐν μορφῇ δράκοντος συνευναζόμενον τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν θεόν. ἢ δ' Ὀλυμπιάς, ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησί, προπέμπουσα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, καὶ φράσασα μόνῳ τὸ περὶ τὴν τέκνωσιν ἀπόρρητον, ἐκέλευεν ἄξια φρονεῖν τῆς γενέσεως· ἕτεροι δὲ φασιν αὐτὴν ἀφοσιουῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν· "οὐ παύσειαί με διαβάλλων Ἀλέξανδρος πρὸς τὴν Ἥραν;"

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?"

Ἐγεννήθη δ' οὗν Ἀλέξανδρος ἰσταμένου μηνὸς Ἐκατομβαιῶνος, ὃν Μακεδόνες Λῶον καλοῦσιν, ἕκτη, καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ὁ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνεπρήσθη νεώς· ᾧ γ' Ἡγησίας ὁ Μάγνης ἐπιπεφώνηκεν ἐπιφώνημα κατασβέσαι τὴν πυρκαϊάν ἐκείνην ὑπὸ ψυχρίας δυνάμενον· εἰκότως γὰρ ἔφη καταφλεχθῆναι τὸν νεών, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀσχολουμένης περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μαίωσιν. ὅσοι δὲ τῶν μάγων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβοντες ἔτυχον, τὸ περὶ τὸν νεών πάθος ἠγούμενοι πάθους ἐτέρου σημεῖον εἶναι, διέθεον, τὰ πρόσωπα τυπτόμενοι καὶ βῶντες ἀτην ἅμα καὶ συμφορὰν μεγάλην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τετοκέσαι. Φιλίππῳ δ' ἄρτι

120 Ποτειδαίαν ἤρηκότι τρεῖς ἤκον ἀγγελίαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἡ μὲν Ἰλλυριοῦς ἠτιῆσθαι μάχη μεγάλη διὰ Παρμενίωνος, ἡ δ' Ὀλυμπίασιν ἵππῳ κέλητι νενικηκέναι, τρίτη δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γενέσεως. ἐφ' οἷς ἠδόμενον ὡς εἰκὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ μάντιες ἐπῆραν, ἀποφαινόμενοι τὸν παῖδα τρισὶ νίκαις συγγεγεννημένον ἀνίκητον ἔσεσθαι.

125 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.

130 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.

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[4] Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος οἱ Λυσίππειοι μάλιστα τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἐμφαίνουσιν, ὑφ' οὗ μόνου καὶ αὐτὸς ἠξίου πλάττεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα πολλοὶ τῶν διαδόχων ὕστερον καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπεμιμοῦντο, τὴν τ' ἀνάτασιν τοῦ

140 αὐχένος εἰς εὐώνυμον ἠσυχῆ κεκλιμένου καὶ τὴν ὑγρότητα τῶν ὀμμάτων, διατετήρηκεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ τεχνίτης. Ἀπελλῆς δὲ γράφων αὐτὸν κεραυνοφόρον, οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τὴν χροάν, ἀλλὰ φαίτερον καὶ πεπινωμένον ἐποίησεν. ἦν δὲ λευκός, ὡς φασιν· ἡ δὲ λευκότης ἐπεφοίνισεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ στήθος μάλιστα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. ὅτι δὲ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἡδιστον ἀπέπνει καὶ τὸ στόμα κατεῖχεν εὐωδία καὶ τὴν σάρκα πᾶσαν, ὥστε πληροῦσθαι τοὺς

145 χιτωνίσκους, ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστοξενεῖοις· αἰτία δ' ἴσως ἡ τοῦ σώματος κρᾶσις, πολὺθερμος οὖσα καὶ πυρώδης· ἡ γὰρ εὐωδία γίνεται πέψει τῶν ὑγρῶν ὑπὸ θερμότητος, ὡς οἶεται Θεόφραστος. ὅθεν οἱ ξηροὶ καὶ διαπυροὶ τόποι τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν ἀρωμάτων φέρουσιν· ἐξαιρεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος τὸ ὑγρὸν, ὥσπερ ὕλην σηπεδόνος ἐπιπολάζον τοῖς σώμασιν. Ἀλέξανδρον δ' ἡ θερμότης τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἔοικε καὶ

150 ποτικὸν καὶ θυμοειδῆ παρεῖχεν. Ἐτι δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ παιδὸς ἡ τε σωφροσύνη διεφαίνετο τῷ πρὸς τᾶλλα ῥαγδαῖον ὄντα καὶ φερόμενον σφοδρῶς ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα δυσκίνητον εἶναι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς πράοτητος ἀπτεσθαι τῶν τοιοῦτων, ἡ τε φιλοτιμία παρ' ἡλικίαν ἐμβριθὲς εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ μεγαλόψυχον. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὔτε πᾶσαν ἡγάπα δόξαν, ὡς Φίλιππος

155 λόγου τε δεινότητι σοφιστικῶς καλλωπιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐγχαράττων τοῖς νομίμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποπειρωμένων, εἰ βούλοιτ' ἀν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγωνίσασθαι στάδιον, ἦν γὰρ ποδώκης, "εἰ γε" ἔφη "βασιλεῖς ἐμελλον ἐξεῖν ἀνταγωνιστάς". φαίνεται δὲ καὶ καθόλου πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀθλητῶν γένος ἄλλοτριῶς ἔχων· πλείστους γέ τοι θεῖς ἀγῶνας οὐ μόνον τραγῳδῶν καὶ ἀυλητῶν καὶ κιθαρωδῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

160 ῥαψωδῶν θήρας τε παντοδαπῆς καὶ ῥάβδομαχίας, οὔτε πυγμῆς οὔτε παγκρατίου μετὰ τινος σπουδῆς ἔθηκεν ἄθλον.

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.

165 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

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185 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
190 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 cudgel-playing, but never gave any encouragement to contests either of boxing or of the pancratiun.

195 [5] Τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἤκοντας ἀποδημοῦντος Φιλίππου ξενίζων καὶ γενόμενος συνήθης, οὕτως ἐχειρώσατο τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἐρώτημα παιδικὸν ἐρωτῆσαι μηδὲ μικρὸν, ἀλλ' ὀδῶν τε μήκη καὶ πορείας τῆς ἄνω τρόπον ἐκπυθάνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ὁποῖος εἶη πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, καὶ
200 τίς ἢ Περσῶν ἀλκὴ καὶ δύναμις, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινότητα μηδὲν ἠγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ὀρμὴν καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην. ὁσάκις γοῦν ἀπαγγελαθείη Φίλιππος ἢ πόλιν ἐνδοξὸν ἤρηκῶς ἢ μάχην τινὰ περιβόητον νενικηκῶς, οὐ πάνυ φαιδρὸς ἦν ἀκούων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἔλεγεν· "ὦ παῖδες, πάντα προλήψεται ὁ πατήρ, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπολείψει μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν". οὐ γὰρ ἠδονὴν ζηλῶν οὐδὲ πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἐνόμιζεν, ὅσα πλείονα λήψεται
205 παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐλάττονα κατορθώσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ. διὸ τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐξομένους καταναλίσκεσθαι τὰς πράξεις εἰς ἐκείνον ἠγούμενος, ἐβούλετο μὴ χρήματα μηδὲ τρυφὰς καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, ἀλλ' ἀγῶνας καὶ πολέμους καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν. Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὡς εἰκὸς ἦσαν αὐτοῦ τροφεῖς καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι λεγόμενοι, πᾶσι δ' ἐφειστήκει Λεωνίδας, ἀνὴρ τό τ' ἦθος
210 αὐστηρὸς καὶ συγγενὴς Ὀλυμπιάδος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ φεύγων τὸ τῆς παιδαγωγίας ὄνομα, καλὸν ἔργον ἐχούσης καὶ λαμπρὸν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν οἰκειότητα τροφεὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ καθηγητὴς καλούμενος. ὁ δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ὑποποιούμενος ἦν Λυσιμάχος, τὸ γένος Ἀκαρνάν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἀστεῖον, ὅτι δ' ἑαυτὸν μὲν ὠνόμαζε Φοῖνικα, τὸν δ' Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀχιλλέα, Πηλέα δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἠγαπᾶτο
215 καὶ δευτέραν εἶχε χώραν.

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
220 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
225 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
230 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.

235 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
240 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.

245 [6] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλονίκου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ τὸν Βουκεφάλαν ἀγαγόντος ὦνιον τῷ Φιλίππῳ τρισκαίδεκα ταλάντων, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον δοκιμάσοντες τὸν ἵππον, ἐδόκει τε χαλεπὸς εἶναι καὶ κομιδῇ δύσχρηστος, οὐτ' ἀναβάτην προσιέμενος οὔτε

250 φωνὴν ὑπομένων τινὸς τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ἀλλ' ἀπάντων κατεξανιστάμενος, δυσχεραίνοντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ κελεύοντος ἀπάγειν ὡς παντάπασιν ἄγριον καὶ ἀκόλαστον, παρῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπεν· "οἷον ἵππον ἀπολλύουσι, δι' ἀπειρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι," τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Φίλιππος ἐσιώπησε· πολλάκις δ' αὐτοῦ παραφθεγγομένου καὶ περιπαθοῦντος, "ἐπιτιμᾶς σὺ" ἔφη "πρεσβυτέροις ὡς τι πλεον 255 αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ἢ μᾶλλον ἵππῳ χρήσασθαι δυνάμενος;" "τούτῳ γοῦν" ἔφη "χρησαίμην ἂν ἐτέρου βέλτιον". "ἂν δὲ μὴ χρήσῃ, τίνα δίκην τῆς προπετείας ὑφέξεις;" "ἐγὼ νῆ Δί'" εἶπεν "ἀποτείσω τοῦ ἵππου τὴν τιμὴν". γενομένου δὲ γέλωτος, εἶθ' ὀρισμοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰς τὸ ἀργύριον, εὐθύς προσδραμῶν τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡνίαν, ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς εἰκεν ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὴν σκιὰν προπίπτουσαν καὶ σαλευομένην ὀρῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ διαταράττειτο. μικρὰ δ' αὐτῷ παρακαλπάσας καὶ καταψήσας, 260 ὡς ἑώρα πληρούμενον θυμοῦ καὶ πνεύματος, ἀπορρήσας ἡσυχῆ τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ μεταωρίσας αὐτόν, ἀσφαλῶς περιέβη. καὶ μικρὰ μὲν περιλαβὼν ταῖς ἡνίαις τὸν χαλινόν, ἄνευ πληγῆς καὶ σπαραγμοῦ προσανέστειλεν· ὡς δ' ἑώρα τὸν ἵππον ἀφεικότα τὴν ἀπειλήν, ὀργῶντα δὲ πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, ἀφείξεδίωκεν, ἤδη φωνῆ θρασυτέρα καὶ ποδὸς κρούσει χρώμενος. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἦν ἀγωνία καὶ σιγὴ τὸ πρῶτον· ὡς δὲ κάμψας ὑπέστρεψεν ὀρθῶς 265 σοβαρὸς καὶ γεγηθὼς, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνηλάλαξαν, ὁ δὲ πατήρ καὶ δακρυσαί τι λέγεται πρὸς τὴν χαράν, καὶ καταβάντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν φιλήσας "ὦ παῖ" φάναι, "ζήτει σεαυτῷ βασιλείαν ἴσην· Μακεδονία γάρ σ' οὐ χωρεῖ".

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 270 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; 275 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 280 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, 285 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, 290 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 295 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."

[7] Καθορῶν δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ δυσνίκητον μὲν οὔσαν, ἐρίσαντος μὴ βιασθῆναι, ῥαδίως δ' ἀγομένην ὑπὸ λόγου πρὸς τὸ δέον, αὐτὸς τε πείθειν 300 ἐπειρᾶτο μᾶλλον ἢ προστάττειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια παιδευταῖς οὐ πάνυ τι πιστεύων τὴν ἐπιστάσιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάρτισιν, ὡς μείζονος οὔσαν πραγματείας καὶ κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα

πολλῶν χαλινῶν ἔργον οἰάκων θ' ἄμα, μετεπέμψατο τῶν φιλοσόφων τὸν ἐνδοξότατον καὶ λογιώτατον Ἀριστοτέλην, καλὰ καὶ 305 πρέποντα διδασκάλια τελέσας αὐτῷ. τὴν γὰρ Σταγειριτῶν πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἀνάστατον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένην συνῶκισε πάλιν, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας ἢ δουλεύοντας τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκατέστησε. σχολὴν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ διατριβὴν τὸ περὶ Μίεζαν Νυμφαῖον ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπου μέχρι νῦν Ἀριστοτέλους ἔδρας τε λιθίνας καὶ ὑποσκίους περιπάτους δεικνύουσιν. εἰοικε δ' Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ μόνον τὸν ἠθικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν 310 παραλαβεῖν λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ βαθυτέρων διδασκαλιῶν, ἃς οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροατικὰς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς προσαγορεύοντες οὐκ ἐξέφερον εἰς πολλοὺς, μετασχεῖν. ἤδη γὰρ εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβεβηκῶς, καὶ πυθόμενος λόγους τινὰς ἐν βιβλίοις περὶ τούτων ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους ἐκδεδῶσθαι, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας παρρησιαζόμενος ἐπιστολὴν, ἧς ἀντίγραφόν ἐστιν· "Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστοτέλει εὐ πράττειν. οὐκ ὀρθῶς

315 ἐποίησας ἐκδοὺς τοὺς ἀκροατικοὺς τῶν λόγων· τίτι γὰρ δὴ διοίσομεν ἡμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καθ' οὗς ἐπαιδεύθημεν λόγους, οὗτοι πάντων ἔσονται κοινοί; ἐγὼ δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀριστα ἐμπειρίαις ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσι διαφέρειν. ἔρρωσο". ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ παραμυθούμενος Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπολογεῖται περὶ τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων, ὡς καὶ ἐκδεδομένων καὶ μὴ ἐκδεδομένων. ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἢ περὶ τὰ φυσικὰ πραγματεῖα, πρὸς διδασκαλίαν καὶ μάθησιν οὐδὲν ἔχουσα χρήσιμον, ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γέγραπται.

320 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,"

330 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."

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350 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.

[8] Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ φιλιατρεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προστρίψασθαι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων Ἀριστοτέλης. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν θεωρίαν ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοσοῦσιν ἐβοήθει τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ συνέταττε θεραπείας τινὰς καὶ διαίτας, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν λαβεῖν ἔστιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ φύσει φιλόλογος καὶ φιλομαθῆς καὶ φιλαναγνώστης, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰλιάδα τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὀνομάζων, ἔλαβε μὲν Ἀριστοτέλους διορθώσαντος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος καλοῦσιν, εἶχε δ' αἰεὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐγγχειριδίου κειμένην ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον, ὡς Ὀνησίκριτος ἱστορήκε· τῶν δ' ἄλλων βιβλίων οὐκ εὐπορῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις, Ἀρπαλον ἐκέλευσε πέμψαι, κάκεινος ἐπέμψεν αὐτῷ τὰς τε Φιλίστου βίβλους καὶ τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Αἰσχύλου τραγωδιῶν συχνάς, καὶ Τελέστου καὶ Φιλοξένου διθυράμβους. Ἀριστοτέλην δὲ θαυμάζων ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἀγαπῶν οὐχ ἦτιον, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, τοῦ πατρός, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν, ὕστερον ὑποπτότερον ἔσχεν, οὐχ ὥστε ποιῆσαί τι κακόν, ἀλλ' αἰ φιλοφροσύνην τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ στερκτικὸν οὐκ ἔχουσαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλοτριότητος ἐγένοντο τεκμήριον. ὁ μὲντοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπεφυκῶς καὶ συντετραμμένος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ζῆλος καὶ πόθος οὐκ ἐξερρῦη τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἢ περὶ Ἀνάξαρχόν τε τιμῆ καὶ τὰ πεμφθέντα Ξενοκράτει πεντήκοντα τάλαντα καὶ Δάνδαμιν καὶ Καλανὸς οὕτω σπουδασθέντες μαρτυροῦσι.

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370 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

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and Philoxenus. For a while he loved and cherished Aristotle no less, as he was wont 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 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.

[9] Φιλίππου δὲ στρατεύοντος ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους, ἦν μὲν ἐκκαιδεκέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπολειφθεὶς δὲ κύριος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς σφραγίδος, Μαίδων τε τοὺς ἀφροσύνας κατεστρέψατο, καὶ πόλιν ἑλὼν αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐξήλασε, συμμεικτοὺς δὲ κατοικίσας, Ἀλεξανδρόπολιν προσηγόρευσε. Ἐν δὲ Χαιρωνείᾳ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης παρῶν μετέσχε, καὶ λέγεται πρῶτος ἐνσεῖσαι τῷ ἱερῷ λόφῳ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυτο παλαιὰ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλουμένη δρυς, πρὸς ἣν τότε κατεσκήνωσε, καὶ τὸ πολυάνδριον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐστίν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὡς εἰκὸς Φίλιππος ὑπερηγάπα τὸν υἱόν, ὥστε καὶ χαίρειν τῶν Μακεδόνων Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν βασιλέα, Φίλιππον δὲ στρατηγὸν καλούντων.

While Philip went on his expedition against the Byzantines, he left Alexander, then sixteen years old, his lieutenant in Macedonia, committing the 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 band. And even in my remembrance, there stood an old oak near the river Cephisus, 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.

Αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταραχαί, διὰ τοὺς γάμους καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῇ γυναικωνίτιδι συννοσοῦσης, πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ μεγάλας διαφορὰς παρεῖχον, ὡς ἡ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος χαλεπότης, δυσζήλου καὶ βαρυθύμου γυναικός, ἔτι μείζονας ἐποίει, παροξυνούσης τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἐκφανεστάτην δ' Ἄτταλος παρέσχε ἐν τοῖς Κλεοπάτρας γάμοις, ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἠγάγετο παρθένον, ἑρασθεὶς παρ' ἡλικίαν τῆς κόρης. θεῖος γὰρ ὦν αὐτῆς ὁ Ἄτταλος, ἐν τῷ πότῳ μεθύων παρεκάλει τοὺς Μακεδόνας αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ θεῶν γνήσιον ἐκ Φιλίππου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας γενέσθαι διαδόχον τῆς βασιλείας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἰπὼν· "ἡμεῖς δὲ σοι κακὴ κεφαλὴ νόθοι δοκοῦμεν;" ἔβαλε σκύφον ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐξανέστη σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος, εὐτυχίᾳ δ' ἑκατέρου διὰ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἔπεσε σφαλεῖς. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφυσβρίζων "οὗτος μέντοι" εἶπεν "ἄνδρες εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξ Εὐρώπης παρεσκευάζετο διαβαίνειν, ὡς ἐπὶ κλίνην ἀπὸ κλίνης διαβαίνων ἀνατέτραπται". μετὰ ταύτην τὴν παροιμίαν ἀναλαβὼν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ καταστήσας εἰς Ἥπειρον, αὐτὸς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς διέτριβεν.

But the disorders 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 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, 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 withdrew from Philip's company, and when he had placed her in Epirus, he himself retired into Illyria.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημάρατος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ξένος ὦν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ παρρησίας μετέχων, ἀφίκετο πρὸς Φίλιππον. μετὰ δὲ τὰς πρώτας δεξιώσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἐπερωτῶντος τοῦ Φιλίππου, πῶς ἔχουσιν ὁμοιοῖας πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ Ἕλληνες, "πάνυ γοῦν" ἔφη "σοι

προσῆκει Φίλιππε κήδεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὃς τὸν οἶκον τὸν σεαυτοῦ στάσεως τοσαύτης καὶ κακῶν ἐμπέπληκας". οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπεμψε καὶ κατήγαγε πείσας διὰ τοῦ Δημαράτου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

450 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.

455 "It will become you," replied 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.

460 [10] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πιξῳδάρῳ ὁ Καρίας σατράπης, ὑποδύμενος δι' οἰκειότητος εἰς τὴν Φιλίππου συμμαχίαν, ἐβούλετο τὴν πρεσβυτάτην τῶν θυγατέρων Ἀρριδαίῳ τῷ Φιλίππου γυναῖκα δοῦναι καὶ περὶ τούτων Ἀριστόκριτον εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέστειλεν, αὐθις ἐγένοντο λόγοι καὶ διαβολαὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς Ἀρριδαῖον ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Φιλίππου γάμοις λαμπροῖς καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις εἰσοικειοῦντος. ὑφ' ᾧ διαταραχθεὶς πέμπει Θεσσαλὸν εἰς Καρίαν τὸν τῶν τραγωιδῶν ὑποκριτὴν, Πιξῳδάρῳ διαλεξόμενον ὡς χρῆ τὸν νόθον ἐάσαντα καὶ οὐ φρενήρη μεθαρμόσασθαι τὸ κῆδος εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον. καὶ Πιξῳδάρῳ μὲν οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα τῶν προτέρων μᾶλλον.

470 But this reconciliation lasted not long; for when Pixodorus, viceroy of Caria, sent Aristocritus to treat for a match between his eldest daughter 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. 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.

480 ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος αἰσθόμενος† ὄντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, παραλαβὼν τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ συνήθων ἓνα Φιλῳτᾶν τὸν Παρμενίωνος, ἐπέτιμησεν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ πικρῶς ἐλοιδόρησεν ὡς ἀγενεῖ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγαθῶν ἀνάξιον, εἰ Καρὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ βαρβάρῳ βασιλεῖ δουλεύοντος ἀγαπᾶ γαμβρὸς γενέσθαι. τὸν δὲ Θεσσαλὸν ἔγραψε Κορινθίοις ὅπως ἀναπέμψωσιν ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐταίρων Ἀρπαλον καὶ Νέαρχον, ἔτι δ' Ἐρίγιον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετέστησεν, οὓς ὕστερον Ἀλέξανδρος καταγαγὼν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἔσχε τιμαῖς.

485 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 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, Erigyus, and Ptolemy, his son's friends and favourites, whom Alexander afterwards recalled and raised to great honour and preferment.

495 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πausανίας Ἀττάλου γνώμη καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ὑβρισθεὶς καὶ μὴ τυχὼν δίκης ἀνεῖλε Φίλιππον, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον εἰς Ὀλυμπιάδα τῆς αἰτίας περιήλθεν, ὡς θυμουμένῳ τῷ νεανίσκῳ προσεγκελευσαμένην καὶ παροξύνασαν, ἔθιγε δέ τις καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβολή. λέγεται γὰρ ἐντυχόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Πausανίου μετὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀποδουρομένου προενέγκασθαι τὸ τῆς Μηδείας ἰαμβεῖον?

τὸν δόντα καὶ γήμαντα καὶ γαμουμένην.

500 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συναιτίους τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἀναζητήσας ἐκόλασε, καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν ἀποδημοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ὡμῶς μεταχειρισσαμένης ἠγανάκτησε.

505 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 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 bride."

510 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.

[11] Παρέλαβε μὲν οὖν ἔτη γεγονῶς εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν, φθόνους
 515 μεγάλους καὶ δεινὰ μίση καὶ κινδύνους πανταχόθεν ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ βάρβαρα καὶ
 πρόσοικα γένη τὴν δούλωσιν ἔφερε, ποθοῦντα τὰς πατρίους βασιλείας, οὔτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 κρατήσας τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ὁ Φίλιππος οἶον καταζεῦξαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι χρόνον ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ
 μόνον μεταβαλὼν καὶ ταραξάς τὰ πράγματα πολὺν σάλον ἔχοντα καὶ κίνησιν ὑπ' ἀηθείας
 520 ἀπέλιπε. φοβουμένων δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὸν καιρόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πάντως ἀφείναι
 καὶ μὴ προσβιάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἰομένων δεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἀφισταμένους τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἀνακαλεῖσθαι πρῶτος καὶ θεραπεύειν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν, αὐτὸς ἀπ' ἐναντίων
 λογισμῶν ὤρμησε τόλμη καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνη κτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς
 525 πράγμασιν, ὡς κἂν ὅτι οὖν ὑφιέμενος ὀφθῆ τοῦ φρονήματος, ἐπιβησομένων ἀπάντων. τὰ μὲν
 οὖν βαρβαρικὰ κινήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πολέμους κατέπαυσεν, ὁξέως ἐπιδραμῶν στρατῶ
 μέχρι πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρὸν, ἧ καὶ Σύρμον ἐνίκησε μάχη μεγάλη τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Τριβαλλῶν·
 530 Θηβαίους δ' ἀφεστάναι πυθόμενος καὶ συμφρονεῖν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίους, εὐθύς ἤγε διὰ Πυλῶν
 τὴν δύναμιν, εἰπὼν ὅτι Δημοσθένει, παῖδα μὲν αὐτὸν ἕως ἦν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ
 Τριβαλλοῖς ἀποκαλοῦντι, μειράκιον δὲ περὶ Θετταλίαν γενόμενον, βούλεται πρὸς τοῖς
 Ἀθηναίων τεύχεσιν ἀνὴρ φανῆναι.

Alexander was but twenty years old when his father was murdered, and succeeded to a
 530 kingdom, beset on all sides with great dangers and rancorous enemies. For not only
 the barbarous nations that bordered on Macedonia were impatient 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
 535 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 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
 540 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, to
 encourage all to trample on him. In pursuit of this opinion, he reduced the
 545 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
 550 them, he immediately marched through the pass of 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.

