## On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexand

 1 This is Fortune's discourse, whe declares that Alexander is her ow characterisic handiwork, and hers alone. But some rejoinder mustmade on behalf of philosophy, or rather on Alexander's behalf, who would be vexed and indignant if he should be thought to have eceived as a pure gift, even at the hands of Fortune, the supremac
which he won at the price of much blood and of wounds that followed one after another, and Many a night did he spend witho sleeping, Many a blood-stained day did he pass amid combats unceasing, against irresistible forces and innumerable tribes, against
impassable rivers and mountain fastnesses whose summit no arrow could reach, furthered by wise counsels, steadfast purpose, manly courage, and a prudent heart.
2 I think that if Fortune should try to inscribe her name on his successes, he would say to her, "Slander not my virtues, nor take
away my fair name by detraction. Darius was your handiwork: he who was a slave and courier of the king, him did you make the
mighty lord of Persia; and Sardanapalus, nighty lord of Persia; and Sardanapalus, upon whose head you
placed the royal diadem, though he spent his days in carding purg wool. But I, through my victory at Arbela, went up to Susa, and Cilicia opened the way for me into the broad land of Egypt; but to cilicial came by way of the Granicus, which I crossed, using as a
ridge the dead bodies of Mithridates and Spithridates. Ador yourself, proud Fortune, and vaunt your dominion over kings that never felt a wound nor shed a drop of blood. For they have been Fortune's favourites, men such as Ochus was and Artaxerxes, whom
ot the very hour of their birth you placed upon the throne of Cyrus But my body bears many a token of an opposing Fortune and no ally of mine. First, among the Illyrians, my head was wounded by a sto and my neck by a cudgel. Then at the Granicus my head was cut
open by an enemy's dagger an Issus my thigh was piecced by the open by an enemy's dagger, at Issus my thigh was pierced by the
sword. Next at Gaza my ankle was wounded by an arrow, my sword. Next at Gaza my ankle was wounded by an arrow, my
shoulder was dislocated, and I whirled heavily round and round. Then at Maracanda the bone of my leg was split open by an arrow.
There awaited me towards the last also the buffetings I received There awaited me towards the last also the buffetings I received
mong the Indians and the violence of famines. Among the among the Indians and the violence of famines. Among the
Aspasians my shoulder was wounded by an arrow, and among the Aspasians my shoulder was wounded by an arrow, and among the
Gandridae my leg. Among the Mallians, the shaft of an arrow sank deep into my breast and buried its steel; and I was struck in the neck y a cudgel, when the scaling-ladders which we had moved up to
walls were battered down; and Fortune cooped me up alone, valls were battered down; and Fortune cooped me up alone,
avouring ignoble barbarians and not illustrious adversaries with such an exploit. But if Ptolemy had not held his shield above me, and
Limnaeus taking his stand before me had not fallen, a target for ten Limnaeus taking his stand before me had not fallen, a target for ten
housand shafts, and if my Macedonians had not overthrown the wal housand shafts, and if my Macedonians had not overthrown the
with spirit and main force, then that nameless village in a foreign land must needs have become the tomb of Alexander."
3 Moreover, there were the trials of the campaign itself: storms, droughts, deep rivers, the heights of the Birdiess Rock, the
nonstrous shapes of savage beasts, an uncivilized manner of life, constant succession of petty kings and their repeeated treachery. Then
there were also the difficulties before his expedition: Greece was still gasping over Philip's wars; Thebes staggering to her feet after her gasping over Philip's wars; Thebes staggering to her feet after her
fall, was shaking the dust of Chaeroneia from her arms, and Athens was stretching forth a helping hand to join with Thebes. All Macedonia was festering with revolt and looking toward Amyntas
and the children of Aeropus; the Illyrians were again rebelling, and rouble with the Scythians was impending for their Macedonian neighbours, who were in the throes of political change; Persian gold lowed freely through the hands of the popular leaders everywhere,
nd helped to rouse the Peloponnesus; Phili's treasuries were bare of money, and in addition there was owing a loan of two hundred alents (as Onesicritus records). In such poverty and in circumstances fraught with such uncertainty, a stripling, scarcely older than a boy,
had the daring to hope for Babylon and Susa; nay more, to conceive he project of dominion over all the world, relying only on the thirty thousand foot and four thousand cavalry which were his; for,

Scroll X. Phocis, Ozolian Locri Ind Delphi was so named in very ancient dyys after a Corithorea Phokos, a son of ornntiod.. Not mancy years aftererards, the name
established itself as the received title of what is toddy chl when the Aeginetans had disembarked on the land with Phokos, the on of Aiakos.
10.1.2] Opposite the Peloponnesus, and in the direction of Boeotia
Phokis stretches hokis stretches to the sea, and touches it on one side at Cirrha, the
port of Delphi, and on the other at the city of Anticyra. In the direction of the Lamian Gulf, there are between Phokis and the sea only the Hypocnemidian people of Lokris who are known as
Hypoknemidioi. By these is Phokis bounded in this direction, by Scarpheia on the other side of Elateia, and by Opous and its port Kunos beyond Hyampolis and Abai.
101.31 The most renowned exploit 10.1.3] The most renowned exploits of the people of Phokis were ndertaken by the whole nation. They took part in the Trojan war,
nd fought against the Thessalians before the Persian invasion of Greece, when they accomplished some noteworthy deeds.

## PHOKIS, HISTORY

Expecting that the Thessalians would invade their land at Hyampolis hey buried there earthen water-pots, covered these with earth, and waited for the Thessalian cavalry. Ignorant of the stratagem of the
men of Phokis, the Thessalians without knowing it drove their he on to the water-pots, where stumbling into them the horses were lamed and threw or killed their riders. 10.1.4] The Thessalians, more enraged than ever against the people of Phokis, gathered levies from all their cities and marched out
against them. Whereupon the people of Phokis, greatly terrified at gainst them. Whereupon the peoppe of Phokis, greaty terrified at and the practiced discipline of both mounts and riders, dispatched a mission to Delphi, praying to the god that they might escape the
danger that threatened them. anger that threatened them. The oracle given them was
I will match in fight mortal and immortal,

And to both will I give victory, but more to the mortal. 10.1.5] On receiving this oracle, the peoplo of Phokis sent three
undred picked men with Gelon in command to make an the enemy. The night was just falling, and the orders given were to reconnoiter without being observed, to return to the main body by the least known route, and to remain strictly on the defensive. These
picked men along with their leader Gelon, trampled on by hes and butchered by their enemies, perished to a man at the hands of the Thessalians.
10.1.1.6] Their disaster created such panic among the people of
Phokis in the camp that they actually Phokis in the camp that they actually gathered together in one spot
heir women, childrren, movable property, and also their clothes goid , silverer, and images of the gods, and making a vast pyre, they left in charge a force of thirty men.
[10.1.7] They were under orders that, should the men of Phokis hance to be worsted in the battle, they were first to put to death the
omen and the children, then to lay them like victims with the women and the children, then to tay them like victims with the
valuables on the pyre, and finally to set it alight and perish hemselves, either by each other's hands or by charging the cavalry
of the Thessalians. Hence all forlorn hopes are called by the Greeks the despair of the people of Phokis.' On this occasion, the men of The despair of the people of Phokis.' On this occasion, the m
Phokis forthwith proceeded to attack the Thessalians.
[10.1.8] The commander of thein 10.1.8] The commander of their cavalry was Daiphantes of Hyampolis, of their infantry, Rhoeus of Ambrossus. But the office of
commander-in-chief was held by Tellias, a seer of Elis in whom th people of Phokis invested all their hopes for salvation. 10.1.9] When the battle joined, the men of Phokis had before their eyes what they had resolved to do to their women and children, and the most desperate deeds, and, with the good will [tò eu-menes] of the gods [theoi], achieved the most famous victory of that time. [10.1.10] Then did all Greece understand the oracle given to the
people of Phokis by Apollo. For the wathword given in batte people of Phokis by Apolo. For the watchword given in battle on
every occasion by the Thessalian generals was Itonian Athena, and very occasion by the Thessalian generals was Itonian Athena, and
by the generals of the people of Phokis, the watchword was Phokos.

Why the pythia does not now give oracles in

## BASILOCLES - PHILINUS. I.

THE SPEAKERS BASILOCLES, a citizen of Delphi. PHILINUS, a friend, perhaps also of Delphi.
Bas. "You have made it late in the evening, Philinus, by escorting your guest about amongst the dedicated things: I lost all patience in
waiting for you both."
Phil. "Yes, Basilocles, we strolled along slowly - sowing words as we went, and forthwith 'reaping words with strife', that sprung up nd emerged along our path, like the crop of the Dragon's Teeth,
piteful and contentious words." spitefil and contentious words."
Bas. "Will it then be necessary to ask one of those who were there at he time, or are you willing yourself to oblige us and repeat your
conversation? and tell us who were the speakers?"
 easily; I saw most of them going up again to the Corcium and the Lycoreia, in company with the visitor."
Bas. "How fond our visitor is of seeing the sites, and how extravagantly fond of hearing stories!"
Phil. "Rather, fond of history, and willing to learn; and not so much o be admired for these two cualities, as for gentleness combined
with elegance of manner, and then an incredulity and a fondness for with elegance of manner, and then an incredulity and a fondness for
disputation - the result of intelligence - with nothing in it illdisputation - the result of intelligence - with nothing in it it
empered or stubborn: so that after being a little while in his company you exclaim, 'The child of a good father': 'Plato Republic
368a] You are surely acquainted with Diogenianus, that best of men? Bas. "I have not seen him; but I have met many who greatly approv
f his conversation and character, and say ust the same things of him as you do of the youth. But what was the occasion of this discussion of yours?"
HILINUS NARRATES THEIR CONVERSATION. II THE SPEAKERS PHILINUS DLOGENANUS, a young visitor from Pergamum, son of
Diogenianus. THEON, a literary friend. SERAPION, Athenian poet. Diogenianus. THEON, a literary friend. SERAPION, Athenian poe
BOETHUS, a geometrician, nearly a converted Epicurean. TWO GUIDES to the Temple of Delphi.

Phil. "The guides were going through their regular spiel, paying no heed to our entreaties that they cut short their long stories and their
eading of every single inscription, whatever its interest The ppearance and artisticic merit of the statues did not so much attract he notice of the visitor, who had no doubt seen many fine things of he sort elsewhere. But he admired the color of the bronze, which
was not like dirt nor like verdigris, but shone with a dark blue dye, sto contribute considerably to the effect of the statues of the dmirals (for there he had begun his tour), standing as they did, sea ike in color, and truly men of the ocean deep. Was there, he asked, ome special mode of alloying and preparing the bronze used by the kill, bronze was exempted from
ontinued, "that Corinthian bronze acquired its beauty of color not Hrough any art, but through accident, when a fire consumed a house which being mixed and melted together, and the whole thing took is
wita name from bronze, the preponderating metal."
heon broke in: " "We have heard a different story, with a bit of Moard of ito A Corinthinan bronze-worker found a chest containg detection, he chipped it off little by little,
hoard quietly mixing the bits with bronze; the result was a marvellous lend, which he sold at a high price, as people were delighted with
is color and beauty However the one story is as mythical as the ther, what we may suppose is that some method was known of mixing and preparing, much as now they alloy gold with silver, producing a peculiar and rare, and to my mind a sickly and pallid
effect, a perversion with no beauty in it."
III. Diog. "What then has been the cause, do you think, of the color
$\xrightarrow[\text { Alexander }]{\text { By Plutarch, } 75 \text { AD in }}$

Mutarch, 75 AD in Chaeronea
(died 323 B.C.E.)
Translated by John Dryden 1683 -1686 323 B.C.E.)


being my purpose to write the lives of Alexander the king, and of 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 min
that my design is not to write histories, but lives. And the most gorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men, sometimes a matter of less 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, 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 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 re weighty matters and that battles to be treated of by others.

## 




Historiarum

## chic qua supersunt

## Liber III

Caput I
1 Inter haec Alexander ad conducendum ex Peloponneso militem 1 Inter haec Alexander ad conducendum ex Peloponneso militem
Cleandro cum pecunia misso Lyciae Pamphyliaeque rebus conpositi
ad urbem Celaenas exercitum admovit. 2 Media illa tempestate moenia interfluebat Marsyas amnis, fabulosis Graecorum carminibus subiectam petram magno strepitu aquarum cadit: inde diffusus circumiectos rigat campos, liquidus et suas dumtaxat undas trahens.
4 Itaque color eius placido mari similis locum poetarum mendacio fecit: quippe traditum est nymphas amore amnis retentas in in illa rupe at cum extra munimenta se evolvit, maiore vi ac mole agentem unda Lycum appellant. 6 Alexander quidem urbem destitutam ab suis intrat, arcem vero, in quam confugerant, oppugnare adortus
caduceatorem praemisit, qui denuntiaret, ni dederent, ipsos ultima caduceatorm pron illi caduceatorem in turrem et situ et opere multum editam perductum, quanta esset altitudo, intueri iubent ac nuntiare Alexandro, non eadem ipsum et incolas aestimatione munimenta
metiri: se scire inexpugnabiles esse ad ultimum pro fide morituro Ceterum ut circumsideri arcem et omnia sibib in dies artiora esse viderunt, sexaginta dierum inducias pacti, ut, nisi intra eos auxilium Dareus ipsis mississet, dederent urbem, postquam nihil inde praesiai
mittebatur, ad praestitutam diem permisere se regi Superveniunt deinde legati Atheriensere se reg.
Superveniunt deinde legati Atheniensium petentes, ut capti apud
Granicum amnem redderentur sibi. Ile non hos modo, sed etiam ceteros Graecos restitui suis iussurum respondit finito, Persico bello.
10 Ceterum Dareo imminens 10 Ceterum Dareo imminens, quem nondum Euphraten superasse cognoverat, unditus
discrimen aditurus.
11 Phrygia erat, per quam ducebatur exercitus, pluribus vicis quam
ubbibus frequens. 12 Tunc habebat nobilem quondam Mide Gordium no Gordium nomen est urbi, quam Sangarius amnis praeterfluit, pari
intervallo Pontico et Cilicio mari distantem. 13 Inter haec maria angustissimum Asiae spatium esse conperimus, utroque in artas fauces conpellente terram. Quae quia continenti adhaeret, sed magna
ex parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulae prabet ac, nisi tenue parte cingitur fluctibus, speciem insulae prabebt ac, nisi tenue
discrimen obiceret, quae nunc dividit maria, committeret. 14 discrimen obiceret, quae nunc dividit maria, committeret. 14
Alexander urbe in dicionem suam redacta lovis templum intrat.
Vebiculum Vehiculum, quo Gordium, Midae patrem vectum esse constabat,
aspexit, cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens. aspexit, cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens. 15
Notabile erat ougum adstrictum conpluribus nodis in semetipsos inplicatis et celantibus nexus. 16 Incolis deinde adfirmantibus, editam esse oraculo sortem, Asciae potiturum, qui inexplicabile
vinculum solvisset copido vinculum solvisset, cupido incessit animo sortis eius explendae. 17
Circa regem erat et Phrygum turba et Macedonum, illa expectatione suspensa, haec sollicita ex temeraria regis fiducia: quippe serie vinculorum ita adstricta, ut, unde nexus inciperet quove se conderet, nec ratione nec visu perspici posset, solvere adgressus iniecerat
curam ei, ne in omen verteretur irritum inceptum. 18 Ille nequaquam diu luctatus cum latentibus nodis, 'Nibil' ' inquit, 'interest, quomodo solvantur': gladioque ruptis omnibus loris oraculi sortem vel elusit vel inplevit.
19 Cum deinde Dareum, ubicumque esset, occupare statuisset, ut a tergo tuta relinqueret, Amphoterum classi ad oram Hellesponti, copiis autem praefecit Hegelochum, Lesbum et Chium Coumque
praesidiis hostium liberaturos. 20 His talenta ad belli usum quingen attributa: ad Antipatrum et eos, qui Graecas urbes tuebantur, sexcenta missa: ex foedere naves sociis imperata, quae Hellesponto
praesiderent. 21 Nondum enim Memnonem vita excessisse cognoverat, in quem omnes intenderat curas, satis gnarus cuncta in expedito fore, si nihil ab eo moveretur.
22 lamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat, ubi numero copiarum Venetos trahere originem credunt. 23 Omnis haec regio paruit


down to besiege Kydonia, which refiused to accede to his den
noney, and perished along with the greater part of his army
$103,1]$ In the tenth year ater the seizer 10.3.1] In the tenth year after the seizure of the sanctuary, Philip puu
an end to the war, which was called both the War of Phok ind the nend to the war, which was calle bohn the War of Phokis and the
Sacred War, in the year when Theophilus was arkhōn in Athens, which was the first of the hundred and eighth Olympiad at which
Polykles of Cyrene was victorious in the footrace Polykles of Cyrene was victorious in the foot-race. [3] The cities of
Phokis were captured and razed to the ground. The tale of them wa Phokis were captured and razed to the ground. The tale of them wa
ilaea, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Panopeus, and Daulis. These cities were distinguished in days of old, especially because of
the poetry of Homer [4] he poetry of Homer. [4]
10.3.2] The army of Xerxes, burning down certain of these, made hem better known in Greece, namely Erochus, Kharadra,
Amphicleia, Neon, Tithronium, and Drymaea. The rest of the cities of Phokis, except Elateia, were not famous in former times, I mean Trakhis-in-Phokis, Medeon-in-Phokis, Ekhedameia, Ambrossos,
Ledon, hhlygonion, and Stiris. On the occasion to which have
eferred all the cities enumerated were razed to the Ledon, Phlygonion, and Siris. On the occasion to which have
referred, all the cities enumerated were razed to the ground and their
people scattered in villages. The one exception to this tratment wa people scattered in villages. The one exception to this treatment was
Abae, whose citizens were free from impiety, and had no share in the seizure of the sanctuary or in the war
10.3.3] The e eople of Phokis were deprived of their share in the
eiphic sanctury and jelpenc sanctuary and in the Greek assembly, and their votes were
iven by the Amphiktyones to the Macedonians. Subsequently, owever, the cities of Phokis were rebuilt, and their inhabitants
estored from the villages to their native cities, save such as were prevented from being rebuilt by their original weakness and by the want of funds at the period of restoration. It was the Athenians and
Thebans who Thebans who brought back the inhabitants before the disaster of
Khaironeia befell the Greeks. [10.3.3.4 The people of Phokis took part in the battle of Khaironeia,
nd and afterwards fought at Lamia and Crannon against the
Macedonians under Antipatros. No Greeks were keener defenders against the Gauls and the Cheltic invaders than were the men of
Phokis, who considered that they were helping the god of Delphi, and at the same time, I take it, that they were making amends for the
old crimes they had committed.
PANOPEUS
10.4.1] Such
PA.4.1] Such were the memorable exploits of the men of Phokis.
rom Kha Thom Khaironeia, it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the peop government officics, no gommasium, no theater, no marratepsasec, no
water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters ust like mountain cabins, right on a ravine. Nevertheless, they have boundaries with their neighbors and even send delegates to the
assembly of Phokis. The name of the city is derived, they say, from ssembly of Phokis. The name of the city is derived, they say, from
the father of Eppios, and they maintain that they are not people of Phokis but were orignally Phlegyans who fled to Phokis from the
land of Orkhomenos. and of Orkhomenos.
10.4.2] A survey of th
10.4.2] A survey of the ancient circuit of Panopeus led me to guess To be about seven stades. I was reminded of Homer's verses about
Tityos, 5 ] where he mentions the city of Panopeus with its beautiful
dancing floors, and how in the fight over the body of dancing florrs, and how in the fight over the ebdy of Patroklos, he
says that Schedios, son of Iphitos and king of the people of Phokis says that Schedios, son of Iphitos and king of the people of Phokis,
who was killed by Hector, lived in Panopeus. [6] It seemed to me hat the reason why the king lived here was fear of the Boeotians; at this point is the easiest pass from Boeotia into Phokis, so the king
used Panopus as a fortifed post. 10.4.3] The former passage, in which Homer speaks of the beautifu
dancing floors of Panopeus, I could not understand until I was taug by the women whom the A theniains call Thyiads. The Thyiads are
bttic women, who with the Delphian women Attic women, who with the Delphian women go to Parnassos every
other year and celebrate orggies in honor of Dionysus. It is the custo ther year and celebrate orgies in honor of Dionysus. It is the custo
for these Thyiads to hold dances at places, including Panopeus, alon thought to referer to the dance of the Thyiads.
[10.4.4] At Panopens, there is by the roadside a small build in $10.44]$ At Panopeus, there is by the roadside a small building of
unburned brick, in which is an image of Pentelic marble, said by some to be Asklepios, by others, Prometheus. The latter produce

At this point Boethus the geometer - you know him, already well on his way into the Epicurean camp - broke in.
Boeth. "Have you ever heard the story of Pauson the painter?" Serap. "No, I have not."
Boeth. "Well, it's certainly worth hearing. It seems that he had contracted to paint a horse rolling, and not galloping. The buyer was
indignant; so Pauson laughed and turned the canvas upside down, indignant; so Pauson laughed and turned the canvas upside down,
with the result that the lower parts became the upper and there was with the result that the lower parts became the upper, and there was
the horse rolling, not galloping. So it is, Bion tells us, with certain sy horse rolling, not galloping. So it is, Bion tells us, with certain
syllogisms when converted. Thus some will tell us not that the
racles are quite beautiful because they are the Got's bet oracles are quite beautifull because they are the God's', but that they
re not the God's because they are bad! That point may be left re not the God's because they are bad! That point may be left
unsettled. But that the verses used in the oracles are bad poetry," he ontinued. "is made clear also in your judgement, my dear Serapion,
cont isn't it so? For you writie pooms which are severe and philosophical
in subject, but in force, grace, and diction are more like the work of in subject, but in force, grace, and diction are more like the work
Homer and Hesiod than like the utterances of the Pythi!"
VI. Serap. "Yes, we are sick, Boethus, sick in ear, and sick in eye. Luxury and softness have accustomed us to think things beautiful a hey are more sweet, and call them so. Soon we shall actually be
finding fault with the Pythia because she does not speak with a more thrilling voice than Glauce the singing-girl, or use costly ointments,
or put on purple robes to go down into the sanctuary, or burm on her censer cassia, mastic, and frankincense, rather than her own barley nd bay leaves. Do you not see," he went on, "what grace the songs
of Sappho have, how they charm and soothe the hearers, while the Sibyl' 'with raving mouth,' as Heraclitus says, 'utters words with no laugher, no adornment, no perfumes,' yet makes her voice carry to
en thousand years, because of the God. And Pindar tells us that en thousand years, because of the God. And Pindar tells us tha
Cadmus heard from the God 'right music, not sweet music, or delicate music, or twittering music. What is passionless and pure
gives no admission to pleasure; she was cast out in this very place, sives no admission to pleasure; she was cast out in this very place,
oogether with
pain; and the most of her has dribbled away, it seems, ogether with pain; ann
nto the ears of men."
III. When Serapion had done, Theon smiled Theon "Serapion has paid his usual tribute to his own proclivities,
naking capita out of the e turn which the about pain and pleasure! But for us, Boethus, even if these verses are inferior to Homer, let us never suppose that the God has composed hem; he only gives the initial impulse according to the capacity of each prophetess. Why, suppose the answers had to be written, not
spoken. I do not think we should suppose that the letters were made by God, and find fault with the calligrapaphy as below royal standard. he strain is not the God's, but the woman's, and so with the voice nd the phrasing and the metre; he only provides the fantasies, and
puts light into her soul to illuminate the future; for that is what inspiration is. To put it plainly, there is no escaping you prophets of Epicurus - yes, you too, Boethus, are drifing that way - you
blame those old prophetesses because they used bad poetry lame those old proptectsses cecause they used bad poetry, and you
Iso blame those of today because they use no poetry, and speak the first words which come, that they may not be assailed for delivering headless, hollow, crop-t-aialed lines.."
Diog. Do not jest, in Heaven's name, no! but help us to solve the Diog. "Do not jest, in Heaven's name, no! but help us to solve the
roblem, which interests us all. There is of a rational account of the fact that the oracle has ceased to use metre and poetry."
Theon "But
保
Theon "But right now, my young friend, we seemed to be doing a habby turn by the guides, keeping them from their proper dutites.
uffer them first to do their office; afterwards we shall discuss in peace whatever you wish."
VIII. Our round had now brought us in front of the statue of Hiero the tyrant. Most of the stories the foreign visitor knew well, but he
good-naturedly lent his ar to them. But at last, when he heard that good-naturedly lent his ear to them. But at last, when he heard that a
certain bronze pillar given by Hiero, which had been standing upright, fell of its own accord on the very day when Hiero died at
Syracuse, he showed surprise. I set myself to remember similar instances, such as the notable one of Hiero the Spartan, how before
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
god, under the form of a serpent, in the company of his wife. his way to the army in his firste expedition, told him the secret of his irth, 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?"


## 

## 



## 

## 

Alexanger wnus born the sixixh 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 Ephesus was burnt; which Hegesias of Magnesia makes the occasion
of a conceit, frigid enough to have stopped the conflagration. The
temple he temple, he says, took fire and was burnt while its mistress was
absent, assisting at the birth of Alexander. And all the Eastern
absent, assisting at the e birth of Alexander. And all the Eastern
soothsayers who oappened to be then at Ephesus, looking upon the
soothsayers who happened to be then at Ephesus, looking upon the
ruin of this temple to be the forerunner of some other calamity, ran
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 destructi
Asia.
Just after Philip had taken Potidaea, he received these three
Just after Philip had taken Potidaea, he received these three
messages at one time, that Parmenio had overthrown the ellyrians 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 games, and that his wife had given birth to Alexander; with which
being naturally well pleased, as an addition to his satisfaction, he being naturally well pleased, as an addition to his satisfaction, he
was assured by the diviners that a son, whose birth was accompanie
wist was assured by the diviners that a son, whose birth was accom
with three such successes, could not fail of being invincible.