προσμείξας δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις καὶ διδοὺς ἔτι τῶν πεπραγμένων μετάνοιαν, ἐξήτει Φοῖνικα
 καὶ Προθύτην καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλλομένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄδειαν ἐκήρυττε. τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων
 555 ἀντεξαιτούντων μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ Φιλώταν καὶ Αντίπατρον, κηρυττόντων δὲ τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 βουλομένους συνελευθεροῦν τάττεσθαι μετ' αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἔτρεψε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς
 πόλεμον. ἡγωνίσθη μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἀρετῆ καὶ προθυμίας τὰ παρὰ τῶν Θηβαίων,
 πολλαπλασίους οὔσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιταχθέντων· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Καδμεῖαν ἀφέντες οἱ
 φρουροὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπέπιπτον αὐτοῖς ἐξόπισθεν, κυκλωθέντες οἱ πλεῖστοι κατὰ τὴν
 560 μάχην αὐτὴν ἔπεσον, ἧ δὲ πόλις ἤλω καὶ διαρπασθεῖσα κατεσκάφη, τὸ μὲν ὅλον
 προσδοκήσαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐκπλαγέντας πάθει τηλικούτῳ καὶ πτήξαντας
 ἀτρεμήσειν, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ καλλωπισαμένου χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων ἐγκλήμασι· καὶ
 565 γὰρ Φωκεῖς καὶ Πλαταιεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγορήσαν. ὑπεξελόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ
 τοὺς ξένους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πινδάρου γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς
 ὑπεναντιωθέντας τοῖς ψηφισαμένοις τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπέδοτο τοὺς ἄλλους, περὶ
 τρισμυρίουσιν γενομένους· οἱ δ' ἀποθανόντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίουσιν ἦσαν.

When he came to Thebes, to show how willing he was to accept of their repentance for
 570 what was past, he only demanded of them Phoenix and Prothytes, the authors of the
 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
 575 them feel the last extremities of war. The Thebans indeed defended themselves with a
 zeal 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 the hostility of his confederates, the Phocians and Plataeans. So that,

580 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 the sword.

585 [12] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς πάθεσι καὶ χαλεποῖς ἐκείνοις ἅ τὴν πόλιν κατεῖχε Θρακῆς τινες ἐκκόψαντες οἰκίαν Τιμοκλείας, γυναικὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ σώφρονος, αὐτοὶ μὲν τὰ χρήματα διήρπαζον, ὁ δ' ἠγεμὼν τῆ γυναικὶ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος καὶ καταισχύνας, ἀνέκρινεν εἰ ποῦ χρυσίον ἔχοι κεκρυμμένον ἢ ἀργύριον. ἡ δ' ἔχειν ὠμολόγησε, καὶ μόνον εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ δείξασα φρέαρ, ἐνταῦθ' ἔφη τῆς πόλεως ἀλισκομένης καταβαλεῖν αὐτῇ τὰ τιμιώτατα τῶν χρημάτων. ἐγκύπτιοντος δὲ τοῦ Θρακῆος καὶ κατασκεπτομένου τὸν τόπον, ἔωσεν αὐτὸν ἐξόπισθεν γενομένη, καὶ τῶν λίθων ἐπεμβαλοῦσα πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν. ὡς δ' ἀνήχθη πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν δεδεμένη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς βαδίσεως ἐφάνη τις ἀξιοματικὴ καὶ 590 μεγαλόφρων, ἀνεκπλήκτως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπομένη τοῖς ἄγουσιν· ἔπειτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτήσαντος ἥτις εἴη γυναικῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο Θεαγένους ἀδελφῆ γεγονέναι τοῦ παραταξαμένου πρὸς Φίλιππον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ πεσόντος ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ στρατηγοῦντος. θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ τὴν 595 πρᾶξιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐλευθέραν ἀπιέναι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων.

600 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 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 605 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 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 610 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." 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.

615 [13] Ἀθηναίοις δὲ διηλλάγη, καίπερ οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκοῦσι τὸ περὶ Θήβας δυστύχημα· καὶ γὰρ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων ἑορτὴν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες ὑπὸ πένθους ἀφῆκαν, καὶ τοῖς καταφυγοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων μετεδίδοσαν τῶν φιλανθρώπων. ἀλλ' εἴτε μεστὸς ὦν ἤδη τὸν θυμὸν ὡπερ οἱ λέοντες, εἴτ' ἐπιεικὲς ἔργον ὡμοιότητι καὶ 620 σκυθρωποτάτῃ παραβαλεῖν βουλόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀφῆκεν αἰτίας πάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέχειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν τὴν πόλιν, ὡς εἰ τι συμβαίῃ περὶ αὐτὸν, ἄρξουσιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ὕστερον μέντοι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἡ Θηβαίων ἀνιάσαι συμφορὰ λέγεται καὶ πρῶτον οὐκ ὀλίγοις παρασχεῖν. ὅλως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Κλεῖτον ἔργον ἐν οἴνῳ γεγόμενον, καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἰνδοῦς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀποδειλίαν, ὡπερ ἀτελῆ τὴν στρατείαν 625 καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ προεμένων, εἰς μῆνιν ἀνήγε Διονύσου καὶ νέμεσιν. ἦν δὲ Θηβαίων οὐδεὶς τῶν περιγενομένων, ὃς ἐντυχῶν τι καὶ δεθηεῖς ὕστερον οὐ διεπράξατο παρ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Θήβας.

630 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 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 635 miscarry, they were likely to be the arbiters of Greece.

640 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.

- 645 [14] Εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συλλεγέντων καὶ ψηφισαμένων
ἐπὶ Πέρσας μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύειν, ἡγεμῶν ἀνηγορεύθη. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν
ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀπηντηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ συνηδομένων, ἤλπιζε καὶ Διογένην τὸν
Σινωπέα ταῦτο ποιῆσειν, διατρίβοντα περὶ Κόρινθον. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐλάχιστον
650 Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγον ἔχων ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ σχολῆν ἤγειν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔτυχε
δὲ κατακείμενος ἐν ἡλίῳ. καὶ μικρὸν μὲν ἀνεκάθισεν, ἀνθρώπων τοσοῦτων ἐπερχομένων,
καὶ διέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτὸν
ἠρώτησεν, εἰ τινος τυγχάνει δεόμενος, "μικρὸν" εἶπεν· "ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μετάστηθι".
πρὸς τοῦτο λέγεται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὕτω διατεθῆναι καὶ θαυμάσαι καταφρονηθέντα τὴν
ὑπεροψίαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥστε τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀπήεσαν διαγελάντων καὶ
655 σκωπτόντων, "ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐγὼ" εἶπεν "εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤμην, Διογένης ἂν ἤμην".
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
660 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,"
665 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.
- 670 Βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ θεῷ χρήσασθαι περὶ τῆς στρατείας, ἤλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς, καὶ κατὰ τύχην
ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων οὐσῶν, ἐν αἷς οὐ νενόμισται θεμιστεύειν, πρῶτον μὲν ἔπεμπε
παρακαλῶν τὴν πρόμαντιν. ὡς δ' ἀρνούμενης καὶ προἰσχομένης τὸν νόμον αὐτὸς ἀναβάς
βίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν εἴλκεν αὐτήν, ἢ δ' ὡσπερ ἐξητιτημένη τῆς σπουδῆς εἶπεν· "ἀνίκητος
εἶ ὧ παῖ," τοῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκέτ' ἔφη χρῆζειν ἐτέρου μαντεύματος, ἀλλ'
675 ἔχειν ὃν ἐβούλετο παρ' αὐτῆς χρησίδιον.
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
680 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.
- 685 Ἐπεὶ δ' ὤρμησε πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἀλλὰ τ' ἐδόκει σημεῖα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου
γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ περὶ Λεῖβηθρα τοῦ Ὀρφῆως ξόανον (ἦν δὲ κυπαρίττινον) ἰδρῶτα πολὺν
ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας ἀφῆκε. φοβουμένων δὲ πάντων τὸ σημεῖον, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκέλευσε
θαρρεῖν, ὡς αἰοιδίμους καὶ περιβοήτους κατεργασόμενον πράξεις, αἱ πολὺν ἰδρῶτα καὶ
πόνον ὕμνοισι ποιηταῖς καὶ μουσικοῖς παρέξουσι.
- 690 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.
- 695 [15] Τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶς τὸ πλῆθος οἱ μὲν ἐλάχιστον λέγοντες τρισμυρίους
πεζοὺς καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἵππεῖς, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστον πεζοὺς μὲν τετρακισμυρίους καὶ
τρισχιλίους, ἵππεας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους ἀναγράφουσιν. ἐφόδιον δὲ τούτοις οὐ πλεόν
ἐβδομήκοντα ταλάντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος ἱστορεῖ, Δοῦρις δὲ τριάκοντα μόνον
ἡμερῶν διατροφήν, Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ διακόσια τάλαντα προσοφείλγειν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀπὸ
700 μικρῶν καὶ στενῶν οὕτως ὀρμώμενος, οὐ πρότερον ἐπέβη τῆς νεῶς, ἢ τὰ τῶν ἐταίρων
πράγματα σκεψάμενος ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ μὲν ἀγρόν, τῷ δὲ κώμην, τῷ δὲ συνοικίας πρόσσδον ἢ
λιμένον. ἤδη δὲ κατανηλωμένων καὶ διαγεγραμμένων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὁ
Περδίκκας "σεαυτῷ δ'" εἶπεν "ὧ βασιλεῦ τί καταλείπεις;" τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι τὰς
ἐλπίδας, "οὐκοῦν" ἔφη "καὶ ἡμεῖς τούτων κοινωθήσομεν οἱ μετὰ σοῦ στρατευόμενοι".
705 παραιτησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Περδίκκου τὴν διαγεγραμμένην κτῆσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων
ἐνιοι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίησαν. τοῖς δὲ λαμβάνουσι καὶ δεομένοις προθύμως ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ τὰ
πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ διανέμων οὕτως κατηνάλωσε.
- 710 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.

725 Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ὀρμῇ καὶ παρασκευῇ διανοίας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διεπέρασεν. ἀναβάς δ' εἰς Ἴλιον, ἔθυσσε τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἔσπεισε. τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως στήλην ἀλειψάμενος λίπα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων συναναδραμῶν γυμνὸς ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐστεφάνωσε, μακαρίσας αὐτὸν ὅτι καὶ ζῶν φίλου πιστοῦ καὶ τελευτήσας μεγάλου κήρυκος ἔτυχεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιιέναι καὶ θεᾶσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτόν, εἰ βούλεται τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου λύραν ἰδεῖν, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζειν ἐκείνης ἔφη, τὴν δ' Ἀχιλλέως ζητεῖν, ἧ τὰ κλέα καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὕμνει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνος.

730 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.

[16] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Δαρείου στρατηγῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν ἠθροϊκότων καὶ παρατεταγμένων ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Γρανικοῦ, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ὡσπερ ἐν πύλαις τῆς Ἀσίας, περὶ τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ ἀρχῆς· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τὸ βάθος καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τραχύτητα τῶν πέραν ὄχθων, πρὸς οὓς ἔδει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν μετὰ μάχης, τῶν πλείστων δεδιότων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν μῆνα νενομισμένον οἰομένων δεῖν φυλάξασθαι, (Δαισίου γὰρ οὐκ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐξάγειν τὴν στρατιάν), τοῦτο μὲν ἐπηνωρθώσατο, κελεύσας δεῦτερον Ἀρτεμισιον ἀγειν· τοῦ δὲ Παρμενίωνος, ὡς ὄψε τῆς ὥρας οὔσης, οὐκ ἔωντος ἀποκινδυνεύειν, εἰπὼν αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, εἰ φοβήσεται τὸν Γρανικὸν διαβεβηκῶς ἐκεῖνον, ἐμβάλλει τῷ ρεύματι σὺν ἱλαῖς ἵππεων τρισκαίδεκα· καὶ πρὸς ἐναντία βέλη καὶ τόπους ἀπορῶγας ὀπλοῖς καταπεφραγμένους καὶ ἵπποις ἐλαύνων, καὶ διὰ ρεύματος παραφέροντος καὶ περικλύζοντος, ἔδοξε μανικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ στρατηγεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐμφῶς τῇ διαβάσει καὶ κρατήσας τῶν τόπων χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, ὑγρῶν καὶ περισφαλῶν γενομένων διὰ τὸν πηλόν, εὐθύς ἠναγκάζετο φύρδην μάχεσθαι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, πρὶν εἰς τάξιν τινὰ καταστήναι τοὺς διαβαίνοντας. ἐνέκειντο γὰρ κραυγῇ, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους παραβάλλοντες τοῖς ἵπποις ἐχρῶντο δόρασι καὶ ξίφεσι τῶν δοράτων συντριβέντων.

760 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.

780 ὡσαμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν (ἦν δὲ τῆ πέλιτι καὶ τοῦ κράνουσ τῆ χαίτη διαπρεπής, ἥσ
 ἑκατέρωθεν εἰστέκει πτερὸν λευκότητι καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστόν), ἀκοντισθεῖσ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν
 ὑποπτυχίδα τοῦ θώρακος οὐκ ἐτρώθη, Ῥοισάκου δὲ καὶ Σπιθριδάτου τῶν στρατηγῶν
 προσφερομένων ἅμα, τὸν μὲν ἐκκλίνας, Ῥοισάκη δὲ προεμβάλων τεθωρακισμένῳ τὸ δόρυ καὶ
 κατακλάσας, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ ἐγγχειρίδιον ὤρμησε. συμπεπιτωκότων δ' αὐτῶν, ὁ Σπιθριδάτης
 785 ὑποστήσας ἐκ πλαγίων τὸν ἵππον καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς συνεξαναστῆσ, κοπίδι βαρβαρικῆ
 κατήνεγκε, καὶ τὸν μὲν λόφον ἀπέρραξε μετὰ θατέρου πτεροῦ, τὸ δὲ κράνος πρὸς τὴν
 πληγὴν ἀκριβῶσ καὶ μόλις ἀντέσχεν, ὥστε τῶν πρώτων ψαῦσαι τριχῶν τὴν πτέρυγα τῆσ
 κοπίδος. ἑτέραν δὲ τὸν Σπιθριδάτην πάλιν ἐπαίρόμενον ἐφθασε Κλεῖτος ὁ μέλας τῷ ξυστῷ
 διελάσας μέσον· ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ Ῥοισάκης ἐπεσεν, ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ξίφει πληγείς. ἐν τούτῳ
 790 δὲ κινδύνου καὶ ἀγῶνος οὐσης τῆσ ἵππομαχίας, ἡ τε φάλαγγξ διεβῆινε τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ
 συνῆγον αἱ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις. οὐ μὴν ὑπέστησαν εὐρώστως οὐδὲ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἐφυγον
 τραπόμενοι πλὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων Ἑλλήνων·

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
 795 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
 800 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
 805 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.

οὔτοι δὲ πρὸς τινι λόφῳ συστάντες, ἦτουν τὰ πιστὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ θυμῷ μᾶλλον
 810 ἢ λογισμῷ πρώτος ἐμβάλων, τὸν θ' ἵππον ἀποβάλλει ξίφει πληγέντια διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν (ἦν
 δ' ἑτερος, οὐχ ὁ Βουκεφάλας), καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀποθανόντων καὶ τραυματισθέντων
 ἐκεῖ συνέβη κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ πεσεῖν, πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεγνώκotas καὶ μαχίμους
 συμπλεκομένους. λέγονται δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἵππεῖσ δὲ δισχίλιοι
 815 πεντακόσιοι πεσεῖν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστόβουλος φησι τέσσαρας καὶ
 τριάκοντα νεκροὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς πάντας, ὧν ἐννέα πεζοὺς εἶναι. τούτων μὲν οὖν
 ἐκέλευσεν εἰκόνας ἀνασταθῆναι χαλκᾶς, ἃς Λύσιππος εἰργάσατο. κοινούμενος δὲ τὴν
 νίκην τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπέμψε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τριακοσίας
 ἀσπίδας, κοινῆ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις λαφύροις ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιγράψαι φιλοτιμοτάτην ἐπιγραφὴν·

But the enemy hardly sustaining the first onset soon gave ground and fled, all but
 820 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
 825 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
 830 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:

"Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνες πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν
 Ἀσίαν κατοικούντων". ἐκπώματα δὲ καὶ πορφύρας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα τῶν Περσικῶν ἔλαβε,
 835 πάντα τῆ μητρὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων ἐπέμψεν.

"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.

840 [17] Οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν μεγάλην εὐθύς ἐποίησε τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν
 πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥστε καὶ Σάρδεις, τὸ πρόσχημα τῆσ ἐπὶ θαλάσση τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἡγεμονίας, παραλαβεῖν καὶ ἄλλα προστίθεσθαι. μόνη δ' Ἀλικαρνασσὸς ἀντίεστη καὶ

845 Μίλητος, ὃς ἐλὼν κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς πάντα χειρωσάμενος, ἀμφίβολος ἦν πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς γνώμῃ. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐσπευδε Δαρεῖω συμπεσῶν ἀποκινδυνεῦσαι περὶ τῶν ὄλων, πολλάκις δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πράγμασι καὶ χρήμασι διενοεῖτο πρῶτον οἶον ἑνασκήσας καὶ ῥώσας αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναβαίνειν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον.

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 850 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 855 his power here and made himself secure of the resources of these provinces.

Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Λυκίας κρήνη παρὰ τὴν Ξανθίων πόλιν, ἥς τότε λέγουσιν αὐτομάτως περιτραπείσης καὶ ὑπερβαλούσης ἐκ βυθοῦ δέλτιον ἐκπεσεῖν χαλκῆν, τύπους ἔχουσαν 860 ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων, ἐν οἷς ἐδηλοῦτο παύσεσθαι τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων καταλυθεῖσαν. τούτοις ἐπαρθείς, ἠπείγετο τὴν παραλίαν ἀνακαθήρασθαι μέχρι τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας. ἡ δὲ τῆς Παμφυλίας παραδρομὴ πολλοῖς γέγονε τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὑπόθεσις γραφικὴ πρὸς ἐκπληξιν καὶ ὄγκον, ὡς θεία τινὶ τύχῃ παραχωρήσασαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἄλλως αἰεὶ τραχεῖαν ἐκ πελάγους προσφερομένην, σπανίως δὲ ποτε λεπτοῦς καὶ περιηχεῖς ὑπὸ τὰ κρημνώδη καὶ παρερρωγότα τῆς ὀρεινῆς πάγους διακαλύπτουσαν. 865 δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος, ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ παίζων πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον·

865 ὡς Ἀλεξανδρῶδες ἤδη τοῦτο· κὰν ζητῶ τινα, αὐτόματος οὔτως παρέσται· κὰν διελθεῖν δηλαδὴ διὰ θαλάσσης δέη τόπον τιν', οὔτως ἔσται μοι βατός.

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 870 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 of 875 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:

880 "Was Alexander ever favoured more?
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."

885 αὐτὸς δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον τερατευσάμενος, ὁδοποιῆσαι φησι τὴν λεγομένην Κλίμακα καὶ διελθεῖν ὀρμήσας ἐκ Φασηλίδος. διὸ καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ πόλει διέτριψεν· ἐν αἷς καὶ Θεοδέκτου τεθνηκότος (ἦν δὲ Φασηλίτης) ἰδὼν εἰκόνα {ἀνα}κειμένην ἐν ἀγορᾷ, μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπεκώμασε μεθύων καὶ τῶν στεφάνων ἐπέρριψε πολλούς, οὐκ ἄχαριν ἀποδιδούς ἐν παιδιᾷ τιμὴν τῇ γενομένῃ δι' Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμιλίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα.

890 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 market-place, after he had supped, 895 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.

[18] Μετὰ ταῦτα Πισιδῶν τε τοὺς ἀντιστάντας ἦρει καὶ Φρυγίαν 900 ἔχειροῦτο· καὶ Γόρδιον πόλιν, ἐστὶαν Μίδου τοῦ παλαιοῦ γενέσθαι λεγομένην, παραλαβὼν, τὴν θρυλουμένην ἄμαξαν εἶδε, φλοιᾷ κρανεῖας ἐνδεδεμένην, καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῇ πιστευόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἠκουσεν, ὡς τῷ λύσαντι τὸν δεσμόν εἶμαρται βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι τῆς οἰκουμένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ φασι, τῶν δεσμῶν τυφλὰς ἐχόντων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ δι' ἄλλήλων πολλάκις σκολιοῖς ἐλιγμοῖς ὑποφερομένων, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀμμηανοῦντα 905 λῦσαι, διατεμεῖν τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸ σύναμμα, καὶ πολλὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ κοπέντος ἀρχὰς φανῆναι. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ πάνυ λέγει ῥαδίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν λύσιν, ἐξελόντι τοῦ ῥυμοῦ τὸν ἔστορα καλούμενον, ᾧ συνείχετο τὸ ζυγόδεσμον, εἴθ' οὕτως ὑφελκύσαντι τὸν ζυγόν. Ἐντεῦθεν Παφλαγόνας τε καὶ Καππαδόκας προσαγαγόμενος, καὶ τὴν Μέμνονος ἀκούσας τελευτήν, ὃς τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Δαρείου στρατηγῶν ἐπίδοξος ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ πράγματα

- καὶ μυρίας ἀντιλήψεις καὶ ἀσχολίας παρέξειν, ἐπερρώσθη πρὸς τὴν ἄνω στρατείαν μᾶλλον.
 910 Then he subdued the Pisidians who made head against him, and 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
 915 finding himself unable to untie the knot, the ends of which were secretly 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
 920 countries he soon reduced to obedience, and then hearing of the death of Memnon, the best commander 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.
- Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐκ Σούσων κατέβαινε, ἐπαιρόμενός τε τῷ πλήθει τῆς δυνάμεως (ἐξήκοντα γὰρ ἦγε μυριάδας στρατοῦ), καὶ τινος ὄνειρου θαρρύνοντος αὐτόν, ὃν οἱ μάγοι πρὸς χάριν ἐξηγοῦντο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. ἔδοξε γὰρ πυρὶ νέμεσθαι πολλῶ τὴν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα, τὸν δ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα στολήν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐφόρει πρότερον ἀσιάνδης ὡς βασιλέως, ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ· παρελθόντα δ' εἰς τὸ τοῦ Βήλου τέμενος, ἀφανῆ
 930 γενέσθαι. διὰ τούτων ὡς εἰκεν ὑπεδηλοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρὰ μὲν γενήσεσθαι καὶ περιφανῆ τὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας κρατήσῃν, ὡς περ ἐκράτησε Δαρεῖος, ἐξ ἀσιάνδου βασιλεὺς γενόμενος, ταχὺ δὲ σὺν δόξῃ τὸν βίον ἀπολείψειν. 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 Persian soothsayers interpreted rather in flattery to him than according
 935 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
 940 out of his sight. The dream would appear to have supernaturally 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.
- [19] Ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρησε καταγνοῦς δειλίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου, πολὺν χρόνον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ διατρίψαντος. ἦν δ' ἡ διατριβὴ διὰ νόσον, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐκ κόπων, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύδνου ρεύματι λουσαμένῳ καὶ καταπαγέντι προσπεσεῖν λέγουσι. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἰατρῶν οὐδεὶς ἐθάρρει βοηθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἴομενοι πάσης
 950 ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι βοηθείας, ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σφαλῆναι διαβολὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· Φίλιππος δ' ὁ Ἄκαρνάν μοχθηρὰ μὲν ἑώρα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, τῇ δὲ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, καὶ δεινὸν ἠγούμενος εἰ κινδυνεύοντι μὴ συγκινδυνεύσει, μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης πείρας βοηθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ἐπεχείρησε φαρμακεῖα καὶ συνέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὑπομεῖναι καὶ πρεῖν, σπεύδοντα ῥωσθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Παρμενίων
 955 ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, διακελευόμενος αὐτῷ φυλάξασθαι τὸν Φίλιππον, ὡς ὑπὸ Δαρεῖου πεπεισμένον ἐπὶ ὄψεσσι μεγάλας καὶ γάμψυ θυματρὸς ἀνελεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνοῦς καὶ μηδενὶ δεῖξας τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκεν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ παρόντος εἰσῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ Φίλιππος, τὸ φάρμακον ἐν κύλικι κομίζων, ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν ἐπέδωκε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ἐδέξατο προθύμως καὶ ἀνυπόπτως, ὥστε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεατρικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, τοῦ μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντος, τοῦ
 960 δὲ πίνοντος, εἴθ' ἅμα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλεπόντων οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου φαιδρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διακεχυμένῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον εὐμένειαν καὶ πίστιν ἀποφαίνοντος, ἐκεῖνου δὲ πρὸς τὴν διαβολὴν ἐξισταμένου, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν θεοκλυτοῦντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνοντος τὰς χεῖρας, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ κλίνῃ περιπίπτοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὐθυμεῖν καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ. τὸ γὰρ φάρμακον ἐν ἄρχῃ
 965 κρατήσαν τοῦ σώματος οἷον ἀπέωσε καὶ κατέδυσεν εἰς βάθος τὴν δύναμιν, ὥστε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπιλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀσαφῆ καὶ μικρὰ κομιδῆ γενέσθαι, λιποθυμίας ἐπιπεσοῦσης. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀναληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ ῥαΐσας, αὐτὸν ἐπέδειξε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπάσυντο πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀθυμοῦντες. Darius's confidence increased the more, because Alexander spent so much time in
 970 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

975 they should fail in the cure; till Philip, the Acarnanian, seeing how critical his
 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
 980 war. At this very time, Parmenio wrote to Alexander from the camp, bidding him have
 a care of 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
 985 and assurance, giving him meantime the letter to read. This was a spectacle well
 worth 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
 990 the accusation, appealing to the gods to witness his innocence, sometimes lifting up
 his hands to 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
 995 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.