spei, a Pharnabazo acciperet.
 2 Anxium de instantibus curis agitabant etiam per somnum species praesagientis accersiit. 3 C Castra Alexandrim magno ignis fulgore
conlucere ei visa sunt et puul post Aleander adduci ad ipsum in Conlucere ei visa sunt et paulo post Alexander adduci ad ipsum in eo
vestis habitu, quo quondam ipse fuisset, equo deinde per Babylona vestis habitu, quo quondam ipse fuisset, equo deinde per Babylona
vectus subito cum ipso equo oculis esse subductus. 4 Ad haec vates variai interpretatione curam distrinxerant: alii laetum id regi somnium
esse dicebant, quod castra hostium arsissent, quod Alexandrum esse dicebant, quod castra hostium arsissent, quod Alexandrum
deposita regia veste in Persico et vulgari habitu perductum ad se deposita regia veste in Persico et vulgari habitu perductum ad se
vidisset. 5 Quidam contra augurabantur: quippe illustria Macedonum castra visa fulgorem Alexandro portendere, quod vestem Persicam ac
vulgarem habuisset, haud ambigue regnum Asiae, quoniam in eodem habitu Dareus fuisset, cum appellatus est rex. 6 Veteran quoque in principio imperii vaginam acinacis Persicam iussisse mutari in in principio imperii vaginam acinacis Persicam ussisse mutari
eam formam, qua Graeci uterentur, protinusque Chaldaeos
interpretatos, imperium Persarum ad eos transiturum interpretatos, imperium Persarum ad eos transiturum, quorum arma
esset imitatus. 7 Ceterum ipse et vatum responso, quod edebatur in vulgus, et specie, quae per somnum oblata erat, admodum laetus vulgus, et specie, quae per somnum
castra ad Euphraten moveri iubet.
8 Patrio mopre Persarum traditiume. est orto sole demum procedere. Die
iam illustri signum e tabernaculo regis bucina dabatur. Super iam illustris signum e tabernaculo regis bucina dabatur. Super
tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago solis tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago solis
crystallo inclusa fulgebat. 9 Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis,
quem ipsi sacrum et eeternm quem ipsi sacrum et aeterrum vocabant, argenteis altaribus
praeferebatur. 10 Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant Magos praeferebatur. 10 Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. Magos
trecenti et sexaginta quinque iuvenes sequebantur puniceis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero: quippe Persis quoque in telai,
totidem dies discriptus est annus. 11 Currum deende Iovis sacratum
abentes vehebant equi: albentes vehebant equi: hos eximiae magnitudinis equus, quem Solis
appellabant, sequebatur. Aureae virgae et albae vestes regentes equo appellabant, sequebatur. Aureae virgae et albae vestes regentes
adornabant. 12 Haud procul erant vehicula decem multo auro
argentoque caelata. 13 Sequebatur haec equitatus duodecim gentium
variis armis et moribus. Proximi ibant, quos Persae Immortas
Variis armis et moribus. Proximi ibant, quos Persae Immortales
vocant ad decer mili Cultus oulentiue berbal
vocant, ad decem milia. Cultus opulentiae barbarae non alios magis
honestabat: illi aureos torques, illi vestem auro distinctam habebant honestabat: illi aureos torques, illi ivestem auro distinctam habebant
manicatasque tunicas, gemmis etiam adornatas. 14 Exiguo intervallo
quos quos cognatos regis appellant, decem et quingue milia hominum.
Heec vero turba, muliebriter propemodum culta, luxu magis quam Haec vero turba, muliebriter propemodum culta, luxu magis quam
decoris armis conspicua erat. 15 Doryphoroe vocabantur proximum his agmen, soliti vestem excipere regalem: hi currum regis anteibant, quo ipse eminens vehebatur. 16 Utrumquue currus latus deorum
simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabat. distingueb simulacra ex auro argentoque expressa decorabant: distinguebant
internitentes gemmae iugum, ex quo eminebant duo aurea simulacra intenitentes gemmae iugum, ex quu eminebant duo aurea simulacra
cubitalia, quorum alterum Nini, alterum erat Beli. Inter haec aquilam auream pinnas extendenti similem sacraverant. 17 Cultus regis inter omnia luxuria notabatur: purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat, pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se
concurrerent, 18 adornabant et zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma vagina erat. 19 Cidarim Persae
vocabant regium capitis insigne: hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta ocabant regium capitis insigne: hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta
circumibat. 20 Currum decem milia hastatorum sequebantur: hastas argento exornatas, spicula auro praefixa esestabant. 21 Dextra Ihgento exornatas, spicula auro pracilixa gestabaint. 21 Dern
laevauue eremem ducentiferme nobisissimi propinuorum
comitabantur. Horum agmen claudesatur trigita milibus peditu comitabantur. Horum agmen claudebatur triginta milibus peditum,
quos equi regis CCCC sequebantur. 22 Intervallo deinde unius stadii quos equi regis CCCC sequebantur. 22 Intervallo deinde unius
matrem Darei Sisigmabim currus vehbat et in alio erat coniux.
Turba feminarum reginas comitantium equis vectabatur. 23 Turba feminarum reginas comitantium equis vectabatur. 23 Qrant liberi regis et quaac educabaant eos spenabonum, seque grexantur. haud
sane illis gentibus vilis. 24 Tum regiae pelices trecentae et sexaginta sane illis gentibus vilis. 24 Tum regiae pelices trecentae et sexaginta
quinque vehebantur, et ipsae regali cultu ornatuque. Post quas
pecuniam regis sexcenti muli et trecenti cameli vehebant prasidio sagittariorum prosequente. 25 Propinquorum amicorumque coniuges Itimi erant cum suis quisque ducibus, qui cogerent vagmen, leviter Utitimi erant cum suis quisque ducibus, qui cogerent agmen, leviter
armati. 26 Contra si quis aciem Macedonum intueretur, dispar facies
in the bonds of wedlock. Indeed at this sight I should have cried out
for joy, "O dullard Xerxes, stupid fool that spent so much fruitless toil to bridge the Hellespont! This is the way that wise kings join
Asia with Europe; it is not by beams or rafts, nor by lifeless and unfeeling bonds, but by the ties of lawful love and chaste nuptials and mutual joy in children that they join the nations together."
8 Considering carefully this order of affairs, Alexander did not favour the Median raiment, but treferreded the Persian, for it was and theatrical larieties of foreign adornment, such as the tiara and the full-sleeved jacket and trousers, he wore a composite dress
adapted from both Persian and Macedonian fashion, as Eratoosthen has recorded. As a philosopher what he wore was a matter of indifference, but as sovereign of both nations and benevolent king he strove to acquire the goodwill of the conquered
by showing respect for their apparel, so that they might continue by showing respect for their apparel, so that they might continue
constant in loving the Macedonians as rulers, and might not feel hate oward them as enemies. Conversely it were the mark of an unwise and vainglorious mind to admire greatly a cloak of uniform colour and to be displeased bya tunic with a purple border, or again to
disdain those things and to be struck w with admiration for these, disdain those things and to be struck with admiration for these,
holding stubbornly, in the manner of an unreasoning child, to the raiment in which the custom of his sountry, like a nurse, , , to daterired
him. When men hunt wild animals, they put on the skins of der, and when they go to catch birds, they dress in tunics adorned with plumes and feathers; they are carefull not to be seen by bulls when they have on red garments, nor by elephants when dressed in white;
for these animals are provoked and made savage by the sight of the or these animals are provoked and made savage by the sight of the
particular colours. But if a great king, in taming and mollifying particular colours. But if a great king, in taming and mollifying
headstrong and warring nations, just as in dealing with animals, succeeded in soothing and stilliling them by wearing a garb familiar them and by following their wonted manner of life, thererby
conciliating their rough natures and smoothing their sulle brows conciliating their rough natures and smoothing their sullen brows,
can men impeach him? Must they not rather wonder at his wisdom, since by but a slight alteration of his apparel he made himself the popular leader of all Asia, conquerining their bodies by his arms, bu
winning over their souls by his apparel? And yet men marvel the the isning over their souls by his apparel? And yet men marvel at the
disciple of Socrates, Aristipus, that whether he wore a threadbare disciple of Socrates, Aristippus, that whether he wore a threadarare
cloak or a fine Milesian robe he retained his gentility in either; but they impeach Alexander because, although paying due respect to his
own national dress, he did not disdain that of his conquered subjects in establishing the beginnings of a vast empire. For he did not overrun Asia like a robber nor was he minded to tear and rend it, as if it were booty and plunder bestowed by unexpected sood fortune, after the manner in which Hannibal later descended
upon Italy, or as earlier the Treres descended upon Ionia and the upon tialy, or as eariier the freres descended upon Ionda ald the
Scythians upon Media. But Alexander desired to render all upon earth subject to one law of reason and one form of government and to reveal all men as one people, and to this purpose he made himself
conform. But if the deity that sent down Alexander's soul into this world of ours had not recalled him quickly, one law would govern mankind, and they all would look toward one rule of justice as thought toward a common source of light.
But as it is, that part of the world which has not looked upon Alexander has remained without sunlight.
9 Therefore, in the first place, the very plan and design of Alexander's expedition commends the man as a philosopher in his
purpose not to win for himself luxury and extravagant living but purpose not to win for himself luxury and extravagant living, but to
win for all men concord and peace and community of interests. And, in the second place, let us examine his sayings too, since it is by th
utterances49 that the souls of other kings and potentates also best reveal their characters. The elder Antigonus remarked to a certain
sophist who put in his hands a treatise on justice, "You are a fool to say anything about justice when you see me smiting other people's
ities. The despot Dionysius remarked that one should trick children with These are still mine - what I ate, and my wanton love-frolics.
of which is bige enought to fill a cart. They have the color of clay, not arthy clay, but such as would be found in a ravine or sandy torren,
and they and they smell very like the skin of a man. They say that these are
remains of the clay out of which the whole lineage of humankind was fashioned by Prometheus.
$[10.45]$ Here at the ravine is the
10.4.5] Here at the ravine is the tomb of Tityos. The circumference of the mound is just about one-third of a stade, and they say that the
vers in the Odyssey: Lying on the ground, and he lay over nine roods, Odyssey 11.57 refers, no to the size of Tityos, but to the place where he lay, the
name of which was Nine Roods. name of which was Nine Roods.
110.4.6] Kleon of Magnesia on the Hermos used to say that those men were incredulous of wonders who in the course of their own
ives had not met yet greater marvels. He declared that Tityos and lives had not met yet greater marvels. He declared that Tityos and
other monsters had been as tradition says they were. He happened, other monsters had been as tradition says they were. He happened,
he said, to be at Cadiz, and he, with the rest of the crowd, sailed for from the island in accordance with the command of Herakles, $[7]$ on their return to Cadiz, they found cast ashore a man of the sea, who
was about five roods in size and burning away, because he was was about five roods in size and burning away, because he was
lasted with a tho with a thunderbolt sent by the god [theos]

## DAULIS

[10.4.7] So said Kleon. About twenty-seeven stades distant from Panopeus is Daulis. The men there are few in number, but for size
and strength, no men of Phokis are more renowned even to this day. They say that the name of the city is derived from Daulis, a nymph, the daughter of the Kephisos. Others say that the place, on which tit
city was built, was wooded, and that such shaggy places [dasea] were called daula by the ancients. For this reason, they say,
sasea]
dity Aeschylus called the beard of Glaukos of Anthedon hypene daulos. [10.4.8] Here in Daulis the women are said to have served up to
Tereus his own son, which act was the first pollution of the dining Tereus his own son, which act was the first pollution of the dining table among men. The hoopoe, into which they say Tereus was
changed, is a bird a little larger than the quail, while the feathers on its head rise into the shape of a crest.
[10.4.9] It is noteworthy
10.4 .9 II is noteworthy that in Phokis swallows neither hatch nor
lay eggs; in fact, no swallow would even make house. The people of Phokis say that even when Philomela was a bird, she had a terror of Tereus and so kept away from his country. At Daulis is a sanctuary of Athena with an ancient image. The wooden image, of an even edlior did, the Daulians say was broug
from Athens by Procne.

## ear daulis

[10.4.10] In the territory of Daulis is a place called Tronis. Here has cen built a shrine of the founder hero. This founder is said by some
to have been Xanthippos, a distinguished soldier; others say that he was Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphus. At any rate, he is worshipped every day, and the people of Phokis bring victims and
wont to consume on the spot.
10.51 IThere is also an ascent through Daulis to the summit of
Parnasso arrassos, a longer one than that from Delphi, though not so
difficult. Turning back from Daulis to the straight road to Joing forwards, you see on the left of the road a building called the Phocian Building of the People of Phokis, where assemble the hocian Burding och city of Phokis.
delegates from eal
$10.5 .2]$ The building is largo
[10.5.2] The building is large, and within are pillars standing
throughout its length. From the pillars rise steps to each wall, on throughout its length. From the pillars rise steps to each wall, on
which steps the delegates of Phokis take their seats. At the end are
neither pillars nor steps, but images of Zeus Athe neither pillars nor steps, but images of Zeus, Athena, and Hera. That
of Zeus is on a throne; on his right stands Hera, on his left, Athena. the cleft road
[10.5.3] Going forward from here, you will come to a road called the Cleft Road, the very road on which Oedipus slew his father. Fate
would have it that memorials of the sufferings of Codipus should be left throughout the length and width of Greece. At his birth, they leff throughout the length and width of Greece. At his birth, they
pieced his ankles with goads and exposed him on Mount Cithaeron
is death at Leuctra the eyes fell out of his statue, and the gold stars Aegospotami. And then the had dedicated after the naval battle of ut into such a growth of weeds and prass that the face was hidden At the time of the Athenian disaster in Syracuse, the golden berries kept dropping off from the palm trees, and crows chipped the shield Philomelus, tyrant of Phocis, had given to Pharsalia the dancing gill caused her death, as she was playing near the temple of Apollo on
Metapontum, after she had removed from Greece into Italy: for young men made a rush for the crown and in their struggle with one nother for the gold, they tore her limb from limb. Now Aristotle
ssed to say that Homer is the only poet who made "words which sti, sed to say that Homer is the only poet who made "words which stit
because of their energy." But I would say that there have been votiv offerings sent here which have movement in a high degree, and help the God's foreknowledge to signify things, that none of them is void
or without feeling, but all are full of Divinity.
Boeth. "Very good! So it is not enough to shut the God into a mortal Boeth. "Very good! So it is not enough to shut the God into a mortal body once every month. We will also knead him into every morsel of
stone and brass, to show that we do not choose to hold Fortune, or Spontaneity, a sufficient author of such occurrences." Phil. "Then in your opinion," I said, "each of the occurrences looks
ke Fortune or Spontaneity; and it seems probable to you that the toms glided forth, and were dispersed, and swerved, not sooner and
ot later, but at the precise moment when each of the ded icators was of later, but at the precise momen when each of the dedicators wa fare worse or better. Epicurus helps you now by what he said or
wrote three hundred years agos but the God, unless he take and shut himeslf up in all things, and be mingled with all, cannoty yout think,

istiate movement, or cause change of condition in anything which | in |
| :--- |
| initiate |
| is." |

X. Such was my answer to Boenhus, and to he same erfect about the Sibl and her utterances. For when we stood near the rock by the seated on her arrival from Helicon, where she had been brought up by the Muses (though others says that she came from the Maleans, and was the daughter of Lamia the daughter of Poseidon), Serapion ever cease from prophesying, even after death, but will herself go ever cease from prophesying, even after death, but will hersself go
ound in the moon, being turned into what we call the "bright face" While her breath is mingled with the air and borne about in rumours nd voices for ever and ever; and her body within the earth is
ransformed, so that from it spring grass and weeds, the pasture of ansformed, so that from it spring grass and weeds, the pasture of nd qualities by which men obtain forecasts of future things. Here Boethus made his derision still more evident.
The foreign visitor observed that, although these things have a The foreign visitor observed that, although these things have a
yythical appearance, yet the prophecies are atested by many uprootings and removoll of Grreek cities, inroads of barbarian hordes,
nd the overthrow of dynasties and the overthrow of dynasties.
Diog. "These still recent troubles at Cumae and Dicearchia, 1 were Diog. "These still recent troubles at Cumae and Diccarchia, 1 we
they not long ago foretol in the songs of the Sibyl; so that TTime was
nuly discharging his debts in the fires which have burst out of nountains, the boiling seas, the masses of burning rocks tossed alof by the winds, the ruin of cities many and great, so that if you visit
hem in broad daylight you cannot get a clear idea of the site, the hem in broad daylight you cannot get a clear idea of the site, the
ground being covered with confused ruins? It is hard to believe that sround being covered with confused ruins? Th it hard to believe that
uch things have happene at all, ,etalone that they were predicted
ong ago -unless with divine assistance."
X. Boeth. "My good Sir, what does happen in Nature which is not Time paying his debts? Of all the strange, unexpected things, by la or sea, among cities and men, is there any which some one might no
oretell, and then, after it has, hapened find himself right? Yet this Soretll, and then, anter alla iappened, find himself right? Yet this words into the infinite, with no principle in them. They wander about, and sometimes Fortune meets them and falls in with them; bu
it is all chance. It is one thing, I think, when what has been foretold is and
appens, and quite another when what will happen is foretold. Any appens, and quite another when what will happen is foretodid.
statement made about things then non-existent contains intrinsic







The statues that gave the ebest representation of Alexander's person were those of Lysippus by whom alone he would suffer his image 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 and of a li
breast.
Aristoxen
exhaled fit
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 caus of which might trobably be the hot and adust temperament of his 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
he best kind and in the greatest quantity; for the heat of the sun 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 his very childhood, as he was with much difficulty incited to them, and always used them with great moderation; though in other
things be was extremely eager and vehement, and in his love of glory, and the pursuit of it, he showed a solidity of high spirit and magnanimity far above his age. For he neither sought nor valued it 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 he answered, he would, if he might have kings to vun with him. Indeed, he seems in general to have looked with indifference, if not
with dislike, with dislike, upon the professed athletes. He often appointed prizes,
for which not only tragedians and muscians, for which not only tragedians and musicians, pipers and harpers, , but
hapsodists also, strove to outvie one another, and delighted in all hapsodists also, strove to outvie one another, and delighted in al
manner of hunting and cudgel-playing, but never gave any .















equis virisque nor auro, non discoloi veste, sed ferro atque aere falgentibus: 27 agmen et stare paratum et sequi, nec turba nec sarcinis praegrave, intentum ad ducis non signum modo, sed etiam
nutum. Et castris locus et exercitui commeatus suppetebant. 28 Ergo Alexandro in acie miles non defuit: Dareus, tantae multitudinis rex, loci, in quo pugnavit, angustiis redactus est ad paucitatem, quam in Caput IV
Caput IV
1 Interea Alexander Abistamene Cappadociae praeposito Ciliciam petens cum omnibus copiis in regionem, quae castra Cyri appellatur, Lydiam duceret. 2 Aberat ea regio quinquaginta stadia ab aditu, quo
ciliciam intramus: Pylas incolae dicunt artissimas fauces nunimenta, quae manus poonimus, naturali situ imitantes. 3 Igitur Arsames, qui Ciliciae praeerat, reputans, quid initio belli Memno
suasisset, quondam salubre consilium sero exequi statuit: igni suasisset, quondam salubre consilium sero exequi statuit: igni
ferroque Ciliciam vastat, ut hosti solitudinem faciat: quidquid usui potest esse, corrumpit sterile ac nudum solum, quod tueri nequibat,
relicturus. 4 Sed longe utilius fuit angustias aditus, qui Ciliciam relicturus. 4 Sed longe utilius fuit angsustias aditus, qui Ciliciaiam
aperit, valido occupare praesidio iugumque opportune itineri aperit, valido occupare praesidio iugumque opportune itineri
imminens obtinere, unde inultus subeuntem hostem aut prohibere aut opprimere potuisset: 5 nunc paucis, qui callibus praesiderent, relictis retro ipse concessit, populatar terrae, , cuam a populationibus
vindicare debebat. Ergo qui relicti rant prodito se rati ne
vindicare debebat. Ergo qui relictie erant, proditos se rati ne
conspectum quidem hostis sustinere valuerunt, cum vel pauciores locum obtinere potuissent. 6 Namqua verpetuo iugo montis asperi ac praerupti Ciliciaia includititur: quod cum a a mari adsurgat, velut sinu
quodam flexuque curvatum, , ursus altero cornu in diversum litus quodam flexuque curvatum, rursus altero cornu in diversum litus
excurrit. 7 Per hoc dorsum,
隹 maxime intros excurrit. 7 Per hoc dorsum, qua maxime introrsus mari cedit, asperi
res aditus et perangusti sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est. 8 Campestris eadem, qua vergit ad mare, planitiem eius crebris istinguentibus rivis: Pyramus et Cydnus, inclitit amnes, fluunt.
Cydnus non spatio aquarum, sed liguore memorabilis, Cydnus non spatio aquarum, sed liquore memorabilis, quippe leni
tractue fontibus labens puro solo excipitur nec torrentes incurrunt, qui placide manantis alveum turbent. 9 Itaque incorruptus idemque rigidissimus, quippe multa riparum amoenitate inumbratus, ubique monumenta vulgata carminibus vetustas exederat. Monstrabantur onumenta vulgata carminibus vetustas exederat. Monstrabantur Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur, ceteraque, in quibus nihil raeter famam duravera
Alexander facces iugi, quae Pylae appellantur, intravit. felicitatem suam: obrui potuisse vel saxis confitebatur, si fuissent qui in subeuntes propellerent. 12 Iter vix quaternos capiebat armatos:
dorsum montis imminebat via non angustae modo sed plerumque praeruptae, crebris oberrantibus rivis, qui ex radicibus montium manant. 13 Thracas tamen leviter armatos praecedere iusserat
scrutarique calles, ne occultus hostis in subeuntes erumperet. Sagittariorum quoque manus occupaverat iugum: intentos arcus Sagittariorum quoque manus occupaverat iugum: intentos arcus
habebant moniti, non iter ipsos inire, sed proelium. 14 Hoc modo agmen pervenit ad urbem Tarson, cui tum maxime Persae subiciciebant ignem, ne opulentum oppidum hostis invadedere. 15 At
ilie Parmenione ad inhibendum incendium cum expedita manu praemisso, postquam barbaros adventu suorum fugatos esse cognovit, urbem a se conservatam intrat.
Caput V
Cy aestas Cydnus amnis, de quo paulo ante dictum est, interfluit. Et nc aestas erat, cuius calor non aliam magis quam Ciliciae oram Pulvere simul ac sudore perfusum regem invitavit liguor fluminis,, , yildum adhuc corpus ablueret. Itaque veste deposita in conspectu
agminis - decorum quoque futurum ratus, si ostendisset suis, levi e Vixque ingressi subito horrore artus rigere coecperunt, pallor deinde fusus est et totum propemodum corpus vitalis calor liquit. 4 Epiranti similem ministri manu excipiunt nec satis compotem
mentis in tabernaculum deferunt. Ingens sollicitudo et paene iam Sardanapalus's love of pleasure, Dionysius's impiety, and Alexander's sayings his crown, his relationship with Ammon, and his they will appear to you as the utterances a Socrates or a Plato or a Pythagoras. Let us, then, pay no heed to the proud boasts which the poets inscribed upon his portraits and statues, studying, as they we
o portray, not Alexander's moderation, but his power: Eager to speak seems the statue of bronze, up to Zeus as it gazes: Earth I have set under foot; Zeus, keep Olympus yourself." And another man makes Alexander say, "I am the son of Zeus.
These expressions, then, as I have said, the poets addressed to These expressions, then, as thave said, the
Alexander in flatery of his good fortune.
But of the genuine sayings of Alexander we might first review those of his youth.
Since he was the swiftest of foot of all the young men of his age, his Since he was the swiftest of foot of alt the young men of his age, his
comrades urged him to nter the Olympic games. He asked if the
competitors were kings, and when his friends replied that they were comrades urged him co enter whe his ficiends repplied that they were
competiors were ings, and whe hen
not, he said that the contest was unfair, for it was one in which a not, he said that the contest was unfair, for it was one in which a
victory would be over commoners, but a defeat would be the defeat victory would be over commoners, but a defeat would be the defea.
of a king.
When the thigh of his father Philip had been pierced by a spear in When the thigh of his father Phiilp had been pierced by a spear in
battle with the Triballians, and Philip, although he escaped with his
life, was veeed with his lameness. Alexander said, .Be of good life, was vexed with his lameness, Alexander said, "Be of good
cheer, father, and go on your way rejoicing, that at each step you may recall your valour." Are not these the words of a truly philosophic spirit which, because of it s rapture for noble things,
already revolts against mere physical encumbrances? How, then, already revolts against mere physical encumbrances? How, then,
hink you, did he glory in his own wounds, remembering by each think you, did he glory in his own wounds, remembering by each
part of his body affected a nation overcome, a victory won, the capture of cities, the surrender of kevings? He did not cover over nor
hide his scars, but bore them with him penty ide his scars, but bore them with him openly a s symbolic
tepresentions, graven

0 And in the same spirit if ever there chanced to be in hours of eas or at a banquet a comparison of the verses of Homer, each man the greatest of all:
Both things is he: both a goodly king and a warrior mighty. This praise, which at the time it was written another had received, Alexander concenved to be a a aw for himself, so that he said of
Homer that in this same verse he had honoured the manly courage of Agamemnon and prophesied that of Alexander. Accordingly when he had crossed the Hellespont, he went to see the site of Troy, magining to himself he heroic deeds enacted there; and when one
of the natives of the country promised to give him the lyre of Paris, of the natives of the country promised to give him the lyre of Paris
he wished it, Alexander said, "Of his lyre I have no need; for I already possess Achilles' lyre to the accompaniment of which, as he rested from his labours, he sang the famed deeds of heroes.
But the lyre of Paris gave forth an altogether weak and womanish Sut the lyre of Paris gave forth an altogether weak and womanish
train to accompany his love songs." Thus it is the mark of a truly strain to accompany his love songs." Thus it is the mark of a truly
philosophic soun to be in love with wistom and to admire wise me most of all, and this was more characteristic of Alexander than of
any other king. His attitude toward Aristotle has already teen state any other king. His attitude toward Aristotle has already been stated,
and it is recorded by several authors that he considered the musician Anaxarchus the most valuable of all his friends, that he gave ten housand gold pieces to Pyrrhon of Elis the first time he met him, hat he sent to Xenocraes, the friend of Plato, fifty talents as a gift,
and that he made Onesicritus, the pupil of Diogenes the Cynic, chie and that he madee
pilot of his fleet.
But when he came to talk with Diogenes himself in Corinth, he was So awed and astounded with the life and the worth of the man that often, when remembrance of the philosopher came to him, he would
say, "If I were not Alexander, I should be Diogenes, "that is to say:
"If say, In were not Alexander, 1 should be Digenes, that is to say. theoretical pursuit." He did not say, "IfI I were not a a ing , , should be be
Diogenes," nor "If I were not rich and an Argead"; for he did not Diogenes," nor "If I were not rich and an Argead"; for he did not
rank Fortune above Wisdom, nor a crown and royal purple above the
in Plataean territory. $[8]$ Corinth and the land at the Isthmus were scenes of his upbringing. Phokis and the Cleft Road received the otorious for the marriage of Oedipus and for the sin of Eteokles. 10.5.4] The Cleft Road and the rash deed committed on it by
Oedipus were the Oedipus were the beginning of his troubles, and the tombs of Laios,
and the servant who followed him are still just as they were in the very middle of the place where the three roads meet, and over then
have been piled unhewn stones. According to the story it was have been piled unhewn stones. According to the story, it was
Damasistratos, king of Plataea, who found the bodies lying and uried them.

## DELPHI, MYTHICAL HISTORY

10.5.5) From here, the high road to Delphi becomes both steeper
and more difficult fo the walker. Many mold about Delphi for the walker. Many and different are the stories hey say that in the earliest times, the oracular seat belonged to Earth who appointed as prophetess at it Daphnis, one of the nymphs of the 10.5.5] There is extant among the Greeks an hexameter poem, the name of which is Eumolpia, and it is assigned to Musaeus, son of
Antiophemus. In it, the poet states that the oracle belonged to Antiophemus. In it, the poet states hat hhe oracle belonged to but Poseidon used Pyrcon as his mouthpiece in giving responses.
The verses are these: The verses are these:
Forthwith the voice of the Earth goddess uttered a wise word,

And with her Pyrcon, servant of the renowned Earth-shaker.
[Musaew, E Eumolp: They say that afterwards Earth gave heve to Poseidon Kalaurei
to Apollo as a gift It is said that he gave lies off Trozen, in exchange for his oracle. 10.5.7] I have heard too that shepherds feeding their flocks came apon the oracle, were inspired by the vapor, and prophesied as the Phemonoe was the first prophetess of the god, and first sang in hexameter verse. Boeo, a native woman who composed a hymn for he Delphians, said that the oracle was established for the god by first to prophesy and the first to chant the hexameter oracles.
1.0.5] first to prophesy and of Rooo are:
$10.5 .8]$ The verses
Here in truth, a mindful oracle was built
By the sons of the Hyperboreans, Pagasus, and divine Agyieus.
After enumerating others also of the Hyperboreans, at the end of the
hymn she names olen:
hymn she names olen:
And Olen, who became the first prophet of Phoebus,
Boeo, work unknown Tradition, however, reports no other man as prophet but makes nention of prophetesses only.
$10.59)$.
[10.5.9] They say that the most ancient temple of Apollo was made Tempe. This temple must have wad the form of a hut. The Delphians
say that the secont teme say that the second temple was made by bees from bees' wax and
feathers and that it was sent to the Hyperboreans by Apollo [10.5.10] Another story is current, that the temple was set up by a Delphian, whose name was Pteras, and so the temple received its name from the builder. After this, Peras, so they say, the city in Crete was named, with the addition of a letter, Apterei. The story
that the temple was built of the fern [pteris] that grows on the hat the temple was built of the fern [pteris t that grows on the
mountains, by interweaving fresh stalks of it, I Io not accept at all. nountans, by interweaving fresh stalk of it It I o not accept at all.
10.5 .111 It is no wonder that the third temple was made of bronze, seeing that Akrisios made a bedchamber of bronze for his daughter
he Lacedaemonians still possess a sanctuary of Athena of the he Lacedaemonians still possess a sanctuary of Athen of the
Bronze House, and the Roman forum, a marvel for its size and style, Bronze House, and the Roman forum, a marvel for its size and style,
possesses aroof of bronze. So it would not be unlikely that a temple
of bronze was made for Apollo. of bronze was made for Apollo.
[10.5.12] The rest of the story Ic
was the work of Hephaistos, or what they say about the golden singers, referred to by Pindar in his verses about this bronze temple.
cident; nor is it it to await the confirmation which comes from hat the thing happened after it was foretold; for Infinity will bring 11 things. No, the 'good guesser', whom the proverb 2 has announc ate the best prophet, is like a man who hunts on the tail of the
future, by the help of the plausible. These Sibyls and Bacises threw into the sea, that is, into time, without having any real clue, nouns
nd verbs about troubles and occurrences of every description. Som and verbs about troubles and occurrences of every description. Some
of these prophecies came about, but they were lies; and what is now pronounced is a lie like them, even if, later on, it should happen to lurn out true."
XI. When Boethus had finished, Serapion spoke.