[20] Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Δαρείου στρατῷ πεφευγὼς ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἀνὴρ
 1000 Μακεδῶν, Ἀμύντας, οὐκ ἀπειρος τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσεως. οὗτος ὠρμημένον ἰδὼν Δαρεῖον
 εἰσω τῶν στενῶν βαδίζειν ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐδεῖτο κατὰ χώραν ὑπομένειν ἐν πλάτος
 ἔχουσι πεδίοις καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις, πρὸς ἐλάττινας πλήθει τοσοῦτω διαμαχοῦμενον.
 ἀποκριναμένου δὲ Δαρείου δεδιέναι μὴ φθάσωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποδράντες οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ
 1005 διαφυγῶν Ἀλέξανδρος, "ἀλλὰ τοῦτου γ'" εἶπεν ὧ βασιλεῦ χάριν θάρρει· βαδιεῖται γὰρ
 ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ σχεδὸν ἤδη βαδίζει".

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
 1010 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
 1015 will make all the speed he can to meet you, and is now most likely on his march
 toward you."

ταῦτα λέγων Ἀμύντας οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύετο Δαρεῖος εἰς Κιλικίαν, ἅμα δ'
 1020 Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Συρίαν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον. ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ διαμαρτίνοντες ἀλλήλων, αὔθις
 ἀνέστρεφον, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ἠδόμενός τε τῇ συντυχίᾳ καὶ σπεύδων ἀπαντῆσαι περὶ τὰ
 στενά, Δαρεῖος δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀναλαβεῖν στρατοπεδείαν καὶ τῶν στενῶν ἐξελίξαι τὴν
 δύναμιν.

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
 1025 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.

ἤδη γὰρ ἐγνώκει παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἐμβεβληκῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς χωρία θαλάττη καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ
 1030 ποταμῷ διὰ μέσου ρέοντι τῷ Πινάρῳ δύσιππα καὶ διεσπασμένα πολλαχοῦ καὶ πρὸς τῆς
 ὀλιγότητος τῶν πολεμίων ἔχοντα τὴν θέσιν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τὸν μὲν τόπον ἢ τύχη
 παρέσχεν, ἐστρατήγησε δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ὑπαρχόντων πρὸς τὸ νικῆσαι βέλτιον, ὃς γε
 τοσοῦτω πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων λειπόμενος, ἐκεῖνοις μὲν οὐ παρέσχε κύκλωσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ
 1035 τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ κέρας, φυγὴν ἐποίησε τῶν καθ'
 αὐτὸν βαρβάρων, ἐν πρώτοις ἀγωνιζόμενος, ὥστε τρωθῆναι ξίφει τὸν μηρόν, ὡς μὲν Χάρης
 φησὶν ὑπὸ Δαρείου (συμπεσεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦς εἰς χεῖρας).

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
 1040 Alexander in the choice of the ground, than he was careful to improve it to his

- 1045 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.
- 1050 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περὶ τῆς μάχης ἐπιστέλλων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ εἶρηκεν ὅστις ἦν ὁ τρώσας, ὅτι δὲ τρωθείη τὸν μηρὸν ἐγχειριδίῳ, δυσχερὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος συμβαίη, γέγραφε. νικήσας δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ καταβαλὼν ὑπὲρ ἑνδεκα μυριάδας τῶν πολεμίων, Δαρεῖον μὲν οὐχ εἶλε, τέτταρας σταδίους ἢ πέντε προλαβόντα τῆ φυγῆ, τὸ δ' ἄρμα καὶ τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἐπανῆλθε· καὶ κατέλαβε τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὸν μὲν ἄλλον πλοῦστον ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοπέδου φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας, ὑπερβάλλοντα πλήθει, καίπερ εὐζώνων πρὸς τὴν μάχην παραγενομένων καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἐν Δαμασκῷ καταλιπόντων, τὴν δὲ Δαρεῖου σκηνὴν ἐξηρηκότας ἐκείνῳ, θεραπείας τε λαμπρᾶς καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν γέμουσαν. εὐθύς οὖν ἀποδυσάμενος τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ λουτρὸν ἐβάδιζεν εἰπών·
- 1055 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.
- 1060 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
- 1065 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,
- 1070 "Ἴωμεν ἀπολουσόμενοι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἰδρῶτα τῷ Δαρεῖου λουτρῷ". καὶ τις τῶν ἐταίρων "μὰ τὸν Δία" εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου· τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἠτιωμένων εἶναί τε δεῖ καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ κρατοῦντος". ὡς δ' εἶδε μὲν ὄλκια καὶ κρωσσοὺς καὶ πυέλους καὶ ἀλαβάστρους, πάντα χρυσοῦ, διησκημένα περιτιτῶς, ὠδῶδει δὲ θεσπέσιον οἶον ὑπ' ἀρωμάτων καὶ μύρων ὁ οἶκος, ἐκ δὲ οὗτου παρήλθεν εἰς σκηνὴν ὕψει τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ περὶ τὴν στρωμνὴν καὶ τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτὸ κόσμῳ θαύματος ἀξίαν, διαβλέψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους, "τοῦτ' ἦν ὡς εἰκεν" ἔφη "τὸ βασιλεύειν".
- 1075 "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
- 1080 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."
- 1085 [21] Τρεπομένῳ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ φράζει τις ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀγομένης μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα Δαρεῖου καὶ θυγατέρας δύο παρθένους ἰδούσας τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ τόξα κόπτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν, ὡς ἀπολωλότος ἐκείνου. συχνὸν οὖν ἐπισχῶν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων τύχαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ συμπαθεῖς γενόμενος, πέμπει Λεοννάτον, ἀπαγγεῖλαι κελεύσας ὡς οὔτε Δαρεῖος τέθνηκεν οὔτ' Ἀλέξανδρον δεδιέναι χρή· Δαρεῖῳ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας πολεμεῖν, ἐκείναις δὲ πάνθ' ὑπάρξειν ὧν καὶ Δαρεῖου βασιλεύοντος ἤξιοῦντο.
- 1090 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
- 1095 dominion; they should themselves be provided with everything they had been used to receive from Darius.
- 1100 τοῦ δὲ λόγου ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἡμέρου καὶ χρηστοῦ φανέντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀπῆντα φιλάνθρωπα. θάψαι γὰρ ὅσους ἐβούλοντο Περσῶν ἔδωκεν, ἐσθῆτι καὶ κόσμῳ χρησαμέναις ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων, θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἣν εἶχον οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ἀφείλε, συντάξεις δὲ καὶ μείζονας ἐκαρποῦντο τῶν προτέρων. ἡ δὲ καλλίστη καὶ βασιλικωτάτη χάρις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῦ γυναῖξι γενναίαις καὶ σώφροσι γενομέναις αἰχμαλώτοις μήτ' ἀκοῦσαι τι μήτ' ὑπονοῆσαι μήτε προσδοκῆσαι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ οὐκ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ
- 1105 πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀγίοις φυλαττομένας παρθενῶσιν, ἀπόρρητον ἔχειν καὶ ἄορατον ἐτέροις δίαιταν. καίτοι λέγεται γε τὴν Δαρεῖου γυναῖκα πολὺ πασῶν τῶν

βασιλίδων εὐπρεπεσιτάτην γενέσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἀνδρῶν κάλλιστος καὶ μέγιστος, τὰς δὲ παῖδας εὐοικέναι τοῖς γονεῦσιν.

1110 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
1115 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
1120 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.

ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς εἶοικε τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλικώτερον ἡγούμενος, οὔτε τούτων ἐθίγεν, οὔτ' ἄλλην ἔγνω γυναῖκα πρὸ γάμου πλὴν Βαρσίνης. αὐτὴ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Μέμνονος τελευτητὴν χήρα γενομένη, περὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐλήφθη. πεπαιδευμένη δὲ παιδείαν Ἑλληνικὴν, καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικῆς οὔσα, καὶ πατὴρ Αἰταβάζου γεγονότος ἐκ βασιλέως θυγατρός, ἐγνώσθη, Παρμενίωνος προτρεψαμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς φησὶν
1125 Ἀριστόβουλος, καλῆς καὶ γενναίας ἀψασθαι γυναικός. τὰς δ' ἄλλας αἰχμαλώτους ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας, ἔλεγε παίζων ὡς εἰσὶν ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων αἱ Περσίδες. ἀντεπιδεικνύμενος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, ὥσπερ ἀψύχους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων παρέπεμπεν.

But Alexander, esteeming it more kingly to govern himself 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.
1135 She had been instructed in the Grecian learning, was of a gentle temper, and by her father, Artabazus, royally descended, with good qualities, 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
1140 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 many lifeless images.

1145 [22] Ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλόξενος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττης στρατηγὸς ἔγραψεν εἶναι παρ' αὐτῷ Θεόδωρον τινα Ταραντῖνον, ἔχοντα παῖδας ὀνίους δύο τὴν ὄψιν ὑπερφυσεῖς, καὶ πυθανόμενος εἰ πρίηται, χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκὼν ἐβόα πολλάκις πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐρωτῶν, τί πώποτε Φιλόξενος αἰσχρὸν αὐτῷ συνεγνωκῶς, τοιαῦτ' ὀνειδέη προξενῶν κάθηται. τὸν δὲ Φιλόξενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πολλὰ λοιδορήσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις τὸν Θεόδωρον εἰς τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀποστέλλειν.

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 a reproachful
1155 offer. And he immediately wrote him a very sharp letter, telling him Theodorus and his merchandise might go with his good-will to destruction.

ἐπέπληξε δὲ καὶ Ἄγνωνι νεανικῶς γράψαντι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι Κρωβύλον νεανίσκον εὐδοκιμοῦντ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ βούλεται πριάμενος ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. πυθανόμενος δὲ μισθοφόρων τινῶν γυναῖκα διεφθαρκεναὶ Δάμωνα καὶ Τιμόθεον Μακεδόνας τῶν ὑπὸ Παρμενίωνι στρατευομένων, ἔγραψε Παρμενίωνι κελεύων, ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν, ὡς θηρία ἐπὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότα τιμωρησάμενον ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπεν· "ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι ἐωρακῶς ἂν εὐρεθείην τὴν Δαρεῖου γυναῖκα ἢ βεβουλημένος ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας αὐτῆς προσδεδεγμένος τὸν λόγον". ἔλεγε δὲ μάλιστα συνιέναι θνητὸς ὢν ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδειν καὶ
1165 συνουσιάζειν, ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐγγινόμενον ἀσθενείας τῆ φύσει καὶ τὸ πονοῦν καὶ τὸ ἠδόμενον.

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 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.
1170 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 much as to say, that weariness and pleasure proceed both from the same frailty and imbecility of human nature.
- 1175 ἦν δὲ καὶ γαστρὸς ἐγκρατέστατος, καὶ τοῦτ' ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐδήλωσε καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἄδαν λεχθεῖσιν, ἦν ἐποιήσατο μητέρα καὶ Καρίας βασιλίσσαν ἀπέδειξεν. ὡς γὰρ ἐκείνη φιλοφρονουμένη πολλὰ μὲν ὄψα καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπέστελλεν αὐτῷ καὶ πέμματα, τέλος δὲ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι δεινотάτους ὄψοποιούς καὶ ἀρτοποιούς, ἔφη τούτων μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι· βελτίονας γὰρ ὄψοποιούς ἔχειν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ Λεωνίδου δεδομένους αὐτῷ, πρὸς μὲν τὸ ἀριστον νυκτοπορίαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ὀλιγαριστίαν. "ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὕτως ἀνὴρ" ἔφη "καὶ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπιὼν τὰ ἀγγεῖα καὶ τῶν ἱματίων ἔλυσεν, ἐπισκοπῶν μὴ τί μοι τρυφερὸν ἢ περισσοὺν ἢ μήτηρ ἐντέθεικεν".
- 1180 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 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 anything that was delicate or superfluous.
- 1185 [23] Ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς οἶνον ἥττον ἢ ἐδόκει καταφερῆς, ἐδοξε δὲ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν οὐ πίνων μᾶλλον ἢ λαλῶν εἶλκεν, ἐφ' ἐκάστης κύλικος ἀεὶ μακρὸν τινα λόγον διατιθέμενος, καὶ ταῦτα πολλῆς σχολῆς οὔσης. ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τὰς πράξεις οὐκ οἶνος ἐκείνον, οὐχ ὕπνος, οὐ παιδιὰ τις, οὐ γάμος, οὐ θέα, καθάπερ ἄλλους στρατηγούς, ἐπέσχε· δηλοῖ δ' ὁ βίος, ὃν βιώσας βραχὺν παντάπασι πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων πράξεων ἐνέπλησεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἀναστὰς καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς, εὐθύς ἤριστα καθήμενος· ἔπειτα διημέρευε κνηγῶν ἢ συνιάτιων ἢ διδασκῶν τι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἢ ἀναγινώσκων. εἰ δ' ὁδὸν βαδίζοι μὴ λίαν ἐπείγουσαν, ἐμάνθανεν ἅμα πορευόμενος ἢ τοξεύειν ἢ ἐπιβαίνειν ἄρματος ἐλαυνομένου καὶ ἀποβαίνειν. πολλὰκις δὲ παίζων καὶ ἀλώπεκας ἐθήρευε καὶ ὄρνιθας, ὡς ἔστι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐφημερίδων. καταλύσας δὲ καὶ τρεπόμενος πρὸς λουτρὸν ἢ ἀλειμμα, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν καὶ μαγείρων ἀνέκρινεν, εἰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον εὐτρεπῶς ἔχουσι. καὶ δειπνεῖν μὲν ὄψε καὶ σκότους ἤδη κατακλινόμενος ἤρχετο, θαυμαστὴ δ' ἦν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περίβλεψις ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνίσως μηδ' ὀλιγῶρος διανέμοιτο· τὸν δὲ πότον ὡσπερ εἰρηται μακρὸν ὑπ' ἀδολεσχίας ἐξέτεινε. καὶ τᾶλλα πάντων ἡδιστος ὢν βασιλέων συνεῖναι καὶ χάριτος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀμοιρῶν, τότε ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις ἀηδῆς ἐγίνετο καὶ λίαν στρατιωτικὸς, αὐτὸς τε πρὸς τὸ κομπῶδες ὑποφερόμενος, καὶ τοῖς κόλαξιν ἑαυτὸν ἀνεικῶς ἱππάσιμον, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν παρόντων ἐπειρίβοντο, μὴθ' ἀμιλλᾶσθαι τοῖς κόλαξι μὴτε λείπεσθαι βουλόμενοι τῶν {αὐτῶν} ἐπαίνων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰσχροὺς ἐδόκει, τὸ δὲ κίνδυνον ἔφερε. μετὰ δὲ τὸν πότον λουσάμενος, ἐκάθευδε πολλάκις μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διημέρευεν ἐν τῷ καθεύδειν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν καὶ ὄψων ἐγκρατῆς ἦν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ σπανιότατα {πολλάκις} τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης αὐτῷ κομιζομένων ἀκροδρῶν καὶ ἰχθύων ἐκάστῳ διαπεμπόμενος τῶν ἐταίρων, πολλάκις ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ μηδὲν καταλείπειν. τὸ μέντοι δεῖπνον ἦν ἀεὶ μεγαλοπρεπές, καὶ τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι τῆς δαπάνης ἅμα συναυξομένης, τέλος εἰς μυριάς δραχμὰς προήλθεν· ἐνιαῦθα δ' ἔστη, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὥρισθη τελεῖν τοῖς ὑποδεχομένοις Ἀλέξανδρον.
- 1200 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 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, 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.
- 1205 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 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
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1240 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 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
 1245 danger, they were in a great strait how to behave themselves. After such an
 entertainment, he was wont to bathe, and then perhaps he 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
 1250 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 he would suffer none to
 lay out in any entertainment where he himself was the guest.

1255 [24] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Ἴσσοις πέμψας εἰς Δαμασκόν, ἔλαβε τὰ χρήματα
 καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Περσῶν. καὶ πλεῖστα μὲν
 ὠφελήθησαν οἱ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἵππεῖς· τούτους γὰρ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς διαφερόντως ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
 γενομένους ἐπεμψεν ἐπίτηδες, ὠφελήθηναί βουλόμενος· ἐνεπλήσθη δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
 εὐπορίας στρατόπεδον, καὶ γευσάμενοι τότε πρῶτον οἱ Μακεδόνες χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ
 1260 γυναικῶν καὶ διαίτης βαρβαρικῆς, ὥσπερ κύνες ἔσπευδον ἀψάμενοι στίβου διώκειν καὶ
 ἀνιχνεύειν τὸν τῶν Περσῶν πλοῦτον.

After the battle of 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
 1265 fight, and sent them thither on purpose to make their reward suitable to their
 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.
 1270 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρῶτον ἐδόκει κρατύνεσθαι τὰ πρὸς θαλάσση. Κύπρον μὲν οὖν
 εὐθύς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἤκον ἐγχειρίζοντες αὐτῷ καὶ Φοινίκην πλὴν Τύρου. Τύρον δὲ
 πολιορκῶν ἐπὶ τὰς μῆνας χάμασι καὶ μηχαναῖς καὶ τριήρεσι διακοσίαις ἐκ θαλάττης, ὄναρ
 εἶδε τὸν Ἡρακλέα δεξιούμενον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ καλοῦντα. τῶν δὲ Τυρίων
 1275 πολλοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐδοξεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων λέγειν, ὡς ἀπεισι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον· οὐ γὰρ
 ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ τὰ πρᾶσσόμενα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον
 αὐτομολοῦντα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπ' αὐτοφῶρῳ τὸν θεὸν εἰληφότες, σειρὰς τε τῷ
 κολοσσῷ περιέβαλλον αὐτοῦ, καὶ καθήλουσαν πρὸς τὴν βᾶσιν, Ἀλεξανδριστὴν καλοῦντες.
 ἐτέραν δ' ὄψιν Ἀλέξανδρος εἶδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους· σάτυρος αὐτῷ φανείς ἐδόκει
 1280 προσπαίζειν πόρρωθεν, εἶτα βουλομένου λαβεῖν ὑπεξέφευγε· τέλος δὲ πολλὰ λιπαρήσαντος
 καὶ περιδραμόντος, ἦλθεν εἰς χεῖρας. οἱ δὲ μάντιες τοῦνομα διαιροῦντες οὐκ ἀπιθάνως
 ἔφασαν αὐτῷ· "σὰ γενήσεται Τύρος". καὶ κρήνην δέ τινα δεικνύουσι, πρὸς ἣν κατὰ τοὺς
 ὕπνους εἶδεν ἐδοξε τὸν σάτυρον.

But Alexander, before he proceeded any further, thought it necessary to assure
 himself of the sea-coast. Those who governed in Cyprus put that island into his
 1285 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
 of the Tyrians in their sleep fancied that Apollo told them he was displeased with
 1290 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
 1295 mocking 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.

1300 Διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀραβας τοὺς προσοικοῦντας τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ
 στρατεύσας, ἐκινδύνευσεν διὰ τὸν παιδαγωγὸν Λυσίμαχον· ἐξηκολούθησε γὰρ αὐτῷ, λέγων
 τοῦ Φοίνικος οὐκ εἶναι χεῖρων οὐδὲ πρεσβύτερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησιάσας τοῖς ὄρεινοῖς καὶ
 τοὺς ἵππους ἀπολιπὼν πεζὸς ἐβάδιζεν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πολὺ προῆλθον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν
 Λυσίμαχον, ἐσπέρας ἤδη καταλαμβανούσης καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπαγορεύοντα
 καὶ βαρυνόμενον οὐχ ὑπομένων ἀπολιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ παρακομίζων, ἔλαθε

1305 τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποσπασθεῖς μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ σκότους ἅμα καὶ ῥίγους σφοδροῦ
 νυκτερέων ἐν χωρίοις χαλεποῖς, εἶδεν οὐ πόρρω πυρὰ πολλὰ καιόμενα σποράδην τῶν
 πολεμίων. θαρρῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος τῆς κουφότητι, καὶ τῷ πονεῖν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ παραμυθούμενος
 τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων, προσέδραμε τοῖς ἐγγιστα πῦρ καίουσι, καὶ περικαθημένους
 1310 τῆς πυρᾶ δύο βαρβάρους πατάξας τῷ ἐγγχειριδίῳ καὶ δαλὸν ἀρπάσας ἤκε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
 κομίζων. ἐναύσαντες δὲ πῦρ πολὺ, τοὺς μὲν εὐθύς ἐφόβησαν ὥστε φυγεῖν, τοὺς δ'
 ἐπιόντας ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ κατηυλίσθησαν ἀκινδύνως. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Χάρης ἱστορήκεν.
 While the body of the army lay before Tyre, he made an excursion against the
 1315 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 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
 1320 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 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
 1325 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 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.

1330 [25] Ἡ δὲ πολιορκία τοιοῦτον ἔσχε πέρας. Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν μὲν πολλὴν
 τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναπαύοντος ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν ἐμπροσθεν, ὀλίγους δὲ τινὰς, ὡς μὴ
 σχολάζοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντος, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις ἐσφαγιάζετο,
 καὶ τὰ σημεῖα κατιδὼν θρασύτερον διωρίσατο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ μηνί
 1335 πάντως ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν. γενομένου δὲ χλευασμοῦ καὶ γέλωτος (ἦν γὰρ ἡ τελευταία
 τοῦ μηνὸς ἡμέρα), διηπορημένον αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς
 μαντεύμασι, ἐκέλευε μηκέτι τριακάδα τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ τρίτην φθίνοντος
 ἀριθμεῖν, καὶ τῆς σάλπιγγι σημήνας ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν τειχῶν ἐρρωμενέστερον ἢ περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 διενεόθη. γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς ἐπιβολῆς, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καρτερούντων,
 1340 ἀλλὰ συντρεχόντων καὶ προσβοηθούντων, ἀπεῖπον οἱ Τύριοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶλε κατ'
 ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

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 advantage. It
 1345 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 order
 1350 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
 1355 carried that very day.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολιορκοῦντι Γάζαν αὐτῷ, τῆς Συρίας μεγίστην πόλιν, ἐμπίπτει βῶλος εἰς
 τὸν ὤμον, ἀφεθεῖς ἀνωθεν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος· ὁ δ' ὄρνις ὑφ' ἐν τῶν μηχανημάτων καθίσας,
 ἔλαθεν ἐνσχεθεῖς τοῖς νευρίνοισι κεκρυφάλοις, οἷς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς τῶν σχοινίων
 1360 ἐχρῶντο. καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἀπέβη κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστάνδρου πρόρρησιν· ἐτρώθη μὲν γὰρ
 Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὸν ὤμον, ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν πόλιν.

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
 1365 entangled and caught in the nets, composed of sinews, which protected the ropes with
 which the machine was managed. This fell out exactly according to Aristander's
 prediction, which was, that Alexander should be wounded and the city reduced.
 Ἀποσιέλλων δὲ πολλὰ τῶν λαφύρων Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ Κλεοπάτρῃ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, κατέπεμψε
 καὶ Λεωνίδῃ τῷ παιδαγωγῷ τάλαντα λιβανωτοῦ πεντακόσια καὶ σμύρνης ἑκατόν,
 ἀναμνηθεῖς παιδικῆς ἐλπίδος. ὁ γὰρ Λεωνίδης ὡς ἔοικεν ἐν θυσίᾳ ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν
 1370 Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιδραξάμενον ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ καθαγίσαντα τοῦ θυμιάματος,

"ὅταν" ἔφη "τῆς ἀρωματοφόρου κρατήσης Ἀλέξανδρε, πλουσίως οὕτως ἐπιθυμιάσεις· νῦν δὲ φειδομένως χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι". τότε οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν· "ἀπεστάλκαμέν σοι λιβανωτὸν ἄφθονον καὶ σμύρναν, ὅπως παύσῃ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς μικρολογούμενος".

1375 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 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."

1385 [26] Κιβωτίου δὲ τινος αὐτῷ προσενεχθέντος, οὗ πολυτελέστερον οὐδὲν ἐφάνη τοῖς τὰ Δαρείου χρήματα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἠρώτα τοὺς φίλους, ὃ τι δοκοῖη μάλιστα τῶν ἀξίων σπουδῆς εἰς αὐτὸ καταθέσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ πολλῶν λεγόντων, αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν Ἰλιάδα φρουρήσειν ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενος· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μεμαρτυρήκασιν. εἰ δ', ὅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλείδῃ πιστεύοντες, ἀληθὲς ἐστίν, οὐκ οὐκ ἀργὸς οὐδ' ἀσύμβολος αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν ἔοικεν Ὅμηρος. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατήσας ἐβούλετο πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον Ἑλληνίδα συνοικίσας ἐπάνυσμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, καὶ τινα τόπον γνώμη τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ὅσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῖτο καὶ περιέβαλλεν. εἴτα νύκτωρ κοιμώμενος ὄψιν εἶδε θαυμαστήν· ἀνὴρ πολὺς εὔ μάλα τὴν κόμην καὶ γεραρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ παραστὰς λέγειν τὰ ἔπη τάδε·

1390 νῆσος ἐπειτὰ τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε· Φάρον δὲ ἐ κικλήσκουσιν.

1400 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 neither an idle nor an unprofitable companion to him in his expedition.

1405 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 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:

1410 "An island lies, where loud the billows roar,
Pharos they call it, on the Egyptian shore."