Serap. "The case is quite fairly put by Boethus against prophecies so
Sol indefinitely worded as as those he mentionst, with no basis of
dircumstance: If victory has been foretold to a general he ircumstance: 'If victory has been foretold to a general, he has
conquered; If the destruction of a city, it is overthrown.' But where onquered, If the destuccion of a city, it is overthrow. But where
not only the thing which is to happen is stated, but also the how, the when, after what event, with whose help, then it is not a guess at ings which will pertaps be b clear prediction of things which Ail certainly be. Here are the lines with referen
Agesilaus: 3
Sure though thy feet, proud Sparta, have a care,
Uure though thy feet, proud Sparta, have a care,
lame king's reign may see thee trip - Beware
Troubles unlooked for long shall vex thy shore,
And rolling Time his tide of carnage pour.
And then again those about the island 4 which the sea threw up of
Thera and Therasia, and upon the war between Philip and the
omans:
When Trojan race the victory shall win
rom Punic foe, lo! wonders shall begin
Unearthly fires from out the sea shall begin; flash,
Whirlwinds toss stones aloft, and thunder crash,
An isle unnamed,unknown, shall stand upright,
An isle unnamed, unknown, shall stand upright,
The weak shall beat the stronger in the fight.
What happened within a short time - that the Romans mastered the
Carthaginians, and brought the war with Philip to a finishs, that Philt
met the Aetolians and Romans in battle and was defeated, and lastly hat an island rose out of the depths of the sea with much fire and oiling waves - could not all be set down to chance and pontaneous occurrence. Why, the order emphasizes the live hundred years before the event, ps that in which they were to be勆 war with all the races at once, which meant the war with the slave after their revolt. In all this nothing is unascertainable, the story is ot left in dim light to be groped out with reference to Fortune 'in
Infinity', it gives many securities, and is open to trial, it point the nfinity', it gives many securities, and is open to trial, it points the
oad which the destined event is to tread. For I do not think that any one will say that the agreement with the details as foretold was accidental. Otherwise, what prevents some one else from saying that
Epicurus did not write his Leading Principles for our use, Boethus, epicurus did not write toe Ler by chance and just spontaneously,
but that the letters fell together by and so the book was finished off?"
XII. While we were talking thus, we were moving forward. In the store-house of the Corinthians we were looking a the goldden palm nakes embossed round the roots caused much surprise to Diogenianus, and for the matter of that, to us. For the palm tree is
not, like many others, a marshy or water-loving plant, nor have fro nything specially to do with the Corinthians. Thus they must be a symbolical or canting device of that city, just as the men of Selinus re said to have dedicated a golden plant of parsley ( $\sigma \dot{\lambda}$ ivov), and
hose of Tenedos the axe, because of the crabs found round the plac whice of Tenedos the exee, because of the crabs found round the place an axe on the shell. Yet the God himself is supposed to have a
partiality for crows and swans and wolves and hawks, for anything partiaility for crows and swans and wolves and hawks, for anything
rather than beasts like crabs. Serapion observed that the artist itended a veiled hint at the sun drawing his aliment and origin from exhalations out of moist plants, whether he had it from Homer,






Whiteave vixe xópav.
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 affability, and the questions he asked them, which were far from
being childish or trifling (for he inquired of them the length of the ways, the nature of the road into inner Asia, the character of their king, how he carried himself to his enemies, and what forces he was im, 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 nothing in comparison with the forwardness and high purpose that
appeared thus early in his son. Whenever he heard Philip had taken any town of importance, or won any signal victory, instead of
rejoicing at it altogether, he would tell his companions that his fathe rejoicing at it altogether, he would tell his companions that his fathe
would anticipipate 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 ather as a he esteemed all that he should receive from his father as a
diminution and prevention of his own future achievements; and
would have chosen rether to succeed to a kingdom involved in would have chosen, rather to succeed to a kingdom involved din
troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercis troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercis
of his courage, and a large field of honour, than to one already of his courage, and a large field of honour, than to one already
flourishing and settled, where his inheritance would be an inactive liourishing and settled, where his inheritance would
life, and the mere enjoyment of wealth and luxury. The care of his education, as it meatht be presumed., was committed
to a great many attendants, preceptors, and teachers over the to a great many attendants, preceptors, and teachers, over the whole of whom Leoonidas, 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 woble and honourable office, but in general his dignity, and his near relationship, obtained him from other people
the title of Alexander's foster-father and governor But he who took upon him the actual place and style of his pedagogue was
Lysimachus the Acarnanian, who, though he had nothing to
Lecommend him, but his lucky fancy of calling himself Phoenix,
Alexander Achilles and Philin Peles, was the
Alexander Achilles sand Phiip Peleus, was therefore well enoug

## 

 cov, кazéß $\quad \sigma a v$ घiç тò $\pi \varepsilon \delta i ́ o$

















uctus in castris erat. 5 Flentes querebantur, in tanto impetu cursuque rerum omnis aetatis ac memoriae clarissimum regem non in acie esse et extinctum. 6 Instare Dareum, victorem, antecuuam vidissset hostem. Sibi easdem terras, quas victoria peragrassent, repetendas: omnia aut ipsos aut hostes populatos: per vastas solitudines, etiamsi nemo insequi velit, euntes fame atque inopia debellari posse. 7 Quen
signum daturum fugientibus? quem ausurun Alexando Iam ut ad Hellespontum fuga penetrarint, classem, qua transeant, quem praeparaturum? 8 Rursus in ipsum regem misericordia versa illum florem iuventae, illam vim animi, eundem regem et
comilitonem divelli a se e tabrumpi inmemores sui querebantur 9 commilitonem divelli a se et abrumpi inmemores sui querebantur. 9
Inter haec liberius meare spiritus coeperat adlevabatque rex oculos aulatim redeunte animo circumstantes amicos agnoverat: laxataque is morbi ob hoc solum videbatur, quia magnitudinem mali sentieba Animi autem aegritudo corpus urguebat, quippe Dareum quinto victoriam eripi sibi ex manibus obscuraque et ignobili morte in tabernaculuo extingui se querebatur. 11 Admissisque amicis pariter medicis: 'In quo me', inquit, 'articullo rerum mearum fortuna deprehenderit, cernitis. Strepitum hostilium armorum exaudire mini
videor et, qui ultro intuli ienlum, iam provocor. 12 Dareus ergo cum
tam sueprias litteras scriberet, fortunam meam in consilio habuit: tam superbas litteras scriberet, fortunam meam in consilio habuit:
sed nequiquam, si mihi arbitiro meo currari licet. 13 Lenta remedia et sed nequiquam, si mihi arbitiro meo curari fice.. 13 Lota
segnes medicos non expectant tempora mea: vel mori strenue quam tarde
convalescere mihi melius est. Proinde, si quid opis, si quid artis in medicis est, sciant, me non tam mortis quam belli remedium quaerere.'. 14 Ingentem omnibus incusserat curam tam pracecps
temeritas eius. Ergo pro se quiscue precari coepere, ne festinatione temeritas eius. Ergo pro se quisque precari coepere, ne festinatione
periculum augeret, sed esset in pootestate medentium: 15 inexperta remedia haud iniuria ipssis esse suspecta, cum ad perniciem eius miam a latere ipsius pecunia sollicitaret hostis. 16 Quippe Dareus Itaque ne ausurum quidem quemquam arbitrabantur experiri remedium, quod propter novitatem posset esse suspectum.

## Caput VI

1 Erat inter nobiles medicos, ex Macedonia regem secutus, Philippus, natione Acarnan, fidus admodum regi: puero comes et
custos salutis datus non ut regem modo, sed etiam ut alumnum eximia caritate diligebat. 2 Is non pracecps se, sed strenuum esse promisit. 3 Nulli promissum eius placebat praeter ipsum, cuius periculo pollicebatur. Omnia quippe facilius quam moram perpeti poterat: arma et acies in oculis erant et victoriam in eo positam esse
arbitrabatur, si tantum ante signa stare potuisset, id ipsum, quod post diem tertium medicamentum sumpturus esset - ita enim medicus praedixerat - aegre ferens. 4 Inter haec a Parmenione, fidissimo purpuratorum, litteras accipit, quibus ei denuntiabat, ne salutem
suam Philin, suam Philippo committeret: mille talentis a Dareo et spe nuptiarum
sororis eius esse corrupum. 5 Ingentem animo sollicitudinem litterae incusserant et, quidquid in utramque partem aut metus aut spes subiecerat, secreta aestimatione pensabat. 6 'Bibere perseverem, ut,
venenum datum fuerit, ne immerito quidem, quidquid acciderit, venenum datum fuerit, ne immerito quidem, quidquid acciderit,
evenisse videatur? Damnem medici fidem? in tabernaculo ergo me opprimi patiar? At satius est alieno me mori scelere, quam metu nostro.' 7 Dia a animo in diversav versato nullic, quid scriptum esset, enuntiat epistolamquue sigillo anuli sui inpresso pulvino, cui
incubabat, subiecit. 8 Inter has cogitationes biduo absumpto illuxit a medico destinatus dies, et ille cum poculo, in quo medicamentum
iluerat intravit 9 Quo viso Alexander levato corpore in cubili diluerat, intravit. 9 Quo viso Alexander levato corpore in cubili
epistolan a Parmenione missam sinistra manu tenens accipit epistolam a Parmenione missam sinistra manu tenens accipit poculum et haurit interritus: tum epistolam legere Philippum iubet
nec a vultu legentis movit oculos, ratus alicuas conscientiae notas in
ipso ore posse deprehendere. 10 Ille epistola pertecta plus ipso ore posse deprehendere. 10 IIle epistola perlecta plus
indignationis quam pavoris sostendit proectisque amiculo et litteris pependit, sed nunc increre, arbitror, sacro et venerabili ore tuo trahitur.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | patere medicamentum concipi venis: laxa paulisper animum, qu intempestiva sollicitudine amici sane fideles, sed moleste seduli |
|  |  |  |  | turbant.' Non securum modo |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| there it is said that there are certain holy men, a law unto themselves, |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | $\mathfrak{d e}$ |  |  |
| For they do not store up food, since they have it ever fresh and grea | he had two fathers; one, they say, was the god Poseidon, the human |  |  |  |
| he |  |  |  |  |
| fallen leaves | $\begin{aligned} & \text { glen. } \end{aligned}$ |  |  | potuit, primum animus vigorem suum, deinde |
|  | [10.6.2] Now this city, so the story goes on, was flooded by the rains |  |  |  |
| foreign states with the impress of Greek government. |  |  |  | 17 Nec avidius ipsum regem quam Philippum intuebatur exercitus: pro se quisque dextram eius amplexi grates habebant velut praesenti |
| 11 Very well. Do Alexander's actions, then, reveal the caprice of |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| did all things with sober and sane judgement? For, by Heaven, it is impossible for me to distinguish his several actions and say that this |  |  |  |  |
| betokens his courage, this his humanity, this his self-control, but |  |  |  |  |
| rms |  |  |  | que paulum a pri nii dotibus vel a |
| ery act | a aborigine, had a daughter | $\mathrm{ma}_{\mathrm{by}}^{\mathrm{ma}}$ |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| virtues and directs them toward the goal. Certainly one may observe |  | XIII. Next Serapion asked the guide the real reason why they call the |  | 1 At Dareus nuntio de adversa valitudine eius accepto celeritate, |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| his relaxation not |  |  |  |  |
| ings and nuptial songs with sieges and battle-fied |  |  |  |  |
| was ever more hostile to wrongdoers or kinder to the | Pythes was a son of Delphus and that because he was king, the cit was called Pytho. But the most widespread tradition has it that the |  |  | inde pro salute suscepta per ludum atque otium reddens ostendit, |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| sccurs to me to introduce here an inc |  |  |  |  |
| con |  |  |  غ̇лıбт каі̀ катд̀ đòv इо甲оклદ́а |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| $\text { g. } \mathrm{H}$ |  |  |  | angustiis eius occupatis et praesidio modico relicto Isson quoque desertam a barbaris ceperat Inde progressus deturbatis, qui interio |
| ongt the captive maidens, yet he did not offer any vid | rich men. But when he was making a second expedition, the |  |  |  |
| but made |  |  |  |  |
| sacrifice nor rais | [10.6.7] Phemonoe, the prophetess of that day, gave them an oracle |  |  |  |
| ugh to conceal the divine retribution that waits upon the lot of |  |  |  |  |
| s. "Like a philosopher!" Once when he was reading a idential letter from his mother, and Hephaestion, who |  | Serap. "Bless you, friend; why so vexed at that? Carry your eyes upwards, and behold among the generals and kings the golden |  <br>  | s, cum angustiae multitudinem non caperent. Plani sque esse vitandos, ubi circumiri, ubi ancipiti acie |
| pened, was sitting beside him, was quite openly readin | [10.7.1] It seems that from the beginning, the sanctuary at Delphi has | Mnesarete, which Crates called a standing trophy of the lewdness of |  | opprimi possent: timere, ne non virtute hostium, sed lassitudin |
|  | , | 倍 |  | potuissent. 10 Facilie ratio tam salubris consilii accepta est. Itaque |
| fidence. "Like a philosopher!" For if these actions be not hilosopher, what others are? |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | hundred bronze statues, some of gods, some of men. |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| , |  |  |  |  |


|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | Alexandrum saepe deferre temptavit, sed cum tot curis apparatuque belli regem videret urgueri, aptius subinde tempus expectans |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| tes |  |  |  |  |
| ase of philosophy Alexander had need of we hit upon such men. How many times has |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { kiss } \\ & \text { war } \end{aligned}$ |  | agmine a Cretensibus haud dubie iussu regis occisus. |
| xander said this when forcing an attack amid a shower of | lou |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| to face | but even though he had learned to play the harp, he would h found the skill useless, owing to the loss of his eyesight. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { the } \\ & \text { The } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \mathrm{col} \\ & \mathrm{cos} \end{aligned}\right.$ |
| all his calculations in the face of danger, and the |  |  |  |  |
| naginings of perils close at hand dispel his powers of | [10.7.4] In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, [12] at which | Cr |  |  |
| hy has drawn her cords about them. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { for } 1 \\ & \text { play } \\ & \text { wer } \end{aligned}$ | $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered} \mathrm{agg} \\ \text { woi } \\ \text { wole } \end{gathered}\right.$ | 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 | vero |
| Plutarch, Morali |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | [10.7.5] O |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| for every verse he would have given you a Cyprus or a | $\underset{\text { we }}{[\text { 'dd }}$ |  |  |  |
| enicia." And I think that the foremost of the artists |  |  |  |  |
|  | at |  | who have been alreayy conversant in that sort of learing. |  |
| Alexander did for them. For a good climate and a lightness of | The tripod has as its inscription: | proper to honour and love any such offering from cities as that from |  |  |
| the surrounding air produces a bountiful h favour, esteem, and benignity shown by a king evokes a rich increase in the arts and in men of talent. | Ekhembrotos of Arcadia dedicated this pleasant gift to When he won a victory at the Games of the Amphikty |  |  | praetereuntium audito silvarum latebris se occulerent. 11 Iam valitudinis simulatione frustrari suos milites. Sed non amplius |
| And, conversely, through jealousy and parsimony or emulous riv on the part of monarchs all artistic production is quenched and perishes. | In this way the competition in singing to the aulos ['double-ree was dropped. But they added a chariot race, and Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sikyon, was proclaimed victor in the chariot race. | $\begin{array}{\|l\|} \hline \text { Goute } \\ \text { Git } \end{array}$ |  | rece |
| despot Dionysius, as the story goes, while listening to ed harper, engaged to give him a talent. Next day, whe |  |  |  |  |
| ked for the fulfiment of the promise, Dionysius | or. |  |  | 13 es. Vise |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| der, the tyrant of Pherae (this last should be h tion; he should not be permitted to disgrace the | Festival after this, they yoked foals to a chariot, and the chariot Orphondas of Thebes came in first. | to Scythinus, who says |  |  |
| xander), as he watched a tragic actor, felt himself much moved to | [10.7.8] The pankration for boys, a race for a chariot drawn by two |  |  |  |
| dy | foals, and a race for ridden foals, were many years afterwards |  |  |  |
|  | Pythian Festival, and Iolaidas of Thebes was victorious. At the next |  |  |  |
| ne near visiting punishment upon the actor because the man had ened his heart, as iron in the fire. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Fest } \\ & \text { nint } \\ & \text { proc } \end{aligned}$ | And he holds a golden harp-quill flashing as the very sun. |  <br>  <br>  | 17 Vix fides habebatur. Itaque speculatores in maritimas regiones |
| is was thought to |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| That, however, is what you crave. | has it that Apollo fell in love with the daughter of Ladon. |  |  |  |
| Ateas, the Scythian king, took the flute-playe |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |

horses' neigh, but asses' bray!
At the court of monarchs such as these what advancement or esteen could there be for Art, or for Poefry and Music of excellence? No
gain, could artistic endeavour flourish at the court of those who wish to be rival performers in these arts, and thus through malice a ill-will suppress the true artists. Such a prince was Dionysius (to use
him again as an example), who threw the poet Philoxenus into the him again as an example), who threw the poet Philoxenus into the
tone-quarries; for when Dionysius ordered him to correct a traged of his, Philoxenenus cancelled the whole piece from the very beginning
ond othe final flourish.
Philip also was in these matters somewhat more petty and childish han became him, since he had acquired his knowledge late in life.
Thus they tell the tale that Philip86 once argued with a certain harpplayer about the technique of his instrument, and even thought he was confuting the man; but the harp-player smiled gently and said,
"God forbid, your Majesty, that you should ever fall so low as to know more of these matters than I."
2 But Alexander, knowing well in what matters he should be merely spectator and listener, and in what he should play the chief rôle, Aeschylus,
Surdy octender in arms, balefulu to all that oppose.
This art he inherited from his ppose.
Aeacidae, and from
towed honour with ealousy according to their worth and artistic excellence, but he wa not so easily carried away by the pleasure they gave him as to try to imitate them. The tragic actors of his time were the group that
centred about Thettalus and Athenodorus. At the contest of these two, the kings of Cyprus defrayed the expenses of the performance and Alexander's most celebrated generals served as judges. When Athenodorus won, "I would rather," said Alexander, "have lost hal
my kingdom than see Thettalus defeated." However, he did not my kingdom than see Thettalus defeated." However, he did not
intercede with the judges nor find fault with the judgement, since felt that, while he must be superior to all men, yet he must submit to Justice.
The comic actors of his time were the group that centred about begging verse, Alexander laughed and gave him ten talents. begging verse, Alexander laughed and gave him ten talents.
Various harp-players also were his friends, among them Ari who came to Aghting fighting gloriously. Therefore Alexander ordered to be made and set
up at Delphi a bronze statue of him, with lyre in hand and spear advanced; thereby he not only honoured this particular man, but also
paid tribute to Music herself in the e elief that she is a creator of true paid tribute to Music herself, in the belief that she is a creator of tru
nen and, in particular that she fills with inspiration and men and, in particular, that she fills with inspiration and
impetuousness those who are truly her foster-children.
For orce upon a time, when Antigenides was playing on his flute the
Chariot Song, Alexander became so transpoted and his spirit so Chariot Song, Alexander became so transported, and his spirit so
inflamed by the strains, that he leapt up and laid hands inflamed by the strains, that he leapt up and laid hands upon the
weapons that lay near, and thus confirmed the testimony of the weapons that lay near, and hus confirmed the testimony of
Sparatas whoused to sing,
The noble playing of the lyre is meet to match the sword. Apelles the painter and Lysippus the sculptor also lived in the tim of Alexander. "he former painted "Alexander wielding the
Thunderbolt" so vividly and with so natural an expression, that me said that, of the two Alexanders, Alexander, son of Philip, was
nvincible, but the Alexander of Apelles was inimitable And whe invincible, but the Alexander of Apelles was inimitable. And when
Lysippus modelled his first statue of Alexander which represented Lysippus ing with his face turned towards the heavens (as indeed him looking with his face turred toowards the heavens as indeed
Alexander often did look, with a slight inclination of his head to one side), someone engraved these verses on the statue, not without so
plasibility, Eager to speak seems the statue of bronze, up to Zeus as it gazes
'Earth I have set under foot: Zeus, keep Olympus yourself!" Wherefore Alexander goove orders, teep Olyympus yourselfy" statues of him. For Lysippus was, it seemed, the only one that
evealed in the bronze Alexander's character and in moulding his orm portrayed also his virtues. The others wished to imitate the

Deukalion, and that the delegates were styled Amphiktyones after iim. But Androtion, in his history of Attica, says that originally the deputies were styled Amphictions (neighbors), but that as time went on, their modern name prevailed.
$[10.8 .2]$ They say that Amphiktyon himself summoned to the common assembly the following tribes of the Greek people:
Ionians, Dolopes, Thessalians, Aenianians, Magnesians, Malians, Chnats
Phthiotians, Dorians, people of Phokis, people of Lokris who borda on Phokis, living at the base of Mount Knemis.

## AMPHIKTYONIC LEAGUE, HISTORY

tuary and the war cam to an end nine years afterwards, there came a change in the Amphiktyonic ceague. The Macedonians managed to enter it, while
he people of Phokis and a section of the Dorings namely he people of Phokis and a section of the Dorians, namely the
Lacedaemonians, lost their membership, the people of Phokis ecause of their rash crime, the Lacedaemonians as a penalty for allying themselves with the men of Phokis.
[10.8.3] When Brennus led the Gallic armi.
10.8.3] When Brennus led the Gallic army against Delphi, no

Greeks showed greater zeal for the war than the men of Phokis, an
for this conduct of theirs, recovered their membership of the Leagu as well as their old reputation. The emperor Augustus willed that the people of Nikopolis, whose city is near Actium, should be members
of the Amphiktyonic League that the Magnesians moreover and the of the Amphiktyonic League, that the Magnesians moreover and the
Malians, together with the Aenianians and Phthotians, should be numbered with the Thessalians, and that all their votes, together wit hose of the Dolopes, who were no longer a separate people, should be assigned to the people of Nikopolis.
$[10.8 .4]$ The Amphiktyones today number thirty. Nikopolis, Macedonia, and Thessaly each send six deputies; the Boeotians, who in more ancient days inhabited Thessaly and were then called
Aeolians, the people of Phokis and the Delphians, each send two; Aeolians, the people of Phokis and the Delphians, each send two;
ancient Doris sends one. ancient Doris sends one.
[10.8.5] The people of Lokris who are called Ozolian and the people of Lokris opposite Euboea send one each; there is also one from
Euboea. Of the Peloponnesians, the Argives, Sikyonians, Corinthians, and Megarians send one, as Nikopolis send deputies to very meeting of the Amphiktyonic League; but each city of the
ations mention nations mentioned has the pri
he lapse of periodic intervals.

## DELPHI

of them When you enter the city, you see temples in a row. The first of them was in ruins, and the one next to it had neither images nor called the temple of Athena Forethought Of its two imaes the in in the fore temple is a votive offering of the Massiliots and is larger hhan the one inside the temple. The Massiliots are a colony of an away from Phokaia when attacked by Harpagus the Percian They proved superior to the Carthaginians in a sea war, acquired the tery proved superior to the Carthaginians in a sea war, acquired
teritory they now hold, and rached great prosperity.
[10.8.7] The votive offering of the Massiliots is of bronze. The gold [10.8.7] The votive offering of the Massiliots is of bronze. The gold
shield given to Athena Forethought by Croesus the Lydian was said shield given to Athena Forethought by Croesus the Lydian was said
by the Delphians to have been stolen by Philomelus. Near the sanctuary of Forethought is a precinct of the hero Phylacus. This
Phylacus is reported by the Delphians to have defended them at the Phylacus is reported by the D
time of the Persian invasion.
ime of the Persian invasion.
[10.8.8] They say that in the open part of the gymnasium, there once grew a wild wood, and that Odysseus, when as the guest of Autolykos he was hunting with the sons of Autolycus, received here from the wild boar the wound above the knee. Turning to the left
from the gymnasium and going down not more, It think, than three stades, you come to a river named Pleistos. This Pleistos descends Cirrha, , he port of Delphi, and flows into the sea there.
Co.
[10.8.9. Ascending from the gymnasium along the way to the
sanctuary you reach, on the right of the way the water of Casta sanctuary you reach, on the right of the way, the water of Castalia,
which is sweet to drink and pleasant to bathe in. Some say that the
pring was named after a native woman, others after a man called

## iivied." is, or the current is altogether exhausted, and the power has

 ccordingly we went round and seated ourselves on the southern linth of the temple, in view of the temple of Earth and the spring ofwater, which made Boethus at once observe that the very place water, which made Boethus at once observe that the very place
where the problem was rased lent itself to the stranger's case. For here was a temple of the Muses where the exhalation rises from the
ountain; from which fountain they drew the water used for the ountain; from which fountain they drew the water used for the

 Whence is drawn for holy w
Water of the Muses bright.

## And again, in a rather more affected strain, the same poet addresses

Clio:

and goes on to say


Goddess sought in many a vow
y no golden robe encumbered, hear thy servants drawing now
Water, fragrant and delightull, from amp
o Eudoxus was wrong in believing those who have made out that his was called 'Water of Sty''. Rut they installed the Muses as suardians of prophecy and wardens of the place, by the fountain and
he temple of Earth where the oracle used to be, some say, because he responses were given in metre and in lyric strains. And some say further that here the heroic metre was first heard:
 Later Earth became inferior to the God and lost her august position.

## VII Sermis rended "M

 more in tune with the Muses. For we ought not tof fight against theod, nor to remove, along with his prophecy, his Providence and God, nor to remove, along with his prophecy, his Providence and
Godhead also, but rather to seek fresh solutions for apparent ontradictions, and never to surrender the reverent belif of our

Phil. "Excellent Serapion! you are right. We are not abandoning hilosophy, as cleared out of the way and done for, because once apon a time philosophers put out their dogmas and theories in verse, Orpheus, , thiod, Pan have now all given it up - excent youl In your hands Poetry is returning home to Philosophy, and clear and oble is the strain in which she rallies our young people. Astronomy Aain: she was no lowered in the hands of Aristarchus, Almochanis,
Aristyllus, Hipparchus, al writing in prose, whereas Eudoxus,
tesiod, and Thales used metre, if we assume that Thates seally Hesiod, and Thales used metre, if we assume that Thales really wro
he Astronomy attributed to him. And Pindar himself confesses that he is quite at a loss about the neglect of verse in his own desses that stonished $q \ldots$. It is neither out of the way nor absurd for us to seek out the causes of such changes; but to dismiss any of the arts and sciences altogether, because there is som "1.
XIX. Theon "And yet those instances have involved really great variations and novelties, whereas of the oracles given here we know any in prose even in old days, and those on no trifling matters. Athenians, as Thucydides tells us, 10 he promised them victory and mastery, and that "he himself will help them, invited or uninvited". And again, that if they did not restore Pleistonax, they should ploug
with a silver share. 11 When the Athenians consulted the God about their expedition in Sicily, he directed them to bring the priestess of Erythre to Athens; now the woman's name was 'Quiet'. When
iilitary 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 many of thyrambic odes, composed by Telestes and Philoxenus. For a whit imself, than if he had been his father, giving this reason for it, that live well. But afterwards, upon some mistrust of him, yet not so to great as to make him do him any hurt, his familiarity and friendly kindness to him abated so much of its former foree and
affectionateness, as to make it evident he was alienated from him. However, his violent thirst after and passion for learning, which However, his violent thirst after and passion for rearning, 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 talents which he sent to Xenocrates
esteem of Dandamis and Calanus.









 Alexander, then sixteen years old, his lieutenant in Macedonia,
committing the charge of his seal to him; who, not to sit ide, 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 pitched under it. And not far off are to be seen the graves of the pitched under it. And not tar 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.












 dítpiß̧VV.
But the disorders of his family, chiefly caused by his new marriages
and attachments the troubles that began in the women's chambers preading, so to to say, to the whole kingdom), raised various mplaints and differences between them, which the violence of Oympias, a woman of a jealous and implacable temper, made wider
by exasperating Alexander against his father. Among the rest, this
qua adspirante res tam prospere gesserat, verebatur nec iniuria ex his quae tribuisset sibi, quam mutabilis esset, reputabat: unam superess occem, quae tantid discriminis moraretur eventum. 21 Rursus vinceret, ita illud utique certum esse, honeste et cum magna laude moriturum. 22 Itaque corpora milites curare iussit ac deinde tertia vigilia instructos et armatos esse. Ipse in iugum editi montis escendit praesidibus loci fecit. 23 lamque tertium, sicut preceptum e signum tuba miles acceperat, itineri simul paratus ac proelio: strenueque iussi procedere oriente luce pervenerunt ad angustias,
quas occupare decreverant. Dareum XXX inde stadia abesse raemissi indicabant. 24 Tunc consistere agmen iubet armisque ipse sumptis aciem ordinat.
Dareo adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nuntiaverunt, vix credenti Dareo adventum hostium pavidi agrestes nuntiaverunt, vix crede
occurrere etiam, quos ut fugientes sequebatur. 25 Ergo non occurrere etiam, quos
mediocris omnium animos incessit formido - quippe itineri quam
and proelio aptiores erant - raptimque arma capiebti. . Sedipsa
festinatio dicententium suosque ad arma vocantium maiorem metu incussit: alii in iugum montis evaserant, ut hostium agmen inde prospicerent, equos plerique frenabant. Discors exercitus nec ad
unum intentus imperium vario tumultu cuncta turbaverat. 27 Dareus initio iugum montis cum parte copiarum occupare statuit, et a fronte et a tergo circumiturus hostem, a mari quoque, quo dextrum eius
cornu tegebatur, alios obiecturus, ut undique urgueret. 28 Praeter haec viginti imilia praemissa cum sagittariorum manu Pinarum amnem, qui duo agmina interfluebat, transire et obicere sese Macedonum copiis iusserat: si id praestare non possent, retrocedere
in montes et occulte circumire ultimos hostium. 29 Ceterum in montes et occulte circumire ultimos hostium. 29 Ceterum
destinata salubriter omni ratione potentior fortuna discussit: 30 quippe alii prae metu imperium exequi non audebant, alii frustra exequebantur, quia, ubi partes labant, summa turbatur.