1415 εὐθύς οὖν ἐξαναστάς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φάρον, ἣ τότε μὲν ἔτι νῆσος ἦν τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος, νῦν δὲ διὰ χώματος ἀνείληπται πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον. ὡς οὖν εἶδε τόπον εὐφυῖα διαφέροντα (ταινία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἰσθμῷ πλάτος ἔχοντι σύμμετρον ἐπιεικῶς, διείργουσα λίμνην τε πολλὴν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐν λιμένι μεγάλῳ τελευτῶσαν), εἰπὼν ὡς Ὅμηρος ἦν ἄρα τὰ τ' ἄλλα θαυμαστὸς καὶ σοφώτατος ἀρχιτέκτων, ἐκέλευσε διαγράψαι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πόλεως τῷ τόπῳ συναρμόττοντας. καὶ γῆ μὲν οὐ παρῆν λευκή, τῶν δ' ἄλφίτων λαμβάνοντες ἐν πεδίῳ μελαγγεῖῳ κυκλοτερῆ κόλπον ἦγον, οὗ τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὐθεῖται βάσεις ὡπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον ἐξ ἴσου συνάγουσαι τὸ μέγεθος. ἡσθέντος δὲ τῆ διαθέσει τοῦ βασιλέως, αἰφνίδιον ὄρνιθες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς λίμνης, πλήθει τ' ἄπειροι καὶ κατὰ γένος παντοδαποὶ καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καταίροντες, νέφεσιν εἰκότες, οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑπέλιπον τῶν ἀλφίτων, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διαταραχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν οἰωνόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν μάντεων θαρρεῖν

1425 παραινούτων (πολυαρκεστάτην γὰρ οἰκίζεσθαι πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔσομένην τροφόν), ἔργου κελεύσας ἔχεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς, αὐτὸς ὤρμησεν εἰς Ἀμμωνος Alexander upon this immediately rose up and went to Pharos, which, at that time, was 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, 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

1440 straight lines from each end, thus giving it something of the form of a cloak or
cape; while he was 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
1445 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 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
1450 temple of Ammon. ὁδὸν μακρὰν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔχουσαν ἐργῶδη καὶ ταλαίπωρα, κινδύνους δὲ δύο, τὸν μὲν
ἀνυδρίας, δι' ἣν ἔρημός ἐστιν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν, τὸν δ' εἰ λάβρος ἐν ἄμμῳ βαθεῖα καὶ
ἀχανεῖ πορευομένοις ἐπιπέσοι νότος, ὃς πού καὶ πάλοι λέγεται περὶ τὸν Καμβύσου
στρατὸν ἀναστήσας θῖνα μεγάλην καὶ κυματώσας τὸ πεδῖον, μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων πέντε
1455 καταχῶσαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι. ταῦτα πάντα σχεδὸν πάντες ἐλογίζοντο, χαλεπὸν δ' ἦν
Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποτρέψαι πρὸς ὀτιοῦν ὠρημένον. ἡ τε γὰρ τύχη ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ὑπέικουσα
τὴν γνώμην ἰσχυρὰν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἄχρι τῶν **** θαυμάτων ὑπεξέφερε τὴν
φιλονικίαν ἀήτητον, οὐ μόνον πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπους καὶ καιροὺς καταβιαζομένην.
This was a long and painful, and, in two respects, a dangerous journey; first, if
1460 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 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
1465 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 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
1470 victorious in the field, unless places and seasons and nature herself submitted to
him.

[27] Ἐν γοῦν τῇ τότε πορείᾳ τὰ συντυχόντα ταῖς ἀπορίαις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ
1470 βοηθήματα τῶν ὑστέρων χρησιμῶν ἐπιστεύθη μᾶλλον· τρόπον δέ τινα καὶ τοῖς χρημοῖς ἡ
πίστις ἐκ τούτων ὑπῆρξε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ διαρκεῖς ὑετοὶ
γενόμενοι τὸν τε τῆς δίψης φόβον ἔλυσαν, καὶ τὴν ξηρότητα κατασβέσαντες τῆς ἄμμου,
νοτερᾶς γενομένης καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ξυμπεσοῦσης, εὐπνουν τὸν ἀέρα καὶ καθαρώτερον
παρέσχον. ἔπειτα τῶν ὄρων οἵπερ ἦσαν τοῖς ὁδηγοῖς συγχυθέντων, καὶ πλάνης οὔσης καὶ
1475 διασπασμοῦ τῶν βαδιζόντων διὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν, κόρακες ἐπιφανέντες ὑπελάμβανον τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν τῆς πορείας, ἐπομένων μὲν ἐμπροσθεν πετόμενοι καὶ σπεύδοντες, ὑστεροῦντας
δὲ καὶ βραδύνοντας ἀναμένοντες· ὁ δ' ἦν θαυμασιώτατος, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησί, ταῖς
φωναῖς ἀνακαλούμενοι τοὺς πλανωμένους νύκτωρ καὶ κλάζοντες εἰς ἵχνος καθίστασαν τῆς
πορείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ διεξελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον ἤκεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὁ μὲν προφήτης αὐτὸν ὁ
1480 Ἀμμωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαίρειν ὡς ἀπὸ πατρὸς προσεῖπεν· ὁ δ' ἐπήρето, μὴ τις αὐτὸν εἶη
διαπεφευγῶς τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς φονέων. εὐφημεῖν δὲ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος, οὐ γὰρ
εἶναι πατέρα θνητὸν αὐτῷ, μεταβαλὼν ἐπυσθάνετο τοὺς Φιλίππου φονεῖς, εἰ πάντα εἶη
τετιμωρημένος· εἶτα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ πάντων αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπων κυρίῳ γενέσθαι.
χρήσατος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτο δίδοναι καὶ Φίλιππον ἀπέχειν ἔκπλεω τὴν δίκην,
1485 ἔδωρεῖτο τὸν θεὸν ἀναθήμασι λαμπροῖς καὶ χρήμασι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ταῦτα περὶ τῶν
χρησιμῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι γράφουσιν·

In this journey, the relief and assistance the gods afforded him 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
1490 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.
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
1495 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 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
1500 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 mortal father. Then Alexander, changing his expression, desired to

1505 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 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.

1510 αὐτὸς δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φησὶ γεγονέναι τινὰς αὐτῷ μαντείας ἀπορρήτους, ἃς αὐτὸς ἐπανελθὼν φράσει πρὸς μόνην ἐκείνην. ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὸν μὲν προφήτην Ἑλληνιστὶ βουλόμενον προσεῖπεν μετὰ τινος φιλοφροσύνης "ὦ παιδίον", ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ τῶν φθόγγων ὑπὸ βαρβαρισμοῦ πρὸς τὸ σίγμα ἔξενεχθῆναι καὶ εἶπεν "ὦ παιδίος," ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦ τῷ σίγμα χρησάμενον, ἀσμένῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ σφάλμα τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι, καὶ διαδοθῆναι λόγον ὡς παῖδα Διὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσεῖπόντος.

1515 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ψάμμωνος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου διακούσας, ἀποδέξασθαι μάλιστα τῶν λεχθέντων, ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεύονται ὑπὸ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον ἐν ἐκάστῳ καὶ κρατοῦν θεῖόν ἐστιν· ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς περὶ τούτων καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον δοξάζειν {καὶ} λέγων ὡς πάντων μὲν ὄντα κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα τὸν θεόν, ἰδίους δὲ ποιούμενον ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους.

1520 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 pronounciation ended with the s instead of the n, and said "O Paidios," which mistake Alexander was well enough pleased with, and it went for current that the oracle had called him so.

1525 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.

1530 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 more particularly of the best of us.

1535 [28] Καθόλου δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους σοβαρὸς ἦν καὶ σφόδρα πεπεισμένῳ περὶ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ γενέσεως καὶ τεκνώσεως ὁμοίος, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλησι μετρίως καὶ ὑποφειδομένως ἑαυτὸν ἐξεθείαζε· πλὴν περὶ Σάμου γράφων Ἀθηναίοις "ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν" φησὶν "ὑμῖν ἐλευθέραν πόλιν ἔδωκα καὶ ἔνδοξον· ἔχετε δ' αὐτὴν λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ τότε κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ προσαγορευομένου," λέγων τὸν Φίλιππον. ὕστερον δὲ πληγῇ περιπεσὼν ὑπὸ τοξεύματος καὶ περιαλγῆς γενόμενος·

1540 "τοῦτο μὲν" εἶπεν "ὦ φίλοι τὸ ῥέον αἷμα καὶ οὐκ ἰχώρ, οἷός περ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν".

1545 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 κεφαλὰς". τῷ γὰρ ὄντι λέγεται τὸν Ἀνάξαρχον ἰχθυδίων Ἡραιστίωνι πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν προειρημένον ἐπιφθέγγασθαι λόγον, οἷον ἐξευτελίζοντα καὶ κατειρωνευόμενον τοὺς τὰ περίβλεπτα μέγαλοις πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις διώκοντας, ὡς οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὸν ἐν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἀπολαύσεσι πλεόν 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 θειότητος.

1550 To the barbarians he carried himself very haughtily, as if he were fully persuaded of 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 with an arrow, and feeling much pain, he turned to those about him, and told them,

1560 "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 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."

1565 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 disparagement of those who undergo vast labours and encounter great

1570 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 maintaining among other people the sense of his superiority.

1575 [29] Εἰς δὲ Φοινίκην ἐπανελθὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πομπὰς ἐπετέλει καὶ χορῶν {ἐγ}κυκλίω καὶ τραγικῶν ἀγῶνας, οὐ μόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἀμίλλαις λαμπροὺς γενομένους. ἐχορήγουν γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Κυπρίων, ὡσπερ 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 Ἀθηνοδῶρω, Νικοκρέων δὲ Θεσσαλῷ, περὶ ὃν ἐσπουδάκει καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. οὐ μὴν διέφηνε τὴν σπουδὴν πρότερον ἢ ταῖς ψήφοις ἀναγορευθῆναι νικῶντα τὸν Ἀθηνοδωρον. τότε δ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπιὼν ἔφη τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς ἐπαινεῖν, αὐτὸς μέντοι μέρος ἂν ἡδέως προέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Θεσσαλὸν ἰδεῖν νενικημένον. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀθηνοδωρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζημιωθείς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Διονυσίων οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἤξίου γράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ἀπέστειλε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ. Λύκωνος δὲ τοῦ Σκαρφέως εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ στίχον εἰς τὴν κωμῶδιαν ἐμβαλόντος αἴτησιν περιέχοντα δέκα ταλάντων, γελάσας ἔδωκε.

1585 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 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 1595 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 most favoured by Alexander, though it did not appear till Athenodorus was declared 1600 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 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 1605 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.

1610 Δαρείου δὲ πέμψαντος 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 ἔλθων πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐκείνον ἤδη πορεύσεσθαι. 1615 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 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 1620 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.

1625 [30] Ταχὺ μέντοι μετεμελήθη, τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης ἐν ὤδισι, καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἀνιῶμενος ὡς ἐπίδειξιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀφρηρημένος χρησιμότητος. ἔθαψεν οὖν τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν οὐδεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φειδόμενος. τῶν δὲ θαλαμηπόλων τις εὐνούχων, οἱ συνεαλώκεισαν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ πρὸς Δαρεῖον ἀφιππασάμενος, Τίρεως ὄνομα, φράζει τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός. ὡς δὲ πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἀνακλαύσας "φεῦ τοῦ Περσῶν" ἔφη "δαίμονος, εἰ δεῖ τὴν βασιλέως 1630 γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν οὐ μόνον αἰχμάλωτον γενέσθαι ζῶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἄμοιρον κεῖσθαι ταφῆς βασιλικῆς," ὑπολαβὼν ὁ θαλαμηπόλος "ἀλλὰ ταφῆς γε χάριν" εἶπεν 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,

- 1635 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 Tiresus, who, getting out of the camp, fled away on horseback 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
- 1640 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?"
- 1645 "ὦ βασιλεῦ καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης καὶ τοῦ πρόποντος οὐδὲν ἔχεις αἰτιάσασθαι τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα Περσῶν. οὐτε γὰρ ζῶσῃ τῇ δεσποίνῃ Στατεΐρα καὶ μητρὶ σῆ καὶ τέκνοις οὐδὲν ἐνέδει τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἢ τὸ σὸν ὄραν φῶς, ὁ γάλιν ἀναλάμψει λαμπρὸν ὁ κύριος Ὀρομάσδης, οὐτ' ἀποθανοῦσα κόσμου τινὸς ἄμοιρος γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμίων τετίμηται δάκρυσιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐστὶ χρηστὸς κρατήσας Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς δεινὸς μαχόμενος". ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντα Δαρεῖον ἢ ταραχῇ καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐξέφερε πρὸς ὑποψίας ἀτόπους, καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐνδοτέρω τῆς σκηνῆς ἀπαγαγὼν, "εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ μετὰ τῆς Περσῶν" ἔφη "τύχης μακεδονίζεις, ἀλλ' ἔτι σοι δεσπότης ἐγὼ Δαρεῖος, εἶπέ μοι σεβόμενος Μίθρου τε φῶς μέγα καὶ δεξιὰν βασιλείον, ἄρα μὴ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν Στατεΐρας κλαίω κακῶν, οἰκτρότερα δὲ ζώσης ἐπάσχομεν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐδυστυχοῦμεν ὡμῶ καὶ σκυθρωπῶ περιπεσόντες ἐχθρῶ; τί γὰρ εὐπρεπὲς ἀνδρὶ νέῳ πρὸς ἐχθροῦ γυναῖκα μέχρι τιμῆς τοσαύτης συμβόλαιον;"
- 1655 "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, 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
- 1660 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 field." 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
- 1665 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 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
- 1670 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 with so much distinction, were it not from some motive that does me disgrace?"
- 1675 ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας Τίρεως αὐτὸν ἰκέτευεν εὐφημεῖν, καὶ μὴτ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀδικεῖν, μήτε τὴν τεθνεῶσαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ γυναῖκα καταισχύνειν, μήτ' αὐτοῦ τὴν μεγίστην ὧν ἔπαικεν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι παραμυθίαν, τὸ δοκεῖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἠτιῆσθαι κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς πλείονα ταῖς Περσῶν γυναίξι σωφροσύνην ἢ Πέρσαις ἀνδρείαν ἐπίδεδειγμένον. ἅμα δ' ὄρκους τε φρικῶδεις τοῦ θαλαμηπόλου κινουῦντος ὑπὲρ τούτων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας καὶ
- 1680 μεγαλοψυχίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντος, ἐξεληθὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐπεύξατο. "θεοὶ γενέθλιοι καὶ βασιλῆιοι, μάλιστα μὲν ἐμοὶ διδοίητε τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν εἰς ὄρθον αὐθις σταθεῖσαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐδεξάμην ἀγαθοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν, ἵνα κρατήσας ἀμείψωμαι τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου χάριτας, ὧν εἰς τὰ φίλιτατα
- 1685 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 πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου". ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι τε καὶ λεχθῆναί φασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων.
- 1690 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
- 1695 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 uttered this prayer, "Ye gods," said he, "of my family, and of my
- 1700 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 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.

[31] Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου πᾶσαν ὑπ' ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον, ἑκατὸν μυριάσι στρατοῦ καταβαίνοντα. καὶ τις αὐτῷ φράζει τῶν ἐταίρων, ὡς δὴ γέλωτος ἄξιον πράγμα, τοὺς ἀκολούθους παίζοντας εἰς δύο μέρη διηρηκέναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, ὧν ἑκατέρου στρατηγὸν εἶναι καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον, 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 μονομαχῆσαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ὤπλισε, τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον Φιλώτας. ἔθεάτο δ' ὁ στρατός, ἐν οἷων ᾧ τινι τοῦ μέλλοντος τιθέμενος τὸ γιγνόμενον. ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης, ἐνίκησεν ὁ καλούμενος Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ δωρεὰν ἔλαβε δώδεκα κώμας καὶ στολῇ Περσικῇ χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἐρατοσθένους 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.

Τὴν δὲ μεγάλην μάχην πρὸς Δαρεῖον οὐκ ἐν Ἀρβήλοις, ὡς περ οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γενέσθαι συνέπεσε. σημαίνειν δὲ φασιν οἶκον καμήλου τὴν διάλεκτον, ἐπεὶ τῶν πάλαι τις βασιλέων ἐκφυγὼν πολεμίους ἐπὶ καμήλου δρομάδος ἐνταῦθα καθίδρυσεν αὐτήν, ἀποτάξας τινὰς κώμας καὶ προσόδους εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. 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 πεδίον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ Νιφάτου καὶ τῶν ὄρων τῶν Γορδυαίων ἅπαν ἑώρατο καταλαμπόμενον τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς φέγγεσιν, ἀτέκμαρτος δὲ τις φωνὴ συμμεμειγμένη καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καθάπερ ἐξ ἀχανοῦς προσηχεῖ πελάγους, θαυμάσαντες τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντες, ὡς μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔργον εἶη συμπροσόντας ἐκ προφανοῦς τοσοῦτον ὡσασθαι πόλεμον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθόντες, ἐπειθον αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρῆσαι νύκτωρ τοῖς πολεμίους καὶ τῷ σκότῳ τὸ φοβερῶτατον 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 Gordyaeon 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
 1770 attack Darius by night, that the darkness might conceal the danger of the ensuing battle.

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
 1775 θαρρεῖν καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς, μὴ διδοῦς πρόφασιν ἠτιηθέντι Δαρεῖω πρὸς ἄλλην αὐτίς ἀναθαρρήσαι πείραν, αἰτιωμένῳ τούτων νύκτα καὶ σκότος, ὡς ὄρη καὶ στενὰ καὶ θάλασσαν τῶν προτέρων. οὐ γὰρ ὄπλων οὐδὲ σωμάτων ἀπορίᾳ παύσεσθαι πολεμοῦντα Δαρεῖον ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως καὶ χώρας τοσαύτης, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἀφῆ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, δι' ἐμφανοῦς ἤτις κατὰ κράτος ἐξελεγχθεῖς.

To this he gave them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal a victory," which
 1780 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
 1785 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.

[32] Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τούτων, κατακλιθεὶς ὑπὸ σκηνὴν λέγεται τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ βαθεῖ κρητηθῆναι παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἐπελθόντος ὀρθροῦ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξενεγκεῖν παράγγελμα πρῶτον ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· ἔπειτα τοῦ καιροῦ κατεπείγοντος, εἰσελθόντα Παρμενίωνα καὶ
 1795 παραστάντα τῇ κλίνῃ δις ἢ τρίς αὐτοῦ φθέγγεσθαι τοῦνομα, καὶ διεγερθέντος οὕτως ἑρωτᾶν, ὅ τι δὴ πεπονθὼς ὑπνον καθεύδοι νενικηκότος, οὐχὶ μέλλοντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγῶνων. τὸν δ' οὖν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν διαμειδιάσαντα· "τί γάρ; οὐκ ἤδη σοι νενικηκέναι δοκοῦμεν, ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ διώκειν ἐν πολλῇ καὶ κατεφθαρμένῃ φυγομαχοῦντα χώρα Δαρεῖον;" οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ'
 1800 αὐτὸν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπεδείξατο μέγαν καὶ συνεστηκότα τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτόν.

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
 1805 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 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
 1810 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?"

Ἔσχε γὰρ ὁ ἀγὼν ὑποτροπὴν καὶ σάλον ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι κατὰ Παρμενίωνα, τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἵππου ῥόθῳ πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ βίας παρεμπεσοῦσης εἰς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Μαζαίου δὲ περιπέμψαντος ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἵππεῖς τοῖς σκευοφυλακοῦσι προσβαλοῦντας. διὸ καὶ
 1815 θορυβούμενος ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Παρμενίων ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγγέλους, φράζοντας οἶχεσθαι τὸν χάρακα καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευάς, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος βοήθειαν ἰσχυρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πέμψειε τοῖς ὀπισθεν. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφόδου διδοῦς σημεῖον· ὡς δ' ἤκουσε τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, οὐκ ἔφη σωφρονεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδ'
 1820 οὐδ' ἐντὸς εἶναι τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιλελῆσθαι ταραττόμενον, ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν προσκτιήσονται καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ἠττωμένοις δὲ φροντιστέον οὐ χρημάτων οὐδ' ἀνδραπόδων, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀποθανοῦνται καλῶς καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

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
 1825 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 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
 1830 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.
- 1835 Ταῦτ' ἐπίστειλας Παρμενίωνι, τὸ κράνος περιέθετο, τὸν δ' ἄλλον ὀπλισμὸν εὐθύς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς εἶχεν, ὑπένδυμα τῶν Σικελικῶν ζωστήν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ θώρακα διπλοῦν λινοῦν ἐκ τῶν ληφθέντων ἐν Ἰσσοῖ. τὸ δὲ κράνος ἦν μὲν σιδηροῦν, ἔστιλβε δ' ὡσπερ ἄργυρος
- 1840 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. ἐπιπόρωμα δ' ἐφόρει τῆ μὲν ἐργασίᾳ σοβαρώτερον ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον ὀπλισμὸν· ἦν γὰρ ἔργον Ἑλικῶνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ, τιμὴ δὲ τῆς Ῥοδίων πόλεως, ὕψ' ἧς ἐδόθη δῶρον· ἐχρήτο δὲ καὶ
- 1845 τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ἀχρι μὲν οὖν συντάττων τι τῆς φάλαγγος ἢ παρακελευόμενος ἢ διδάσκων ἢ ἐφορῶν παρεξήλαυνεν, ἄλλον ἵππον εἶχε, τοῦ Βουκεφάλᾳ φειδόμενος, ἥδη παρήλικος ὄντος· χωροῦντι δὲ πρὸς ἔργον ἐκεῖνος προσήγειτο, καὶ μεταβὰς εὐθύς ἤρχεν ἐφόδου.
- 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 silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with precious stones. His sword, which was the weapon he most used in fight, was given him by the King of the Citieans, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. The belt which he also wore in all engagements was of much richer workmanship than the rest of his armour. It was a work of the ancient Helicon, and had been presented to him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect to him. 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.
- 1850
- 1855
- 1860
- [33] Τότε δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς πλεῖστα διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησιν, ὡς ἐπέρωσαν αὐτὸν βοῶντες ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, τὸ ξυστὸν εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν μεταλαβὼν, τῆ δεξιᾷ παρεκάλει τοὺς θεοὺς, ὡς Καλλισθένης φησὶν, ἐπευχόμενος, εἶπερ ὄντως Διόθεν ἐστὶ γεγονώς, 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
- 1865
- 1870
- 1875
- πολεμίους, ὥστε πολὺ μὲν θάρσος ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς ὀρῶσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θαρρεῖν καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἀλλήλους δρόμῳ τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν ἱεμένοις ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπικυμαίνειν τὴν φάλαγγα. πρὶν δὲ συμμεῖξαι τοὺς πρῶτους, ἐξέκλιναν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ διωγμὸς ἦν πολὺς, εἰς τὰ μέσα συναλεύνοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ νικώμενον, ὅπου Δαρεῖος ἦν. πόρωθεν 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, εὔ μάλα συνεσπειραμένοις περὶ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ παρατεταγμένοις δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ὄφθεις ἐγγύθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐμβάλων εἰς τοὺς μένοντας, ἐξέπληξε καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ πλεῖστον.
- 1880
- 1885
- 1890
- 1895
- 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.
- οἱ δ' ἀριστοὶ καὶ γενναϊότατοι πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φονευόμενοι καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων πίπτοντες, ἐμποδῶν τῆς διώξεως ἦσαν, ἐμπλεκόμενοι καὶ περισπαίροντες αὐτοῖς καὶ

- 1900 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 ἀποκρυπτόμενοι τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεκρῶν, ἐξήλλοντο καὶ συνειτάραττον
 τὸν ἡνίοχον, ἀπολείπει μὲν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα, θήλειαν δ' ὡς φασι νεοτόκον ἵππον
 1905 περιβάς ἐφυγεν. οὐ μὴν τότε γ' ἂν ἐδόκει διαφυγεῖν, εἰ μὴ πάλιν 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 φησί, τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυνάμεως
 1910 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 παντάπασιν καὶ φεύγειν τοὺς πολεμίους.
 Only a few of the bravest and valiantest opposed the pursuit, who were slain in
 1915 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
 1920 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.
 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
 1925 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.
 Alexander, though he was not a little vexed to be so recalled and hindered from
 1930 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.
- 1935 [34] Τοῦτο τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης λαβούσης τὸ πέρας, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ παντάπασιν
 ἡ Περσῶν ἐδόκει καταλελύσθαι, βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνηγορευμένος, ἔθυσε
 τοῖς θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδωρεῖτο πλοῦτους καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἡγεμονίας.
 φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἔγραψε τὰς τυραννίδας πάσας καταλυθῆναι καὶ
 1940 πολιτεύειν αὐτονόμους, ἰδίᾳ δὲ Πλαταιεῦσι τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν, ὅτι τὴν χώραν οἱ
 πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐναγωνίασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας παρέσχον. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ
 Κροτωνιάταις εἰς Ἰταλίαν μέρος τῶν λαφύρων, τὴν Φαύλλου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ τιμῶν προθυμίαν
 καὶ ἀρετὴν, ὃς περὶ τὰ Μηδικά, τῶν ἄλλων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀπεγνωκότων τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
 1945 ἰδιόστολον ἔχων ναῦν ἐπλευσεν εἰς Σαλαμίνα, τοῦ κινδύνου συμμεθέξων. οὕτω τις
 εὐμενῆς ἦν πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων φύλαξ καὶ οἰκεῖος.
 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
 1950 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
 1955 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.
- 1960 [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 πλήθος οὐ πόρρω τοῦ
 1960 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

- 1965 πολλάκις ἀέρα συνεκκαίειν. ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ δύναμιν οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἀγόντα πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ βασιλέως στενωπὸν ἐλαφρῶς τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατεψέκασαν· εἶτα σιάντες ἐπ' ἄκρῳ τοὺς λαμπτήρας τοῖς βεβρεγμένοις προσέθηκον· ἤδη γὰρ συνεσκόταζε. τῶν δὲ πρώτων εὐθύς ἀψαμένων, οὐκ ἔσχεν ἢ ἐπινομὴ χρόνον αἰσθητόν, ἀλλ' ἅμα νοήματι διῆκτο πρὸς θάτερον πέρας, καὶ πῦρ ἐγεγόνει συνεχῆς ὁ στενωπός.
- 1970 Ἦν δὲ τις Ἀθηνοφάνης Ἀθηναῖος τῶν περὶ ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν εἰωθῶτων τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμμελῶς ἀπάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ῥάθυμον. οὗτος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι τότε παιδαρίου τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρεσιῶτος εὐτελοῦς σφόδρα καὶ γελοίου τὴν ὄψιν, ῥᾶδοντος δὲ χαριέντως, Στέφανος ἐκαλεῖτο, "βούλει" φησὶν "ὄ βασιλεῦ διάπειραν ἐν Στεφάνῳ τοῦ φαρμάκου λάβωμεν; ἂν γὰρ ἀψηται τούτου καὶ μὴ κατασβεσθῆ, παντάπασιν ἂν φαίην ἅμαχον καὶ δεινὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν εἶναι".
- 1975 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 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."
- 1980 προθύμως δὲ πῶς καὶ τοῦ παιδαρίου διδόντος ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὴν πείραν, 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 ἔφθασεν ἡ βοήθεια τὴν ἐπινομήν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μόγις κατέσβεσαν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ παιδὸς δι' ὄλου πῦρ γενόμενον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.
- 1985 Εἰκότως οὖν ἐνιοὶ 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 ὀλκὴν καὶ συναφὴν ἀδηλον αἰσθήσει γενέσθαι. τὰς γὰρ ἀκτῖνας καὶ τὰ ρεύματα τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπῶθεν ἐπερχόμενα, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σώμασι πῶς καὶ θερμότητα προσβάλλειν μόνον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ξηρότητα πνευματικὴν ἢ νοτίδα λιπαρὰν καὶ διαρκῆ κεκτημένοις ἀθροιζόμενα καὶ πυριγονοῦντα μεταβάλλειν ὀξέως τὴν ὕλην. παρεῖχε δ' ἀπορίαν ἢ γένεσις - - - εἶτε 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 ἐκπηδᾶν καὶ ἀποπάλλεσθαι πολλάκις, οἷον ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς τῶν τόπων σφυγμοὺς ἔχόντων, τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ἐπ' ἀσκῶν πεπληρωμένων ὕδατος καθεύδειν.
- 1990 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.
- 1995 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
- 2000
- 2005
- 2010
- 2015
- 2020
- 2025
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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.

2035 Ἀρπαλος δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπιμελητῆς, καὶ φιλοκαλῶν Ἑλληνικαῖς φυτεαῖαις διακοσμήσαι τὰ βασιλεια 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 πυρῶδης, ὁ δὲ φιλόψυχρος. τῶν μὲν οὖν τοιούτων παρεκβάσεων, ἂν μέτρον ἔχωσιν, ἦτιον ἴσως οἱ δύσκολοι κατηγορήσουσιν.

2040 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.

2045 [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 ἄνθος ἐτι καὶ νεαρὸν φυλαττούσης. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτου 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 Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεταπεμπομένους εἰς τὴν γάζαν ἀποτίθεσθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἷον ἐκβεβαιουμένους τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ κυριεύειν ἀπάντων.

2050 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.

2055 [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 γεγονῶς· ὁ φασὶν ἐτι παιδὸς ὄντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Πυθίαν προειπεῖν, ὡς Λύκιος ἔσται καθηγεμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ἐπὶ Πέρσας πορείας****. φόνον μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα πολὺν τῶν ἀλικομένων γενέσθαι συνέπεσε· γράφει γὰρ αὐτός, ὡς νομίζων αὐτῷ τοῦτο λυσιτελεῖν, ἐκέλευεν ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· νομίματος δ' εὐρεῖν πλῆθος ὅσον ἐν Σούσοις, τὴν δ' ἄλλην κατασκευὴν καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκκομισθῆναι φασὶ μυρίοις ὀρικοῖς ζεύγεσι καὶ πεντακισχιλίαις καμήλοις.

2070 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.

2075 Εἰρξου δ' ἀνδριάντα μέγαν θεασάμενος ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν ὠθουμένων εἰς τὰ βασιλεια 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 ἐγείρωμεν;" τέλος δὲ πολὺν χρόνον πρὸς ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος καὶ σιωπήσας, παρήλαθε. βουλόμενος δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβεῖν (καὶ γὰρ ἦν χειμῶνος ὥρα), τέσσαρας μῆνας αὐτόθι διήγαγε.

2080 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.
- 2100 Λέγεται δὲ καθίσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τὸν χρυσοῦν οὐρανίσκον ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θρόνῳ, τὸν Κορίνθιον Δημάρατον, εὖνουν ὄντι' ἄνδρα καὶ πατρῷον φίλον Ἀλεξάνδρου, πρεσβυτικῶς ἐπιδακρῦσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς μεγάλης ἡδονῆς ἔστεροῖντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τεθνηκότες πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον.
- 2105 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.
- 2110 [38] Ἐκ τούτου μέλλων ἐξελαύνειν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον, ἔτυχε μὲν εἰς μέθην τινὰ καὶ παιδιὰν τοῖς ἐταίροις ἑαυτὸν δεδωκῶς, ὥστε καὶ γυναῖα συμπίνειν, ἐπὶ κῶμον ἤκοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἐραστάς. 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 εἰπεῖν προήχθη, τῷ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ἠθεῖ πρέποντα, μείζονα δ' ἢ καθ' αὐτήν. ἔφη γάρ, ὧν πεπόνθηκε πεπλανημένη τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀπολαμβάνειν χάριν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐντρυφῶσα τοῖς ὑπερηφάνοις Περσῶν βασιλείοις· ἔτι δ' ἂν ἡδίων ὑποπρῆσαι κωμάσασα τὸν Εἰρξου τοῦ κατακάσαντος τὰς Ἀθήνας οἶκον, αὐτὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄψασα τοῦ βασιλέως ὀρῶντος, ὡς ἂν λόγος ἔχη πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι τῶν ναυμάχων καὶ πεζομάχων ἐκείνων στρατηγῶν τὰ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου γυναῖα μείζονα δίκην ἐπέθηκε Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἅμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ κρότου καὶ θορύβου γενομένου καὶ παρακελεύσεως τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἐπισπασθεῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἔχων στέφανον καὶ λαμπάδα προῆγεν· οἱ δ' ἐπόμενοι κῶμῳ καὶ βοῇ περιίσταντο τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων οἱ πυνθανόμενοι συνέτρεχον μετὰ λαμπάδων χαίροντες. ἤλπιζον γάρ ὅτι τοῖς οἴκοι προσέχοντός ἐστι τὸν νοῦν καὶ μὴ μέλλοντος ἐν βαρβάροις οἰκεῖν τὸ πιμπράναι τὰ βασίλεια καὶ διαφθεῖρειν. οἱ μὲν οὕτω ταῦτα γενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ γνώμης· ὅτι δ' οὖν μετενόησε ταχὺ καὶ κατασβέσαι προσέταξεν, ὁμολογεῖται.
- 2115 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.
- 2120 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 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 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.
- 2125 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 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.
- 2130 [39] Φύσει δ' ὧν μεγαλοδωρότατος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέδωκεν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πραγμάτων αὐξομένων· καὶ προσῆν ἢ φιλοφροσύνη, μεθ' ἧς μόνως ὡς ἀληθῶς οἱ διδόντες χαρίζονται. μνησθήσομαι δ' ὀλίγων. Ἀρίστων ὁ τῶν Παίωνων ἠγούμενος, ἀποκτείνας πολέμιον ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιδειξάμενος αὐτῷ, "τοῦτ'" εἶπεν "ὧ βασιλεῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκπώματος χρυσοῦ τιμᾶται τὸ δῶρον". ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας "κενοῦ
- 2135 2140 2145 2150 2155 2160

- 2165 γ' " εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ δέ σοι μεστὸν ἀκράτου προπίομαι". τῶν δὲ πολλῶν τις Μακεδόνων ἤλαυνεν 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 πρόσθεες ἐτι τὴν λοιπὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν, ἑαυτῷ τοῦτο κομίσας". ὁλως δ' ἤχθετο τοῖς μὴ λαμβάνουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς αἰτούσι. καὶ Φωκίῳ μὲν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς οὐ χρησόμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ τὸ λοιπὸν, εἰ διωθοῖτο τὰς χάριτας.
- 2170 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
- 2175 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
- 2180 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
- 2185 presents.
- Σεραπίῳ δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σφαίρας τινὶ νεανίσκῳ οὐδὲν ἐδίδου διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αἰτεῖν. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὸ σφαιρίζειν παραγενόμενος ὁ Σεραπίῳ ἄλλοις ἔβαλλε τὴν σφαῖραν, εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως "ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ δίδως;" "οὐ γὰρ αἰτεῖς" εἶπε, τούτῳ μὲν δὴ γελάσας πολλὰ δέδωκε. Πρωτῆα δὲ τινὶ τῶν περὶ σκώμματα καὶ πότον οὐκ ἀμούσων ἔδοξε δι' ὀργῆς
- 2190 γεγενῆσθαι· τῶν δὲ φίλων δεομένων κάκεινον δακρύνοντος, ἔφη διαλλάττεσθαι· κάκεινος "οὐκοῦν" εἶπεν "ὦ βασιλεῦ δός τί μοι πιστὸν πρῶτον". ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ πέντε τάλαντα δοθῆναι. περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι νεμομένων πλοούτων, ἠλίκον εἶχον ὄγκον, ἐμφαίνει δι' ἐπιστολῆς Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣν ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν. "ἀλλως" φησὶν "εὔ ποίει τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐνδόξους ἔχε· νῦν δ' ἰσοβασιλέας πάντας ποιεῖς, καὶ
- 2195 πολυφιλίας παρασκευάζεις αὐτοῖς, ἑαυτὸν δ' ἔρημοῖς". πολλάκις δὲ τοιαῦτα τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος γραφούσης, ἐφύλαττεν ἀπόρρητα τὰ γράμματα, πλὴν ἅπαξ Ἡφαιστίωνος ὡσπερ εἰώθει λυθεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ συναναγινώσκοντος, οὐκ ἐκάλυπεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δακτύλιον ἀφελόμενος τὸν αὐτοῦ, προσέθηκε τῷ ἐκείνου στόματι τὴν σφραγίδα. Μαζαίου δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου παρὰ Δαρείῳ γενομένου παιδὶ σατραπειᾶν ἔχοντι δευτέραν προσετίθει μείζονα.
- 2200 παραιτούμενος δ' ἐκείνος εἶπεν· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τότε μὲν ἦν εἷς Δαρεῖος, νῦν δὲ σὺ πολλοὺς πεποίηκας Ἀλεξάνδρους".
- 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
- 2205 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 declared he was friends with him.
- 2210 "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
- 2215 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 custom was, to read it along with him; but then as soon as he had
- 2220 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.
- 2225 Παρμενίῳ μὲν οὖν τὸν Βαγῶου ἔδωκεν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται τῶν περισσῶν ἱματισμὸν χιλίων τάλαντων εὑρεθῆναι. πρὸς δ' Ἀντίπατρον ἔγραφε κελεύων ἔχειν φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ὡς ἐπιβουλεύομενον. τῇ δὲ μητρὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδωρεῖτο καὶ κατέπεμπεν, οὐκ εἶα δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν οὐδὲ παραστρατηγεῖν· ἐγκαλοῦσης δὲ πρᾶως ἔφερε τὴν χαλεπότητα.

- 2230 πλὴν ὅπαξ ποτ' Ἀντιπάτρου μακρὰν κατ' αὐτῆς γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν, ἀναγνοῦς ἀγνοεῖν εἶπεν Ἀντίπατρον, ὅτι μυρίας ἐπιστολὰς ἐν δάκρυον 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
- 2235 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."
- 2240 [40] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἑώρα παντάπασιν ἐκτειρυφικότητας καὶ φορτικούς τὰς διαίταις καὶ πολυτελείαις ὄντας, ὡσθ' Ἀγνώνα μὲν τὸν Τήϊον ἀργυροῦς ἐν ταῖς κρηπίσιν ἤλους φορεῖν, Λεοννάτω δὲ πολλαῖς καμήλοις ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου κόνιν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια παρακομίζεσθαι, Φιλώτῃ δὲ πρὸς θήρας σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἀύλαϊας † γεγενῆσθαι, μύρῳ δὲ χρωμένους ἰέναι πρὸς ἀλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν ὄσῳ πρότερον οὐδ' ἐλαίῳ, τρίπτας δὲ καὶ κατευναστάς περιαιγομένους, ἐπέτιμησε πρῶως καὶ φιλοσόφως, θαυμάζειν φάμενος, εἰ τοσοῦτους ἠγώνισμένοι 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.
- 2250 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 more used precious ointment than plain oil when they went to bathe, and that they
- 2255 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 wonder'd that they who had been engag'd in so many single battles did not know by experience, that those who labour sleep more sweetly and soundly than those who are labour'd for, and could fail to see by comparing the Persians' manner of living with their
- 2260 own that 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 φιλιτάτου σώματος ἀπτεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας;" "οὐκ ἴστί;" εἶπεν "ὅτι τοῦ κρατεῖν πέρας ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ταῦτ' αὖτὰ ποιεῖν τοῖς κεκρατημένοις;" ἐπέτεινεν οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίαις κακοπαθῶν καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, ὥστε καὶ Λάκωνα πρεσβευτήν, παραγενόμενον αὐτῷ λέοντα καταβάλλοντι μέγαν, εἰπεῖν· "καλῶς γ' Ἀλέξανδρε πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἠγώνισαι περὶ τῆς βασιλείας". τοῦτο τὸ κυνήγιον Κρατερὸς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκεν, εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς ποιησάμενος τοῦ λέοντος καὶ τῶν κυνῶν, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ λέοντι συνεσιῶτος, καὶ αὐτοῦ προσβοηθοῦντος, ὧν τὰ μὲν Λύσιππος ἔπλασε, τὰ δὲ Λεωχάρης.
- 2265 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.
 "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 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;
- 2275 [and had it dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.]
- 2280 [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 σχολάζειν, ἐβαρύνοντο τὰς πλάνας καὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω προήλθον εἰς τὸ βλασφημεῖν καὶ κακῶς λέγειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρῶως 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· ὧν ὀλίγα παραθήσομαι.
 Alexander exposed his person to danger in this manner, with the object both of

- 2295 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 of.
- 2300 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. Πευκέστια μὲν ἔγραψε μεμφόμενος, ὅτι δηχθεῖς ὑπ' ἄρκτου τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔγραψεν, αὐτῷ δ' οὐκ ἐδήλωσεν. "ἀλλὰ νῦν γε" φησί "γράψον τε πῶς ἔχεις, καὶ μὴ τινές σε τῶν συγκυνηγετιούτων 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. Πευκέστια δὲ σωθέντιος ἔκ τινος ἀσθενείας, ἔγραψε πρὸς Ἀλέξιππον τὸν ἰατρὸν εὐχαριστῶν. Κρατεροῦ δὲ νοσοῦντος ὄψιν ἰδὼν καθ' ὕπνον, αὐτός τε τινὰς θυσίας ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, κάκεῖνον {θῦσαι} ἐκέλευσεν.
- 2305 2310 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 diversion with an ichneumon, Craterus was by chance run through both thighs with Perdiccas'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.
- 2320 ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Πausanία τῷ ἰατρῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν Κρατερὸν ἔλλεβορίσαι, τὰ μὲν ἀγωνιῶν, τὰ δὲ παραινῶν ὅπως χρήσεται τῇ φαρμακείᾳ. τοὺς δὲ πρώτους τὴν Ἀρπάλου φυγὴν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν ἀπαγγεῖλαντας ἔδησεν, Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Κίσσον, ὡς καταψευδομένους τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐπεὶ δέ, τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ γέροντας εἰς οἶκον ἀποστέλλοντος, Εὐρύλοχος Αἰγαῖος ἐνέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς νοσοῦντας, εἶτα φωραθεὶς ἔχων οὐδὲν κακόν, ὡμολόγησε Τελεσίππας ἔρᾶν καὶ συνεπακολουθεῖν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπιούσης ἐκείνης, ἠρώτησε τίνων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τὸ γύναιον. ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐταιρῶν "ἡμᾶς μὲν" εἶπεν "ὦ Εὐρύλοχε συνερῶντας ἔχεις· ὅρα δ' ὅπως πείθωμεν ἢ λόγοις ἢ δώροις τὴν Τελεσίππαν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων ἐστὶ".
- 2325 2330 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 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
- 2335 2340 amour if your mistress be to be gained either by presents or persuasions; but we must use no other 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 ἀναζητῆσαι, καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐπαινῶν ὅτι Νίκωνα Κρατεροῦ δοῦλον συνέλαβε, καὶ Μεγαβύζῳ περὶ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζομένου, κελεύων αὐτὸν ἂν δύνηται συλλαβεῖν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλεσάμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ μὴ προσάπτεισθαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δίκας διακρίνων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰς θανατικὰς τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ὠτων τῷ ἐτέρῳ προστιθέναι τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λέγοντος, ὅπως τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καθαρὸν φυλάττηται καὶ ἀδιάβλητον.
- 2345 2350 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 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.
- 2355 2360 ἀλλ' ὑστερόν γ' αὐτὸν ἐξετράχυναν αἱ πολλὰ 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.

2365 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 of his reason, and show himself cruel and inexorable, valuing his glory and reputation beyond his life or kingdom.

2370 Τότε δ' ἐξήλαυνεν ἐπὶ Δαρεῖον, ὡς πάλιν μαχοῦμενος· ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ Βήσσου γενομένην αὐτοῦ σύλληψιν, ἀπέλυσε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς οἰκάδε, δισχίλια τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἐπιμετήσας ταῖς μισθοφοραῖς. πρὸς δὲ τὴν δίωξιν, ἀργαλέαν καὶ μακρὰν γινομένην (ἐνδεκα γὰρ ἡμέραις ἰππάσατο τρισχιλίουσιν καὶ τριακοσίουσιν σταδίουσιν), ἀπηγόρευσε μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἀνυδρον. ἔνθα δὴ Μακεδόνες ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ τινες ὕδωρ ἐν ἀσκοῖς ἐφ' ἡμιόνων κομίζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη μεσημβρίας οὐσης κακῶς ὑπὸ δίψους ἔχοντα, ταχὺ πλησάμενοι κράνος προσήνεγκαν. πυθομένου δ' αὐτοῦ τίσι κομίζοιεν, "υἱοῖς" ἔφασαν "ἰδίοις· ἀλλὰ σοῦ ζῶντος ἐτέρους ποιησόμεθα, κὰν ἐκείνους ἀπολέσωμεν". ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ἔλαβεν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸ κράνος· περιβλέψας δὲ καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς ἀπαντας ἐγκεκλικότας ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέποντας, ἀπέδωκεν οὐ πῖών, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

2380 [Het volgende deel komt van een andere website, nl. <http://englishare.net/World%20Lit/WL1--Lesson08-Reading-Plutarch.htm>]

2385 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 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 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

2395 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. "ἂν γὰρ αὐτὸς" ἔφη "πίω μόνος, ἀθυμήσουσιν οὔτοι". 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 ἔχωσι βασιλέα τοιοῦτον.

2400 "For," said he, "if I alone drink, the rest will be out of heart." 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.

2410 [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 πρῶτους ἐδίωκον, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοισιν Δαρεῖον ὄντα. μόλις δ' εὕρισκεται πολλῶν ἀκοντισμάτων κατάπλεως τὸ σῶμα κείμενος ἐν ἀρμαμάξῃ, μικρὸν ἀπολείπων τοῦ τελευτᾶν· ὁμως δὲ καὶ πιεῖν ἤτησε, καὶ πῖών ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν δόντα Πολύστρατον· "ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τοῦτό μοι πέρασ γέγονε δυστυχίας ἀπάσης, εὗ παθεῖν ἀμείψασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος· ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποδώσει σοι τὴν χάριν, Ἀλεξάνδρω δ' οἱ θεοὶ τῆς εἰς μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἔμοιους ἐπιεικειᾶς, ᾧ ταύτην δίδωμι τὴν δεξιὰν διὰ σοῦ".

2420 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.

2425 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
2430 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,"
ταῦτι' εἰπὼν καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Πολυστρατοῦ χειρός, ἐξέλιπεν.
2435 Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὡς ἐπῆλθεν, ἀλγῶν τε τῷ πάθει φανερός ἦν, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χλαμύδα λύσας ἐπέβαλε τῷ σώματι καὶ περιέστειλε. καὶ Βῆσσον μὲν ὕστερον εὐρῶν διεσφενδόνησεν, ὀρθίων δένδρων εἰς ταῦτὸ καμφθέντων ἑκατέρω μέρος προσαρτήσας τοῦ σώματος, εἶτα μεθεὶς ἐκάτερον, ὡς ὠρητὸ ῥύμη φερόμενον, τὸ προσῆκον αὐτῷ μέρος νείμασθαι. τότε δὲ τοῦ Δαρείου τὸ μὲν σῶμα κεκοσμημένον βασιλικῶς πρὸς τὴν μητέρ' ἀπέστειλε, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν Ἐξάθρην εἰς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀνέλαβεν.
- 2440 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.
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
2445 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.
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.
- 2450 [44] Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ἀκμαιοτάτης δυνάμεως εἰς Ὑρκανίαν κατέβαινε, καὶ πελάγους ἰδὼν κόλπον οὐκ ἐλάττωνα μὲν τοῦ Πόντου φανέντια, γλυκύτερον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης, σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲν ἔσχε πυθέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα δ' εἶκασε τῆς Μαιώτιδος λίμνης ἀνακοπὴν εἶναι. καίτοι τοὺς γε φυσικοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔλαθε τάληθές,
2455 ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἔτεσιν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ἱστορήκασιν, ὅτι τεσσάρων κόλπων εἰσεχόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξω θαλάσσης βορειότατος οὗτός ἐστι, τὸ Ὑρκάνιον πέλαγος καὶ Κάσπιον ὄμοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.
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,
2460 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 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
2465 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 ἀποκτενεῖν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰ τὸν ἵππον αὐτῷ μὴ ἀναπέμψειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον {αὐτῷ} ἄγοντες ἦκον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρίζοντες, ἐχρήσατο
2470 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 that he sent an herald to let them know he would put them all to the sword,
2475 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 τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολὴν, εἶτε βουλόμενος αὐτὸν συνοικειοῦν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ὡς μέγα πρὸς ἐξημέρωσιν ἀνθρώπων τὸ σύνηθες καὶ ὁμόφυλον, εἶτι' ἀπόπειρά τις ὑφείτο τῆς προσκυνήσεως αὐτῇ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν ἐκδιαίτησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐθιζομένοις. οὐ μὴν τὴν γε Μηδικὴν ἐκείνην προσῆκατο, παντάπασι βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὔσαν, οὐδ' ἀναξυρίδας οὐδὲ κἀνδυν οὐδὲ τιάραν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ
2485 τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς μειζόμενος 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 easier, as nothing gains more upon men than a conformity to their fashions and
2490 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

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
2495 contrived his habit that it was not so flaunting as the one, and yet more pompous and magnificent than the other.

ἔχρητο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις κατ' οἶκον, εἶτα
τοῖς πολλοῖς οὕτως ἐξελαύνων καὶ χρηματίζων ἑώρατο. καὶ λυπηρὸν μὲν ἦν τοῖς Μακεδόσι
2500 τὸ θέαμα, τὴν δ' ἄλλην αὐτοῦ θαυμάζοντες ἀρετὴν ᾤοντο δεῖν ἔνια τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ
καὶ δόξαν ἐπιχωρεῖν· ὅς γε πρὸς ἅπανι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑναγχος τόξευμα μὲν εἰς τὴν κνήμην
λαβών, ὑφ' οὗ τῆς κερκίδος τὸ ὀστέον ἀποθραυσθὲν ἐξέπεσε, λίθῳ δὲ πληγείς πάλιν εἰς
τὸν τράχηλον, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἀχλὺν ὑποδραμεῖν παραμείναςαν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον,
ὅμως οὐκ ἐπαύετο χρώμενος αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ὀρεξάρτην
2505 διαβάς ποταμόν, ὃν αὐτὸς ᾤετο Τανάϊν 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
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
2510 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 blow with a stone upon the nape of the neck, which dimmed his sight for a
2515 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 suffering all the time from a diarrhoea.

[46] Ἐνιαῦθα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν Ἀμαζόνα οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν,
ὧν καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐστὶ καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Ὀνησίκριτος καὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Ἴστρος.
Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ καὶ Χάρης ὁ εἰσαγγελεύς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ
2520 Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀντικλείδης καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεὺς καὶ
Φίλιππος ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος πλάσμα φασὶ γεγονέναι τοῦτο. καὶ μαρτυρεῖν
αὐτοῖς ἔοικεν Ἀλέξανδρος· Ἀντιπάτρῳ γὰρ ἅπαντα γράφων ἀκριβῶς, τὸν μὲν Σκύθην φησὶν
αὐτῷ δίδόναι 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 οὐτ' ἀπιστῶν ἤτιον οὔτε
2530 πιστεύων μᾶλλον Ἀλέξανδρον θαυμάσειε.