## Caput IX

1 Acies autem hoc modo stetit. Nabarzanes equitatu dextrum cornu tuebatur additis funditorum sagittariorumque viginti fere milibus. 2 In eodem Thymodes erat, Graecis peditibus merrede conductis,
triginta milibus, praepositus. Hoc erat haud dubie robur exercitus, par Macedonicae phatangi acies. 3 In laevo corrua Aristomedes
Thessalus XX milia barbarorum peditum habebat. In subsidiis pugnacissimas locaverat gentes. 4 Ipsum regem in eodem cornu custodia, et pedestris acies, quadraginta milia, sequebantur: 15 custodia, et pedestris acies, quadraginta milia, sequubantur: 15 , ultra eos dextra laevaque dispositi. Hoc agmen, sicut dictum est,
instructum VI milia iaculatorum funditorumque antecedebant. 6 instructum VI milia iaculatorum funditorumque antecedebant. 6
Quidquid in illis angustiis adiri poterat, inleverant copiae,
cornuaque hinc ab iugo , llinc a mari stabant Uxorem matremque Ruidquic in ilis angustiis adiri poterat. inpleverant copiae,
cornuaque hinc ab iugo, illinc a mari stabant. Uxorem matremque regis et alium feminarum gregem in medium agmen acceperant.
7 Alexander phalangem, qua nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in Alexander phalangem, qua nihil apud Macedonas validius erat, in
fronte constitutit. Dextrum cornu Nicanor, Parmenionis filius, fronte constitiut. Dextrum cornu Nicanor. Parmenionis filius,
tuebatur:
tuic proximi stabant Coenos et Perdiccas et Meleager et Ptolemaeus et Amyntas, sui quisque agminis duces. 8 In laevo, quod
ad mare pertinebat, Craterus et Parmenio erant, sed Craterus Macedones Thessalis adiunctit laesuum Peloponnnesii tuecbantur. 9 Ante hanc aciem posuerat funditorum manum sagittariis admixtis. Thraces quoque et Cretenses ante agmen ibant, et ipsi leviter armati.
$10 \mathrm{At} \mathrm{is}$,qui praemissi ab Dareo iugum montis 10 At iis, qui praemissi ab Dareo iugum montis insederant, Agrianos
opposuit ex Thracia nuper advectos. Parmenioni autem praeceperat,
, ut, quantum posset, agmen ad mare extenderet, quo longius abesset acies montibus, quos occupaverant barbari. 11 At illi neque obstare venientibus nec circumire praatergressos ausi funditorum maxime
aspectu territi profugerant eaque res Alexandro tutum agminis latus, aspectu territi profugerant eaque res Alexandro tutum agminis latus,
quod, ne superne incesseretur, timuerat, praestitit. 12 [XXX et duo armatorum ordines ibant, nequue enim latius extendi aciem
patiebantur angustiae. Paulatim deinde laxare sese sinus montium et
maius spatium anire edere sed mordine

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Moralia (Plutarch), Phocis, PYTHIA, Alexander (Plutarch)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Among the other artists at his court was Stasicrates the master- |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | saltibus repmque accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt. 3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| ing | Lilaeans, who, on certain specified days, throw into the spring of Kephisos cakes of the district and other things ordained by use, | $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { into } \\ & \text { Cle } \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | ut cuiusque animis aptum erat, milites adloquebatur. Macedones, tot bellorum in Europa victores, ad subigendam Asiam atque ultima |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| For Mount Athos in Thrace, in that part where is is highest and most | [10.9.1] The city of Delphi, both the sacred enclosure of Apollo and |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | when |  |
| been properly carved and worked int |  |  |  |  |
| Alexander's statue, and Alexander's statue it will be; with its base set in the sea, in its left hand it will encompass and hold a city with ten |  |  |  | aperiri. 6 Non in praeruptis petris Illyriorum et Thraciae saxis sterilem laborem fore, spolia totius Orientis offerri. Vix gladio |
| tho |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| that can be bought and sold, stolen, or melted down, let us reject |  |  |  |  |
| der listened to his words and admired bur | ere is a statue at Delphi |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| show and the Emodian range and the Tanais and the Caspian S these will be the image of my deeds. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { staj } \\ & {[10} \\ & {[10} \end{aligned}$ | who was exceptionally interested in the oracle, administered a vigorous rebuke to those who held that the Pythia did not prophesy in metre in those days; yet, when he wanted to prove the point, he |  | deditis. 9 Ab his templa ruinis et ignibus esse deleta, urbes eorum expugnatas, foedera divini humanique iuris violata referebat. 10 |
| 3 But imagine, pray, that such a work had been completed and m |  |  |  |  |
| suppose that the form, the arrangement, and the appearance were created by Fortune and Accident? | Corcyraeans made by Theopropus of Aegina. The story is that in Corcyra, a bull, leaving the cows, would go down from the pasture and bellow on the shore. As the same thing happened every day, the | that the others, even at that early | sions and calamities." He was so convinced by this seas ach, that he immediately sent for his son home, and by ratus's mediation prevailed with him to return. | erent, aspera montium rigentes gelu ditibus |
| one, I It hink. What of Apelles' "Wielder of the Thunderbolt"? |  |  |  |  |
| the Spar? Shall we |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| ivory and much rich material, but is it possible that a great m |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | coniectans. Iamque etiam dextrum Alexandri cornu circu |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| But for him who has not learned how to use these things they danger, not a strength and enrichment, but a means of proving | Lacedaemonians: an Apollo, a Victory, the heroes of the country, | his fear and confusion, he fled to the oracle, and proceeded to ask |  |  |
| weakness and pettiness. For Antisthenes was right when he said, |  |  |  | occulte circumire tergum suorum iubet Parmenionique coniungi et, |
| pray that |  |  |  |  |
| owners, but to those that conquer them." Therefore they say that |  |  |  |  |
| re also for defence has caused horns, wonderful fo | [10.9.6] They who made the ima | ulty |  |  |
| an |  |  |  | pura in humum innoxia cadebant. Ergo comminus pug serere gladios inpigre stringunt. 5 Tum vero multum |
| efit to such as have not the courage to stand their |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Pythia, giving answers as |  |  |
| geatness and beauty of man. For if |  |  |  | demum ergo promovebant gradum, cum hostem prostraverant. At |
| Mind has sight and Mind has hearing; |  | XXI. "However, it is worth our while to pursue this inquiry at greater | illegitimate and a fool, and rather to accept of himself for his |  |
|  |  |  | , | litis munia |
| perceptive faculties seem to respond to their own special stimuli; | [10.9.8] |  | fo |  |
| that it is mind which aids us and mind which embla |  |  | $\dot{o} \delta$ |  |
| monarch, and that "all things el and soulless, mislead and burde |  |  |  |  |
| Virtue be not present, is a truth which may be gleaned from history. | Zeus by Athenodoros. The |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| hands were placed the same power and dominion, Semiramis, though | ] Be |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| his days at home carding purple wool, sitting with his knees |  |  |  |  |


|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| drink |  |  |  |  |
| Crates saw a golden statue of Phrynê | Theopompos the Myndian, Kleomedes of Samos, the two Euboeans |  |  |  |
| e cried out that it stood there as a monument to Greck | kles of Karystos and |  |  |  |
| napalus (fo say that th | is. Next to these come the Achaean Axionikos |  |  | ostiu |
| this be so, shall we allow Fortune to lay hold upon Alexander after |  |  |  |  |
| palus, and to lay claim to Alexander's gr |  |  |  |  |
| er gift did she bestow on him tha | Epikydidas, and Eteonikos. These, they say, and Kanakhos. |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| ow |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| kingdom, which had become the spoil of war. But Nicomede |  |  |  |  |
| his head and put on the freedman's cap and proclaimed an emancipated slave of the Roman people. | n on the Athenians will be laid grievou the high thunderer, whose might is the On the warships battle and fighting, |  |  | liebantur: quippe in circumagendis equis suis eos T cupaverant. |
| men petty, timid, and abject | y are destroyed by treacherous tricks, through the basen the captains. |  |  |  |
| misfortune, or courage and intelligence to good fortune; but Fortune | The other evidence that they quote is taken from the oracles |  |  |  |
| was magnified invincible, mag |  |  |  |  |
| immediately after |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| dering through |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| are dissipated and disappear altogether, even so Alexander's force |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| onus, who, as it were, provided still a warm breath of life |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| likely that Alexander himself meant when he rebuked Hephaestion | Herakles by Meda, daughter of Phylas, as well as Aigeus and |  |  |  |
| for quarrelling with Craterus: "What," said he, "will be your power | Ak |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| that preside |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| of your | his son Demetrios, and of Ptolemy the Egyptian, were sent to Delphi | so as to make it fly, nor that which lisps to speak clearly, nor the thin |  | pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum |
| f |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| less | $\mathrm{ma}$ |  |  | stini decoris immemores, reginas dominasque veris quondam, |
| edness attend $h$ |  |  |  |  |
| away virtue from the |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| gh sof | Amphiaraos who served as his charioteer. The last of them is Alitherses. |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| pedestals for petty of noticeable, so Fortun |  |  |  | centum quinquaginta interfecti. Tantulo inpendio ingens victoria stetit. |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| conspicuous and disgraceful the blundering and instability that result |  |  |  |  |
|  | ed before | metre and elevation, and trills, and verbal metaphors, and a flu accompaniment! |  | 1 Rex quidem |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |


one thing, I think, but several. In the firrst place, as has been already
aid, they, too, for a the second place, those times produced temperaments and natura Srititions which offered an easy and convenient channel for the
tream of poetry, to which were at once superadded, in one and nother, an eagerness, an impulse, a preparation of soul, all resulting a readiness which needed but a slight initial movement from
without to give the imagination a turn. So it was that not only were without to give the imagination a turn. So it was that not only were
stronomers and philosophers drawn, as Philinus says, in their
several dirieccions, but also, when men were mellow with wine and entiment, some undercurrent of pity or joy would come, and they morous strains and songs, books with poems in writing. When amorous strains and
Euripides wrote 17:
Tolimiñv äpo


Love can teach, he makes
A poet of a stranger to the Muse.
he did not mean that Love implants a faculty for poetry or music; the
faculty is there already, but Love stirs and warm
aculty is there already, but Love stirs and warms what was latent ove has gone by the heels, because there is no who, to ouote Pindar


Scatters with easy grace
The vocal shafts of love and joy?
That is absurd. Loves there are and many of them, and they master
en; but when they associate with souls which have no natural turn flute and the lyre, yet are vocal still and ing to say, and an unfair, that the Academy was loveless, or the hoir of Socrates and Plato; yet, while we have their love dialogues Sead, they have left no poems. Why not declare at once that
Sapho was the only woman who ever loved, if you are to say that Sibylla alone had the gift of prophecy, or Aristonica, and the others
who delivered themselves in verse? As Charemon used to say,

Wd the prophetic inspiration, like that of love, uses the faculty whic
is subjected to it, and stirs its recipients according to the nature of
each.
XIV. "Not but that, if we look also into the subject of the God and his foreknowledge, we shall see that the change has on then Godace for
the better. For the use of language is like exchange in coined money he better. For the use of language is like exchange in coined mone,
Here also it stamiliarity which gives currency, the purchasing oower varies with the times. There was a day when metres, tunes, des were the coins of language in us; all Hilstory and Philosophy, i
word, every feeling and action which called for a more solemn Worr, every feeling and action which called for a more solem but few understand, and they with effort, whereas then



Who ploughs the soil, who snares the winged game,
Pindar 19 has it. More
Host men used the lyre and the ode to revas an aptitude for poetry, nyths and proverbs; also hymns to the Gods, prayers, thanksgiving ere composed in metre and song, as genius or practice enabled lem to do. And so it was with prophecy; the God did not grudge it Muse of the tripod; he rather led her on, awakening and welcoming petic natures; he gave them visions from himself, he lent his aid to
raw out pomp and eloquence as being fitting and admirable things. Then there was a change in human life, affecting men both in fortuun
nd in genius. Expediency banished what was superfluous, top-kno of in genius. Expediency banished what was superfluous, top-k.k.
of gold were dropped, rich robes discarded; probably too clustering
urrls were shorn off, and the buskin discontinued. It was not a bad
resolution and magnanimity, than, by seeming to truckle to any, educed the barbarians to tranquility, and put an end to all fear of war from them, he gave rapid expedition into their country as far as
he river Danube, where he gave Syrmus, King of the Triballians, an
entire overthrow.
And hearing the Th
correspondence with them, he immediately marched through the pass of Thermopylae, saying that to Demosthenes, who had called ass 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 man before the walls of Ahhens.








 катпүо́p


 When he came to Thebes, to show how willing he was to accept of
their repentance for what was past, he only demanded of them heiir repentance for what was past, he only demanded of hrem 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 idelivered into their hands, and by a proclamation on their part invied all who would assert the liberty of Greece tecole the last
them, he presently applied himself to make them feel extremities of war. The Thebansin sideed defended themselves with a zeal and courage beyond their strength, being much outnumbered b b
their enemies. But when the Macedonian garrison sallied out upon thir enemies. But when the Macedonian garrison salired out upon
then from the citadel, they were so hemmed on oll sides that the
reater 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 an example might terrify the rest of Greece into obedience, and also
n order to gratify the hosility of his confederates, the Phocians and
Plataeans. So that, except the priests, and some few who had Plateans. So that, except the priests, and some few who had
heretofore been the friends and connections of the Macedonians, the family of the poet Pindar, and those who were nnown to have
opposed the public vote for the war, all the rest, to the number of opposed the public vote for the war, all the rest, to the number of
thirty thousand, were pubbicly sold for slaves; and it is computed th upwards of six thousand were put to the sword.










ohibebat interesse convivio: 3 cum repente e proximo tabernaculo lagubris clamor barbaro ululatu planctuque permixtus epulantes verita, ne maioris motus, principium esset, armare se coeperat. 4
Causa subiti pavoris est, quod mater uxorque Darei cum captivis nobilibus regen, quem interfectum esse credebant, ingenti gemitu eiulatuque deflebant. 5 Unus namque e captivis spadonibus, qui forte ante ipsarum tabernaculum steterat, amiculum quod Dareus, sicut
paulo ante dictum est, ne cultu proderetur, abiecerat, in manibus eius, qui repertum ferebat, agnovit ratusçue interfecto detractum esse falsum nuntium mortis eius attulerat. 6 Hoc mulierum errore
conperto Alexander fortunae Darei et pietati earum inlacrimasse conperto Alexander fortunae Darei et pietatit earum inlacrimasse
fertur. Ac primo Mithrenem, qui Sardis tradiderat, peritum linguae
Persicae ire ad consondas Persicae, ire ad consolandas eas iusserat. 7 Verituus deinde, ne
proditor captivarum iram doloremgue erenovaret, Leonnatum ex proditor captivarum iram doloremque renovaret, Leonnatum ex
purpuratis suis misit, iussum indicare, falso lamentari eas vivum. Ile purpuratis suis misit, iussum indicare, falso lamentaricas
cum paucis armigeris in tabernaculum in quo captivae erant, pervenit
mita cum paucis armigeris in tabernaculas At ii, quit in vestibulo erant, ut
missumque sea rege nuntiare iubets 8 .
armatos consperere, rati actum esse de dominis, in tabernaculum armatos conspexere, rati actum esse de dominis, in tabernaculu
currunt, vociferantes, adesse supremam horam missosque, qui currunt, vociferantes, adesse supremam horam missosque, qui
occiderent captas. 9 Itaque, ut quae nec prohibere possent nec admittere cuaderent, nullo responso dato tacitae opperiebantur victori arbitrium. 10 Leonnatus, expectato diu, qui se introduceret, postquam nemo procedere audebat, relictisis in vestibulo satellitibus
intrat in tabernaculum. Ea ipsa res turbaverat feminas, quod inrupiss non admissus videbatur. 11 Itaque mater et coniux provolutac ad pedes orare coeperunt, ut, priusquam interficerentur, Darei corpus
ipsis patrio more sepelire permitteret: functas supremo in regem ipsis patrio more sepelire permitteret: functas supremo in regen
officio inpigre sese morituras. 12 At Leoonnatus: et vivere Dareum ipsas non incolumes modo, sed etiam apparatu pristinae fortunae ipsas non incolumes modo, seare mater adlevari se passa est.
reginas fore. Tum demum Dar. 13 Alexander postero die cum cura sepultis militibus, quorum
corpora invenerat, Persarum quoque nobilissimis eundem honorem haberi iubet matrique Dareri i permititit, पuos vellet, patrio more sepeliret. 14 IIla paucos arta propinquitate coniunctos pro habitu
praesentis fortunae humari iusit, apparatum funerum, quo Persae suprema officia celebrarent, invidiosum fore existsimans, cum
victores haud pretiose cremarentur 15 Imque ustis defuntorum corporibus solutis praemittit ad captivas, qui nuntiarent, ipsum venire, inhibibitatique comitantium turbat tabernaculum cum Hephaestione intrat. 16 Is longe omnium amicorum carissimus erat
regi, cum ipso pariter eductus, secretorum omnium arbiter: libertatis regi, cum ipso pariter eductus, secretorum omnium arbiter: libertatis ta usurpabat, ut magis a rege permissum, quam vindicatum ab eo videretur: ès sicut atatat pare erat regi, ita corporis habitu praestabat. 17 Ergo reginae illum esse regem ratae suo more veneratae sunt.
Inde ex captivis spadonibus, quis Alexander esset, monstrantibus Sisigambis advoluta est pedibus cius, ignorationem numquam antea Visi regis excusans. Quam manu adlevans rex, 'Non errasti', inquit,
mater, nam et hic Alexander est'. 18 Equidem hac continentia animi ,uam visus est vae perseverare potuisset, feliciorem fuisse crederen ab Hellesponto ad Oceanum onmes pes gentes victoria empensus. 19 Sic vicisset profecto superbiam atque iram, mala invicta: sic abstinuisset
inter epulas caedibus amicorum egregiosque bello viros et tot inter epulas caedibus amicorum egregiosque bello viros et tot
gentium secum domitores indicta causa veritus esset occidere. 20 Sed nondum fortuna se animo eius superfuderat: itaque orientem tan moderate et prudenter tulit, ad ultimum magnitudinem eius non cepit t clementia vincerentr Virges resis reges etconine sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitae forent: 22 coniugem eiusdem, quam nulla aetatis suae pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis
captivo corpori inluderet: omnem cultum reddi feminis iussit 23 nec quicquam ex pristinae fortunae magnificentia captivis praeter fiduccuam dex pritit. 24 Itaque Sisisigambis, 'Rex', inquit, 'mereris, ut ea precemur tibi, quae Dareo nostro quondam precatae sumus, nec
invidia dignus es, qui tantum regem non felicitate solum, sed etiam aequitate superaveris. 25 Tu quidem matrem me et reginam vocas,
sed ego me tuam famulam esse confiteor. Et praeteritae fortunae oved; but Stateira, the daughter of Darius, he married for imperial and political reasons, since the union of the two races was highly
advantageous. But as for the other Persian women, he was as much their superior in self-control as in valour he was superior to Persian
men. For he looked at no woman against her will and those that he ooked at he passed by more readily than those that he did not look
ti and although he bore himself humanely toward all other perso at; and although he bore himself humanely toward all other persons.
it was toward fair youth alone that he conducted himself haughtily. ti was toward fair youth alone that he conducted himself haughtily,
He would not listen to a single word in praise of the beauty of the wife of Darius, who was a very handsome woman; but when she
died, he graced her funeral with such a roval pomp and bewailed died, he graced her funeral with such a royal pomp and bewailed
death so feelingly that his self-control was questioned amid his display of humanity, and his goodness incurred the charge of
wrongdoing. For Darius was disturbed by suspicion of Alexanders wrongdoing. For Darius was disturbed by suspicion of Alexander's
power and youth; for he also was still one of those who believed power and youth, for he also was still one of those who believed
Alexander's victory to be through Fortune. But when he had tested Alexander's sichoy eve itrough fortune. But when he had tested
the matter from every angle, and recognized the truth, "Then," said dee "the lot of the Persians is not so utterly wretched, nor will anyon say that we are altogether cowardlly or unmanly in that we have be
overcome by such a man. But for my part I pray the gods for fair overcome by such a man. But for my part I pray the gods for fair
fortune and for might in war, that I may surpass Alexander in
bestowin festowing favours; and $I$ am possessed by an ambitious and emulous
desire to prove myself more humane than Alexander But if desire to prove myself more humane than Alexander. But if my
power be spent, do thou O Zeus, ancestral god of the Persians, and ye other gods that guard our kingship, grant that none other than ye other gods that guard our kingship, grant that none other than
Alexander take his seat upon the throne of Cyrus." This was Darius's way of adopting Alexander, invoking the gods as witnesses.
7 Thus do men prevail through Virtue. Ascribe to Fortune, if you will, Arbela and the Cilician victory and his other deeds of violence
and war: Fortune battered down the walls of Tyre for him; Fortune opened the way to Egypt; through Fortune Halicarnassus fell, and
Miletus was santured and Mazeus left the Euphrates ungardel Miletus was captured, and Mazaees left the Euphrates unguarded,
and the Babylonian plain was strewn with corpes. But at least it was not in any way Fortune's gift that he was temperate, nor was it because of Fortune that he was self-controlled, nor did Fortune lock
his soul and keep it impregnable to pleasure and invulnerable to is soul and keep it impregnable to pleasure and invulnerable to
desire; in fact, these were the qualities by which he defeated Darius himself. The rest were but defeats of arms and horses, battles, slaughters and routs of men. But the truly great and indisputable
defeat Darius suffered: he yielded in virtue and greatness of soul in defeat Darius suffered: he yielded in virtue and greatness of soul, in
prowess and justice, and marvelled at Alexander's invincibility in pleasure, in toil, in the bestowal of favours. It is true that Tarrias, so of Deinomenes, and Antigenes of Pallenê, and Philotas, the son of
Parmenion, were also Parmenion, were also invincible at least amid shields, pikes, battle-
cries, and the clash of arms but towards pleasures and women and gold and silver they were no better than their captives. In fact, when Alexander was freeing the Macedonians from debt and paying
creditors for everybody Tarrias said falsely that he was a debtor creditors for everybody, Tarrias said falsely that he was a a debtor, and
produced at the bank a person who asserted that he was Tarrias's preditor, later, when he was detected, he was ready to commit
cerrias creditor; later, when he was detected, he was ready to commit
suicide had not Alexander, coming to know of this, exculpated him, and allowed him to keep the money; for the king remembered that
when Philip was assaulting Perinthus. Thrias although his eye was When Philip was assaulting Perinthus, Tarrias, although his eye wa extracted until they had routed the enemy.
extracted until they had routed the enemy.
Antigenes joined himself with those who were being sent back to
Macedonia because of sickness or wond Macedonia because of sickness or wounds, and had himself enrolle
among them; but when, however, it was discovered that he had among them; but when, however, it was discovered that he had
nothing wrong with him, but was feigning some infirmity, and it w nothing wrong with him, but was feigning some infirmity, and it was
seen that he was a stout fighting man whose body was covered with
wounds, the matter vexed Alexander. When he asked the reason for wounds, the matter vexed Alexander. When he asked the reason for
such conduct, Antigenes confessed that he was in love with Such conduct, Antigenes confessed that he was in love with
Telesippa, and was accompanying her to the sea, since he could not Telesippa, and was accompanying her to the sea, since he could not
be left behind if she went away. "Whose is she?" asked Alexander, "and to whom must we speak?" Antigeners seplied that Ahe was free-
born. "Then," said Alexander, "let us persuade her with promises and presents to remain behind." So ready was he with an excuse for every lover rather than for himself.
ising. This put an end to the trouble, and so they sent a bronze hegoat to Apollo. The Syracusans have a treasury built from the spoil neken in the great Athenian disaster, hhe Poidacans in Thrace buil
one to show their piety to the god.l
1011. The Athenians also built a portico out of the spoils they ne to show their piety to the god.
[10.11.6] The Athenians also built a portico out of the spoils they
Look in their war against the Peloponnesians and their Greek allies. took in their war against the Peloponnesians and their Greek allies
There are also dedicated the figure heads of ships and bronze shiel The inscription on them enumerates the cities from which the Athenians sent the first fruits: Elis, Lacedaemon, Sikyon, Megara,
Pellene in Achaea, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth itself. It also sa hat from the spoils taken in these sea battles, a sacrifice was offere that the inscription refers to Phormion, son of Asopikhos, and to his hat the inscription anements. [22]

## THE SIBYLS, MYTHICAL HISTOR

10.12.1] There is a rock rising up above the ground. On it, say the Herophile and surnamed and chanted The former oracles a wompll I find was as as ancient as any; the Greeks say that she was a daughter of Zeus by
Lamia, daughter of Poseidon, that she was the first woman to chant Lamia, dangter of Poseidon, that she was the first woman to chant
oracles and that the name Sibyl was given her by the Libyans. [10.12.2] Herophile was younger than she was, but nevertheless, she
too was clearly born before the Trojan War, as she foretold in her racles that Helen would be brought up in Sparta to be the ruin of
Asia and of Europe and that for her sake, the Greeks would capture Troy. The Delians remember also a hymn this woman composed to Apollo. In her poem, she calls herself not only Herophile but also Artemis, and the wedded wife of Apolilo, saying too sometimes that
she is his sister and sometimes that she is his daughter. [10.12.3] These statements she made in her poetry when in a frenzy and possessed by the god. .llsewhere in her oracles, she states that
her mother was an immorta, one of the nymphs of Ida, while her hather was as . These one of the nymphs of Ida, while her father was a human. These are the verses:
I am by birth half mortal, half divine;
An immortal nymph was my mother, , my father, an eater of wheat;
On my mothers side f Idaean hijth but my On my mother's side of Iddean b birth, but my fatherland was wed
Marpessus, sacred to the Mother, and the river Aidoneus Marpessus, sacred to the Mother, and hhe river Aidoneus.
10.12.4] Even today, there remain on Trojan Ida the ruins of the city Marpessus, with somene sixty inhabitants. All the land around
Marpessus is reddish and terribly parched, so that the light and Marpessus is reddish and terribly parched, so that the light and porous naure of dda in this plate is, in my opinion, the reason why
the river Aidoneus sinks into the ground, rises to sink once more, finally disappearing altogether beneath the earth. Marpessus is two hundred and forty stades distant from Alexandria in the Troad.
$[10.12 .5]$ The inhabitants of this Alexandria say that Herohile [10.12.5] The inhabitants of this Alexandria say that Herophile the occasion of Hecuba's dream, she uttered the prophecy, which we know was actually fulfilled. This Sibyl passed the greater part of her
life in Sam life in Samos, but she also visited Klaros in the territory of
Kolophon, Delos, and Delphi. Whenever she visited Delphi, she Kolophon, Delos, and Delphi. Whenever she visited Delphi, she
would stand on this rock and sing her chants.
[10.12.6] However, death came upon her in the Troad, and her tom $[10.12 .6]$ However, death came upon her in the Troad, and her tomb
is in the grove of the Sminthian with these elegiac verses inscribed is in the grove of the Sminthian with these elegiac verses ins
upon the tombstone:

Here I am, the plain speaking Sibyl of Phoebus,
Hidden beneath this stone tomb.
A maiden once giften beneath woice, but now for forer voiceless, By hard fate doomed to this fetter.
But a be buried near the nymphs and this
But I a m buried near the nymphs and this Hermes,
Enjoying in the world belo a part of the kingdom I had then. Enjoying in the world below a a part of the kingdom I had then.
The Hermes stands by the side of the tomb, a square-shaped figure
tone. On the left is water running dow stone. On the leff is water running down into a well and the images
of the nymphs. of the nymphs.
[10.12.7] The Erythreans, who are more eager than any other Greeks to lay claim to Herophile, adduce as evidence a mountain
called Mount Corycus with a cave in it, saying that Herophile was called Mount Corycus with a cave in it, saying that Herophile was
born in it and that she was a daughter of Theodoros, a shepherd of the dintrict and ond on nymph. They add that the surname Idaean was
given to the nymph simply because the men of those days called id
raining, to set the beauty of frugality against that of profusion, to
ccount what was pompous and elab plain and simple, a better ornament than the times, and shared the general break-up. History got down from its coach, and dropped metre. Truth was best sifted out from Myth in
prose; Philosophy welt hase, Po antosonish, so she pursued her inguiry in plain language. The God made the Pythia leave off calling her own fellow townsmen He-burners', the Spartans 'serpent-eaters', men 'mountaineers', rive
nountain-drainers'. He cleared the oracle of epic verses, unusual
words, circumlocutions, and vagueness, and so presed tuan words, circumlocutions, and vagueness, and so prepared the way to onverse with his consultants just as law converse with states, as
ings address subjects, as disciples hear their masters speak, so kings address subjects, as disciples hear their masters spat
framing language as to be intelligible and convincing.
XXV. "For it should be clearly understood that the God is, in the


Unto the wise a riddling prophet aye,
The same turn of things which brought clearness brought also a new tandard of belieff it shared the general change. Whereas of old that nd over-phrased, was ascribed by the many to an implied Divinity, and received with awe and reverence; in later times men were
content to learn things clearly and easily with no pomp or artifice; content to learn things clearly and easily with no pomp or artifice;
they began to find fault with the poetical setting of the oracles, not hey began to find fault with the poetical setting of the oracles, not
only as a hindrance to the perception of truth, because it mingled only as a hindrance to the perception of truut, becauss
ndistinctions and shadow with the meaning, but also because by this
me they were getting to mistrust metaphors, riddles, and ime they were getting to mistrust metaphors, riddles, and
mbiguities, as so many holes or hiding-places provided for him wh hould trip in his prophecy, that he might step into them and secure persons with a turn for poetry still sit about the place of oracles, waiting to catch the utterances, and then weaving verses, metres,
hythms, according to occasion, as a sort of vehicle. As to your nomacrituses, and Herodotuses, and Cinxthons, and the censures hich they brought upon the oracles, by importing tragedy and pon
where they were out of place, I let the charge pass and wont join in opiously to poetry came from the gang of soothsayers and scamps hiousty to poetry came from the gang of soothsayers and scamps Serapis, with their mummeries and tricks, turning verses out of their Wn heads, or taking them at random from handbooks, for servant
boys and silly girls, and such as are best attracted by metre and a oys and silly girls, and such as are best attracted by metre and herself at the service of cheats and jugglers and lying prophets, and
was lost to truth and to the tripod.
XVI. "Thus I should not be surrorised to find that the old people sometimes required a certain ambiguity, circumlocution,
ndistinctness. For it was not then a case of 'A' approaching the racle with a question, if you please, about the purchase of a slave, r' 'B' 'bout business, powerful states, haughty pungs and tyrants
would consult the God on public affairs, men whom it did not vould consult the God on public affairs, men whom it did not
nswer the officials of his temple to vex and provere by letting then ear what they did not wish to hear. For the God does not obey Euripides, 20 who sets up as a lawgiver with

Phoobus, none but he,
May give men prophecies.
He uses mortal men as ministers and prophets, whom it is his duty to make his care, and to protect, lest they perish at the hands of the ba while serving him. He does not then choose to conceal the truth;
hat he used to do was to give a twist to its manifestation, which, hat he used to do was to give a twist to its manifestation, which,
ke a beam of light, is refracted more than once in its passage, and parted into many rays as it tecomes poetry, and so to remove
per
 th some Thracian soldiers, having broken into the house of a matro 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 nswered she did, and bade him follow her into a garden, where she owed him a well, into which, she told him, upon the taking of the yracian prestown what she had of most value. The greedy ought the treasure lay, she came behind him and pushed he $h$ him he well, and then flung great stones in upon him, till she had killed the well, and then flung great stones in upon him, till she had kil
himm Affer which, when the soldiers led her away bund to
Alexander her yery mien and gait sow Alexander, her very mien and gait showed her to be a woman of
dignity, and of a mind no less elevated not betraying the lest sign dignity, and of a mind no less elevateded not betraying the least sign
of fear or astonishment. And when the king asked her who she was, 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 Grece." 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 done and what she said, that he could not choose but giv
her children their freedom to go whither they pleased.