Here many claim that the Amazon came to give him a visit. So Clitarchus, Polyclitus,
Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister tell us. But Aristobulus, 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
2535 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 read this story in his fourth book to Lysimachus, who then reigned, the
2540 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.

[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
2545 μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, δισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ τρισχιλίους ἵππεῖς, πείραν προσέβαλε, λέγων ὡς
νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς † ἐνύπνιον τῶν βαρβάρων ὀρώντων, ἂν δὲ μόνον ταραξάντες τὴν Ἀσίαν
ἀπίωσιν, ἐπιθησομένων εὐθύς ὥσπερ γυναιξίν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἀφίεναι γε τοὺς βουλομένους
ἔφη, καὶ μαρτυράμενος ὅτι τὴν οἰκουμένην τοῖς Μακεδόσι κτώμενος ἐγκαταλέλειπται,
**** μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐθελόντων στρατεύειν. ταῦτα σχεδὸν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐν τῇ
2550 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.

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
2555 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 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
 2560 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 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
 2565 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.
 Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠμοῖου τε τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἑαυτὸν, ἐκείνους τε
 προσῆγε τοῖς Μακεδονικοῖς ἔθεσιν, ἀνακράσει καὶ κοινωσίᾳ μᾶλλον δι' εὐνοίας
 καταστήσασθαι τὰ πράγματα νομίζων ἢ βίᾳ, μακρὰν ἀπαίροντος αὐτοῦ. διὸ καὶ
 2570 τρισυρίους παῖδας ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκέλευσε γράμματά τε μανθάνειν Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ
 Μακεδονικοῖς ὄπλοις ἐντρέφεσθαι, πολλοὺς ἐπιστάτας καταστήσας, καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἑωξάνην
 ἔρωτι μὲν ἐπράχθη, καλὴν καὶ ὠραίαν ἔν τινι χορῶ παρὰ πότον ὄφθεισαν, ἔδοξε δ' οὐκ
 ἀνάρμοστα τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις εἶναι πράγμασιν. ἐθάρρησαν γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ κοινωσίᾳ
 2575 τοῦ γάμου, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερηγάπησαν, ὅτι σφρονέστατος περὶ ταῦτα γεγονῶς
 οὐδ' ἤς μόνης ἠτήθη γυναικὸς ἀνευ νόμου θιγεῖν ὑπέμεινε.
 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
 2580 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 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
 2585 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 men, was overcome by, he yet forbore till he could obtain her in a
 2590 lawful and honorable way.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων ἑώρα τῶν μεγίστων Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐπαينوῦντα καὶ
 συμετακοσμούμενον αὐτῷ, Κρατερὸν δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένοντα, δι' ἐκείνου μὲν
 ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς βαρβάροις, διὰ τούτου δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι· καὶ ὅλως τὸν
 2595 μὲν ἐφίλει μάλιστα, τὸν δ' ἐτίμα, νομίζων καὶ λέγων αἰεὶ, τὸν μὲν Ἡφαιστίωνα
 φιλαλέξανδρον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Κρατερὸν φιλοβασιλέα. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπούλως
 ἔχοντες, συνέκρουον πολλάκις, ἀπαξ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον
 σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐκατέρω παραβοηθούτων, προσελάσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
 ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα φανερώς, ἐμπληκτον καλῶν καὶ μαινόμενον, εἰ μὴ συνήσιν ὡς
 2600 ἂν τις αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφέληται, μηδὲν ἐστίν· ἰδίᾳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κρατεροῦ πικρῶς
 καθήψατο, καὶ συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλλάξας, ἐπάμωσε τὸν Ἄμμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 θεοὺς, ἧ μὴν μάλιστα φιλεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐκείνους· ἂν δὲ πάλιν αἰσθηταὶ
 διαφορομένους, ἀποκτενεῖν ἀμφοτέρους ἢ τὸν ἀρξάμενον. ὅθεν ὕστερον οὐδὲ παίζοντες
 εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ πρᾶξαι λέγονται.
 Noticing also that among his chief friends and favorites, Hephaestion most approved
 2605 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
 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 --
 2610 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
 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,
 2615 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
 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
 2620 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
 μέγα· καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρείος ἐδόκει καὶ καρτερικὸς εἶναι, φιλόδωρος δὲ καὶ φιλέταιρος ὡς
 μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδεὶς. λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι τῶν συνήθων τινὸς αἰτιοῦντος ἀργύριον,

- 2625 ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι· φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ διοικητοῦ μὴ ἔχειν, "τί λέγεις;" εἶπεν "οὐδὲ ποτήριον ἔχεις οὐδ' ἰμάτιον;" ὄγκῳ δὲ φρονήματος καὶ βάρει πλούτου καὶ τῆ περι τὸ σῶμα θεραπείᾳ καὶ διαίτη χρώμενος ἐπαχθέστερον ἢ κατ' ἰδιώτην, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν οὐκ ἐμμελῶς, ἀλλ' ἄνευ χαρίτων τῷ σολοίκῳ καὶ παρασήμῳ μιμούμενος, ὑποψίαν εἶχε καὶ φθόνον, ὥστε καὶ Παρμενίωνά ποτ' εἶπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν·
- 2630 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 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,
- 2635 "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 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
- 2640 Parmenio would sometimes tell him, "ὦ παῖ, χεῖρων μοι γίνου". πρὸς δ' αὐτόν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ πάνυ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐτύγχανε διαβεβλημένος. ὅτε γὰρ τὰ περι 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 μειράκιον ἀπεκάλει, δι' αὐτοὺς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄνομα καρπούμενον. ταῦτα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκφερούσης πρὸς τινα τῶν συνήθων, ἐκείνου δ' ὡς εἰκὸς πρὸς ἕτερον, περιῆλθεν εἰς Κρατερόν ὁ λόγος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ γύναιον εἰσήγαγε κρύφα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. ἀκούσας δ' ἐκείνος ἐκέλευσε φοιτᾶν εἰς ταῦτὸ τῷ Φιλώτῃ καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκπύθηται τούτου, πρὸς αὐτόν ἀπαγγέλλειν βαδίζουσιν.
- 2645 "My son, to be not quite so great would be better." For he had long before been 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 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
- 2650 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.
- [49] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλώτας ἐπιβουλευόμενος οὕτως ἠγνόει καὶ συνῆν τῆ 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 σιωπῆ καὶ κατέσχευεν, εἴτε θαρρῶν τῆ Παρμενίωνος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴτε δεδιῶς τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν.
- 2665 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
- 2670 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.
- 2675 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 τὰδελφῷ Κεβαλίνῳ τὴν πείραν, ἐλθὼν ἐκείνος πρὸς Φιλώταν ἐκέλευσεν εἰσάγειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς περι ἀναγκαίων ἔχοντας ἐντυχεῖν καὶ μεγάλων. ὁ δὲ Φιλώτας, ὁ τι δὴ παθὼν (ἄδηλον γὰρ ἐστίν), οὐ παρήγεν αὐτούς, ὡς πρὸς ἄλλοις μείζοσι γινομένου τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ τοῦτο δις ἐποίησεν. οἱ δὲ καθ' ὑπερψίαν ἤδη τοῦ Φιλώτου τραπόμενοι πρὸς ἕτερον καὶ δι' ἐκείνου τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσαχθέντες, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τοῦ Λίμνου κατεῖπον, ἔπειτα
- 2685 παρεδήλωσαν ἡσυχῆ τὸν Φιλώταν ὡς ἀμελήσειεν αὐτῶν δις ἐντυχόντων.
- 2690 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. 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.
- 2695 αἰ τοῦτο δὴ σφόδρα παρώξυνε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν Λίμνον, ὡς ἡμύνετο συλλαμβανόμενος, ἀποκτείναντος αὐτόν, ἔτι μᾶλλον διειταράχθη, τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐκπεφευγένοι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς νομίζων, καὶ πικρῶς ἔχων πρὸς τὸν Φιλώταν ἐπεσπάσατο τοὺς
- 2700 πάλαι μισοῦντας αὐτόν, ἤδη φανερωῶς λέγοντας, ὡς ῥαθυμία τοῦ βασιλέως εἶη Λίμνον οἰομένου Χαλαστραῖον ἄνθρωπον ἐπιχειρήσαι τολμήματι τοσοῦτῳ καθ' αὐτόν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ὑπηρετήν εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ' ὄργανον ἀπὸ μειζονος ἀρχῆς ἀφιέμενον, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ζητητέον οἷς μάλιστα ταῦτα λανθάνειν συνέφερε. τοιοῦτοις λόγοις καὶ ὑπονοίαις ἀναπετάσαντος τὰ ὅτι τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπήγον ἤδη μυρίας κατὰ τοῦ Φιλώτου
- 2705 διαβολάς. ἐκ τούτου δὲ συλληφθεὶς ἀνεκρίνετο, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐφεστώτων ταῖς βασάνοις, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατακούοντος ἔξωθεν ἀυλαίας παρατεταμένης· ὅτε δὴ καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, οἰκτρὰς καὶ ταπεινὰς τοῦ Φιλώτου φωνὰς καὶ δεήσεις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστίωνα προσφέροντος· "οὕτω δὴ μαλακὸς ὢν ὃ Φιλώτα καὶ ἄνανδρος ἐπεχειρεῖς πράγμασι τηλικούτοις;"
- 2710 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 discomposd, 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
- 2715 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
- 2720 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 submissions Philotas applied himself to Hephaestion, he broke out, it is
- 2725 said, in this manner: "Are you so mean-spirited and effeminate, Philotas, and yet can engage in so desperate a design?"
- Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλώτου, καὶ Παρμενίωνα πέμψας εὐθύς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνεῖλεν, ἄνδρα πολλὰ μὲν Φιλίππῳ συγκατεργασάμενον, μόνον δ' ἢ μάλιστα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φίλων
- 2730 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 Ἀλέξανδρον Αἰτωλοὶ διὰ τὴν Οἰνιαδῶν ἀνάστασιν, ἣν πυθόμενος οὐκ Οἰνιαδῶν ἔφη παῖδας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐπιθήσειν δίκην Αἰτωλοῖς.
- 2735 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
- 2740 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.
- 2745 [50] Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον συνηνέχθη καὶ τὰ περὶ Κλεῖτον, οὕτω μὲν ἀπλῶς πυθομένοις τῶν κατὰ Φιλώταν ἀγριώτερα· λόγῳ μέντοι συντιθέντες ἅμα καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης, ἀλλὰ δυστυχίᾳ τινὶ ταῦθ' εὐρίσκομεν πεπραγμένα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὀργὴν καὶ μέθην πρόφασιν τῷ Κλεῖτου δαίμονι παρασχόντος.
- 2750 ἐπράχθη δ' οὕτως. ἤκόν τινες ὀπώραν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζοντες. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ κάλλος, ἐκάλει τὸν Κλεῖτον, ἐπιδείξαι καὶ μεταδοῦναι βουλόμενος. ὁ δὲ θύων μὲν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀφείς δὲ τὴν θυσίαν ἐβάδιζε, καὶ τρία τῶν κατεσπεισμένων προβάτων ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. πυθόμενος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεκοινοῦτο τοῖς μάντεσιν Ἀριστάνδρῳ καὶ Κλεομένει τῷ Λάκωνι· φησάντων δὲ πονηρὸν εἶναι τὸ σημεῖον,
- 2755 ἐκέλευσεν ἐκθύσασθαι κατὰ τάχος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κλεῖτου· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡμέρα τρίτη κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἰδεῖν ὄψιν ἄτοπον· δόξαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Κλεῖτον μετὰ τῶν Παρμενίωνος υἱῶν

2760 ἐν μέλασιν ἱματίοις καθέζεσθαι, τεθνηκότων ἀπάντων. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασεν 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 πεπονημένα τοὺς ἐναγχοῦς ἠτιτημένους ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ καὶ γέλῳτι. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων δυσχεραίνοντων καὶ λοιδορούντων τὸν τε ποιητὴν καὶ τὸν ἄδοντα, τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἡδέως ἀκρωμένων καὶ λέγειν κελευόντων, ὁ Κλεῖτος ἤδη μεθύων, καὶ φύσει τραχὺς ὦν πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ αὐθάδης, ἠγανάκτει μάλιστα, φάσκων οὐ καλῶς ἐν βαρβάροις καὶ πολεμίοις ὑβρίζεσθαι Μακεδόνας,
 2765 πολὺ βελτίονας τῶν γελώντων, εἰ καὶ δυστυχίᾳ κέχρηται. φήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν Κλεῖτον αὐτῷ συνηγορεῖν, δυστυχίαν ἀποφαίνοντα τὴν δειλίαν, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ Κλεῖτος "αὐτὴ μέντοι ς'" εἶπεν "ἡ δειλία τὸν ἐκ θεῶν, ἥδη τῷ Σπιθριδάτου ξίφει τὸν νῶτον ἐπιτρέποντα, περιεποίησε, καὶ τῷ Μακεδόνων αἵματι καὶ τοῖς τραύμασι τοῦτοις ἐγένου τηλικοῦτος, ὥστ' Ἀμμωνι σαυτὸν εἰσποιεῖν, ἀπειπάμενος Φίλιππον".
 2770 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.
 2775 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 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
 2780 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 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
 2785 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
 2790 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
 2795 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
 2800 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."

2805 [51] Παροξυνθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος "ἦ ταῦτ'" εἶπεν "ὦ κακὴ κεφαλὴ σὺ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐκάστοτε λέγων καὶ διαστασιάζων Μακεδόνας χαϊρήσειν νομίζεις;" "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν" ἔφη "χαίρομεν Ἀλέξανδρε, τοιαῦτα τέλη τῶν πόνων κομιζόμενοι, μακαρίζομεν δὲ τοὺς ἤδη τεθνηκότας, πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν Μηδικαῖς ῥάβδοις ξαινομένους Μακεδόνας, καὶ Περσῶν δεομένους ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέλθωμεν". τοιαῦτα τοῦ Κλεῖτου παρρησιαζομένου, καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντανισταμένων καὶ λοιδορούντων αὐτόν, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατέχειν ἐπειρῶντο τὸν θόρυβον. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποστραφεὶς πρὸς Ξενόδοχον τὸν
 2810 Καρδιανὸν καὶ τὸν Κολοφώνιον Ἀρτέμιον, "οὐ δοκοῦσιν" εἶπεν "ὑμῖν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὥσπερ 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
 2815 rebellion? Do you think you will not be punished for it?"
 "We are punished enough already," answered Clitus, "if this is how were 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."
 2820 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.

2825 τοῦ δὲ Κλείτου μὴ εἰκοντος, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον ἔαν ἅ 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, μῆλων παρακειμένων ἐνὶ
 2830 βαλῶν ἔπαισεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐζήτηι. 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 ἐξέωσαν τοῦ ἀνδρῶνος· ὁ δὲ
 2835 κατ' ἄλλας θύρας αὔθις εἰσῆει, μάλ' ὀλιγῶρος καὶ θρασέως Εὐριπίδου τὰ ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης
 ἱαμβεῖα ταῦτα περαίνων·

οἶμοι, καθ' Ἑλλάδ' ὡς κακῶς νομίζεται.

2840 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.

2845 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
 2850 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,

2855 "In Greece, alas! how ill things ordered are."

2860 Οὕτω δὴ λαβὼν παρά τινος τῶν δορυφόρων Ἀλέξανδρος αἰχμὴν, ἀπαντιῶντα τὸν Κλείτον αὐτῷ
 καὶ παράγοντα τὸ πρὸ τῆς θύρας παρακάλυμμα διελαύνει. πεσόντος δὲ μετὰ στεναγμοῦ καὶ
 βρυχήματος, εὐθὺς ἀφῆκεν ὁ θυμὸς αὐτόν, καὶ γενόμενος παρ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τοὺς φίλους
 ἰδὼν ἀφώνους ἐσιῶτας, ἐλκύσασθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἔφθασε, παῖσαι δ'
 2865 ἑαυτὸν ὀρμήσας παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπεσχέθη, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ
 λαβόντων καὶ τὸ σῶμα βίᾳ παρενεγκόντων εἰς τὸν θάλαμον.

2865 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
 2870 the next day he wept bitterly, till being quite spent with lamenting and exclaiming,
 he lay as it were speechless, only fetching deep sighs.

2875 [52] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα κακῶς κλαίων διήνεγκε, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν
 ἤδη τῷ βοᾶν καὶ θρηνεῖν ἀπειρηκῶς ἀναυδος ἔκειτο, βαρεῖς ἀναφέρων στεναγμούς,
 δέξαντες οἱ φίλοι τὴν ἀποσιώπησιν εἰσῆλθον βίᾳ. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ προσίετο τοὺς
 λόγους, Ἀριστάνδρου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως ὑπομιμνήσκοντος αὐτὸν τὴν τ' ὄψιν ἣν εἶδε περὶ
 τοῦ Κλείτου καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὡς δὴ πάλαι καθειμαρμένων τούτων, ἔδοξεν ἐνδιδόναι.
 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
 2880 come to pass by an unavoidable fatality, he then seemed to moderate his grief.

2885 Διὸ Καλλισθένην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον παρεισήγαγον, Ἀριστοτέλους οἰκεῖον ὄντα, καὶ τὸν
 Ἀβδηρίτην Ἀνάξαρχον. ὧν Καλλισθένης μὲν ἠθικῶς ἐπειράτο καὶ πρᾶως ὑποδύμενος τῷ
 λόγῳ καὶ περιῶν ἀλύπως λαβέσθαι τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δ' Ἀνάξαρχος ἰδίαν τινὰ πορευόμενος
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδὸν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, καὶ δόξαν εἰληφῶς ὑπεροψίας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας τῶν συνήθων,
 εὐθὺς εἰσελθὼν ἀνεβόησεν· "οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰς ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη νῦν ἀποβλέπει·
 ὁ δ' ἔρριπται κλαίων ὡσπερ 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

2890 ἔχει πάρεδρον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ τὴν Θέμιν, ἵνα πᾶν τὸ πραχθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεμιτὸν ᾦ
καὶ δίκαιον;"

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
2895 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
2900 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?"

τοιοῦτοις τισὶ λόγοις χρησάμενος ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος, τὸ μὲν πάθος ἐκούφισε τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸ
2905 δ' ἦθος εἰς πολλὰ χαυνότερον καὶ παρανομώτερον ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ δαιμονίως
ἐνήρμοσε, καὶ τοῦ Καλλισθένης τὴν ὀμιλίαν, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἐπίχαριν διὰ τὸ ἀσύτηρὸν
οὔσαν, προσδιέβαλε.

Λέγεται δὲ ποτε παρὰ δεῖπνον ὑπὲρ ὠρῶν καὶ κράσεως τοῦ περιέχοντος λόγων ὄντων τὸν
Καλλισθένην, μετέχοντα δόξης τοῖς {δὲ} λέγουσι τάκεϊ μᾶλλον εἶναι ψυχρὰ καὶ
2910 δυσχεῖμερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἐναντιουμένου τοῦ Ἀναξάρχου καὶ φιλονικοῦντος, εἰπεῖν·
"ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνάγκη σοὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι ψυχρότερα· σὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐν
τρίβωνι διεχειμάζεις, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τρεῖς ἐπιβεβλημένος δάπιδας κατάκεισαι".

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
2915 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.
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
2920 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."

2925 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 ἦτιον δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀρέσκων
2930 διὰ τὸν βίον, εὐτακτὸν 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 ἅ καὶ καθ'
αὐτοῦ τοῖς διαβάλλουσι παρεῖχε, τὰς τε κλήσεις τὰ πολλὰ διωθούμενος, ἐν τε τῷ
2935 συνεῖναι βαρύτητι καὶ σιωπῇ δοκῶν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν οὐδ' ἀρέσκεσθαι τοῖς γινομένοις, ὥστε
λέγεται δὲ ποτε πολλῶν παρακεκλημένων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπαινεῖσαι κελευσθεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ
ποτηρίου 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
2940 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
2945 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
2950 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.

- 2955 εἰπεῖν οὖν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅτι, κατ' Εὐριπίδην, τὸν λαβόντα τῶν λόγων καλὰς ἀφορμὰς οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐνδειξαί" φάναι "τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἡμῖν κατηγορήσας Μακεδόνων, ἵνα καὶ βελτίους γένωνται μαθόντες ἅ πλημμελοῦσιν". οὕτω δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὴν παλινοῦσαν τραπόμενον πολλὰ παρρησιάσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν στάσιν αἰτίαν
- 2960 ἀποφάναντα τῆς γενομένης περὶ Φίλιππον ἀξίσεως 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.
- 2965 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."
- 2970 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 Callisthenes 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
- 2975 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· κάθισσε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο
- 2980 πολλὸν ἀμείνων· οὐ φαύλως οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔοικεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι Καλλισθένης λόγῳ μὲν ἦν δυνατὸς καὶ μέγας, νοῦν δ' οὐκ εἶχεν.
- 2985 Ἀλλὰ τὴν γε προσκύνησιν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπωσάμενος καὶ φιλοσόφως, καὶ μόνος ἐν φανερῷ διελθὼν ἅ κρύφα πάντες οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἠγανάκτουσιν, τοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας αἰσχύνει ἀπήλλαξε μεγάλης, καὶ μείζονος Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀποιρέψας τὴν προσκύνησιν, αὐτὸν δ' ἀπώλεσεν, ἐκβιάσασθαι δοκῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα.
- 2990 Hermippus assures us that one Stroeubus, 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 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
- 2995 Macedonians only discussed in private. He delivered the Greeks and Alexander from 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 do by reason and persuasion.
- 3000 Χάρης δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖός φησι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ πιόντα φιάλην προτεῖναι τινὶ τῶν φίλων· τὸν δὲ δεξάμενον πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστῆναι, καὶ πιόντα προσκυνῆσαι πρῶτον, εἶτα φιλήσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον {ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ} καὶ κατακλιθῆναι. πάντων δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντων ἐφεξῆς, τὸν Καλλισθένην λαβόντα τὴν φιάλην, οὐ προσέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἠφαιστίωνι προσδιδραγομένου, πιόντα προσιέναι φιλήσοντα· Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ προσονομαζομένου Φεῖδωνος εἰπόντος "ᾧ βασιλεῦ, μὴ φιλήσης· οὗτος γὰρ σε μόνος οὐ
- 3005 προσεκύνησε," διακλῖναι τὸ φίλημα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην μέγα φθεγγάμενον εἰπεῖν· "φιλήματι τοίνυν ἔλασσον ἔχων ἀπειμι".
- 3010 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 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
- 3015 to adore you." The king declined the kiss, and the only concern that Callisthenes 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
- 3020 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 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.

3025 [55] Τοιαύτης ὑπογινομένης ἀλλοτριότητος, πρῶτον μὲν Ἡφαιστίων
 ἐπιστεύετο λέγων, ὅτι συνθέμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Καλλισθένης προσκυνῆσαι, ψεύσαιτο τὴν
 ὁμολογίαν· ἔπειτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Ἄγωνες ἐπεφύοντο, φάσκοντες περιϊέναι τὸν σοφιστὴν
 3030 ὡς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τυραννίδος μέγα φρονούντα, καὶ συντρέχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ μειράκια
 καὶ περιέπειν, ὡς μόνον ἐλεύθερον ἐν τοσαύταις μυριάσι. διὸ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόλαον
 ἐπιβουλευσάντων τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ φανερῶν γενομένων, ἔδοξαν ἀληθέσιν ὁμοία κατηγορεῖν
 οἱ διαβάλλοντες, ὡς τῷ μὲν προβαλόντι, πῶς ἂν ἐνδοξότατος γένοιτ' ἄνθρωπος, εἶπεν
 "ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ τὸν ἐνδοξότατον," τὸν δ' Ἑρμόλαον ἐπὶ τὴν πράξιν παροξύνων ἐκέλευε μὴ
 δεδιέναι τὴν χρυσὴν κλίνην, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύειν ὅτι καὶ νοσοῦντι καὶ τιτρωσκομένῳ
 3035 πρόσεισιν ἀνθρώπῳ. καίτοι τῶν περὶ Ἑρμόλαον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης τοῦ
 Καλλισθένους κατεῖπεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς εὐθύς Κρατερῶ γράφων καὶ Ἀτίταλῳ καὶ
 Ἀλκέτρῳ φησὶ τοὺς παῖδας βασανιζομένους ὁμολογεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πράξειαν, ἄλλος δ'
 οὐδεὶς συνειδεῖη.

Therefore when a conspiracy by Hermolaus came to be discovered, the charges which
 Callisthenes' enemies brought against him were the more easily believed,
 3040 particularly the charge that when Hermolaus asked him what he should do to be the
 most illustrious 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
 3045 extremity under torture, made any mention of Callisthenes's being engaged in the
 conspiracy. Indeed, 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.

3050 ὕστερον δὲ γράφων πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον καὶ τὸν Καλλισθένην συνεπαίτιασάμενος, "οἱ μὲν
 παῖδες" φησὶν "ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατελεύσθησαν, τὸν δὲ σοφιστὴν ἐγὼ κολάσω καὶ τοὺς
 ἐκπέμψαντας αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας,"
 ἀντικρυς ἐν γε τούτοις ἀποκαλυπτόμενος πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέθραπτο
 Καλλισθένης παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἐξ Ἡροῦς γεγονῶς, ἀνεψιῶς Ἀριστοτέλους.
 3055 ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου κρεμασθέντα λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐν πέδαις
 δεδεμένον καὶ νοσήσαντα, Χάρης δὲ μετὰ τὴν σύλληψιν ἐπτὰ μῆνας φυλάττεσθαι
 δεδεμένον, ὡς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ κριθεῖη παρόντος Ἀριστοτέλους· ἐν αἷς δ' ἡμέραις
 Ἀλέξανδρος {ἐν Μαλλοῖς Ὀξυδράκαις} ἐτρώθη περὶ τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπέρπαχυν
 γενόμενον καὶ φθειριάσαντα.

3060 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
 3065 is an unequivocal threat against Aristotle, in whose house Callisthenes, being his
 niece Hero's son, had been educated.
 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

3070 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
 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
 3075 μεγάλης ἠδονῆς ἐστερησθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅσοι τεθνήκασιν πρὶν ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ
 Δαρείου θρόνῳ καθήμενον. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλέον γε τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἀπέλαυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρρωστίας ἀποθανὼν 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.

3080 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
 3085 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

a very rich chariot, drawn by four horses, to the seaside.

[57] Μέλλων δ' ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ὡς ἑώρα πλήθει λαφύρων
 3090 τὴν στρατιὰν ἤδη βαρεῖαν καὶ δυσκίνητον οὔσαν, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ συνεσκευασμένων τῶν ἀμαξῶν
 πρῶτας μὲν ὑπέπηρε τὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἑταίρων, 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 ἀλαλαγμῶ μετ'
 3095 ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς δεομένοις μεταδιδόντες, τὰ δὲ περιόντια τῆς χρείας
 αὐτοὶ κατακαίοντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ὀρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλασαν τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραίτητος κολαστῆς τῶν πλημμελούντων· καὶ
 γὰρ Μένανδρον τινα τῶν ἑταίρων 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
 3100 were so charged with booty that it hindered their marching. Therefore, at break of
 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
 3105 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
 3110 Menander, one of his friends, to death for deserting a fortress where he had placed
 him in garrison, and shot 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
 ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτῆς, βδελυχθεὶς τὸ σημεῖον ἐκαθάρθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, οὐς ἐξ
 3115 ἔθους ἐπήγετο πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, διελέχθη δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς οὐ δι' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
 δι' ἐκεῖνους ταράττοιτο, μὴ τὸ κράτος εἰς ἀγεννηὴ καὶ ἀναλκιν ἄνθρωπον ἐκλιπόντος
 αὐτοῦ περιστήσῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον.
 At this time a sheep happened to yean a lamb, with the perfect shape and color of a
 3120 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 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.
 3125 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βέλτιόν τι σημεῖον γενόμενον τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔλυσεν. ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
 στραματοφυλάκων τεταγμένος ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν ὄνομα Πρόξενος, τῆ βασιλικῆ σκηνῆ χώραν
 ὀρύττων παρὰ τὸν Ὠξὸν ποταμόν, ἀνεκάλυψε πηγὴν ὑγροῦ λιπαροῦ καὶ πιμελώδους·
 ἀπαντιλουμένου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου, καθαρὸν ἀνέβλυζεν ἤδη καὶ διαυγές {ἐλαιον}, οὔτ' ὁσμῆ
 3130 δοκοῦν ἐλαίου διαφέρειν οὔτε γεύσει, στιλπνότητά τε καὶ λιπαρότητα παντάπασιν
 ἀπαράλλακτον, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς χώρας μηδ' ἐλαίας φερούσης. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Ὠξὸν
 αὐτὸν εἶναι μαλακώτατον ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὸ δέρμα τοῖς λουμένοις ἐπιλιπαίνειν. οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεὶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν γράφει πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ἐν
 3135 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 ἐλαιον ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεοῦ δεδόσθαι.
 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
 3140 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 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
 3145 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 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.
 3150

[58] Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς μάχας αὐτῷ κίνδυνοι συνέπεσον,
 καὶ τραύμασι νεανικοῖς ἀπήντησε, τὴν δὲ πλείστην φθορὰν ἀπορίαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ

- 3155 δυσκρασίαι τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀπειργάσαντο τῆς στρατιᾶς. αὐτὸς δὲ τόλμη τὴν τύχην
ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀρετῆ φιλοτιμούμενος, οὐδὲν ᾤετο τοῖς θαρροῦσιν
ἀνάλωτον οὐδ' ὄχυρὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἀτόλμοις.
- 3160 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
3160 him, by resolution and virtue, and thought nothing impossible to true intrepidity,
and on the other hand nothing secure or strong for cowardice.
- 3165 λέγεται δὲ τὴν Σισιμίθρου πολιορκῶν πέτραν, ἀπότομον οὖσαν καὶ ἀπρόσβατον,
ἀθυμούντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐρωτῆσαι τὸν Ὀξυάρτην, ποῖός τις αὐτὸς εἶη τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ
Σισιμίθρης. φῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀξυάρτου δειλότατον ἀνθρώπων, "λέγεις σύ γε" φάναι "τὴν
3165 πέτραν ἀλώσιμον ἡμῖν εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον αὐτῆς οὐκ ὄχυρὸν ἐστί". ταύτην μὲν οὖν
ἐκφοβήσας τὸν Σισιμίθρην ἔλαβεν.
- 3170 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
3170 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
Sisimithres that he took it without any difficulty.
- 3175 ἐτέρᾳ δ' ὁμοίως ἀποτόμῳ προσβαλὼν ἔχων τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἀλέξανδρον τινα
καλούμενον προσαγορεύσας, "ἀλλὰ σοί γ' " εἶπεν "ἀνδραγαθεῖν προσήκει καὶ διὰ τὴν
3175 ἐπωνυμίαν". ἐπεὶ δὲ λαμπρῶς ὁ νεανίας ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν, οὐ μετρίως ἐδήχθη. τῇ δὲ
καλουμένῃ Νύσῃ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀκνοῦντων προσάγειν (καὶ γὰρ ποταμὸς ἦν πρὸς αὐτῇ
βαθύς), ἐπιστὰς "τί γάρ;" εἶπεν "ὁ κάκιστος ἐγὼ νεῖν οὐκ ἔμαθον;" καὶ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν
ἀσπίδα περᾶν ἠθέλησεν. *** ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπαύσαντος τὴν μάχην αὐτοῦ παρῆσαν ἀπὸ τῶν
3180 πολιορκουμένων πόλεων πρέσβεις δεησόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν ὀφθεις ἀθεράπευτος ἐν τοῖς
ὄπλοις, ἐξέπληξεν αὐτούς· ἐπειτα προσκεφαλαίου τινὸς αὐτῷ κομισθέντος, ἐκέλευσε
λαβόντα καθίσαι τὸν πρεσβύτατον· Ἀκουφίς ἐκαλεῖτο. θαυμάσας οὖν τὴν {λαμ}πραότητα
καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ Ἀκουφίς ἠρώτα, τί βούλεται ποιοῦντας αὐτούς ἔχειν φίλους.
3185 φῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου "σὲ μὲν ἄρχοντα καταστήσαντας αὐτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἡμᾶς
πέμψαντας ἑκατὸν ἀνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους," γελάσας ὁ Ἀκουφίς "ἀλλὰ βέλτιον" εἶπεν "ἄρξω
βασιλεῦ, τοὺς κακίστους πρὸς σὲ πέμψας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀρίστους".
- 3190 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
3190 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 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
3195 which he had blocked up came to submit to him and make their peace, were surprised
to 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
3200 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
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."
- 3205 [59] Ὁ δὲ Ταξίλης λέγεται μὲν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔχειν μοῖραν οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν
Αἰγύπτου τὸ μέγεθος, εὐβοτον δὲ καὶ καλλίκαρπον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, σοφὸς δὲ τις ἀνὴρ
εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀσπασάμενος "τί δεῖ πολέμων" φάναι "καὶ μάχης ἡμῖν
3210 Ἀλέξανδρε πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήθ' ὑδὼρ ἀφαιρησόμενος ἡμῶν ἀφίξαι, μήτε τροφὴν
ἀναγκαίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν μόνων ἀνάγκη διαμαχέσθαι νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώποις; τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις
3210 χρήμασι καὶ κτήμασι λεγομένοις, εἰ μὲν εἰμι κρείττων, ἔτοιμος εὔ ποιεῖν, εἰ δ'
ἤττων, οὐ φεύγω χάριν ἔχειν εὔ παθῶν". ἤσθεις οὖν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος
αὐτόν, "ἦ που νομίζεις" ἔφη "δίχα μάχης ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἐντευξίν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τοιούτων λόγων
καὶ φιλοφροσύνης; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν σοι πλέον· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀγωνιοῦμαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ διαμαχοῦμαι
3215 ταῖς χάρισιν, ὥς μου χρηστὸς ὦν μὴ περιγένη". λαβὼν δὲ δῶρα πολλὰ καὶ δούς πλείονα,
τέλος χίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ προέπιεν· 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

3220 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
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
3225 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
3230 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 thousand talents; at which his old friends were much displeased, but it
gained him the hearts of many of the barbarians.

3235 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι μισθοφοροῦντες ἐπεφοίτων ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐρρωμένως
ἀμύνοντες, καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκακοποιοῦν, σπεισάμενος ἐν τινὶ πόλει πρὸς
αὐτούς, ἀπιόντας ἐν ὁδοῦ λαβὼν ἀπαντας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις
αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἄλλα νομίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς πολεμήσαντος, ὡσπερ κηλὶς πρόσεστιν.

3240 Οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ τούτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι πράγματα παρέσχον αὐτῷ, τοὺς τε προστιθεμένους
τῶν βασιλέων κακίζοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους δῆμους ἀφισιάντες. 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
3245 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
oppose him. Alexander took several of these also and caused them to be hanged.

3250 [60] Τὰ δὲ πρὸς Πῶρον αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὡς ἐπράχθη γέγραφε.
φησὶ γάρ, ἐν μέσῳ τῶν στρατοπέδων τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ῥέοντος, ἀντιπρῶρους ἰσθάντα τοὺς
ἐλέφαντας ἀεὶ τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν διάβασιν. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην
ψόφον ποιεῖν καὶ θόρυβον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολὺν, ἐθίζοντα τοὺς βαρβάρους μὴ
3255 φοβεῖσθαι· νυκτὸς δὲ χειμερίου καὶ ἀσελήνου λαβόντα τῶν πεζῶν μέρος, ἵππεῖς δὲ τοὺς
κρατίστους, καὶ προελθόντα πόρρω τῶν πολεμίων, διαπερᾶσαι πρὸς νῆσον οὐ μεγάλην.
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ῥαγδαίου μὲν ἐκχυθέντος ὄμβρου, πρησιτήρων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν εἰς τὸ
στρατόπεδον φερομένων, ὁμῶς ὀρῶν ἀπολλυμένους τινὰς καὶ συμφλεγομένους ὑπὸ τῶν
κεραυνῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς νησίδος ἄρας προσφέρεσθαι ταῖς ἀντιπέρας ὄχθαις. τραχὺν δὲ τὸν
3260 Ὑδάσπην ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπιόντα καὶ μετέωρον ἔκρηγμα ποιῆσαι μέγα, καὶ πολὺ μέρος
ἐκείνη φέρεσθαι τοῦ ῥεύματος, αὐτοὺς δὲ δέξασθαι τὸ μέσον οὐ βεβαίως, ἅτε δὴ
συνολισθάνον καὶ περιρρηγνύμενον. ἐνταῦθα δ' εἶπεῖν φασὶν αὐτόν·

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
3265 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 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
3270 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 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
3275 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,

3280 "ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄρα γε πιστεύσαίτ' ἂν, ἡλίκους ὑπομένω κινδύνους ἕνεκα τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν
εὐδοξίας;" ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν Ὀνησίκριτος εἶρηκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ φησὶ 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
προσβάλοιν, πολὺ κρατήσειν, εἰ δὲ κινοῖεν τὴν φάλαγγα, φθῆσεσθαι τοὺς πεζοὺς αὐτῷ
προσγενομένους· θάτερον δὲ συμβῆναι. τῶν γὰρ ἵππέων χιλίους καὶ τῶν ἄρμάτων ἐξήκοντα
συμπεσόντα τρεψάμενος, τὰ μὲν ἄρματα λαβεῖν ἀπαντα, τῶν δ' ἵππέων ἀνελεῖν
τετρακοσίους. οὕτω δὴ συμφρονήσαντα τὸν Πῶρον, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη διαβεβηκῶς Ἀλέξανδρος,

- 3285 ἐπιέναι μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, πλὴν ὅσον ἐμποδῶν εἶναι τοῖς διαβαίνουσι τῶν
Μακεδόνων ἀπέλιπε· φοβηθεῖς δὲ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸς μὲν
ἐνσεῖσαι κατὰ θάτερον κέρασ, Κοῖνον δὲ τῷ δεξιῷ προσβαλεῖν κελεῦσαι. γενομένης δὲ
τροπῆς, ἐκατέρωθεν ἀναχωρεῖν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία καὶ συνειλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκβιαζομένους,
3290 ὅθεν ἤδη τὴν μάχην ἀναμειγμένην εἶναι, καὶ μόλις ὀγδότης ὥρας ἀπειπεῖν τοὺς
πολεμίους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ τῆς μάχης ποιητῆς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἶρηκεν.
"O ye Athenians, will ye believe what dangers I incur to merit your praise?" This,
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
3295 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 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.
3300 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
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
3305 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
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.
3310 οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν συγγραφέων ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν Πῶρον, ὑπεραίροντα τεσσάρων πηχῶν
σπιθαμῆ τὸ μῆκος, ἵπποτου μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐλέφαντα συμμετρίᾳ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ σώματος· καίτοι μέγιστος ἦν ὁ ἐλέφας· σύνεσιν δὲ θαυμαστὴν
ἐπεδείξατο καὶ κηδεμονίαν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐρρωμένον μὲν ἔτι θυμῷ τοὺς προσμαχομένους
ἀμυνόμενος καὶ ἀνακόπτων, ὡς δ' ἦσθετο βελῶν πλήθει καὶ τραυμάτων κάμνοντα, δείσας
3315 μὴ περιρρυῆ, τοῖς μὲν γόνασιν εἰς γῆν ὑψῆκε πρῶτως ἑαυτόν, τῆ δὲ προνομαίᾳ λαμβάνων
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,
3320 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
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
3325 falling off, he softly knelt down and began to draw out the darts with his
proboscis.
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ληφθέντα τὸν Πῶρον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡρώτα, πῶς αὐτῷ χρήσεται, "βασιλικῶς" εἶπε·
προσπυθομένου δὲ μή τι καὶ ἄλλο λέγει, "πάντ'" εἶπεν "ἐνεστιν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῶς". οὐ
μόνον οὖν ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ὧν ἐβασίλευσε σατράπην καλούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέθηκε
3330 χῶραν {καὶ} τῆς αὐτονόμου καταστρεψάμενος, ἐν ἧ πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ἔθνη, πόλεις δὲ
πεντακισχιλίας ἀξιολόγους, κώμας δὲ παμπόλλας εἶναι φασιν· ἄλλης δὲ τρίς τοσαύτης
φίλιππόν τινα τῶν ἐταίρων σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν.
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
3335 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, it is said, contained fifteen several nations, and five thousand
considerable towns, besides abundance of villages. To another government, three
3340 times as large as this, he appointed Philip, one of his friends.
- [61] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς Πῶρον μάχης καὶ ὁ Βουκεφάλας ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐκ εὐθύς,
ἀλλ' ὕστερον, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τραυμάτων θεραπευόμενος, ὡς δ'
3345 Ὀνησίκριτος, διὰ γῆρας ὑπέρπονός 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
ἐπώνυμον. τοῦτο δὲ Σωτίων φησὶ Ποτάμῳνος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Λεσβίου.
Some little time after the battle with Porus, Bucephalus died, as most of the
3350 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 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.

[62] Τοὺς μέντοι Μακεδόνας ὁ πρὸς Πῶρον ἀγὼν ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε, καὶ τοῦ πρόσω τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔτι προελθεῖν ἐπέσχε. μόλις γὰρ ἐκείνιν ὠσάμενοι, δισμυρίοις πεζοῖς καὶ δισχιλίοις ἵππεῦσι παραταξάμενον, ἀντίστησαν ἰσχυρῶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βιαζομένῳ καὶ τὸν Γάγγην περᾶσαι ποταμόν, εὖρος μὲν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων εἶναι πυθνανόμενοι καὶ βάθος ὀργυιᾶς ἑκατόν, ἀντιπέρας δὲ τὰς ὄχθας ἀποκεκρῦφθαι πλήθεσιν ὀπλων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἐλεφάντων. ἐλέγοντο γὰρ ὅτι μὲν μυριάδας ἵπποτων, εἴκοσι δὲ πεζῶν, ἄρματα δ' ὀκτακισχίλια καὶ μαχίμους ἐλέφαντας ἑξακισχιλίους ἔχοντες οἱ Γανδαριτῶν καὶ Πραισίων βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν. καὶ κόμπος οὐκ ἦν περὶ ταῦτα. Ἀνδρόκοττος γὰρ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ βασιλεύσας Σελεύκῳ πεντακοσίου ἐλέφαντας ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ στρατοῦ μυριάσιν ἐξήκοντα τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπήλθεν ἅπασαν καταστρεφόμενος.

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

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 ἡττῆς τιθέμενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ὡς δ' οἱ τε φίλοι τὰ εἰκότα παρηγοροῦντες αὐτόν, οἱ τε στρατιῶται κλαυθμῷ καὶ βοῇ προσιστάμενοι ταῖς θύραις ἰκέτευσον, 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 διαβαίνοντες σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν Ἑλληνικᾶς θυσίας. Ἀνδρόκοττος δὲ μεῖράκιον ὢν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδε, καὶ λέγεται πολλάκις εἰπεῖν ὕστερον, ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθε τὰ πράγματα λαβεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος, μισουμένου τε καὶ καταφρονουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μοχθηρίαν καὶ δυσγένειαν.

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 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 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.

[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 ἐδέξησε κατακοπήναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπεσκέδασε, πρῶτος δὲ διὰ κλίμακος τεθείσης ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ὡς ἢ τε κλίμαξ συνετρίβη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφισταμένων παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐλάμβανε πληγὰς

3420 κάτωθεν, ὀλιγοστώδων συστρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς μέσους ἀφῆκε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ κατὰ
 τύχην ὀρθῶς ἕστη. 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
 3425 αὐτὸν μετὰ θυεῖν ὑπασπιστῶν, ἐπιδραμόντες οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς ξίφεσι καὶ δόρασι διὰ τῶν
 ὀπλων συνειτίρωσκον ἀμυνόμενον, εἷς δὲ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω στάς, ἐφῆκεν ἀπὸ τόξου βέλος
 οὕτως εὐτονον καὶ βίαιον, ὥστε τὸν θώρακα διακόψαν ἐμπαγγῆναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν μασθὸν
 ὀστέοις. πρὸς δὲ τὴν πληγὴν ἐνδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σῶμα κάμψαντος, ὁ μὲν βαλὼν
 3430 ἐπέδραμε, βαρβαρικὴν μάχαιραν σπασάμενος, Πευκέστας δὲ καὶ Λιμναῖος προέστησαν· ὧν
 πληγέντων ἑκατέρων, ὁ μὲν ἀπέθανε, Πευκέστας δ' ἀντείχε, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον Ἀλέξανδρος
 ἀπέκτεινε. αὐτὸς δὲ τραύματα πολλὰ λαβὼν, τέλος δὲ πληγεὶς ὑπέρω κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου,
 προσήρσειε τῷ τείχει τὸ σῶμα, βλέπων πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων
 3435 παραυτίκα μὲν ὡς τεθνεώτος ἦν λόγος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ πολυπόνως τὸν
 ὀϊστὸν ἐκπρισάντων ξύλινον ὄντα, καὶ τοῦ θώρακος οὕτω μόλις ἀπολυθέντος, περὶ τὴν
 ἐκκοπὴν ἐγίνοντο τῆς ἀκίδος, ἐνδεδυκυίας ἐνὶ τῶν ὀστέων. λέγεται δὲ τὸ μὲν πλάτος
 τριῶν δακτύλων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος τεσσάρων· διὸ ταῖς λιποθυμίαις ἔγγιστα θανάτου
 3440 συνελαινόμενος ἐξαίρουμένης αὐτῆς, ὅμως ἀνέλαβε, καὶ διαφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔτι δ'
 ἀσθενῆς ὧν καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν διαίτῃ καὶ θεραπείαις ἔχων αὐτόν, ἔξω θορυβοῦντας ὡς
 3435 ἦσθετο ποθοῦντας αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τοὺς Μακεδόνας, λαβὼν ἱμάτιον προῆλθε, καὶ θύσας τοῖς
 θεοῖς αὐτίς 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
 3440 to be built, in which he moved down river at his leisure, yet so that his navigation
 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
 3445 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 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
 3450 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
 3455 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 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
 3460 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 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
 3465 was done near him, and conveyed him to his tent, upon which it was presently
 reported all over the camp 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
 3470 bone. During the operation he was taken with almost mortal swooning, but when it was
 out he 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
 3475 more delay he went on board again, and as he coasted along subdued a great deal of
 the country on both sides of the river, including several considerable cities.

[64] Τῶν δὲ Γυμνοσοφιστῶν τοὺς μάλιστα τὸν Σάββαν ἀναπέισαντας ἀποστῆναι
 3480 καὶ κακὰ πλεῖστα τοῖς Μακεδόσι παρασχόντας λαβὼν δέκα, δεινοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι περὶ
 τὰς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ βραχυλόγους, ἐρωτήματα προὔθηκεν αὐτοῖς ἀπορα, φήσας ἀποκτενεῖν
 τὸν μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀποκρινάμενον 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

3485 τεθνηκότας. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὴν θάλατταν μείζονα τρέφειν θηρία, τὴν
 γῆν ἔφη· ταύτης γὰρ μέρος εἶναι τὴν θάλατταν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ποῖόν ἐστι ζῶον
 πανουργότατον, ὃ μέχρι νῦν, εἶπεν, ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔγνωκεν. 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
 3490 ἢ τὴν νύκτα γεγονέναι, τὴν ἡμέραν, εἶπεν, ἡμέρα μιᾶ· καὶ προσεπέειπεν οὗτος,
 θαυμάσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅτι τῶν ἀπόρων ἐρωτήσεων ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπόρους
 εἶναι. μεταβαλὼν οὖν τὸν ἕκτον ἠρώτα, πῶς ἂν τις φιληθείη μάλιστα· ἂν κράτιστος ᾖν,
 ἔφη, μὴ φοβερὸς ᾖ. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν ὁ μὲν ἐρωτηθεὶς, πῶς ἂν τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπου
 γένοιτο θεός, εἰ τι πράξειεν, εἶπεν, ὁ πράξαι δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἔστιν· ὁ δὲ περὶ
 3495 ζῳῆς καὶ θανάτου, πότερον ἰσχυρότερον, ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν ζῳήν, τσαῦτα κακὰ φέρουσιν. ὁ
 δὲ τελευταῖος, μέχρι τίνος ἂν ἀνθρώπον καλῶς ἔχοι ζῆν, μέχρι οὗ μὴ νομίζει τὸ
 τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν ἀμεινον. οὕτω δὲ τραπόμενος πρὸς τὸν δικαστήν, ἐκέλευσεν
 ἀποφαίνεσθαι. τοῦ δ' ἕτερον ἐτέρου χεῖρον 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
 3500 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
 3505 death, on which he made the eldest of them judge. The first being asked which he
 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
 3510 beasts? "That," said he, "which men have not yet found out." He bade the fourth tell
 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,
 3515 that he ought not to wonder if strange questions had as strange answers made to
 them. Then he 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,
 3520 "Life is stronger than death, because it supports so many miseries." And the last
 being asked, how long he 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
 3525 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
 3530 καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ζῶντας ἐπεμψεν Ὀνησίκριτον, ἀφικέσθαι δεόμενος πρὸς αὐτόν.
 ὁ δ' Ὀνησίκριτος ἦν φιλόσοφος τῶν Διογένει τῷ κυνικῷ 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
 3535 Πυθαγόρου καὶ Διογένους, εἶπεῖν ὡς εὐφυσεῖς μὲν αὐτῷ γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἄνδρες,
 λίαν δὲ τοὺς νόμους αἰσχυρόμενοι βεβιωκέναι. ἄλλοι δὲ φησι τὸν Δάνδαμιν οὐδὲν εἶπεῖν
 ἀλλ' ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον· "τίνος χάριν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁδὸν τσαύτην δεῦρ' ἦλθε;" τὸν
 μέντοι Καλανὸν ἐπεισεν ὁ Ταξίλης ἐλθεῖν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σφίνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ
 3540 κατ' Ἰνδικὴν γλῶτταν τῷ καλῶς προσαγορεύων ἀντὶ τοῦ χαίρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας
 ἠσπάζετο, Καλανὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὠνομάσθη. τοῦτον δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς
 ἀρχῆς τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προθέσθαι· καταβαλὼν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ βύρσαν τινὰ ξηρὰν καὶ
 3545 κατεσκληκυῖαν, ἐπάτησε τὸ ἄκρον· ἢ δ' εἰς ἐν πιεσθεῖσα, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπήρηθη μέρεσι.
 καὶ τοῦτο περιῶν ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ πιέζων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐδείκνυε γιγνόμενον, ἄχρι οὗ τὸ
 μέσον ἐπιστὰς κατέσχε, καὶ πάνθ' οὕτως ἠρέμησεν. ἐβούλετο δ' ἢ εἰκὼν ἐνδειξις εἶναι
 τοῦ τὰ μέσα δεῖν μάλιστα τῆς ἀρχῆς πιέζειν καὶ μὴ μακρὰν ἀποπλανᾶσθαι τὸν
 Ἀλέξανδρον.