## 












 Shown themselves so much concerred at the calamity of thebes that
out of sorrow they omitted the celebariton of the Mysteries and tertained those who escaped with all possible humanity Whether entertained hose who escaped with all possible hamanity. Whether an example of extreme cruelty, he had a mind to appear mercifulf, it
happened well for the Athenians for he not only forgave them all appened well for the Athenians; for he not only forgave them all pasmembering that if he should miscarry, they were likely to be the
res arbiters of Greece.
Certain it is, too, that in aftertime he often repented of his severity to 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 sto to the Thebans, and his remorse had such influence on his temper as
make him ever after ress sigoorous 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 nd vengeance of Bacchus, the protector of Thebes. And it was
bserved that whatsoever any Theban, who had the good fortune to survive this victory, asked of him, he was sure to grant without the ast difficulty.






fastigium capio et praesentis iugum pati possum: tua interest, quantum in nos licuerit, si id potius clementia quam saevitia vis esse testatum. '26 Rex bonum animum habere eas iussit. Darei filium
collo suo admovit: atque nihil ille conspectu tum primum a se visi conlo suo admovit: atque nihili ille conspectu tum primum a se vis
conteritus cervicem eius manibus amplectitur. Motus ergo rex conterritus cervicem eius manibus amplectitur. Motus ergo rex
constantia pueri Hephaestionem intuens, पuam vellem', inquit,
'Dareus aliquid ex hac indole hausisset" Tum tabernaculo egress Dareus aliquid ex hac indole hausisset!' Tum tabernaculo egressus. sacratis Syriam petit Damascum, ubi regis gaza erat, Parmenione praemisso. Caput XIII
1 Qui cum processisset et Darei satrapam opperiri se conperisset, veritus, ne paucitas suorum sperneretur, accersere maiorem manum Mardus, qui ad Parmeniona perdyctus litteras ad Asos incexidit natione ardus, qui ad Parmeniona perductus litteras ad Alexandrum a regiam supellectilem cum pecunia traderet, adiecit. 3 Parmenio adservari eo iusso litteras aperit, in quis erat scriptum, ut mature Alexander aliquem ex ducibus suis mitteret cum manu exigua, cui traderet, quaecumque rex penes ipsum reliquisset: itaque
datis comitibus ad proditorem remittit. 4 Ille e manibus
custodientium lapsus Damascum ante lucem intrat. Turbaverat ea res Parmenionis animum insidias timentis et ignotum iter sine duce non
audebat ingredi. Felicitatit tamen regis qui confisus sagrestes qui duces itineris essent, excipipi iussit. Quibus celeriter repertis quarto die ad urbem pervenit iam metuente praefecto, ne sibi fides habita non esset. 5 Igitur quasi parum munimentis oppidi fidens ante solis ortuin recum efferri iubet, fugam simulans, re vera, ut praedam hosti offerret. 6 Multa milia virorum feminarumquue excedentem oppido sequebantur, omnibus miserabilis turba praeter eum, cuius fidei commissa erat. Quippe quo maior proditionis merces foret, obicere
hosti parabat gratiorem omni pecunia praedam, nobiles viros losti parabat gratiorem onni ipecunia pracdam, nobires viros, legatos, quos Dareus, velut in arce tutissima, in proditoris reliquerat anibus. 7 Gangabas Persae vocant humeris onera portantes: hi cum hiemem tolerare non possent - quippe procella subito nivem
effuderat et humus rigebat gelu tum adstricta - vestes, quas cum pecunia portabant, auro et purpura insignes induunt nullo prohibere auso, cum fortuna regis etiam humillimis in ipsum licentiam faceret. Praebuere ergo Parmenioni non spernendi agminis speciem. Qui
tentiore cura suos quasi ad iustum proelium paucis adhortatus equis calcaria a ubot subsdere et acri impetu in hostem evehi. 9 At illi, quis sub oneribus erant omissis, per metum capessunt fugam: armati quoque, qui eos prosequebantur, eodem metu arma iactare ac nota
deverticula petere coeperunt. 10 Praefectus, simulans cuncta pavore conpleverat. Iaceebant totis campsis opes regiae, illa pecunia stipendio ingenti militum praeparata, ille cultus
tot nobilium virorum, tot illustrium feminarum, 11 aurea vasa, aurei Iot nobilium virorum, tot illustrium feminarum, 11 aurea vasa, aurei
freni, tabernacula regali magnificentia ornata, vehicula quoque a suis freni, tabernacula regali magnificentia ornata, vehicula quoque a suis
destituta, ingentis opulentiae plena, facies etiam praedantibus ristis, si qua res avaritiam moraretur. Quippe tot annorum incredibili et
fidem excedente fortuna cumulata tunc alia stirpibus lacerata, alia in praedae. 12 Iamque etiam ad eos, qui primi fugerant, ventum erat. Feminae pleraequue parvos trahentes liberos ibant: inter quas tres fuere virgines, Ochi, qui ante Dareum regnaverat, filiae, olim quidem
ex fastigio paterno rerum mutatione detractae sed tum sortem earum
 crudelius adgravante fortuna. 13 In eodem grege uxor quoque
eiusdem Ochi fuit Oxathrisque - frater hic erat Darei - filia et coniux Artabazi, principis purpuratorum, filiusque, cui Ilioneo fuit
nomen. 14 Parnabazi quocue cui summum in nomen. 14 Pharnabazi quoque, cui summum imperium maritimae
orae rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est, Mentoris filiae tres ac orae rex dederat, uxor cum filio excepta est, Mentoris filiae tres ac
nobilissimi ducis Memnonis coniux et filius: vixque ulla domus purpurati fuit tantae cladis expers. 15 Item capti sunt Lacedaemonii et Athenienses societatis fide violata Persas secuti, Aristogiton et
Dropides et Iphicrates, inter Athenienses genere famaque longe
 clarissimi, Lacecaeemonii Pausippus et Onomastorides cum Monimo
et Callicratide, hi quoque domi nobiles. 16 Summa pecuniae signatae

And further, Philotas, the son of Parmenion, had in his licentiousn Damascus was a courtesan from Pella, by name Antigona. Ere this
She had crossed over to Samothrace, and there had been teken taptive by Autophradates. She was comely enough to look upon and after Philotoas had attached himself to her, she had complete
possession of him. Indeed that man of iron was so softened that he possession of him. Indeed that man of iron was so softened that he
was not in control of his reasoning powers amid his pleasures but was not in control of his reasoning powers amid his pleasures, but
millocked and brought forth many of his secrets for the woman: unlocked and brought forth many of his secrets for the woman:
"What was that famed Philip, were it not for Parmenion? What was his Alexander, were it not for Philotas? Where his Ammon, and where his serpents, if we do not wish it so?" These words Antigon
reported to an intimate friend of hers among the women, and she reported to an intimate friend of hers among the women, and she
reported them to Craterus; Craterus brought Antigona herself secretly to Alexander, who did not touch her person, but restrained himself and, working secretly through her, he discovered the whol
of Philotas's plans. And for a period of more than seven years of Philotas's plans. And for a period of more than seven years
Alexander never revealed his suspicion; not in his cups, the repute drunkard! not in anger, this man of fiery temper! not to a friend, this man who t
with him!
In fact it is recorded that once, when he had broken the seal of a confidential letter from his mother and was reading it silently to
himself Hepheestion himself, Hephaestion quietly put his head beside Alexander's and took off his ring and placed the seal on Hephaestion's lips. 8 But one might grow weary in the enumeration of these matters by Which Alexander is shown to have made the most honourable and through Fortune, he is even greater in that he made good use of his Fortune. And the more we praise his Fortune the more shall we ex
his Virtue by reason of which he became worthy of his Fortune his Virtue by reason of which he became worthy of his Fortune.
Now, however, I shall proceed at once to the first steps in his advancement and the beginnings of his power, and I shall examine in hose matters the rôle played by Fortune, by reason of which men sssert that Alexander became great through the instrumentality of
Fortune In Heaven's hever felt a wound nor lost a drop of blood nor ever served in war, whom the neighing of a horse placed upon the throne of Cyrus, even as the first Darius, the son of Hystaspes? Or of Xerxes, whom a king,
flatered by his wife, as Darius was flatered by Atossa set upon the throne? Did the royal diadem come to Alexander's doors, as to Oarses through the machinations of Bagoas,
who stripped from him the garb of a courier and put upon him the
oyal raiment and the tiara that ever stands erect? Wap he suddenty oyal raiment and the tiara that ever stands erect? Was he suddenl
and unexpectedly chosen by lot and thus came to rule the inhbbite world, as at Athens the Thesmothetae and Archons attain their
wfice? world, as
office?
Would yo Would you learn how it is that men come to the throne by choice of
Fortune? Once upon a time among the Argives the fanily of Fortune? Once upon a time among the Argives the family of
Heracleidae became extinct, from which family it was their ancesta Heracleidaa became extinct, from which family it was their ancestra
custom to select the Argive kings. When in their search they made inquiry of the god at Delphi, he replied that an eagle would show
them; and a few days later an eagle appeared on high and, swooping hem; and a few days later an eagle appeared on high and, swooping
down, alighted on the house of Aegon, and Aegon was chosen king. Again in Paphos when the reigning king was seen to be unjust and icked, Alexander expelled him and searched for another, since the
family of Cinyradaea appeared to be already passing away or extie family of Cinyradaea appeared to be already passing away or extinnt
However, they told him that there still survived one poor and obscul person, who eked out a forsaken existence in a certain garden. Men were sent to fetch him and, when they arrived, he was found watering his garden-plotst, and he was much perturbed when the
soldiers laid hands on him and ordered him to core with them. He soldiers oigh hands on him and ordered him to come with aem. He He
was brought before Alexander and, dressed as he was in a single cheap garment, he was proclaimed king, and received the royal purple, and became one of those who are styled the king's
"Companions." His name was Abdalonymus. Thus does shifting Fortune create kings, change their raiment, and quickly and easily alter the status of men who expect nothing of the sort, and do not
places that were thickly wooded. The verse about Marpessus. 10.12.8] The next woman to give oracles in the same way, and came from Cumae in the territory of the Opici. The Cumaeans can point to no oracle given by this woman, but they show a small stone urn in a san
bones of the Sibyl bones of the Sibyl.
[10.12.9] Later than Demo, there grew up among the Hebrews abo
Pales Palestine a worman whomo, gave oreacles and was named Sabbe. They
say that the father of Sabbe was Berous say that the father of Sabbe was Berosus, and her mother Erymantio
But some call her a Babylonian Sibyl, others an Egyption But some call her a Babylonian Sibyl, others an Egyptian.
$[10.12 .10]$ Phaennis, daughter of a king of the Chaonians, and the eleiae (Doves) at Dodona also gave oracles under the inspiration of a god, but they were not called by men Sibyls. To learn the date of Phaennis and to read her oracles $[\ldots]$ for Phaennis was born when
Antiokhos was establishing his kingship immediately after the capture of Demetrios. [23] The Peleiades are said to have been born still eariier than Phemonoe and to have been the first women to chan hese verses:
Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be; O mighty Zeus. Earth sends up the harvest, therefore sing the praise of Earth as Mother.
10.12.11] It is said that the men who uttered oracles were Euklos of Cyprus, the Athenians, Musaeus, son of Antiophemus, and Lykos,
son of Pandion, and also Bacis, a Boeotian who was possessed by nymphs. I have read the oracles of all these except those of Lykos. These are the women and men who, down to the present day, are said to have been the mouthpiece by which a god prophesied. B
ime is long, and perhaps similar things may occur again.

## VOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONTINUED

 10.13.1] A bronze head of the Paionian bull called the bison was bisons are the most difficult beasts to capture alive, and no nets could be made strong enough to hold out against their rush. They hunted in the following manner. When the hunters have found aplace sinking to a hollow, they first strengthen it all round with a place sinking to a hollow, they first strengthen it all round with a
stout fence, and then, they cover the slope and the level part a the sout fence, and then, they cover the slope and the level part at the
end with fresh skins, or if they should chance to be without skins, they make dry hides slippery with olive oil.
[10.13.2] Next, their best riders drive the bis [0.13.2] Next, their best riders drive the bisons together into the place I have described. These at once slip on the first skins and roll
down the slope until they reach the level ground, where at the first dhey are leff to lie. On about the fourth or fifth day, when the beasts have lost most of their spirit through hunger and distress,
10.13.3] those of the hunters who are professional tamers bring to 10.13.3 those of the hunters who are professional 1 the the lie fruit of the cultivated pine, first peeling off the innty husk; for the moment the beasts would touch no other food. Finally, they tie ropes around them and lead them off.
[10.13.4] This is the way in which the bisons are caught. Opposite 10.13.4] This is the way in which the bisons are caught. Opposite
the bronze head of the bison is a statue of a man wearing a
breastplate, on which is a cloak. The Delphians say that it is an breastplatee on which is a cloak. The Delphians say that it is an
offering of the Andrians, and a portrait of Andreus, their founder. The images of Apollo, , thena, and Artemis were dedicated by the
people of Phokis from the spoils taken from the Thessalians, their enemies always, who are their neighbors except where the people of Lokris who are calles d Epiknemidioi ocome between.
10.13.5] The Thessal ians too of Parsslus dedicate [10.13.5] The Thessalians too of Pharasalus dedicacted an Achilles on living in Dium, a city at the foot of Mount Pieria, he Apollo who ha taken hold of the deer, the people of Cyrene, a Greek city in Libya, the chariot with an image of Ammon in it. The Dorians of Corinth
[24]
10.13.6] The image of Herakles is a votive offering of the Theban ent when they had fought what is called the Sacred War against the people of Phokis. There tre also bronto stauus, which the people e
Phokis dedicated when they had put to flight the Thessalian cavalry Phokis dedicated when they had put to flight the Thessalian cavary
in the second engagement. [25] The Phliasians brought to Delphi a
whatever in it was hassh and hard. Yyrants might thus be left in he innuendoes and enemies not forbiguities which hid hid the meaning from others, but he did not elude the intelligence of the actual consultants who gave their whole mind to the answers. Hence, now that things have
hanged, it is sheer folly to criticize and find fault with the God ecause he thinks right to give his aid no longer $n$ the same manne ut in another.

Another thing is this: Language receives no greater advantage from poetical form than this, that a meaning which is wrapped and ound in metre is more easily remembered and grasped. Now in Lose days much memory was required. Many things used to be
xplained orally, local indications, the times when things were to be one, rites of Gods across the seas, secret burying-places of heroes, ard to be discovered by those setting off for lands far from Greece,
You know about Chius and Cretinus, and Nesichus, and Phalanthus, You know about Chius and Cretinus, and Nesichus, and Phalanthus,
and many other leaders of expeditions, how many clues they needed o find the proper place appointed to each for settlement, while some f them missed the way, as did Ba dtus. 21 He thought that he would een sent; then he came a second time loudly complaining. Then the
God answered:
 Better than I that have been, then wonderful wise is they wisdom. And thus he sent him out again.
Then Lysander 22 entirely failed to make out the hill Orchalides, Then Lysander 22 entirely failed to make out the hill
otherwise called Alopecus, and the river Hoplites,
 Also the dragon, earthborn, in craftiness coming behind thee. and was defeated in battle and slain in those very spots by
Neochorus, a man of Haliartus, who bore on his shield the device o serpent. There are many such answers given to the old people, all hard to grasp and remember, which I need not give you at length, ince you know them.
ard to grasp and reme
XVIII. "Our present settled condition, out of which the questions now put to the God arise, I welcome and accept. There is great pea nd tranquility, war has been made to cease, there are no wandering Greece asking for potent and extraordinary remedies. But when the is nothing complicated or mysterious, or dangerous, only questions on petty popular matters, like school themes, 'whether I should arry', 'whether I should sail', 'whether I should lend', and the most serious responses given to states concern harvests and cattle-
breeding and public health; in such circumstances, to clothe the answers in metre, or to devise circumlocutions, to introduce trtrange words on questions calling for a plain, concisise answer, is what an
ambitions sophist might do, bedizening the oracle for his slory. But thbitions sophist might do, bedizening the oracle for tis gory. But in the presence of the God, she cares for truth rather than for glory, fo
XIX. "So perhaps ought we too to feel. As it is, in a sort of agony of faar, lest the place should lose its reputation of three thousand years, and a few persons should think lightly of it and cease to visit pologize, and make ur reasons and theories about things which we either know now ought to know. We smooth the critic down, and


if that is the view which he takes of the God; for if we welcome and dmire what the Wise Men of old days have written up: 'Know which includes in a small compass a close hammer-beaten sense, we annot blame the oracles because they mostly use concise, plain,
direct phrases. It is with sayings like those of the Wise Men as with

 ate
 Sorévic äv ท̄unv",
ans, 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 minisisters and philosophers came from all parts to visit him and congratulated him on his election, but contrary to his 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 toch company near him, he raised himself a little, and vouchsafed
to look upon Alexander; and when he kindly asked him whether he wanted anything, "Yes," said he, "I would have you stand from between me and the sun." Alexander was so struck at this answer, and surprised at the greatness of the man, who had taken solittle,
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 mould choose to to be Diogenes.






 he war he had undertaken, and happening to come on one of the forbidden days, when it was esteemed improper to give any answer
from the oracle, he sent messengers to desire the priestess to do her office, and when she refused, on the plea of a law to the contrary, he went up himself, and began to draw her by force into the temple,
until tired and overcome with his importunity, "My son," said she, 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





 mage of Orpheus at Libethra, made of cypress-wood, was seen to weat in great abundance, to the discouragement of many. But signified he should perform acts so important and glorious as would make the poets and musicians of future ages labour and sweat to lescribe and celebrate them.










fuit talentum II milia et sescenta, facti argenti pondus quingenta aequabat. Praeterea XXX milia hominum cum VII milibus

iumentorum dorso onera portantium capta sunt. 17 Ceterum tantae lomentorum dorso onera portantium capta sunt. 17 Ceterum tantae | fortunaae proditorem di, seri saepe ultores, celeriter debita poena |
| :--- |
| persecuti sunt. Namquue nuse e consciis sius, credo, erisis vicem | etiam in illa sorte reveritus, interfecti proditoris caput ad Dareum

tulit, opportunum solacium prodito: quippe et ultus inimicum erat et tulit, opportunum solacium prodito: quippe et ultus inimicum erat
nondum in omnium animis memoriam maiestatis suae exolevisse nondum in
cernebat.

## $\frac{\text { http: } / / \text { penelope. uc }}{\text { xts/Curtins } / 4 *}$

Liber IV
Caput I
1 Dareus, tanti modo exercitus rex, quit triumphantis magis quam
dimicantis more curru sublimis inierat proelium, immensis agminibus inpleverat, iam inania et ingenti socalitudine prop immensis agminibus inpleverat, iam inania et ingenti solitudine
vasta, fugiebat. 2 Pauci regem sequebantur: nam nec eodem omnes fugam intenderant et deficientibus equis cursum eorum, quos rex subinde mutabat, aequare non poterant. 3 Onchas deinde pervenit,
ubi excepere eum Graecorum quattuor milia: no segnius tamen ad Euphraten contendit, id demum credens fore ipsius, quod celeritate pracipere potuisset.
4 At Alexander Parn
erat praeda iussum eam ipsam, er captive apud Damascum recept erat praeda, iussum eam ipsam et captivos diligenti adservare
custodia, Syriae, quam Coelen vocant, praefecit. 5 Novum imperium Syri nondum belli cladibus satis domitit aspernabantur: sed celeritiur subactio oboedienter imperata fecerunt. Aradus quoquue insula deditur
regi. 6 Maritimam tum oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari regi. 6 Maritimam tum oram et pleraque longius etiam a mari
recedentia rex eius insulae Strato possidebat: quo in fidem accep recedentia rex eius insulae strato possidebat: quo in fidem accepto
castra movit ad urbem Marathon. 7 bi illi litterae a Dareo redduntur, quibus ut superbe scriptis vehementer offensusus est: praecipuec eum
movit, quod Dareus sibi regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri nomini hovit, quod Dareus sibi regis titulum nec eundem Alexandri nomini
dscripserat. 8 Postulabat autem magis quam petebat, ut accepta scripserat. 8 Postulabat autem magis quam petebat, ut accepta
pecunia, quantamcumque tota Macedonia caperet, matrem sibi et pecunia, quantamcumque tota Macedonia caperet, matrem sibi et
coniugem liberosque restiterer. De regno aequo, sivellet, Marte
contenderet. 9 Si saniora consilia tandem pati potuisset, contentus patrio cederet alieni imperii finibus, socius amicusque esset. In ea se
fidem et dare paratum et accipere. 10 Contra Alexander in hunc fidem et dare paratum et acciepere. 10 Contra Alexander in hunc
maxime modum rescripsit: 'Rex Alexander Dareo $S$. Cuius nomen sumpsisti, Dareus Graecos, qui oram Hellespontit tenent, coloniasque
Graecorum Ionias omni clade vastavit, cum magno deinde exercitu mare traiecit inlato Macedoniae et Graciae bello. 11 Rursus Xerxes gentis eiusdem ad oppugnandos nos cum immanium barbarorum copiis senit: qui navali proelio victus Mardonium tamen reliquit in
Graccia ut absens Graecia, ut absens quuquee popularetur urbes, agros ureret. 12
Philippum vero, parentem meum, quis ingorat ab bis interfectum esse, quos ingentis pecuniae spe sollicitaverant vestri? Inpia enim bella suscipitis et, cum habeatis arma, licemini hostium capita: sicut tu proxime talentis mille, tanti exeridus rex, percussorem in me emere voluistit. 13 Repello igitur bellum, non infero. Et di quoque
pro meliore stant causa: magnam partem Asiae in dicionem redeg meam, te ipsum acie vici. Quem etsi nihil a me inpetrare oporteba, utpote qui ne belli quidem in me iura servaveris, tamen, si veneris
supplex, et matrem et coniugem et liberos sine supplex, et matrem et coniugem et liberos sine pretio recepturum
esse promitto. 14 Et vincere et consulere victis scio. Quod site esse promitto. 14 Et vincere et consulere victis scio. Quod site
committere nobis times, dabimus fidem inpune venturum. De cetero,
cum mihi scribes, memento non solum regi te sed etiam tuo cum mihis scribes, memento non solum regi te, sed etiam tuo
scribere.' Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus est missus scribere.' Ad hanc perferendam Thersippus est missus.
15 In Phoenicen deinde descendit et oppidum Byblon traditum 15 In Phoenicen deinde descenditet oppidum Byblon traditum
recepit. Inde ad Sidona ventum est, urbem vetustate famaque recepit. Inde ad Sidona ventum est, urbem vetustate famaque
conditorum inclitam. 16 Regnabat in ea Strato, Darei opibus adiutus
.... Sed quia deditionem magis popularium quam sua sponte $\ldots$. Sed quia deditionem magis popularium quam sua sponte Iecerat, regno visus indignus Hephaestioniquae errmissum, ut, quem 17 Erant Hephaestioni duo hospites, clari inter suos iuvenes: qui
facta ipsis potestate regnand inegaverunt, facta ipsis potestate regnandi negaverunt, quemquam patrio more in
id fastigium recipi, nisi regia stirpe ortum 18 Admiratus Hephaestione magnitudinem animi spernentis, quod alii Hephaestione magnitudinem animi spernentis, quod aliis per ignes
ferrumque peterent, 'Vos quidem macti virtute', inquit, 'estote, qui

bronze Zeus, and with the Zeus, an image of Aegina. The
Mantineians of Arcadia dedicated a bronze Apollo, which stands ear the treasury of the Corinthians.
10. 13.7 J Herakles and Apollo are holding onto the tripod and are preparing to fight about it. Leto and Artemis are calming Apollo, and
thena is calming Herakles. This too is an offering of the people of Ahena is calming Herakkes. This too is an offering of the people of
hokis, dedicated when Tellias of Elis led them against the klaios. They are said nages are works shared by Diyllus and Amyklaios. They are said 10.13.8] The Delphians say that when Herakles the son of
Amphitryon came to the oracle, the prophetess X give a response on the ground that he was guilty of the death of iphitos. Then Herakles took up the tripod and carried it out of the Thempen there was
Then there was another Serakles, of Tiryns, not the Canopian.
or before this, the Egyptian Herakles had visited Delphii On For before this, the Eyyptian Herakles
occasion to which I refer t the son of oo Apollo and was told by Xenocleia all he wished to know. The poets adopted the story and sing [10.13.9] The Greeks in common dedicated from the spoils taken at he battle of Plateea a gold tripod set on a bronze serpent. The bronz part of the offering is still preserved, but the leades of Phokis did got leave the gold as they did the bronze.
[10.13.10] The people of Tarentum sent yet another tithe to Delphi from spoils taken from the Peucetii, a non-Greek people. The offerings are the work of Onatas the Aeginetan, and Ageladas the Argive, and consist of statues of footmen and horsemen - Opis, king
of the lapygians, who had become an ally to the Peucetii. Opis is epresented as killed in the fighting, and on his prostrate body, stand he hero Taras and Phalanthus of Lacedaemon, near whom is a
dolphin. For they say that before Phalanthus reached Italy, he dolphin. For they say that before Phalanthus reached Italy, he dolphin.
10.14.1] The axes were dedicated by Periklytos, son of wuthymakhos, a man of Tenedos, and allude to an old story. Kyknos, hey say, was a son of oseeite and ind Leucophrys. 10.14.2] He had a daughter, by name Hemithea, and a son, called Tennes, by Procleia, who was a daughter of Klytios and a sister of
Caletor. Homer in the Iliad $[26]$ says that this Colen as he putting the fire under the ship of Protesilaos, was killed by Ajax Procleia died before Kyknos, and his second wife, Philonome, daughter of Cragasus, fell in love with Tennes. Rejected by him, she
falsely accused him before her husband, saying that he had made falsely accused him before her husband, saying that he had made
love to her, and she had rejected him. Kyknos was deceived by the ove to her, and she had rejected him. Kyknos was deceived by the
trick, placed Tennes with his sister in a chest, and launched it out to
sea.
$[10.14 .3]$ The young people came safely to the island Leucophrys, and the island was given its present name from Tennes. Kyknos,
however, was not to remain for ever ignorant of the trick and sailed owever, was not to remain for ever ignorant of the trick and sailed
to his son to confess his ignorance and to ask for pardon for his
sistake. He put in at the island and fastened the cables of mistake. He put in at the island and fastened the cables of his ship to something - a rock or a tree - but Tennes in a passion cut them
adrift with an axe.
$[10.144]$ For this reason a byword has arisen, which is used of those adif. 14.4 For this. reason a byword has arisen, which is used of tho
[10.
who make a stern refusal: "So and so has cut whatever it may be with an axe of Tenedos." The Greeks say that while Tennes was
defending his country, he was killed by Achilles. In course of time weakness compelled the people of Tenedos to merge themselves with the Alexandrians on the Troad mainland.
$[10.14 .5]$ The Greeks who fought geajint the
10.14.5] The Greeks who fought against the king, besides dedicating at Olympia a bronze Zeus, dedicated also an Apollo at
Delphi, from spoils taken in the naval actions at Artemisium and Salamis. There is also a story that Themistokles came to Delphi bringing with him for Apollo some of the Peresian spoils. He asked
whether he should dedicate them within the temple, but the Pythian whether he should dedicate them within the temple, but the Pythian The part of the oracle referring to this runs as follows:
ansparency $\begin{gathered}\text { a }\end{gathered}$ cen warency to the eye of the mind, but if you look into what has
ben writen or said about them ;by those who have wished to learn he full meaning of each, you will not easily find longer treaties disewhere. The language, of the Pythia illustrates what
nathematicians mean by calling a straight line the shortest between he same points it makes no bending, or curve, or doubling or is open to examination, and it has never yet been found wrong; it has is open to examination, and it has never yet been found wrong, it has beautified it with noble buildings and Amphictyonic fittings. Why, you see for yourselves many buildings added which were not here
formerly, many restored which were ruinous or destroyed. As new remery, many restored which were ruinous or destroyed. As new
rees spring up by the side of those in vigoorous bearing, so the Pylea flourishes together with Delphi and in fed upon the same meat, the
plenty of the one causes the other to take on shapeliness and figure lenty of the one causes the other to take on shapeliness and figure
nd a beauty of temples, and halls of meeting and fountains of wate such as it never had in the thousand years before. Now those who wwell about Galaxius in Boeotia felt the manifest presence of the
God in the abundance and more than abundance of mik: od in the abundance and more than abundance of milk:



From all the kine and every flock,
Centeous as water from the rock,
Came welling, gurgling on its way
The milk that day.
Hot foot they hied them to the task
别
To fill the pail, to fill the cask
No pot or pan had holiday;
Wine-skin or flagon, none might stay
Within, that day.
But to us he gives tokens bright and stronger and more evident than hese, in having, after the days of drought, of desertion and poverty, brought us plenty, splendour, and reputation. True, $I$ am well please
with myself for anything which my own zeal or service may have with myself for anything which my own zeal or service may have
contributed to this result in support of Polycrates and Petraeus, well pleased too with him who has been our leader in this policy, to whose thought and planning most of the improvements are due; but is wholly in this short time by merely human care with no present here or lending his Divinity to the place of the oracle.
XX. "But as in those days there were some who found fault with he responses for obliquatity and want of clearness, sound ow there are
hose who criticize them as too simple, which is child dishness indee and rank stupidity! For as children show more glee and satisfaction the sight of rainbows or haloes or comets than in that of the sun
f the moon, so do these people regret the riddes allegories, of the moon, so do these people regret the riddles, allegories, and
metaphors which are so many modes of refraction of prophetic art in
a mortal and fanciful medium. And if they do not fully inquire into mortal and fanciful medium. And if they do not fully inguire into , thenselves, fo having a po
counsels."

## OTES Note that the English translation of this passage at Perseus is


 Euripides, as quoted by Plutarch himse
Palxa Kaumene, a volcanici island ejected in 196 B.C.
5. Tim. 90 .
. Xen. Sympos. c.2.3.

Xen. Sympos. c.2.3.
Herod. 1.51.
Thing passage from the Loob edition. The text is defective at this point;,
Prickard drads "The God was in need, and dignity was waived": King "

 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 eventy 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 neans 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 t last he had portioned out or engaged almost all the royal property, hich giving Perdiccas an occasion to ask him what he would ceas "will be your partners in those," and refused to accept of the estate had assigned him.
Sme others of his friends did the like, but to those who willingly teceived or desired assistance of him, he liberally granted it, as far
his patrimony in Macedonia would reach, the most part of which spent in these donations.
This








With such vigorous resolutions, and his mind thus disposed, he
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 estemed him, in having while he lived so faithfulu a a friend, and whe 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 beis told he might see Paris's harp, if he pleased, he said he thought it no wo he might see Paris's harp, if he pleased, he said he thought it no
worth looking on, but he should be glad to see that of Achilles, to hich he used to sing the glories and great actions of brave men.

## 















primi inenexistis, quanto maius esset regnum fastidire quam accipere. Ceterum date aliquem regiae stirpis, qui meminerit a vobis
acceptum habere se regnum.' 19 Atque illi, cum multos imminere tantae spei cernerent singulis amicorum Alexandri ob nimiam regi
cupiditatem adulantes sulu nt neminem esse potiorem quem Abdalonymum quendan, longa quidem cognatione stirpi regiae
adnexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exigua colentem adnexum, sed ob inopiam suburbanum hortum exigua colentem stipe. 20 Cuasa ee paupertatis sicut plerisque probitas erat:
intentusque operi diurno strepitum armorum, qui totam Asiam intentusque operi diurno strepitum armorum, quit totam Asiam
concusserat, non exaudiebat. 21 Subito deinde, de quibus ante
dictum est, cum regiae vestis insignibus hortum intrant, quem fort dictum est, cum regiae vestis insignibus hortum intrant, quem forte
steriles herbas eligens Abdalonymus repurgabat. 22 Tum rege eo salutato alter ex his, 'Habitus', inquit, 'hic vestis, quem cernis in meis manibus, cum isto squalore permutandus tibi est. Ablue corpus inluvie tetrisque sordibus squalidum: cape regis animum et in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, istam continentiam perfer. Et cum in regali
solio residebis, vitae necisgue omnium civium dominus, cave obliviscaris habitus, in quo accipis regnum, immo, hercule, propter quem.' Somnio similis res Abdalonymo videbatur: interdum, satisne sani essent, qui tam proterve sibi inluderent, percontabatur. $23 \mathrm{Sed} u$
cunctanti squalor ablutus est et iniecta vestis purpura auroque cunctanti squalor ablutus est et iniecta vestis purpura auroque
distincta et fides a iurantibus facta, serio iam rex iisdem comitantibu in regiam pervenit. 24 Fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe discurrit. Aliorum studium, aliorum indignatio eminebat:
divitissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamue eius aud divitissimus quisque humilitatem inopiamque eius apud amicos
Alexandri criminabatur. 25 Admitti eum rex protinus iussit diuque contemplatus, 'Corporis', inquit, 'habitus famae generis non repugnat sed libet scire, inopiam qua patientia tulerris?' Tum ille, 'Utinam',
inquit, 'eodem animo regnum pati posim! her inquit, 'eodem animo regnum pati possim! hae manus suffecee
desiderio meo: nihil habenti nihil defuit.' 26 Magnae indolis specimen ex hoc sermone Abdalonymi cepit. Itaque non Stratonis modo regiam supellectilem attribui ei iussit, sed pleraque etiam ex Persica praeda, regionem quoque urbi adpositam dicioni eius adiecit
27 Interea Amynas, quem ad Persas ab Alexandro transugisse diximus, cum quattuor milibus Graecorum ipsum ex acie persecutis fuga Tripolin pervenit. Inde in naves militibus inpositis Cyprum transmisit et, cum in illo statu rerum id quemque, quod occcupasset,
habiturum arbitraretur velut certo iure possessum, Aegytum petere decrevit, utrique regi hostis et semper ex ancipitit mutatione decrevi,
temporum pendens. 28 Horrtatusque milites ad spem tantae eie docet
Sabacen, praetorem Aegypti, cecidisse in aci: Persarum praesidium tsine duce essee et invalifidum, Aesyptios semper praetoribus eorum experiri necessitas cogebat: quippe cum primas spes fortuna destituit, futura praesentibus videntur esse potiora. Igitur conclamant, duceret, quo videretur. Atque the utendum animis, dum spe calerent, ratus, Pelusii ostium penetrat, simulans a Dareo se esse praemissum. 30
Potitus ergo Pelusii Memphim copias promovit: ad cuius famam Aegyptii, vana gens et novandis quam gerendis aptior rebus, ex suis quique vicis urbibusque huc [ipsum] concurrunt ad delenda praesidi Persarum. 31 Qui territit tamen spem retinendi Aegyptum non
omiserunt: sed eos Amyntas proelio superatos in urbem conpellit
castrisque positis victores ad populandos agros discurrunt: velut in castrisque positis victores ad populandos agros discurrunt: velut in
medio positis praedis hostium cuncta agebantur 32 Itagi quamquam infelici proelio suorum animos territos esse cognoverat, tamen palantes et victoriae fiducia incautos ostentans perpulit, ne
dubitarent ex urbe erumpere et res amissas reciperare. 33 Id consilium non ratione prudentius, quam eventu felicius fuit: ad unum omnes cum ipso duce occisi sunt. Has poenas Amyntas utrique regi
dedit, nihilo magis ei, ad quem transfugerat, fidus, quam illi, quem 34 Darei praetores, qui proelio apud Isson superfuerant, cum omni manu, quae fugientes secuta erat, adsumpta etiam Cappadocum Paphlagonum iuventute Lydiam reciperare temptabant. 35
Antigonus, praetor Alexandri, Lydiae preeerat: qui quamqua Antigonus, praetor AAexandri, Lydiae praeerat: qui quamquam
plerosque militum ex prasidiis ad regem dimiserat, tamen barbaris
spretis in spretis in aciem suos eduxit. Eadem illic quoquef fortuna partium fuitit
tribus proeliis alia atque alia regione commissis Persae funduntur. 36 tribus proeliis alia atque alia regione commissis Persae funduntur. 36
Eodem tempore classis Macedonum ex Gracia accita Aristomenen,
qui ad Hellesponti oram reciperandam a Dareo erat missus, captis
foes 1 ous giants did she not raise up to oppose him? Whom of his or jagged cliffs or the might of beasts from forecign lands? But if Alexander's thought had not been set on high emprise, if it had not derived its impelling force from great Virtue, and had not refused to
submit to defeat in its wrestling with Fortune, would he not have grown tired and weary of marshalling and arming his forces, weary
of his sieges and pursuits amid unnumbered revolts, desertions, and of his sieges and pursuits amid unnumbered revolts, desertion,
riots of subject peoples, defections of kings, against Bactria,
Maracanda, Sogdiana, as if he were cutting off the heads of a which ever grew again in renewed wars among these faithless and onspiring peoples?

11 I shall be thought to be making a strange statement, yet what I shall say is true: it was because of Fortune that Alexander all but the repute of being the son of Ammon! For what offspring of the
gods could have toiled through such hazardous, toilsome, and painfu gods could have toiled through such hazardous, toilsome, and painfu
Labours save only Heracles, the son of Zeus? But it was one arrogan man who imposed upon Heracles the task of capturing lions, of pursuing wild boars, of frightening off birds so that he might not
have time to go about performing greater deeds, such as punishing have time to go about performing greater deeds, such as punishing
men like Antaeus and stopping creatures like Busiris from their men like Antaeus and stopping creatures like Busiris from their
abominable murders. But upon Alexander it was Virtue who laid the
kingly and god-like kingly and god-like Labour, the end and aim of which was not gold
carried about by countless camels nor Persin carried about by countless camels, nor Persian luxury, banquets, and
women, nor the wine of Chalybon, nor the fish of Hyrcania, but to order all men by one law and to render them submissive to one rule accustomed to one manner of life.
The desire which he cherished to
The desire which he cherished to accomplish this task was implanted in him from childhood, and was fostered and increased with the
years that passed. Once, when ambassadors came from the Persian years that passed. Once, when ambassadors came from the Persian
king to Philip, who was not hot home, Alexander, while he entertaine them hospitably, asked no childish questions, as the others did, abou
he vine of gold, or the Hanging Gardens, or how the Great King wi the vine of gold, or the Hanging Gardens, or how the Great King
arrayed; but he was completely engrossed with the most vital concerns of the dominion, asking how large was the Persian army where the king stationed himself in battle (even as the famed
Odysseus asked Where are his arms that he wields in the battle, and where are his horses?);
and which roads were the shortest for travellers going inland from he sea - so that the strangers were astounded and said, 'This boy 'great king'; our king is only weat thy." But atter Philip's end, whep
Alexander was eager to cross over and, already absorbed in his hopes and preparations, was hastening to gain a hold upon Asia, Fortune,
seizing upon him, blocked his way, turned him about, draged him eizing upon him, blocked his way, turned him about, dragged hin
ack, and surrounded him with ark, she threw into the utmost commotion the barbarian elements
Firs among his neighbours, and contrived wars with the Illyrians and
Triballians. By these wars he was drawn from his Asvian and Triballians. By these wars he was drawn from his Asiatic projects as ara away as the portion of Scythia that lies along the Danube; when,
by sundry manoeuvres, he had subjugated all this territory with muct yy sundry manoeuvres, he had subjugated all this territiory y whth mue
danger and great struggles, he was again eager and in haste for the crossing. Again, however, Fortune stirred up Thebes against him,
and thrust in his pathway a war with Greeks, and the dread necessity of punishing, by means of slaughter and fire and sword, men that were his kith and kin, a necessity which had a most unpleasant ending. After this he crossed with provision for thirty days, as Phylarchus reates; but Aristobulus says, with seventy talen, his possessions at home and his royal greater part of his possessions at home and his royal revenues amons
his friendss Perdiccas alone would take nothing when Alexander
offered but asked "Whet offered, but asked, "What are you leaving for yourself, Alexander?"
And when Alexander replied ""ibgh hopes!" "Then" said Perdicas And when Alexander replied, "High hopes.", "Then," said Perdic
we shall also share in these; for it is not right to take your possessions, but right to wait in expectation of those of Darius."
12 What, then, were the hopes on which Alexander relied when he would hold a city of $10,000 \mathrm{men}$, nor fleets that sailed through

The splendid beauty of the Persian's spoils Set not within my temple. Dispatch them homes speedily. 0.14.6] Now, I greatly marveled that it was from Themistokles thought that the gostd would have rejected alike all offerings from Persian spoils, if like Themistokles the others had inquired of Apol before making their dedication. Others said that the god knew that
Themistokles would become a suppliant of the Persian king and Themistokles would become a suppliant of the Persian king and
efused to take the gifts so that Themistokles might not by a dedication render the Persian's enmity unappeasable. The expedition of the barbarian against Greece we find foretold in the oracles of
Bacis Bacis, and Ear the wis
10.14 .71 Near the great altar is a bronze wolf an offering of the Delphians themselves. They say that a fellow robbed the god of some treasure and kept himself and the gold hidden at the place on
Mount Parnassos where the forest is thickest As he slep Mount Parnassos where the forest is thickest. As he slept, a wolf When the people began to realize that the matter was not without the intervention of the god [theos], they followed the beast and found the acred gold. So to the god, they dedicated a bronze wolf. her lovers, but it was Phryne herself who dedicated the statue. The
her offerings next to Phryne include two images of Apollo, one dedicated from Persian spoils by the Epidaurians of Argolis, the other dedicated by the Megarians to commemorate a victory over the
Athenians at Nisaia. The Plataeans have dedicated an ox, an offering made at the time when, in their own territory, they took part, along
with the other Greeks, in the defense against Mardonios, the son of Gobryas. Then theere are another two images of Apollo, one Amphiktyones when they fined the people of Phokis for tilling the

[10.15.2] The second Apollo the Delphians call Sitalcas, and he is thirty-five cubits high. The Aetolians have statues of most of their
generals, and images of Artemis, Athena, and two of Apollo, dedicated after their conclusion of the war against the Gauls. That the Celtic army would cross from Europe to Assia to destroy. the citis here was prophesied by Phaennis in her oracles a generation befor [10.15.3] Then truly, having crossed the narrow strait of the
The devastating host of the Gaull shall pipe; and lawlessly
They shall ravage Asia; and much worse shall the ged do
To those who dwell by the shores of the sea
For a short while. For right soon the son of Cronos
Shall raise them a helper, the dear son of a bull reared by Zeus,
Who on all the Gauls shall bring a day of destruction By the son of a bull, she meant Attalus, king of Pergamon, who was also styled bull-horned by an oracle.
$[10.15 .4]$ Statues of cavalry leaders, mounted on horses, were 10.15.4] Statues of cavalry leaders, mounted on horses, were tedicated in Apollo's sancluary by attic cavalry. The ronzze palm tree, as well as a gilded image of Athena on it, was edicated by the Athenians from the spoils they took in their two other with their fleet on the river. The gold on this image was, I noticed, damaged in parts.
$10.15 .5]$ I myself put the blame on rogues and thieves. But 10.15.5]I I myself put the blame on rogues and thieves. But
Kleitodemos, the oldest writer to describe the customs of the Kleitodemos, the oldest writer to describe the customs of the
Athenians, says in his account of Attica that when the Athenians were preparing the Sicilian expedition a vast flock of crows swoop on Delphi, pecked this image all over, and with their beaks, tore
away its gold. He says that the crows also broke off the spear, the away its gold. He says that the crows also bre
owls, and the imitation fruit on the palm tree
owls, and the imitation fruit on the palm tree.
[10.15.6] Kleitodemos describes other omens that told the Athenians to beware of sailing against Sicily. The Cyrenaeans have dedicated Delphi a figure of Battos in a chariot, he it was who brought them in
ships from Thera to Libya. The reins are held by Cyrene, and in the chariot is Battos, who is being garlanded by Libya The artist was a Cnossian, Amphion, the son of Acestor.
. The text is defective ant this point, and we unfortunately do not know the Gause of Pindar's astonishment.
10. Thucydides 1.118 .
11. Ibid V. 16 (from which words have been supplied in the defective text
of Pluarch, which additionally reads
PPuasaniass of Plutarch, which additionally reads "Pausanias" for "Plesistonaxixi). STiver
share" turned out to mean that their crops would be inadecuate and they tare turned out to mean
would have to buy grain.
12. Od. 2.372.
5. Il. 5.1 .
16SS. Thave "Pandarus". Plutarch probably did not suppose Pindar was the author of the line. It is quoted by Aristophanes. Peace 699, in
connexion with the stingines of Sophocles or Simonides, and the scholiast uotes from Pindar a censure of that vice in poets; so some confusion is

## 

## 1. Herod. 4.155; Pindar Pyth. 4

22. See Lysander
23. O. 2. 1900
Note on the text:
Noll 0B-C
ote on the text: This text follows the translation of Prickard (1918) with ccasional departures where I Iflt his English was too quirky or ugly or
where it departs substantially fom other trasslations Ifelt to be more acceptable. (You may judge from what is lest texactly how wuiriry and ugly
his translation is a t times.) The text covers pages $394 d$ to 409 e; page

 pluatchVerses. html 1 XXV "). The Greek, where supplied, is mostly from
(he Loeb edition.

AAR 1 januari 1936 ALEXANDER DE GROOTE
Het Duitsche origineel van dit boek, aan welks verdiensten ik gaarn hulde heb gebracht 2), begint met een voorwoord, dat gedateerd is
Januari $1931{ }^{\text {. De Fransche vertaling ervan is, ten dienste van de }}$ pers, in Juni 1933 gedistribueerd. In den tusschentijd werd de eschiedenis van den Macedonischen held, die een onuitputtelijke
nin blift vormen waarvan ieder jaar door de kritiek nieuwe adere lootgelegd worden, verrijkt met studies, waarvan men eenig spoor hocht hopen te vinden in dit bookdeel uit de collectie-Payot. Maar daarvan treffen wij niets aan; de uitgave van Parijs bracht ons,
vergele ken met die van Leipzig geen winst. In vertrouwen op het vergeleken met dean zin Leipzig,
sterke bolwerk van zijn eigen nasporingen, waarvan hij een overzic geeft ( $p$. 13), heeft de schrijer - zonder met dezelfde zorg van de nasporingen van zijn collega's melding te maken - zich met opzet Hij heeft verbeteringen en eenvoudige retouches versmaad. Zoo heeft hij, om een voorbeeld te noemen, ten aanzien van den aar der betrekkingen tusschen Philippus en de, Atheners, betoogd, dat de
koning van Macedonie "met een onuitputtelijk geduld, alle koning van Macedonie "met een onuitputtelijk geduld, alle
provocaties ten spijit
zijn uiterste best gedaan had om den strijd te provocaties ten spijt" zijn uiterste best gedaan had om den strijd te
vermijden. Pierre Roussel, die geheel in het onderwerp thuis is, liet zich daarover aldus uit: "Het geduld van Philippus en de provocaties der Atheners doen ons slimlachen" 1). Niettegenstaande deze juiste
ironische opmerking heeft "la période balancé", die daartoe ronische opmerking heeft "la periiode balancee", die daartoe
aanleiding gaf, in den Franschen tekst geen enkele wizigigng ondergaan, (blz. 50). Laten we niettemin niet nalaten, de wijze in erinnering te brengen, waarop Montesquieu, bijna twee eeuwen geleden, zijn oordeel te kennen gaf over de waarde, die aan de
ouding der Atheners was te hechten: "Men kan bij Demosthenes ezen, hoeveel moeite het kostte hen er toe te brengen haar aan te eemen; men vreesde er Philippus, niet als den vijand der vrijheid, haar als dien van de genoegens". 2 )
Het gaat hier slechts om een klein detail. Ersstiger is deze gewilde
nthouding, wanneer zij moeilijke problemen betreft, die slechts othouding, wanneer zij moeilijke problemen betreft, die slechts
door een vergelijkend onderzoek van de tegenstrijige oplossingen
unnen worden opgelost. Ik kies als voorbeeld do bed kunnen worden opgelost. Ik kies als voorbeeld de bedevaart naar het
were encamped on the further bank of the river Granicus, and it was it The depth of the river, with the unevenness and difficult ascent of he opposite bank, which was to be gained by main force, was engage, because it was unusual for the kings of Macedonia to marc with their forces in the month called Daesius. But Alexander broke hrough 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, witho 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 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 e ction seemed to
have more frenzy and desperation in it, than of prudent conduct. 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












 For the enemy pressed upon him with loud and warlike outcries; and
charging horse against torse, with thei charging horse against horse, with their lances, atter they had broke
and spent these, they fell to it with their swords. And Alexander, being easily known by his buckler, and a large plume of white 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 oe of the joinings. And Rhoesaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, falling upon him at once, he avoided one of them, and
struck at Rhoesaces, who had a good cuirass on, with such force that his spear breaking in his hand, he was glad to betake himself to his dagger. While they were thus engaged, Spithridates came up on one
ide of him, and raising himself upon his horse, gave him such a
and low 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 nough to save him, that the edge of the weapon touched the hair of black Clitus, prevented him, by running him through the body with 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

## Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and the foot on each









eius aut eversis navibus superat. 37 A Milesis deinde Pharnabazus, praefectus Persicae classis, pecunia exacta et praesidio in urbem Has quoque insulas prasidiiis occupat, pecunia multat. Has quoque insulas praesidis occupat, pecunia multat.
38 Magnitudo eelli, quod ab opulentissimis Europae Asiaeque regibus in spem totuius orbis occupandi gerebatur, Graeciae quoque
Cretae arma commoverat. 39 Agis, Lacedaemoniorum rex, octo Cretae arma commoverat. 39 Agis, Lacedaemoniorum rex, octo milibus Graecorum, qui ex Cilicia profugi domos repetierant,
contractis bellum Antipatro, Macedoniae praefecto, moliebatur. 40 Cretenses has aut illas partes secuti nunc Spartanorum, nunc Wacedonum praesidiis occupabantur. Sed leviora inter illos fuere
$\underset{1}{\text { Caput II }}$
Iam tota Syria, iam Phoenice quoque excepta Tyro Macedonum fretum dirimit. 2 Tyros, et magnitudine e t clarititete ante omnes urbes Syriae Phoenicecsuue ememorabilis, facilius societatem Alexandri
acceptura videbatur, quam inperium. Coronam igite acceptura videbatur, quam imperium. Coronam igitur auream donum
legati adferebant commeatusque large et hospitaliter ex oppido legati adferebant commeatusque large et hospitaliter ex oppido
advexerant. Ille dona ut ab amicis accipi iussit benigneque legatos adlocutus Herculi, quem praecicisue Tyrii i colerent, sacrificare velle se dixit: 3 Macedonum reges crecere, ab illoo deo ipsos genus ducere, se
vero, ut id faceret, etiam oraculo monitum. 4 Legati respondent, esse templum Herculis extra urbem in ea sede, quam Palaetyron ipsi vocent: ibi regem deo sacrum rite facturum. 5 Non tenuit iram, cuius alioqui potens non erat. Itaque, 'Vos quidem', inquit, 'fiducia loci, quod insulam incolitis, pedestrem hunc exercitum spernitis: sed brev
ostendam in continenti vos esse Proinde sciatis licet, aut intraturum me urbem aut oppugnaturum.' 6 Cum hoc responso dimissi suos monere coeperunt, ut regem, quem Syria, quem Phoenice recepisset,
ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur 7 At illi loco satis fisi ipsi quoque urbem intrare paterentur. 7 At illi loco satis fisi
obsidionem ferre decreverant. Namque urbem a continenti obsidionem ferre decreverant. Namque urbem a continenti quattuor
stadiorum fretum dividit: Africo maxime obiectum crebros ex alto fluctus in litus evolvit. 8 Nec accipiendo operi, quo Macedones continenti insulam iungere parabant, quicquam magis quam ille Africus vero prima quaeque congesta pulsu inlisa maris subruit: nec Africus vero prima quaeque congesta pulsu inlisa maris subruit:
ulla tam firma moles est, quam non exedant undae et per nexus operum manantes et, ubi acrior flatus existit, summi operis fastigio
superfusae. 9 Praeter hanc difficultatem haud minor alia erat muros turresque ubis paedte mise ambiebt non tormenta nisi e turresque urbis praealtum mare ambiebat: non tormenta nisie
navibus procul excussa mitti, non scalae moenibus adplicari pote pracceps in salum murus pedestre interceperatiter: naves nec bebat rex et, si admovisset, pendentes et instabiles missilibus arceri poterant. 10 Inter quae parva dictu res Tyriorum fiduc
accendit. Carthaginiensium legati ad celebrandum sacrum anniversarium more patrio tunc venerant: quippe Carthaginem Tyrii condiderunt, semper parentum loco culti.i. 11 Hortari irgo Pooni
coeperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur: brevi Carthagine aeperunt, ut obsidionem forti animo paterentur: brevi Carthagin classibus maria obsidebantur. 12 Igitur bello decreto per muros turresque tormenta disponunt, arma iunioribus dividunt, opifices,
quorum copia urbs abundabat, in officinas distribuunt. Omnia belli apparatu strepunt: ferreae quoque manus - harpagonas vocant -
quas operibus hostium inicerent, corvique et alia tuendis urbibus excogitata praeparabantur. 13 Sed cum fornacibus ferrum, quod excudi oportebat, inpositum esset, admotisque follibus ignem flatu
accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub bipsis flamme extitise dicuntur dque accenderent, sanguinis rivi sub ipsis flammis extitisse dicuntur: idque
omen in Macedonum interitum verterunt Tyrii. 14 Apud Macedonas omen in Maceconum interitum verterunt Tyriil. 14 Apud Macedol
quoque cum forte panem quidam militum frangerent, manantis
sanguinis sanguinis guttas notaverunt, territoouue rege Aristander, peritissimus
vatum, si extrinsecus cruor fluxisset, Macedonibus id trist futurum ait: contra, cum ex interiore parte manaverit, urbi, quam obsidere destinassent, exitium portendere. 15 Alexander cum et classem procul haberet et longam obsidionem magno sibi ad cetera
inpedimento videret fore, caduceatores, qui ad pacem eos pedimento videret fore, caduceatores, qui ad pacem eos conpenelerent, misit: quoses cyrriciiceotorras, ius gus antium occisos
praecipitaverunt in altum. Atque ille suorum tam indigna morte

commotus urbem obsidere statuit. 16 Sed ante iacienda moles era, quae continentiu urbem committeret. Ingens ergo animis militum posset inpleri. Quae saxa tam vasta, quas tam proceras arbores posse posset inpleri. Quae saxa tam vasta, quas tam proceras arbores posse
reperiri? exhauriendas esse regiones, ut illud spatium exaggeraretur: exaestuare semper fretum, quoque artius volutetur inter insulam
continentem, hoc acrius furere. 17 At ille haudquaquam rudis continentem, hoc acrius furere. 17 At ille haudquaquam rudis
pertractandi militares animos speciem sibi Herculis in somno pertractandi militares animos speciem sibi Herculis in somno
oblatam esse ronuntiat dextram porrigentis:
in urbo duce, gentium iura violata referebat: unam esse urbem, quae cursum
victoris morari ausa esset. 18 Ducibus deinde negotium datur, quisque castiget, satisque omnibus stimulatis opus orsus est. Magna quisque castige, saisque omnibus stitulatis opus orsus est. Mag
vis saxorum ad manum erat tyro vetere praebente: materies ex Libano monte ratibus et turribus faciendis advehebatur. 19 lamque a aquae fastigium aequabat: 20 cum Tyrii parvis navigions admotis per ludibrium exprobrabant, illos armis inclitos dorso sicut iumenta onera gestare: interrogabant etiam, num maior Neptuno Alexander esset? Haec ipsa insectatio alacritatem militum accendit. 21 lamque paulum moles aqua eminebat et simul aggeris latitudo cresce
urbique admovebatur: cum Tyrii magnitudine molis, cuius incrementum eos antea fefellerat, conspecta levibus navigiis nondur commissum opus circumire coeperunt, missilibus quoque eos, quii
pro opere stabant, incessere. 22 Multis ergo inpune vulneratis, cum et removere stabant, incessere. 22 Mulpellere scaphas in expo inpune vulneratis, cum ipsos tuendi ab opere converterant: et quo longius moles agebatur a litore, hoc magis, quidquidi ingerebatur, praealtum absorbebat mare.
23 Igitur rex munientibus coria velaque iussit obtendi, ut extra teli io Igitur rex munientibus coria velaque iussit obtendi, ut extra teli subeuntes scaphas tela ingeri possent. 24 Contra Tyrii navigia procu a conspectu hostium litori adpellunt expositisque militibus eos, qui saxa gestabant, obtruncant.
In Libano quoque Arabum
In Libano quoque Arabum agrestes inconpositos Macedonas adorti Caput III
divider copias coëgit et ne segniter adsidert uni urbi videretur, operi Perdic
expedita manu Arabiam petiit. Hpi nencatam, ita ut multum turora emimerert baxis harenaque a initam remis concitaverunt et, cum magnam vim venti vela quoque concepissent, celeriter ad molem successit: tum prora eius accensa remeiges desiliere in scaphas, quae ad hoc ipsum praeparatae
sequebantur. 3 Navis autem igne concepto latius fundere incendium coepit, quod, priusquaum possen occurrit, turres et cetera opera in coepit, quodi, priusquam posset occurrit, turrese et cetera opera in
capite molis posita conprehendit. 4 At qui desiluerant in parva navigia, faces et, quidquid alendo igni aptum erat, in eadem opera
ingerunt. lamque non modo imae Macedonum turres, sed etiam ingerunt. Iamque non modo imae Macedonum turres, sed etiam
summa tabulata conceperant ignem cum ii qui in turibus erant summa tabuatat conceperant ignem, cum ii, quisi in turribus erant,
partim haurirentur incendio, partim armis omissis in mare semet ipsi inmitterent. 5 At Tyrii, quic capere eos quam interficere mallent, natantium manus stipitibus saxisque lacerabant, donec debilitati inpune navigiis excipi possent. 6 Nec incendio solum opera
consumpta, sed forte eodem die vehementior ventus motum ex profundo mare inlisit in molem, crebrisque fluctibus conpages operis verberatae laxavere se saxaquue interfluens unda medium opesu rupit.
7 Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus iniecta terra sustinebatur, 7 Prorutis igitur lapidum cumulis, quibus iniecta terra sustinebatur,
praeceps in profundum ruit, tantaeque molis vix ulla vestigia invenit praeceps in profundum ruit, tantaeque molis vix ulla vestigia invenit
Arabia rediens Alexander. Hic, quod in adversis rebus solet fieri, alius in alium culpam referebant, cum omnes verius de saevitia maris queri possent. 8 Rex novi operis molem orsus in adversum ventum non latere, sed recta fronte direxit: ea cetera opera velut sub ipsa
latentia tuebatur: latitudinem quoque aggeri adiecit, ut turres in medio excititatae procul teli iactu abessent. 9 Totas autem arbores cur ingentibus ramis in altum iaciebant, deinde saxis onerabant rursusque
cumulo eorum alias arbores iniciebant, tum humus aggerabatur: super quae alia strue saxorum arborumque cumulata velut quodam nexu continens opus iunxerant. Nec Tyrii, quidquid ad inpediendam

was engraven in ancient characters, that the time would come couraged by this accident, he proceeded to reduce the maritime parts of Cilicia and Phoenicia, and passed his army along the seaLasts of Pamphylia with such expedition that many historians have less than a miracle, and an extraordinary effect of divine favour, hat the waves which, usually come rolling in violently from the
 to afford him passage. Menander, in one of his comedies, alludes to
this marvel when he says:
"Was Alexander ever favoured more?
Each man I wish for meets me at my door
And should I ask for passage through the sea,







enitertions nothing unusual in is at all, but says he went from Phaselis, and passed through what
ey call the Ladders. At Phaselis he stayed some time, and finding he statue of Theodectes, who was a native of this town and was no dead, erected in the market-place, after he had supped, having drunk
pretty plentifully, he went and danced about it, and crowned it with garlands, honouring not ungracefully, in his sport, the memory of a philosopher whose conve
was Aristotte's scholar.