3550 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
 3555 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
 3560 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.

3565 [66] Ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὑπαγωγὴ μηνῶν ἑπτὰ 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 ἐπέϊδε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ τῆς παραλίας, ὅσον ἐφικτὸν ἦν· εἴτι' ἐπευξάμενος μηδένα μετ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς ὄρους τῆς στρατείας, ἀνέστρεψε. καὶ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐκέλευσε παραπλεῖν, ἐν δεξιᾷ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐχούσας, ἡγεμόνα μὲν Νέαρχον ἀποδείξας, ἀρχικυβερνήτην δ' Ὀνησίκριτον· αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῆ δι' Ὠρειτῶν πορευόμενος, εἰς ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν προήχθη, καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλεσε τοσοῦτον, ὥστε τῆς μαχίμου δυνάμεως μηδὲ τὸ τέταρτον ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀπαγαγεῖν.
 3570 καίτοι δῶδεκα μὲν μυριάδες ἦσαν οἱ πεζοί, τὸ δ' ἵππικὸν εἰς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους. ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσοι χαλεπαὶ καὶ δαίται πονηραὶ καὶ καύματα ξηρὰ καὶ πλεῖστους ὁ λιμὸς διέφθειρεν, ἀσπορον χώραν ἐπιόντας ἀνθρώπων κακοβίωτα, ὀλίγα καὶ ἀγεννητὰ πρόβατα κεκτημένων, ἃ τοὺς θαλαττίους ἰχθυῶν εἰθισμένα προσφέρεσθαι σάρκα μοχθηρὰν εἶχε καὶ δυσώδη. μόλις οὖν ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα ταύτην διελθὼν καὶ τῆς
 3575 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
 3585 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
 3590 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 their march was through an uncultivated country whose inhabitants fared hardly, possessing only a few sheep, and those of a wretched kind,
 3595 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 things, which the neighboring kings and governors of provinces, hearing of his approach, had taken care to provide.

3600 [67] Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δύναμιν, ἐξώρμησε κώμῳ χρώμενος ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ διὰ τῆς Καρμανίας. αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ἵπποι σχέδην ἐκόμιζον ὀκτώ, μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὑπὲρ θυμέλης ἐν ὑψηλῷ καὶ περιφανεῖ πλαισίῳ πεπηγυῖας εὐωχούμενον 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 ἀγουσαι φίλους καὶ ἡγεμόνας, ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ πίνοντας. εἶδες δ' ἂν οὐ πέλιτην, οὐ κρᾶνος, οὐ σάρισαν, ἀλλὰ φιάλαις καὶ ῥυτοῖς καὶ θηρικλείοις παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπασαν οἱ
 3605 στρατιῶται κυαθίζοντες ἐκ πίθων μεγάλων καὶ κρατήρων ἀλλήλοισι προέπινον, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ προάγειν ἄμα καὶ βαδίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ κατακείμενοι. πολλὴ δὲ μοῦσα συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ψῶδης τε καὶ ψαλμοῦ καὶ βακχεῖα γυναικῶν κατεῖχε πάντα τόπον. τῷ δ' ἀτάκτῳ καὶ
 3610 πεπλανημένῳ τῆς πορείας παρεῖπετο {ταῖς φιάλαις} καὶ παιδιὰ βακχικῆς ὑβρεως, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπαραπέμποντος τὸν κῶμον.

When he had here refreshed his army, he continued his march through Carmania, 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

3615 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
 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
 3620 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 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
 3625 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 βασιλεῖον, αὐθις ἀνελάμβανε τὴν στρατιὰν
 πανηγυρίζων. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μεθύοντα θεωρεῖν ἀγῶνας χορῶν, τὸν δ' ἐρώμενον Βαγῶν
 χορεύοντα νικῆσαι καὶ κεκοσμημένον διὰ τοῦ θεάτρου παρελθόντα καθίσει παρ' αὐτόν·
 3630 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
 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
 3635 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 him and kissed him.

3640 [68] Ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Νέαρχον ἀναβάντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἤσθεις καὶ διακούσας
 τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν ὤρμησεν αὐτὸς πλεύσας κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην στόλῳ μεγάλῳ, εἶτα περὶ
 τὴν 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
 3645 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 ὕβριν ἐνεποίησε, καὶ ὅλως διέδραμε σάλος ἀπάντων καὶ νεωτερισμός.
 ὅπου καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον Ὀλυμπιάς καὶ Κλεοπάτρα στασιάζουσαι, διείλοντο τὴν ἀρχήν,
 Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν Ἠπειρον, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ Μακεδονίαν παραλαβοῦσα. καὶ τοῦτ' ἀκούσας
 3650 Ἀλέξανδρος βέλτιον ἔφη βεβουλευσθαι τὴν μητέρα· Μακεδόνας γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ὑπομείναι
 βασιλευμένους ὑπὸ γυναικός.

Here his admiral, Nearchus, came to him, and delighted him so with the narrative of
 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
 3655 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
 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
 3660 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,
 Olympias and Cleopatra had raised a faction against Antipater, and divided his
 government between them, Olympias seizing upon Epirus, and Cleopatra upon Macedonia.
 3665 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.

διὰ ταῦτα Νέαρχον μὲν αὐθις ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐπεμψεν, ἐμπλήσαι πολέμων ἀπασαν ἐγνωκῶς
 τὴν παραλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων ἐκόλαζε τοὺς πονηροὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν. τῶν δ'
 3670 Ἀβουλίτου παίδων ἓνα μὲν Ὀξυάρτην αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε σαρίσῃ διελάσας, Ἀβουλίτου δὲ
 μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων παρασκευάσαντος, ἀλλ' ἢ τρισχίλαι τάλαντα νομίσματος αὐτῷ
 προσαγαγόντος, ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ἀργύριον παραβαλεῖν. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐγεύοντο,
 φήσας "τί οὖν ὄφελος ἡμῖν τῆς σῆς παρασκευῆς;" καθεῖρξε τὸν Ἀβουλίτην.

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
 3675 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,
 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
 3680 provision do us?" and sent him away to prison.

- [69] Ἐν δὲ Πέρσαις πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὸ νόμισμα ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ὡς περ εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὁσάκις εἰς Πέρσας ἀφίκοιντο, διδόναι χρυσοῦν ἐκάστη. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασιν ἐνίοις μὴ πολλακίς, Ἦχον δὲ μηδ' ἀπαξ εἰς Πέρσας παραγενέσθαι, διὰ μικρολογίαν ἀποξενώσαντα τῆς πατρίδος ἑαυτὸν. Ἐπειτα τὸν Κύρου τάφον εὖρων διορωρυγμένον, ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδικήσαντα, καίτοι Πελλαῖος ἦν οὐ τῶν ἀσημοτάτων ὁ πλημμελήσας, ὄνομα Πουλαμάχος. τὴν δ' ἐπιγραφήν ἀναγνοῦς, ἐκέλευσεν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑποχαραξάει 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 τοῦ μὸν σῶμα περικαλύπτει". ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐμπαθῆ σφόδρα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐποίησεν, ἐν νῶ λαβόντα τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἀδηλόγητα καὶ μεταβολήν.
- 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.
- Ὁ δὲ Καλανὸς ἐνταῦθα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑπὸ κοιλίας ἐνοχληθεὶς, ἤτήσατο πυρὰν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· καὶ κομισθεὶς ἵππῳ πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπείσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος, ἀναβαίνων ἐδεξιούτο τοὺς παρόντας τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην ἠδέως γενέσθαι καὶ μεθυσθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκεῖνον ἔφην 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 Ἴνδος ἐν Ἀθήναις Καίσαρι συνῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ δείκνυται μέχρι νῦν τὸ μνημεῖον, Ἴνδοῦ προσαγορευόμενον.
- 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 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 ἄχρι χοῶν τεσσάρων προῆλθε· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ νικητήριον, στέφανον ταλαντιαῖον, ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπέζησε· τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ὡς Χάρης φησί, τετταράκοντα καὶ εἰς ἀπέθανον πιόντες, ἰσχυροῦ τῆς μέθης κρύους 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' ἐταίρων 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} ἐστήσας, 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 ταλάντοις γενομένου.
- 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.

3750

3755 ἐπεὶ δ' Αντιγένης 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 Αντιγένης, καὶ ἔτι {δὲ} νέος ὢν, φιλίππου πολιιορκοῦντος Πέρινθον, ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ καταπελτικῷ βέλος εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, οὐ παρέσχε βουλομένοις ἐξελεῖν τὸ βέλος οὐδ' ὑπήκατο πρὶν ὤσασθαι προσμαχόμενος καὶ κατακλεῖσαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. οὐ μετρίως οὖν τότε τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ δῆλος ἦν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ βαρυθυμίας διαχρησόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο δείσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὰ χρήματ' ἔχειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν.

3760

3765 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.

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[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 εὐχέριαν καὶ κουφότητα θαυμαστὴν ἐπίδειξαμένων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἤσθη, τοῖς δὲ Μακεδόσι δυσθυμία παρέστη καὶ δέος, ὡς ἦττον αὐτοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως προσέξοντος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ πεπηρωμένους αὐτοῦ καταπέμποντος ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ὕβριν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ προπηλακισμόν, ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρησάμενον εἰς ἅπαντα, νῦν ἀποτίθεσθαι σὺν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ προσρίπτειν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς γονεῦσιν, οὐ τοιοῦτους παραλαβόντα. πάντας οὖν ἐκέλευον ἀφιέναι καὶ πάντας ἀχρήστους νομίζειν Μακεδόνας, ἔχοντα τοὺς νέους τοῦτους πυρριχιστάς, σὺν οἷς ἐπιὼν κατακτιήσεται τὴν οἰκουμένην. πρὸς ταῦτα χαλεπῶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὀργὴν, ἀπελάσας δὲ τὰς φυλακὰς παρέδωκε Πέρσας, καὶ κατέστησεν ἐκ τούτων δορυφόρους καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους, ὑφ' ὧν ὀρῶντες αὐτὸν παραπεμπόμενον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἀπειργομένους καὶ προπηλακίζομένους, ἔταπεινοῦντο, καὶ διδόντες λόγον εὕρισκον αὐτοὺς ὀλίγου δεῖν μανέντας ὑπὸ ζηλοτυπίας καὶ ὀργῆς. τέλος δὲ συμφρονήσαντες ἐβάδιζον ἀνοπλοὶ καὶ μονοχίτωνες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ κλαυθμοῦ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ χρήσασθαι κελεύοντες ὡς κακοῖς καὶ ἀχαρίστοις. ὁ δ' οὐ προσίετο, καίπερ ἤδη μαλασσόμενος· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας δύο καὶ νύκτας οὕτω προσεστῶτες καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι καὶ κοίρανον ἀνακαλοῦντες ἔκατέρησαν. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος οἰκτροῦς καὶ τεταπεινωμένους, ἔδ᾽ ἄκρως πολλὴν χρόνον· εἴτα μεμψάμενος μέτρια καὶ προσαγορεύσας φιλανθρώπως, ἀπέλυσε τοὺς ἀχρήστους, δωρησάμενος μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ γράψας πρὸς Αντίπατρον, ὅπως ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς θεάτροις προεδρίαν ἔχοντες ἐστεφανωμένοι καθέζοιντο. τῶν δὲ τεθνηκότων τοὺς παῖδας ὀρφανοὺς ὄντας ἐμίσθους ἐποίησεν.

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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 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 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 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 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 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 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, 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 καταφαγῶν ἀλεκτρυόνα ἐφθὸν καὶ ψυκτικῆρα 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 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 πάντας ἐπὶ πένθει καὶ ἡμιόνους ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἀπέλιπε τὰς ἐπάλξεις, τὸν δ' ἄθλιον ἰατρὸν ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ἀλύτους δὲ κατέπαυσε καὶ μουσικὴν πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως ἔξ Ἀμμωνος ἦλθε μαντεία, τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ θύειν ὡς ἡρωῖ παρακελεύουσα. τοῦ δὲ πένθους παρηγορίᾳ τῷ πολέμῳ χρώμενος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ κυνηγέσιον ἀνθρώπων ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ Κοσσαίων ἔθνος κατεστρέφετο, πάντας ἠβηδὸν ἀποσφάτιων. 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 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.

τύμβον δὲ καὶ ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν περὶ ταῦτα κόσμον ἀπὸ μυρίων ταλάντων ἐπιτελέσαι διανοούμενος, ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τῷ φιλοτέχνῳ καὶ περιτιτῷ 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 μάλιστα τὸν θράκιον 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 ρεῦμα δαψιλές εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπορρέοντος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρητήσατο, πολλῶ δ' ἀτοπώτερα καὶ δαπανηρότερα τούτων σοφίζόμενος τότε καὶ συμμηχανώμενος τοῖς τεχνίταις διέτριβεν.

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 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

3880 proposal, yet now he spent a great deal of time with workmen to invent and contrive others even more 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 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 ἐνιοὶ κατέπεσον παρ' αὐτόν. ἔπειτα μηνύσεως γενομένης κατ' Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, ὡς εἶη περὶ αὐτοῦ τεθυμένος, ἐκάλει Πυθαγόραν τὸν μάντιν. οὐκ ἀρνούμενον δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἠρώτησε τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν τρόπον· φησάντος δ' ὅτι τὸ ἦπαρ ἦν ἄλοβον, "παπαὶ" εἶπεν, "ἰσχυρὸν τὸ σημεῖον". καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, ἤχθετο δὲ μὴ πεισθεῖς τῷ Νεάρχῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἔξω κατασκηνῶν καὶ περιπλέων τὸν Εὐφράτην διέτριβεν.

3890 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
3895 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, the soothsayer, and on his admitting the thing, asked him in what condition he found
3900 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.

3905 ἠνώχλει δ' αὐτόν καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα πολλά. καὶ γὰρ λέοντα τῶν τρεφομένων μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον ἡμεροῦς 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 τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν περικείμενον. οὗτος ἀνακρινόμενος ὅστις εἶη, πολὺν
3910 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 καθίσει καὶ σιωπᾶν.

3915 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
3920 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 his chains, conducted him to that place, and commanded him to that
3925 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] Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντιες, ἠφάνισεν· αὐτὸς δ' ἠθύμει καὶ δύσελπις ἦν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὑποπτος.

3930 Μάλιστα δ' Ἀντίπατρον ἐφοβεῖτο καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ὧν Τόλας μὲν ἀρχαιονοχός ἦν, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ἀφίκτο μὲν νεωστί, θεασάμενος δὲ βαρβάρους τινὰς προσκυνοῦντας, ἅτε δὴ τεθραμμένος Ἑλληνικῶς καὶ τοιοῦτο πρότερον μηδὲν ἑωρακώς, ἐγέλασε προπετέστερον. ὁ δ' 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
3935 Κασάνδρου τοῦτ' αὐτὸ σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν, ὅτι μακρὰν ἤκουσι τῶν ἐλέγχων, ἀναγελάσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος "ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνα" ἔφη "σοφίσματα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς ἐκάτερον τὸν λόγον, οἰμωγομένων, ἀν καὶ μικρὸν ἀδικοῦντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φανῆτε". τὸ δ' ὅλον οὕτω φασὶ δεινὸν ἐνδύναϊ καὶ δευσοπιὸν ἐγγενέσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ Κασάνδρου τὸ δέος, ὥσθ' ὕστερον χρόνοις πολλοῖς, ἤδη Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντα καὶ κρατοῦντα τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν Δελφοῖς περιπατοῦντα καὶ θεώμενον τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, εἰκόνας Ἀλεξάνδρου φανείσης ἄφνω πληγέντα φρίζαι καὶ κραδανθῆναι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μόλις ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτόν,

3945 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.
 His greatest apprehension was of Antipater and his sons, one of whom, Iolaus, was
 3950 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
 3955 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,
 3960 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,
 3965 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, ταραχώδης
 3970 γενόμενος καὶ περίφοβος τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐδὲν ἦν μικρὸν οὕτως τῶν ἀήθων καὶ ἀτόπων, ὃ
 μὴ τέρας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ θυομένων καὶ καθαιρόντων καὶ μαντιεύοντων μεστὸν
 ἦν τὸ βασίλειον καὶ ἀναπληροῦντων ἀβελτερίας καὶ φόβου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. οὕτως ἄρα
 δεινὸν μὲν ἢ ἀπιστία πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ περιφρόνησις αὐτῶν, δεινὴ δ' αὖθις ἢ
 δεισιδαιμονία, δίκην ὕδατος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινούμενον {καὶ ἀναπληροῦν ἀβελτερίας καὶ
 φόβου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον} γενόμενον****.

3975 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
 3980 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 Ἥφαιστίωνος ἐκ θεοῦ κομισθέντων, ἀποθέμενος τὸ
 3985 πένθος αὖθις ἦν ἐν θυσίαις καὶ πότοις. ἐστιάσας δὲ λαμπρῶς τοὺς περὶ Νέαρχον, εἶτα
 λουσάμενος ὡσπερ εἰώθει μέλλων καθεύδειν, Μηδίου δεηθέντος ᾗχετο κωμασόμενος πρὸς
 αὐτόν· κάκεῖ πιῶν ὄλην τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν, ἤρξατο πυρέττειν, οὔτε
 σκύφον Ἡρακλέους ἐκπιῶν οὔτ' ἄφνω διαλαγῆς γενόμενος τὸ μετᾴφρενον ὡσπερ λόγχῃ
 πεπληγῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά τινες ᾗοντο δεῖν γράφειν, ὡσπερ δράματος μεγάλου τραγικὸν
 3990 ἐξόδιον καὶ περιπαθὲς πλάσαντες. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν πυρέττιοντα νεανικῶς,
 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,
 3995 just 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
 4000 great an action as 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.
 4005 ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ Δαισίου μηνός ἐκάθευδεν ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι διὰ τὸ πυρέξει. τῇ δ' ἐξῆς
 λουσάμενος εἰς τὸν θάλαμον μετήλθε, καὶ διημέρευσε πρὸς Μῆδιον κυβεύων. εἶτ' ὄψε
 λουσάμενος, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιθείς, ἐμπαγῶν διὰ νυκτὸς ἐπύρεξε. τῇ εἰκάδι
 λουσάμενος πάλιν ἔθυσσε τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν, καὶ κατακείμενος ἐν τῷ λουτρῶνι τοῖς
 4010 περὶ Νέαρχον ἐσχόλαζεν, ἀκροώμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν πλοῦν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. τῇ
 δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος ταῦτά ποιήσας, μᾶλλον ἀνεφλέχθη, καὶ τὴν νύκτα βαρέως ἔσχε, καὶ τὴν

ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐπύρειτε σφόδρα. καὶ μεταρθεῖς κατέκειτο παρὰ τὴν μεγάλην
 κολυμβήθραν, ὅτε δὴ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διελέχθη περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων ἡγεμονίας τάξεων, ὅπως
 καταστήσῃσι δοκιμάσαντες. ἐβδόμη σφόδρα πυρέτιων, ἔθυσεν ἔξαρθεῖς πρὸς τὰ ἱερά· τῶν
 4015 δ' ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευε τοὺς μεγίστους διατρίβειν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ
 πεντακοσιάρχους ἔξω νυκτερεύειν. εἰς δὲ τὰ πέραν βασιλεια διακομισθεῖς, τῇ ἕκτῃ
 μικρὸν ὑπνωσεν, ὃ δὲ πυρετὸς οὐκ ἀνῆκεν· ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἦν ἄφρονος,
 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
 4020 αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθεῖσῶν, 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
 4025 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
 4030 had made in the great sea. The twenty-first he passed in the same manner, his fever
 still increasing, 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
 4035 wait within the court, 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
 4040 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
 4045 evening, he died. This account is most of it word for word as it is written in the
 diary.

[77] Τούτων τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν οὕτως γέγραπται.
 Φαρμακείας δ' ὑποψίαν παραυτίκα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν, ἔκτω δ' ἔτει φασὶ μὴνύσεως
 4050 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
 4055 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
 ἀγγεῖων στέγειν, ἀλλὰ διακόπτειν ὑπὸ ψυχρότητος καὶ δριμύτητος. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τὸν
 λόγον ὅλως οἴονται πεπλάσθαι τὸν περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας, καὶ τεκμήριον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν οὐ
 4060 μικρὸν, ὅτι τῶν ἡγεμόνων στασιασάντων ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀθεράπευτον τὸ σῶμα κείμενον
 ἐν τόποις θερμοῖς καὶ πνιγῶδες οὐδὲν ἔσχε τοιαύτης φθορᾶς σημεῖον, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε
 καθαρὸν καὶ πρόσφατον.

At the time, nobody had any suspicion of his being poisoned, but upon some
 4065 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
 4070 Antigonus speak 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
 4075 commanders, which lasted 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
 4075 δ' ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν, ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτὴν ἐπιστολῇ τινι πεπλασμένη
 παραγενέσθαι, καὶ προσαγαγοῦσα μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς εἰς τὸ
 φρέαρ κατέβαλε καὶ συνέχωσεν, εἰδότος ταῦτα Περδίκκου καὶ συμπράττιοντος. ἦν γὰρ

4080 ἐκεῖνος εὐθὺς ἐν δυνάμει μεγίστη, τὸν Ἀρριδαῖον ὡσπερ δορυφόρημα τῆς βασιλείας
 ἐφελκόμενος, γεγονότα μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀδόξου καὶ κοινῆς Φιλίννης, ἀτελῆ δὲ τὸ
 φρονεῖν ὄντα διὰ σώματος νόσον, οὐ μὴν φύσει προσπεσοῦσαν οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 Roxana, who was now with child, and upon that account much honored by the
 4085 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
 without the advice and help of Perdicas, 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
 4090 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
 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.

4095

1 januari 1789 **De levens van doordruchtige Grieken en Romeinen, onderling vergeleeken door PLUTARCHUS**

HET LEVEN VAN ALEXANDER

4100 Dezen last gegeven hebbende om aan PARMENIO over te brengen, zettede hy den Helm op
 het hoofd; als hebbende zyne andere wapenen reeds aangetrokken in de Tent, bestaande
 in eenen sluitrok van Siciliaansch maakzel omgeeven van eenen Gordel, en daar over
 een gedubbeld linnen Wapenkleet, uit den buit behaald in den Slag by Issus. Zyn Helm
 was van yzer, gemaakt van THEOPHILUS, die denzelven zo fraai bewerkt had, dat hy
 4105 glinsterde, als of het zuiver Zilver ware geweest. Aan dezen Helm was vastgemaakt
 een Ringkraag, insgelyks van yzer, doch hier en daar met Gesteenten bezet. Zyn
 Zwaard was van eene weergalooze getemperdheid en byzonder ligt. Het was aan hem
 geschonken door den Koning der Citieërs. Hy droeg dit, om om dat hy doorgaans in
 gevechten gewoon was een Zwaard te gebruiken. De Draagband, waar aan dit Zwaard
 4110 hing, was prachtiger van werk, dan zyn overig Wapentuig, zynde het werk van HELICON
 den Ouden, en eene vereeringe van de Burgerschap der Rhodiërs, waarvan ALEXANDER hem
 ten geschenke ontvangen had. Ook hier van was hy steeds gewoon zich in Veldslagen te
 bedienen. Voorts gebruikte hy, zo lang hy nog bezig was met het rangschikken van de
 Phalanx, of het een of ander te verbeteren, of bevelen te geeven, of de Gelederen
 4115 ter bezichtiging door te ryden, een ander Paard, om dat hy den Bucephalus, die reeds
 jaarig begon te worden, wilde spaaren. Dan zo dra was men niet gereed om aan het
 werk te gaan, of dit Paard wierd gehaald; het welk zo ras niet door hem was
 beklommen, of hy gaf het teken tot den aanval.

4120 *Hoe toch, zeide hy, zal iemand in eigenen persoon de moeite neemen om zyn Paard te
 bezorgen, of zyne Lans, of Helm te polysten, die afkeerig is om aan zyn eigen lief
 Lichaam zyne handen te slaan?" - "Weet Gylieden niet, zeide hy, dat de hoofdzaak om
 te overwinnen daarin voor Uwlieden bestaat, dat Gy niet dat zelfde doet, dat zy
 4125 veel te meer in allerlei werkzaamheden, zo van Krygstochten, als de Jacht,
 waaromtrent hy geenerlei vermoeienissen of gevaaren ontzag. Hier van daan was het
 ook, dat zeker Spartaansch Afgevaardigde, die er by tegenwoordig was, toen hy eenen
 grooten Leeuw ter nederverelde, hem toeriep: "Waarlyk, ALEXANDER, Gy hebt met dien
 Leeuw zeer dapper gevochten om het Koningschap!" Van deze Jacht heeft CRATERUS eene
 4130 toewydinge gemaakt in den Tempel te Delphi, bestaande in kopere Afbeeldingen van den
 Leeuw, van de Honden, van den Koning, die vecht met den Leeuw, en van hem zelven,
 die ter hulpe toe komt schieten.
 Een gedeelte daar van is gemaakt door LYSIPPUS (k), een ander deel door LEOCHARES.*

4135 (k) Van dit Geschenk van CRATERUS, in den Tempel te Delphi gewyd, vindt men onder de werken
 van LYSIPPUS gewag by PLINIUS H. N. XXXIV, 7. Van LEOCHARES spreekt dezelfde PLINIUS, L.
 XXXIV, 8. en XXXVI, 5.