 stputziav $\mu \tilde{0} \lambda \lambda o v$.
Then he subdued the
Hen he subdued the Pisidians who made head against him, and
conquered the Phrygians, at whose chief city, Gordium, which is 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 tha Alexander finding himself unable to untie the knot, the ends of hich were secretly twisted round and folded up within it, cut it sunder with his sword
But Aristobulus tells us Bulling the pin out of the was easy for him to undo it, by only fterwards drawing off the yoke itself from below wastem, and dvanced into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia both wrom hence he dvanced into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, both which countries $h$ 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 ather encouraged to carry the war into the upper provinces of Asia.

ex excogitari poterat, segniter exequebantur. 10 Praecipuum auxilium erat, qui procul hostium conspectu subibant aquam occultoque lapsu ad molem usque penetrabant, falcibus palmas
arborum eminentium ad se trahentes, quae ubi secutae erant, arborum eminentium ad se trahentes, quae ubi secutae erant,
pleraque secuum in profundum dabant: tum levatos onere stipites pleraques secum in profud angre moliebantur: deinde totum opus,
truncosque abborum haud a
quod stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso sequebatur. quod stipitibus fuerat innixum, fundamento lapso sequebatur.
11 Aegro animi Alexandro nec, perseveraret an abiret, satis certo Aegro animi Alexandro nec, perseveraret an abiret, satis certo
classis Cypro advenit eodemque tempore Cleander cum Graecis militibus in Asiam nuper advectis. C et XC navigia in duo dividit cornua: laevum Pnytagoras, rex Cypriorum, cum Cratero tuebatur,
Alexandrum in dextro quinqueremis regia vehebat. 12 Nec Tyrii, Alexandrum in dextro quinqueremis regia vehebat. 12 Nec Tyrii,
quamquam classem habebant, ausi navale inire certamen: tris omnin quamquan classem habebant, ausi navale inire certamen. tus demersit.
dis
Poste
13 Postero die classe ad moenia admota undine tortis maxime arietum pulsu muros quatit: quos Tyrrii raptim obstructis
saxis refecerunt, interiorem quogue murum, ut si spiop fefelisset, saxis refecerunt, interiorem quoque murum, ut, si prior fefellisset,
illo se tuerentur, undique orsi. 14 Sed undique vis mali urguebat: moles intra teli iactum erat, classis moenia circumibat: terrestri simu navalique clade obruebantur. Quippe binas quadiremes
inter se ita iunxerant, ut prorae cohaerenent, puppes intervallo, quantum capere poterant, distarent: 15 hoc puppium intervallum
 urbem agebant: inde missilia in propugnantes ingerebantur tuto, quia proris miles tegebatur. 16 Media nox erat, cum classem, sicuti dictum est, paratam circumire muros iubet. Iamque naves urbi spissae nubes intendere se caelo, et, quidquid lucis internitebat spissae nubes intendere se caelo, et, quidquid lucis internitebat,
offusa caligine extinctum est. 17 Tum inhhorrescens mare paulatim levari, deinde acriore vento concitatum fluctus ciere et inter se navigia conlidere. Iamque scindi coeperunt vincula, quibus conexae
quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata et cum ingenti fragore in quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata et cum ingenti fragore in
profundum secum milites trahere. 18 Neque enim conserta navigia ulla ope in turbido regi poterant: miles ministeria nautarum, remex nilititis officia turbabat, et, quod in e eusmodi casu accidit, periti
ignaris parehant: quipe subernatores al as imperare soltit tum metu ignaris parebant: quippe gubernatores alias imperare solitit tum metu
mortis iussa exequebantur Tandem remis pertinacius everberatum mare veluti eripientibus navigia classicis cessit, adpulsaque sunt litori lacerata pleraque.
19 Isdem forte diebus Carthaginiensium legati XXX superveniun, magis obsessis solacium quam auxilium: quippe domestico bello
Poenos inpediri nec de imperio, sed pro salute dimicare nuntiabant 20 Syracusanii tum Africam uriebant et haud procul Carthaginis muris ocaverant castra. Non tamen defecere animis Tyrii, quamquam ab ngenti spe destituti erant, sed coniuges liberosque devehendos
Carthaginem tradiderunt, fortius, quidquid accideret, laturi, si carissimam sui partem extra sortem periculi communis habuissent.
21 Cumque unus e civibus in contione indicasset oblatam essen 21 Cumque unuse civibus in contione indicasset, oblatam esse per somnum sibi speciem Apollinis, quem eximia religione colerent,
urbem deserentis, molemque a Macedonibus in salo iactam in urbem deserentis, molemque a a acedonibus in salo iactam in
silvestrem saltum esse mutatam: 22 quamquam auctor levis erat, tamen ad deteriora credenda proni metu aurea catena devinxere
simulacrum areage Herculis nselacrum araeque Herculis, cuius numini urbem dicaverant, inserulure vinculum, quasi illo deo Apollinem retenturo. Syrac
simulacrum devexerant Pooni et in maiore locaverant patria multisque aliis spoliis urbium a semet captarum non Carthaginen magis quam Tyrum ornaverant. 23 Sacrum quoquue, quod equidem
dis minime cordi esse crediderim, multis saeculis itternisum repetendi auctores quidam erant, ut ingenuus puer Saturno immolaretur: quod sacrilegium verius quam sacrum Carthaginienses a conditoribus traditum usque ad excidium urbis suae fecisse
dicuntur. Ac nisi seniores obstitissent quorm consilo dicuntur. Ac nisi seniores obstitissent, quorum consilio cuncta
agebantur, humanitatem dira superstitio vicisset. 24 Ceterum agebantur, humanitatem dira superstitio vicisset. 24 Ceterum
efficacior omni arte necessitas non usitata modo praesidia, sed quaedam etiam nova admovit. Namque ad inplicanda navigia, quae
muros subibant, validis asseribus harpagonas inligaverant, ut, cum muros subibant, validis asseribus harpagonas inligaverant, ut, cum
tormento asseres promovissent, subito laxatis funibus inicerent. 25 Unci quoque et falces ex isdem asseribus dependentes aut

And when they tried forcibly to pull it out of the wound by the roots, as it were, the iron would not budge, since it was lodged in the bon,
part of the breast in front of the heart. They did not dare to saw off the protruding portion of the shaft, since they were afraid that the bone might be split by the jarring and cause excruciating pain, and hat an internal haemorrhage might result. But when Alexander
perceived their great perplexity and hesitation, he himself tried wit is dagger to cut off the arrow close to his breastplate; but his hand was unsteady and affected by a torpid languor from the inflammatio
of the wound. Accordingly with encouraing words he urged those the wound. Accordingly with encouraging words se and he railed at some who were weeping and could not control courage to come to his assistance. And he cried aloud to his Companions, "Let no one be faint-hearted even for my sake! For it will not be believed that I do not fear death, if you fear death for me!"
$\frac{\text { http: / /penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer } / \mathrm{E} / \mathrm{Roman} / \mathrm{Te}}{\mathrm{xts} / \mathrm{Plutarch} / \text { Moralia/Fortuna Alexandri } * / 1 \text {.htmi }}$ http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/T
xts/Plutarch/Moralia/Fortuna Alexandri*/2.htm
no anchorage on this side of the island, while violent but irregular 10.17.11] Across the middle of the island runs another chain of mountains, but lower in height. The atmosphere here is on the who heavy and unwholesome. The reason is partly the salt that cystalizes here, partly the oppressive, violent south wind, and parly
he fact that, because of the height of the mountains on the side wards Italy, the north winds are prevented, when they blow in say that, the cause is Cyrnus, which is separated from Sardinia by $n$ more than eight stades of sea and is hilly and high all over. So they hink that Cyrnus prevents
reaching as far as Sardinia.
10.17.12] Neither poisonous nor harmless snakes can live in Sardinia, nor yet wolves. The he-goats are no bigger than those
found elsewhere, but their shape is that of the wild ram whe found elsewhere, but heir shape is hat of the wild ram which an rtist would carve in Aeginean style, except that their breasts are
shaggy to liken them to Aeginetan art. Their horns do not stand out away from the head but curl straight beside the ears. In speed, they re the swiftest of all beasts.
deadly herb is like celery, and they say that thoes who eat it die leadily herb in like ecelery, and they say that those who eat id
laughing. That is why Homer, [29] and men after him, call
unwholesome laughter sardonic The herb laaghng. Man is why Homer,
unwholesome laughter sardonic. The hereb grows mostly around
springs, but does not impart any of its poison to the water. prings, but does not impart any of its poison to the water.
have introduced into my history of Phokis this account of Sardina have introduced into my history of Phokis this account of Sardinia
eecause it is an island about which the Greeks are very ignorant.

## OOTIVE OFFERINGS AT DELPHI CONTINUED

[10.18.1] The horse next to the statue of Sardus was dedicated, says The Athenian Kallias, son of Lysimakhides, in the inscription, by
Kallias himself from spoils he had taken in the Persian War. The Achaeans dedicated an image of Athena after reducing by siege on
f the cities of Aetolia, the name of which was the siege was not a short one, and being unable to take the city, the sent envoys to Delphi, to whom was given the following response:
[10.18.2] Dwellers in the land of Pelops and in Achaea, who to

Have come to inquire how ye shall take a city,
Have come to inguire how ye shall take a city,
Come, consider what daily ration,
Druunk bythe folk, saves the city which has so drunk.
For so ye may take the towered village of Phana. For so ye may take the towered village of Phana.
10.18.3] So not understanding what was the meaning of the oracle, hey were minded to raise the siege and sail away, while the defenders paid no a atlention to them, one of their women coming from behind the walls to fetch water from the spring just under the Ine of the besiegers ran up and took the woman prisioner, who
infrmed the Achaeans that the scanty water from the spring that w fetched each night was rationed among the besieged, who had othing else to quench their thirst. So the Achaeans, by filling up the spring, captured the town.
10.18.4] By the side of th.
10.18.4] By the side of this Athena, the Rhodians of Lindus set up
heir image of Apollo. The Ambraciots dedicated also a bronze ass, hhiri image of Apollo. The Ambraciots dedicated also a bronne ass,
anving conquered the Molossians in a night battle. The Molossians had prepared an ambush for them by night. It chanced that an ass,
being driven back from the fields, was chasing a she-donkey with being driven back from the fields, was chasing a ahe--donkey with
arsh braying and wanton gait, while the driver of the donkey larsh braying and wanton gait, while hhe driver of the donkey
ncreased the din by his horrible, inarticulate yells. So the men in the
Molossian ambush rushed out, all rightened, and the Ambraciots, Molossian ambush rushed out, all frightened, and the Ambraciots,
detecting the trap prepared for them, attacked in the night and overcame the Molossians in battle.
[10.18.5] The men of Orneae in Argolis, when hard pressed in war by the Sikyonians, vowed to Apollo that, if they shouldd drive the host of the sikyonians out of their native land, they would organize
daily procession in his honor at Delphi and sacrifice victims of a daily procession in his honor at Delphi and sacrifice victims of Sikyonians in battle. But finding the dail, fulfillment of theire vow
great expense and a still greater trouble, they devised the trick of reat expense and a sili greater trouble, hey devised the trick of
dedicating to the god bronze figures representing a sacrifice and a

Koning van Karel den Zevende in Reims voor den geest willen er, evenals van dien van Olympias, een gebooorte-geheieim, waarbij eanne d'Arc zich beroept op een overtuigend wonder, 2) wevenals de profeet van Ammon dat deed ten opzichte van den Macedonischen an St. Remy in processsie medebrachten - zooals de zetel van den Lbyschen Zeus in processie onder de hoede van priesters der Oase
werd rondgedragen -, waarna de koning van Frankrijk de heilige zalving ontving. Het was ook de heilige zalving, die de koning van Macedoniè ontring. . Zooweve in het eene als is het andere geval ging
het om een godsdienstige investituur, om een soort kroning. het om een godsdienstige investituur, om een soort kroning.
Laat ons overigens vooral het uitsluitend theologische karakter van Laat ons overigens voorat het uitssuitend theologische karakter van
dergelijke wijding goed begrijpen. Ditmaal schrijft Wilcken geheel dergelijk
juis:
"Geduren
"Gedurende zijn geheele leven heeft Alexander deze mystieke overuiging gehad, de zoon van Ammon-Zeus te zijn. Wat zijn
vleeschelijken vader, Philippus, betreft, dezen heeft hij volstrekt nial verloochend, evenmin als een Pharao zijn vader verloochende, omd iij tegelijkertijd de zoon van Ra en van andere goden
werkelijkheid gaan hier hand aan hand." (blz. 134).
Tenslote is (zie blz. 132 ) "sur son arche" minder juist dan "in seine
Barke"; wel was in den bijbel de arke Noach's een boot, maar de erm heeft door de eeuwen heen zoo verschillende betekenissen
gehad, dat het gebruik ervan tot verwarring leidt. Het behoeft ons Sehad, dat het gebruik ervan tot verwarring leidt. Het behoeft ons
niet te verwonderen, dat een doctor in de philosophie, die al zijn zorg besteedt aan het letterkundige in dehalte, niiet altijid even nauwkeurig is als een geschiedschrijer van beroep. Maar had een vetenschappelijk man, war hij als historicus optreedt, de Wijfelachtige passages niet moeten laten nazien? pelgrimstocht naar Siwa, de andere problemen van de geschiedenis van Alexander, waarover verschil van meening bestaat, zooals het
proces van Philotas, de zaak-Kallisthenes, de quaestie der goddelijk proces van Philotas, de zaak-Kallisthenes, de quaestie der goddelije
eerbewijzen, opnieuw in bijzonderheden te bespreken. Daar ik reed op verschillende punten 1) mijn meening heb doen kennen, geef ik op verschillende punten de mijn meening heb doen kennen,
de vorkeur an, de algemeene conceptie van het boek in
beschouwing te nemen en na te gaan, welke beteekenis aan d beschouwing te nemen en na te gaan, welke beteekenis aan den
persoon en het levenswerk van den veroveraar wordt gehecht. Als eerste fundamenteele eigenschap valt bij dezen krijgsman, hartstochtelijik bewonderaar van de lilias, hierop te wijzzn: "het ngewikkelde van zijn natuur, die tegenstrijdige, schijnbaar verstandelijke beschouwing het raadsel van zijn leven niet oplossen
 lem." Daarom, "wanneer men in Alexander slechts den handigen,
berekenenden politicus ziet 1 , miskent men zije "romantische en mystieke" aspiraties (blz. 12.).
De "pothos", deze "ontembare levensdurf", die zal doen besluiten to oovele van zijne daden, van den overtocht over de Donau tot den overtocht over den Indus, "deze instinctieve hang naar het
onbekende, het nog nimmer onderzochte, het mysterieuse", deze "nostalgische attractie", die hem, niettegenstande de vermoeieniss en den tegenstand van zijn troepen, zonder ophouden zal meesleepe die van den veldtocht tegen de Geten af zijn jeugdige ziel karakteriseert. Niets is juister; maar moeten we gelooven, dat deze op dat tijdstip "nog vreemd was aan elk denkbeeld om de geheele ereld te beheerschen"?
Bij een wonderkind, vurig en zeer gevoelig, als de zoon van
Oiympias er en was ontluiken en cen boovenanatige eerruchent niet op latarenen leeftijid. Zij ontstaan,
en vordat de ondervinding der jaren het vuur van den droom kan blusschen. II het opbruisen der jeugdkrachten geven zij zich met de
meeste iirationeele" geestdrift aan onbegrensde droombeelden ove
Toen Alexander Toen Alexander aan het hof van zijn vader de afgezanten van den Grooten Koning sprak en hun vroeg naar de wegen, die naar het
Verre Azië 1) leiden, was het hem zeker niet onbekend, dat het taatkundig ideaal van de Achaemeniden ten doel had, de geheele staatiundig deceal van de Achaemeniden ten doel had, de geheete
wereld te bezitten. 2) Men kan zich, zonder de kracht van den







 ot only in the number of his men, which amounted to six humdre, housand, but likewise in a dream, which the Persian soothsayers interpreted rather in flattery to him than according to the natural probability.
He dreamed
He dreamed that he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and
Alexander waiting on him clad in the some dress which he Aexander watiting on him, clad in the same dress whice ine hafer which, going into the temple of Belus, he vanished 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.


























Darius's confidence increased the more, because Alexander spent so much time in Cilicia, which he imputed to his cowardice. But it was
sickness that detained him there, which some say he contracted from sickness that detained him there, , hich some say he contracted from
his fatigues, others from bathing in the river Cydnus, whose waters were exceedingly cold. However it happenec, none of his physician
would venture to give him any remedies, they thought his case so ould venture to give him any remedies, they thought his case so
esperate, and were so afraid of the suspicions and ill-will of the desperate, and were so afraid of the suspicions and ill-will
Macedonians if 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
rtt, and rather hazard his own credit and life than suffer him to his perish for want of physic, which he confidently administered to him,
ropatares aut ipsa navigia lacerabant. Clipeos vero aereos mult igne torrebant, quos repletos fervida harena caenoque decocto e
muris subito devolvebant. 26 Nec ulla pestis magis timebatur: quippe, ubi loricam corpusque fervens harena penetraverat, nec ulla vi excuti poterat et, quidquid attigerat, perurebat, iacientesque arma laceratis omnibus, quis protegi poterant, vulneribus inulti patebant:
corvi vero ef ferreae manus tormento remissae plerosque rapiebant. Caput IV
1 His rex fatigatus statuerat soluta obsidione Aegyptum petere. Quippe cum Asiam ingenti velocitate percucurrisset, circa muros
unius urbis haerebat tot maximarum rerum opportunitate dimiss Ceterum tam discedere irritum, quam morari pudebat, $f$ dmissa. quoque, qua plura quam armis everterat, ratus leviorem fore, Tyrum quasi testem, se posse vinci, reliquisset. Igitur ne quid inexpertum omitteret, plures naves admoveri iubet delectosque
militum inponi. 3 Et forte belua invisitatee magnitudinis super ipsos fluctus dorso eminens ad molem, quam Macedones iecerant, ingens corpus adplicuit diverberatisque fluctibus adlevans semet utrimque sunspecta ests: 4 deinde a capite molis rursus alto se inmersit ac moct super undas eminens magna sui parte, modo superfusis fluctibus
condita haud procul munimentis urbis se mersit. 5 Utrisque laetus fuit beluae aspectus: Macedones iter iaciendo operi monstrasse eam augurabantur, Tyrii Neptunum occupati maris vindicem abripuisse
beluam ac molem brevi profecto ruituram. L aetique omine oe ad beluam ac molem brevi profecto ruituram. Laetique omine eo ad
epulas dilapsi oneravere se vino, quo graves orto sole navigia conscendunt redimita floribus coronisque: adeo victoriae non omen modo, sed etiam gratulationem praceceprant. 6 Forte rex classem in liversam partem agi iusserat XXX minoribus navigis relictis in donec suorum clamore audito Alexander classem litori, a quo fremitus acciderant, admovit. 7 Prima e Macedonum navibus quinqueremis velocitate inter ceteras eminens occurrit, quam ut quarum alteram quinqueremis concitata eadem et ipsa rostro icta est et illam invicem tenuit. 8 lamque ea, quae non cohaerebat, libero impetu evecta in aliud quinqueremis latus invehebatur: cum quinqueremi inminebat, tanta vi inpulsa est, ut Tyrius gubernator in mare excuteretur e puppi. 9 Plures deinde Macedonum naves superveniunt, et rex quoquue aderat: cum Tyrii inhibentes remis aegre
evellere navem quae evellere navem, quae haerebat, portumque omnia simul navigia
repetunt. Confestim rex insecutus portum quidem intrare non pot cum procul e muris missilibus summoveretur, naves autem omnes fere aut demersit aut cepit.
10 Biduo deind ad quietem
10 Biduo deinde ad quietem dato militibus iussisque et classem et machinas pariter admovere, ut undique territis instaret, ipse in
altissimam turrem ascendit ingenti animo, periculo maiore: 11 quippe regio insigni et armis fulgentibus conspicuus unus praecipue
telis petebatur. Et digna prorsus spectaculo edidit telis petebatur. Et digna prorsus spectaculo ediditi: multos e muris propugnates hasta transfixit, quosdam etiam comminus gladio
clipeoque inpulsos praceipitavit, quippe turris, ex qua dimicabat, cipeoque inpulsos praciipitavit, quippe turris, ex qua dimicabat,
muris hostium propemodum cohaerebat. 12 lamque crebris arietibus
sexorum conpe muris hostium propemodum conaerebat. 12 lamque crebris arietious cum Tyrii, tot simul malis victi, alii supplices in templa confugiunt alii foribus aedium obseratis occupant liberum mortis arbitrium, nonnulli ruunt in hostem haud inulti tamen perituri, magna pars, summa tectorum obtinebat, saxa et, quidquid fors in manus dedera, ingerentes subeuntibus. 13 Alexander exceptis, qui in templa
confugerant, omnes interfici ignemque tectis inici iubet. 14 His per pracocones pronuntiatis nemo tamen armatus opem a dis petere sustinuit: pueri virginesque templa conpleverant, viri in vestibulo
suarum quisque aedium stabant, parata sevientibus turba 15 Multis tamen saluti fuere Sidonii, qui intra Macedonum praesidia erant. Hi urbem quidem inter victores intraverant, sed cognationis cum Tyriis memores - quippe utramque urbem Agenorem condidisse
credebant - multos Tyriorum clam protegentes, navigia, quibus occultati Sidona devecti sunt. XV milia hoc furto navigac quibus occutuat sidona devectus sunt. Xvin mina hoc furto

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Moralia (Plutarch), Phocis, PYTHIA, Alexander (Plutarch)
10.18.6] There is here one of the labors of Herakles, namely, his ight with the hydra. Tisagoras not only dedicated the offering, but so made it. Bohn . Herakles are of iron. To make mages of iron is a aery difficult task, involving great labor. So the
work of Tisagoras, whoever he was, is marvellous. Very marvellou too are the heads of a lion and wild boar at Pergamon, also of iron, hich were made as offerings to Dionysus.
[0.18.7] The people of Phokis who live at Elateia, who held their city, with the help of Olympiodoros from Athens, when besieged by
Kassandros, sent to Apollo at Delphi a bronze lion. The Apollo, ve near to the lion, was dedicated by the Massiliots as first fruits of the naval victory over the Carthaginians. The Aetolians have made a
rophy and the image of an armed woman, supposed to represent rophy and the image of an armed woman, supposed to represent
Aetolia. These were dedicated by the Aetolians when they had punished the Gauls for their cruelty to the Kallians. A gilded statue, offered by Gorgias of Leontinoi, is a portrait of Gorgias himself.
$10.19 .1]$ Beside the Gorgias is a votive offering of the 10.19.1] Beside the Gorgias is a votive offering of the

mphiktyones, representing Skyllis of Scione, who, the stoy | [phē̄̄̄] says, dived into the very deepest parts of every sea. He als |
| :--- |
| taught his duaghter Hydna | aught his daughter Hydna to dive.

[0.19.2] When the fleet of Xerxes was attacked by a violent storm Mount Pelion, father and daughter completed its destruction by raaging away under the sea the anchors and any other security the
iremes had. In return for this deed. the tatues of Skyllis and his daughter. The statue of Hydna comated statues of Skyllis and his daughter. The statue of Hydna completed
the number of the statues that Nero carried off from Delphi. Only hose of the female sex who are pure virgins may dive into the sea. $\left.{ }^{301} 10.19 .3\right]$ I am going on to tell a Lesbian story. Certain fishermen of Methymna found that their nets dragged up to the surface of the sea
tee made of olive wood. It appearance suggested a touch of face made of olive wood. Its appearance suggested a touch of
ivinity, but it was outlandish, and unlike the normal features of Greek gods. So the people of Methymna asked the Pythian priestes of what god or hero the figure was a likeness, and she ordered them
worship Dionysus Phallen. Then the people of Methymna kept for worship Dionysus Phallen. Then the people of Methymna kept
hemselves the wooden image out of the sea, worshipping it with sarifices and prayers, but sent a bronze copy to Delphi.

## EMPLE OF APOLLON AT DELPH

10.19.4] The carvings in the pediments are: Artemis, Leto, Apollo, Muses, a setting Sun, and Dionysus together with the Thyiad
women. The first of them are the work of Praxias, an Athenian pupil of Kalamis but the temple took some fraxias, to Athenian and pupil of Kalamis, but the temple took some time to build, during
which Praxias died. So the rest of the ornament in the pediments w carved by Androsthenes, like Praxias an Athenian by birth, but a pupil of Eukadmos. There are arms of gold on the architraves; the
Athenians dedicated the shields from spoils taken at the battle of thenians dedicated the shields from spoils taken at the battle of
(arathon, and the Aetolians the arms, supposed to be Gallic, behin and on the left. Their shape is very like that of Persian wicker hields.

## INVASION OF THE GAULS, HISTORY

10.19.5] I have made some mention of the Gallic invasion of Gree my description of the Athenian Council Chamber. [31] But I have
esolved to give a more detailed account of the Gauls in my esolved to give a more detailed account of the Gauls in my
description of Delphi, because the greatest of the Greek exploits against the barbarians took place there. The Celts conducted their irst foreign expedition under the leadership of Cambaules. dvancing as far as Thrace, they lost heart and broke off their
he Greeks. [10.19.6] But when they decided to invade foreign territory a secon me, so great was the influence of Cambaules veterans, who had plunder, that a large force of infantryy and no small number of nounted men attended the muster. So the army was split up into rree divisions by the chie separate land to invade
10.19.7] Kerethrios w 0.19.7] Kerethrios was to be leader against the Thracians and the
ation of the Triballi. The invaders of Paionia were under the
"pothos" bij dezen afstammeling van Hercules en Achilles te ene na het andere orstellen, dat zulke denkbeelden, zelfs niet he ontwikkeling en rijpheid gekomen zijn." (blz. 13.)
Wanneer hij den Gordiaanschen knoop doorhakt en het orakel van Ammon raadpleegt, doet alles in zijn gedragslijin ons hem kennen as den antipode van een beperkten horizon, van een ironische verkild Agesilaus zich bepaalde. Met het innerlijk vuur van een geloovige assimilert Alexander zich aan de goddelijke profetieën. Deze epalen geen nieuwe richting: ziij harmonieeren met een geloof, dat het niet.
Als de diepste kern van Alexander een in wezen godsdienstige natuur was, waar de Dionysische exaltatie, die hij van zijn moeder Tad geêrfd, den aanleg voor een Apollinisch verstand, dat hij van
Philippus 3 ) had, in vuur en vlam zette en soms wel op een Philippus 3) had, in vuur en vlam zette en soms wel op een
waalspoor bracht, dan vraag ik mijaf, in hoever het juist is om, zooals Wilcken met dogmatischen ijijer doet, de intellectueele rol,
die hij hem toeschrijf: die van welbewust systematish die hij hem toeschrijft: die van welbewust, systematisch, exclusief propagandist van het Hellenisme te zijn geweest, zoo te roemen.
nn 340 koestert de joinge erfgenaam van den troon, wanneer "de In 34 koestert de jenge erfyenaam van den troon, wanneer "de
dylle van Mieza", een aan studie gewijde atzondering gevolgd doo een inwijding in de staatszaken, een einde neemt, als revanche, fschoon hij, naar men ons verzekert, vreemd stond tegenover het
begrip van een wereldrijk, "den wensch, de Grieksche beschaving, die Aristoteles hem had leeren begrijpen, naar het Oosten over te brengen." (blz. 66.) In 336 , bij de herrieuwing van het verdrag van
Corinthe, die van den autocratischen strateg der verbonden staten Orinthe, die van den autocratischen strateeg der verbonden staten
teden, den kampioen van een représiillo-oorlog maakt, is het de Panhelleensche gedachte, meer dan die van het Macedonisch mperialisme, die hem, "aan wien Aristoteles de liefde voor de Grieksche beschaving ingeprent had", in geestdrift brengt, omdat zil
hem de gelegenheid biedt, "diezelfde beschaving naar Aziè te brengen." (blz. 73-74.) Want "Alexander begreep, als leerling van Aristoteles, dat zijn Aziatische veldtocht niet slechts een militaire expeditie, maar ook een daad van groote beteekenis voor de
beschaving was" (blz. 87) Voor wie ziijn beschavingspolitiek wil definieeren "was Alexander opgevoed in eerbied en bewondering voor de Grieksche cultuur en in het denkbeeld, dat hij het Oosten oor haar moest openen... De leerling van Aristoteles heeft zich tot veroveringstocht nuttig te maken als ontdekkingsreis en hamar in dienst der Grieksche wetenschap te stellen, door de onbekende andstreken te doen onderzzoeken door een staf van geleerden, die lem begeleiddden" (blz. 259-260). Om het met enkele woorden te eggen: "dezze Grieksche cultuur, die reeds voor hem begonnen was Oosten te verspreiden," dat was de groote leidende gedachte van Alexander (blz. 299). Tegenover de stelling van Wilcken staat die van Salomon Reinach:
"Ik moge opmerken, dat in Ik moge opmerken, dat in Alexander's loopbaan niets authentieks,
an verre of van nabij, den invloed van Aristoteles verraadt en dat niets authentieks in de geschriften van Aristoteleses er getuigenis van
aftegt dat hij de leermester van Alexander is gewest flegt, dat hij de leermeester van Alexander is geweest. Als werkel
van zijn diensten als paedagoog aan het hof te Pella gebruik is van zijn diensten als paedagoog aan het hof te Pella gebruik is onder omstandigheden, welke ons niet bekend zijn, uit het paleis va deze halve barbaren na een hevige woordenwisseling moeten
vertrekken. 1 I En, naar aanleiding von het werk van E Herriot "So vertrekken. 1) En, naar aanleididng van het werk van E. Herrio
'Olivier": A Alexander is zoó weinig de geliefde leerling van ristoteles, dat zijn oud-leermeester nooit over hem spreekt en alle oespelingen maakt, die voor veroveraars onaangenaam zijn." 2) Een Alexander, in merg en been Helleen geworden, een Alexander,
die met de wijsbegeerte van Aristoteles gebroken heeft, de waarheí lijkt mij in het midden tusschen deze twee uitersten te liggen. De toehoorder uit de nymfengrot te Mieza was met een te toegankelijke
geest begaafd om niet den intellectueelen invloed van den meester ondergaan. Onder Aristoteles' geestelijke leiding doorliep hij het eheele terrein der menschelijije wetenschap. Hij werd met de
ncouraging him to take it boldly, if he desired a speedy recovery, in Aer on prosecute the war. At this very time, Parmenio wrote to who was bribed by Darius to kill him, with areat sums of money, and a promise of his daughter in marriage. When he had perused the ther, he put it under his pillow, without showing it so much as to potion, he took it with great cheerfulness Philip came in with the meantime the letter to read. This was a spectacle well worth being resent at, to see Alexander take the draught and Philip read the letter at the same time, and then turn and look upon one another, bu with different sentiments, for Alexander's looks were cheerful and
 to the gods to witness his innocence, sometimes lifting up his hands o 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 st to drive, so to say, the vital forces into the interior, he lost his peech, and falling into a swoon, had scarce any sense or pulse left. Sowever in no long time, by Philip's means, his health and strength ere in continual fear and dejection until they saw him abroad agai


Макв







, Kai वxeovv non faodiçi. named Amyntas, one
named Amyntas, one
Alexander's character
This man, when he saw
his man, when he saw Darius intended to fall upon the enemy in位 passes and defiles, advised him earnestly to keep where he was, umerous army to have field-room enough when it engaged with a sser force.
emy would of taking his counsel, told him he was afraid the cape out of his hands. "That fear," replied Amyntas, "is needless, fr assure yourself that far from avoiding you, he will make all the toward you.





Sut Amyntas's counsel was to no purpose, for Darius immediately decamping, marched into Cilicia at the same time that Alexander
dvanced into Syria to meet him; and missing one another in the night, they both turned back again. Alexander, greatly pleased with eevent, made all the haste he could to fight in the defiles, and sadvantageous a place.







aestimari potest, quod intra munimenta urbis VI milia matorum trucidata sunt. 17 Triste deinde spectaculum victoribus crucibus adfixi per ingens litoris spatium pependerunt. 18 , Carthaginiensium legatis pepercit addita denuntiatione belli, quod praesentium rerum necessitas moraretur. vetustate origininis et crebra fortunae varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis. Condita ab Agenore diu mare, non vicinum
modo, sed quodcumque classes eius adierunt, dicionis suae fecit. Et, sif famae libet credere, haec gens litteras prima aut docuit aut didicit. Boeotia Thebae, Gades ad Oceanum. 20 Credo libero conmeantes mari saepiusque adeundo ceteris incognitas terras elegisse sedes iuventuti, qua tunc abundabant, sive quia crebris motibus terrae nam hoc quoque traditur - cultores eius fatigati nova et externa
domicilia armis sibimet quaerere cogebantur. 21 Multis ergo casibus defuncta et post excidium renata nunc tandem longa pace cuncta refovente sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit.

## aput V

diptae. Petebat: 'uti ficei literae adlatae sunt tandem ut regi Alexander sibi adiungeret: dotem offerre omnem regionem inter erris contentum. 2 Si forte dubitaret, quod offerremur accinere numquam diu eodem vestigio stare fortunam semperque homines, quantamcumque felicitatem habeant, invidiam tamen sentire adiorem. 3 Vereri se, ne avium modo, quas naturalis levitas ageret, in illa aetate tantam capere fortunam. 4 Multas se adhuc reliquias habere nec semper inter angustias posse deprehendi: transeundum
esse Alexandro Euphraten Tigrimque et Araxen et Crond esse Alexandro Euphraten Tigrimque et Araxen et Choaspen, magna
munimenta regni sui: veniendum in campos wbi pavcitate sumum erubescendum sit. 5 lam Mediam, Hyrcaniam, Bactra et Indos, Oceani accolas, quando aditurum - ne Sogdianos et Arachosios nominem ceterasque gentes ad Caucasum et Tanain pertinentes? vero ad ipsum vocare desineret, namque illius exitio se esse venturum.' 7 Alexander iis, qui litteras attulerant, respondit, Dareum sibi aliena promittere et, quod totum amiserit, velle partiri. Doti sibi praemia Leges autem a victoribus dici, accipi a victis in utro ambo essent, si solus ignoraret, quam primum Marte decerneret. 8 S [quoque], cum transiret mare, non Ciliciam aut Lydiam - quippe nti belli exiguam hanc esse mercedem - sed Persepolim, cap imperio destinasse. Quocumque ille fugere potuisset, ipsum sequi posse: desineret terrere fluminibus, quem sciret maria transisse. 9 Reges quidem haec invicem scripserant. Sed Rhodii urbem suam
portusque dedebant Alexandro. Ille Ciliciam Socratit tradiderat Philota regioni circa Tyrum iusso praesidere. Syrian quae Coel appellatur, Andromacho Parmenio tradiderat bello, quod supererat, interfuturus. 10 Rex Hephaestione Phoenices oram classe praeterve 1 isso ad urbem Gazam cum omnibus copiis venit.
11 lisdem fere diebus sollemne erat ludicrum Isth
1 lisdem fere diebus sollemne erat ludicrum Isthmiorum, quod
onventu totius Graeciae celebratur. In eo concilio Graeci, ut sur emporaria ingenia, decernunt, ut XV legarentur ad regem, qui ob res pro salute ac libertate Graeciae gestas coronam auream donum auram, ut, quocumque pendentes animos tulisset fortuna,

## equerentur.

13 Ceterum non ipse modo rex obibat urbes adhuc iugum imperi ecusantes, sed praetores quoque ipsius, egregii duces, pleraque Vaserant, Calas Paphlagoniam, Antigonus Lycaonian. Balacrus
Hydarne, Darei praetore, superato denuo Miletum cepit: 14 mphoterus et H estore, superato denuo Miletum cepit: 14 chaiam atque Asiam in dicionem Alexandri redegerunt. 15 Tenedo uoque recepta Chium incolis ultro vocantibus statuerant occupare:
eed Pharnabaus, Darei praetor conprehensis, qui res ad Macedonas

command of Brennus and Acichorius. Bolgius attacked the ing of the Macedonians at that time. It was this Ptolemy who, hough he had taken refuge as a suppliant with Seleukos, the son of
Antiokhos, treacherously murdered him and was surnamed Thunderbolt because of his recklessness. Ptolemy himself perished in the fighting, and the Macedonian losses were heary. But once ore, the Celts lacked courage to advance against Greece, and so
scond expedition returned home. econd expecition returned home.
10.19 .8 I It was then that Brennus, both in public meetings and also in personal talks with individual Gallic officers, strongly urged a
campaign against Greece, enlarging on the weakness of Greece at ime, on the wealth of the Greek states, and on the even greater wealth in sanctuaries, including votive offerings and coined silver and gold. So he induced the Gauls to march against Greece. Amon The officers he chose to be his colleagues was Acichorius.
10.19 .91 The muster of foot amounted to one hundred and fifty-two 10.19.9] The muster of foot amounted to one hundred and fifty-two
housand, with twenty thousand four hundred horsemen. This was the number of horsemen in action at any one time, but the real
number was sixty-one thousand two hundred. For to each umber was sixty-one thousand tww hundred. For to each horsema were attached two servants, who were themselves skilled riders an
like their masters, had a horse.
10.19.10] When the Gallic horsemen were engaged, the servants 10.19.10] When the Gallic horsemen were engaged, the servants
femained behind the ranks and proved useful in the following way. Should a horseman or his horse fall, the slave brought him a horse
nount; if the rider was killed, the slave mounted the horse in his master's place; if both rider and horse were killed, there was a ounted man ready. When a rider was wounded, one slave broug back to camp the wo
place in the ranks. place in the ranks.
10.19.11] I believ
that the Gauls in adopting these methods copid he Persian regiment of the Ten Thousand, who were called the Morrals. There was, however, this difference. The Persians used wait until the battle was over before replacing casualties, while the
Gauls kept reinforcing the horsemen to their full number during the eight of the action. This organization is called in their native speect
f0.19.12] This was the size of the army and such was the intentio of Brennus, when he attacked Greece. The spirit of the Greeks was Gtterly broken, but the extremity of their terror forced them to defend Grece. They realized tha hhe they fought the Persian would that iving water and earth would not bring them safety. They still emembered the fate of Macedonia, Thrace, and Paionia during th former incursion of the Gauls, and reports were coming in of
enormities committed at that very time on the Thessalians. So man, as well as every state, was convinced that they must either
conquer or perish.
10.20.1] Anyone who so wishes can compare the number of those who mustered to meet King Xerxes at Thermopylae with those who
now mustered to oppose the Gauls. To meet the Persians, there cam ow mustered to oppose the Gauls. To meet the Persians, there came Leonidas not more than three hundred; TTegeans five hundred, and
five hundred from Mantineia; from Orkhomeno in Arcadia a five hundred from Mantineia; from Orkhomenos in Arcadia a
undred and twenty; from the other cities in Arcadia one thousand; rom Mycenae eighty; from Phleious two hundred, and from Corintt wice this number, of the Boeotians there mustered seven hundred om Thespiae and four hundred from Thebes. A thousand men of Phokis guarded the path on Mount
should be added to to Greek total.
10.20.2] Herodotus [32] does not give the number of the people of Lokris who live at the base of Mount Knemis, but he does say that each of their cities sent a contingent. It is possible, however, to male
an estimate of these also that comes very near to the truth. For not nore than nine thousand Athenians marched to Marathon, even if w include those who were too old for active service and slavers; so the
number of the fighting men of Lokris who marched to Thermpla cumber of the fighting men of Lokris who marched to Thermopyla mount to elevenen thousand two hundred. But it is well known that

Caar, indien het Grieksche denken zijn genie al bezielt en omstraal het slaagde er niet in hem aan zich te onderwerpen, noch hen
doen opgaan. Hij maakt zich daarvan los als hij het al niet doen opgaan. Hij maak erraadt. Wel verre van de wereld naar het ideaal van Alistot hebben willen vormen, heeft hij zijn polititek systeem opgebouwd dor het tegenovergestelde van de leerstelingen van Aristoteles te Barbaren als despoot te gedragen (blz. 218). Het Hellenisme was voor hem middel, en geen doel.
Zijn ieder jar sterker wordende neiging om de traditioneele beschouwing van een laatste probleem: Is Alexander geheel bschouwing van een laatste probleem: I It Alexander geheel
Oostersch geworden? Voor Wilcken is zijn "oriental isatie" ten orrechte overdreven voorgesteld door de traditie, die hem vijandig szind was (p. 250). Zij bepaall zich tot een ten deele ethische fusi, Achaemeniden te doen deelen in de macht, die de goden hem in de schoot hebben geworpen: "Alexander was volstrekt niet van plan le volkeren der wereld tot een groote broederschap te vereenigen heerschersvolk waren geweest, verder met de Meden en de andere raniërs, die op hen geleken, maar in geenen deele met de Semieten, Anatoliërrs, de Egyptenaren en anderen. Te Susa verwezenlijkte tegenover de geheele wereld verrichtte. Hij vierde er zijn eigen
suiloft en die van tachtig Macedoniers uit ziin omgeving met insessen en dochters van Perzische en Iranische magnaten. De verzoening te Opis heeft dezelfde speciale beteekenis als de
bruilof te Susa: "Men heeft onlangs in het gebed te Opis een proclamatie van de broederschap der menschen willen zien en men reft het in overeenstemming willen brengen met de leerstellingen der Stoicicijen en met het Christendom. Daarmede schrijif men aan
Alexander denkbeelden toe, die hem geheel vreemd waren. Dit gebed te Opis toont ons juist, dat zijn ideaal niet verder ging dan tot en broederschap tusschen de Perzen. Maar "broederschap onder de menschen", van diè gedachte is bij hem geen spoor te vinden" (p. 24). 1)
W. W. Tarn

Warom toch de vlag niet gestreken. In een der best gedocumente War. toch de vag niet gestreken. In een der best gedocum
lezingen $\{$ The Raleigh Lecture, van 10 Mei 1933). die juist
verschenen is 2 en waarin viff teksen de ears俍schenen is 2 ) en waarin vijf teksten: de eerste van Arrianus, de onderwerp zijn van een grondige kritiek, komt hij tot dèze slotsom, dat Alexander, edreven door een geest van eendracht en een verdeeling van het bestuur, zich niet ertoo bepaalde om de edele aassen van zijn rijk tot een bond te vereenigen, maar dat hij droomd
van een breedere "homonoia", die de volkeren van de geheele were ou omvatten. Als voorlooper van Zeno, wiens theorie door zijn aden geinspireerd werd, was hij de eerste, die aan het rijk der gemeene broederschap ea
Dat de leerling van Aristoteles een "kosmopoliet" is geweest, niet in de ongunstige beteekenis van "vaderlandlooze", hetgeen Diogenes, maar in de edeole beteekenis van wereld-souvercin die tussctan, de aationale staten harmonie doet ontstaan, dat is het ongetwijfeld, wat de legende ons leert, wanneer zij hem tot kosmocratisch 4) vorst itroept. Terwijl Wilcken melding maakt van dit "ideaal van teeds meer voor den geest zweefde (blz. 251), gelooft hij het te noeten beperken tot een dualistische, "Macedonisch-Perzische" 1 ) conceptie, waarvan het gebruik van een dubbel zegel, een van "Alsedonie er in de aenten van Darius (p. 249), hem het symbool schijnt: plannen van Alexander, gezegd wordt, dat hij bevolkingen van Azi laar Europa wilde brengen en omgekeerd, ten einde door het sluiten van gemengde hawelijkere uitreksel ongelukkigerwizze te veel
ev verkrijgen, laat dit korte ule te verkrijgen, laat dit korte uittreksel ongel lukkigerwizz te veel
vragen open, om hierin met zekerheid de laatste gedachten van den
òv uppôv, $\omega$ ¢ $\mu \dot{v} v$ running through the midst of it, would necessitate him to divide his ances, render his horse almost unserviceable, and only cover and pport the weakness of the enemy. Fortune was not kinder to
nprove it to his advantage. For being much inferior in numbers, so mprove it to his advantage. For being much inferior in numbers, so
far from allowing himself to be outflanked, he stretched his right wing much further out than the left wing of his enemies, and fighting this battle he was wounded in the thigh, Chares says, by Darius, with whom he fought hand-to-hand










But in the account which he gave Antipater of the battle, though deed he owns he was wounded in the thigh with a sword, though not dan
him.
Nothin
Nothing was wanting to complete this victory, in which he verthrew above an hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, but th aking 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 arbarians' camp, which (though to disburden themselves they had left most of their baggage at Damascus) was exceedingly rich. But
Darius's tent, which was full of splendid furniture and quantities of gold and silver, they reserved for Alexander himself, who, after he ad put off his arms, went to bathe himself saying








Let us now cleanse ourselves from the toils of war in the bath of Darius." "Not so," replied one of his followers, "but in Alexander's ather, for the property of the conquered is and should be called the pots, the pans, and the ointment boxes, all of gold curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into a pavilion of great size and height, where the couches and tables and preparation for an entertainment were perfectly magnificent
about him and said, "This, it seems, is royalty."






trahebant, rursus Apollonidi et Athenagorae, suarum partium viris, urbem cum modico praesidio militum tradit. 16 Praefecti Alexandri obsidione urbis perseverabant, non tam suis fisi viribus quam inter Apollonidem et duces militum orta seditio inrumpendi in urben occasionem dedit. 17 Cumque porta effracta cohors Macedonum intrasset, oppidani olim consilio proditionis agitato adgregant se Amphotero et Hegelocho: 18 Persarumque praesidio caeso
Pharnabazus cum Apoollonide et Athenagora vincti traduntur, XI firemes cum suo milite ac remige, praeter eas XXX inanes et ** piratici lembi Gracorumquue III milia a a Persis mercede conducta.
His is supplementum copiarum surum distributis piratisque supplicio adfectis captivos remiges adiecere classi suae. supplicio adfectis captivos remiges adiecere classi suae.
19 Forte Aristonicus, Methymneorum tyrannus, cum piraticis. navibus ignarus omnium, quae apud Chium acta erant, prima vigilia ad portus claustra successit interrogatusque a custodibus, quis esset,
Aristonicum ad Pharnabazum venire respondit. 20 Illi Pharnabazum quidem iam quiescere et non posse tum adiri, ceterum patere socio atque hospiti portum et postero die Pharnabazi copiam fore dfirmant. 21 Nec dubitavit Aristonicus primus intrare, secuti sun ucem piratici lembi, ac, dum adplicant navigia crepidini portus,
bicitur a vigilibus claustrum et, qui proximi excubabant, ab isdem xcitantur. Nullo ex iis auso repugnare omnibus catenae iniectae sunt, Amphotero dieinde Hegelochoquue traduntur. 22 Hinc occupatam II milium Persarum praesidio tenebat: sed cum obsidionem tolerare non posset, urbe tradita pactus, ut incolumi abire ceret, Imbrum petit. Deditis Macedones pepercerunt.
Caput V
Dareus desperata pace, quam per litteras legatosque inpetrari posse rediderat, ad reparandas vires bellumquue impigre renovandum essum quoque, Bactrianorum pratorem, , Bessum quoque, , dactrianorum praetorem, , quam maximo posset
exercitu coacto, descendere ad se iubet. 3 sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes promptissimi, horridis ingeniis multumque a Persarum
luxu abhorrentibus: siti haud procul Scytharum bellicosissima gente trapto vivere adsueta semper in armis erant. 4 Sed Bessus suspecta perficia haud sane aequo animo in secundo se continens gradu regen terrebat: nam cum regnum adfectaret, proditio, qua sola id adsequi ${ }_{5}{ }_{5}^{\text {poterat, timebatur. }}$
5 Ceterum Alexander, quam regionem Dareus petisset, omni cur vestigans, tamen explorare non poterat more quodam Persarum
arcana regum mira celantium fide. 6 Non metus, non spes elicit vocem, qua prodantur occulta. Vetus disciplina regum silentium vitae periculo sanxerat: lingua gravius castigatur, quam ullum probrum, nec magnam rem magis sustineri posse credunt ab eo, cui
tacere grave sit, quod homini facillimum voluerit esse natura. 7 Ob hanc causam Alexander omnium, quae apud hostem gererentur, ignarus urbem Gazam obsidebat. Praeerat urbi Betis, eximiae in regem suum fidei, modicoque praesidio muro ingentis operis
tuebatur. 8 Alexander aestimato locorum situ agi cuniculos iussit, facili ac levi humo acceptante occultum opus: quippe multam harenam vicinum mare evomit, nec saxa cotesque, quae interpellent
specus, obstant 9 I gitur ab ea parte, quam oppidani conspicere non specus, obstant. 9 Igitur ab ea parte, quam oppidani conspicere non
possent, opus orsus, ut a sensu eius averteret, turres muris admoveri possent, opus orsus, ut a sensu eius averteret, turres muris admoveri
iubet. Sed eadem humus, movendis inutilis turribus, desidente sabulo agilitatem rotarum morata et tabulata turrium perfringebat, multique labor eos fatigaret. 10 Erso receptui signo dato postero dis turro labor eos fatigaret. 10 Ergo receptus signo dato postero die muros
corona circumdari ussit. Ortoque sole, priusquam admoveret exercitum, opem deum exposcens sacrum patrio more faciebat. 11 te praetervolans corvus glebam, quam ang ferebat, subito amisit: quae cum regis capiti incidisset, resoluta defluxit, ipsa autem
avis in proxima turre consedit. Inlita erat turris bitumine ac sulphure, in qua alis haerentibus frustra se adlevare conatus a circumstantibus capitur. 12 Digna res visa, de qua vates consuleret, ut erat non
intactae a superstitione mentis. Ergo Aristander, cui maxima fides habebatur: urbis quidem excidium augurio illo portendi, ceterum periculum esse, ne rex vulnus acciperet. Itaque monuit, ne quid eo
not even these remained all the time guarding the pass; for if we
except the Lacedaemonians, Thespians, and Mycenaeans, the re eft the field before the conclusion of the fighting.
10.2031 To meet the barbarians who cane from ollowing Greek forces came to Thermopylae. Of the Boeotians, ten housand hoplites and five hundred cavalry, the Boeotarchs being Kephisodotos, Thearidas, Diogenes, and Lysander. From Phokis came five hundred cavarry with footmen three thousand in number.
The generals of the men of Phokis were Kritoboulos and Antiokho The generals of the men of Phokis were Kritoboulos and Antiokho,
10.20 .4 T The men from Lokris stationed over against the island of Atalanta were under the command of Meidiasst they numbered seven
hundred, and no cavalry was with them. Of he egrains cme four undred, and no cavalry was with them. Of the Megarians came fo
undred hoplites commanded by Hipponikos of Megara. The hundred hoplites commanded by Hipponikos of Megara. The men; the number of cavarry is not given, but the light-armed were even hundred and ninety, and their hoplites numbered more than 10.20.5] The Athenian general was Kallippos, the son of Moirokles, as I have said in an earlier part of my work, [33] and their forces housand foot. Because of their ancient reputation, the Athenians housand foot. Because of their ancient reputation, the Athenians
held the chief command. The king of Macedonia sent five hundred mercenaries, and the king. of Asia a like number, the leader of those
eent by Antigonos was Aristodemos, a Macedonian, and ent by Antigonos was Aristodemos, a Macedonian, and
Telesarkhos, one of the Syrians on the Orontes, commanded the orres that Antiokhos sent from Asia.
orces that Antiokhos sent from Asia.
10.20.6] When the Greeks assembled at Thermopylae [34] learned hat the army of the Gauls was already in the neighborhood of
Magnesia and Phthiotis, they resolved to detach the cavalry and a Magnesia and Phthiotis, they resolved to detach the cavary and a
housand light armed troops and to send them to the Spercheios, so hat even the crossing of the river could not be achieved by the barbarians withouta struggle and risks. On their arrival, these forces
broke down the bridges and by themselves encamped along the ank. roke down the bridges and by themselves encamped along the bank
But Brennus himself was not utterly stupid nor inexperienced for a barbarian in devising tricks of strategy.
10.20.7] So on that very night, he dispatched some troops to the Spercheios, not to the places where the old bridges had stood, but
ower down, where the Greeks would not notice the crossing, and just where the river spread over the plain and made a marsh and lake instead of a narrow, violent stream. Here Brennus sent some ten housand Gauls, picking out the swimmers and the
the Celts as a people are far taller than any other
he Celts as a people are far taller than any other.
10.20.8] So these crossed in the night, swimming over the river where it expands into a lake; each man used his shield, his national buckler, as a raft, and the tallest of them were able to cross the wate
by wading. The Greeks on the Spercheios, as soon as they learned yy wading. The Greeks on the Spercheios, as soon as they learne
hat a detachment of the barbarians had crossed by the marsh, forthwith retreated to the main army. Brennus ordered the dwellers round the Malian gulf to build bridges across the Spercheios, and hey proceeded to accomplish their task with a will, for they were
frightened of Brennus, and anxious for the barbarians to go away o frightened of Brennus, and anxious for the barbarians to go
of their country instead of staying to devastate it further. $10.20 .9]$ Brennus brought his army acrosss over the bridges and
proceeded to Heraklei. The Gauls pundered the coutry and oceeded to Herakleia. The Gauls plundered the country and
assacred those whom they caught in the fields but did not capture he city. For a year previous to this, the Aetolians had forced Herakleia to join the Aetolian League; so now, they defended a city hich they considered to belong to them just as much as to the Brennus did not trouble himself much about Herakleia but directed is efforts to driving away those opposed to him at the pass in order invade Greece south of Thermopylae.
[0.21.1] Deserters kept Brennus informed about the forces from each city mustered at Thermopylae. So despising the Greek army, he
advanced from Herakleia and began the battle at sunrise on the next advanced from Herakleia and began the battle at sunnise on the next
day. He had no Greek soothsayer and made no use of his own
country's sacrifices, if indeed the Celts have any art of divination. Theuntry's sacrifices, if indeed the Celts have any art of divination.
Then Greks attacked silently and in good order. When they came to close quarters, the infantry did not rush out of their line far
veroveraar te herkennen. In allen gevalle verplicht noch wettigt dit getuigenis, aan een plan van samensm
Toch onthullen ons de Hypomnémate, warvan Wilcken met rech authenticiteit staande houdt (blz. 229) 2), "de bedoeling van Alexander om zich, toen hij Azië veroverd had, van de geheele eheele geschiedenis de eenige man, die dit reusachtige plan gekoesterd hefft: meester te worden van de geheele wereld, in de choesterd heeft: meester te worden van de geneele wereld, in
ware betekenis des woords. Daar zijn koninkrijk zich reeds iitstrekte naar het Westen tot het noordelijk deel der Adriatische Ze ing het er in zijn laatste plannen om, de kusten van het westelijk gedeelte der Middellandsche zee te bemachtigen" (blz. 227). Wij komen tot de volgende conclusie: Slechts enkele jaren voordat de philosophische leer van Zeno voor het eerst voor den dag kwam met een plan van een wereldrepubliek, was er, als politiek proto
van dit theoretische denkbeeld op papier, een van Alexander afkomstig plan van een wereldrijk. Maar Alexander, kosmocraat geworden, voldoet niet meer aan de normen van Aristoteles. Hijis
geen Helleen; hij blijt Macedonièr evenals Peter de Groote Rus blijft, al assimileert hijz zich met den grootsten ijver met de beschaving van het Westen. In zulke machtigige persoonlijijheden $m$ e al hun oer-energie dringt het vernis der beschaving slechts tot de
oppervakte door, zonder den aan alles ten grondslag liggenden ppervlaate door, zonder den aan alles ten grondslag liggenden
wijiziging te brengen.
Laat ons aan deze gedachten van algemeenen aard nog enkele persoonlijke opmerkingen toevoegen.
gave van sympathie en bewondering verhindert een
eigenschappen veredelen Wilcken's werk. De schnijiver brengt gaarne
hulde aan het genie. Wanneer het gaat om Philippus (blz 4) of hulde aan het genie. Wanneer het gato om Philippus (blzz. 4) of om
Alexander (blz. 84 en 94 en zelfs, als men wil, om Memon 103), is het epitheton "geniaal" gerechtvaardigd. Toegepast op Droysen, wiens trilogie: Alexander, de Diadochen, de Epigonen,
 ze herhaalde loftuiting haar kracht. Laten wij het maar ronduit zeggen: de discipel van Hegel is er beter in geslaagd de teksten te zegen. de discipel van Hegel is er beter in
verheerlijken dan ze critisch te bekijken.

1) De hier bedoelde verzening had
) De hier bedoelde verzoening had plaats, toen op den terugtocht van het leger uit Indie te Opis aan den Tiger een gevaarlijke opstand
in het leger was uitgebroken tengevolge van het door Alexander te kennen gegeven voornemen om de oudgedienden uit Macedonie daarheen te laten terugkeeren. De soldaten vatten dit met goede
bedoeling opgevatte plan verkeerd op, omdat zii dachten, dat bedoeling opgeveate ppan verkeerd op, om mata zij dachten, dat
Alexander zich uitsluitend met Perzen wilde omringen en zich als Oostersch satrap in weelde wilde baden. Nadat Alexander het oproer gedempt had door in een uitvoerige rede zijin bedoeling te verduidelijken, sloot hij zich twee dagen in zijn tent op. Berou
en ongewapend kwamen zijn soldaten daarop om vergiffenis en ongewa
Overigens moge ter toelichting van het hier ter plaatse betoogde no
aangehaald worden hetgeen Arrinus angehaald worden hetgeen Arrianus (Exp. Al. VII $\mathrm{c}, 11$ ) heeft
geschreven over het verbroederingsfeest, dat op de verzoening is geschreven
gevolgd.
ind
"Darna
eevolgd.
Daarna (na de verbroedering) hield Alexander een offerfeest voor diegenen van de goden voor wie dit biij hem wet is, en een
volksmaaltid, warbij hijelf ook ananat, terwijl de Maced allen aan weerskanten van hem zaten en in aansluiting met hen de Perzen en daarna van de andere volkeren zoovelen als in aanzien tonden of om een andere voortreffelijkheid in eere waren, en hij n zijn omgeving uit hetzelfde mengvat scheppende, plengde
voorgingen. En hij bad behalve om de gewone goede dingen, ook on
eendracht en deelneming aan het bestuur voor de Macedoniers en eendracht en deelneming aan het bestuur voor de Macedoniers en
voor de Perzen; en men zeet, dat er pl.m. 9000 personen deelnamen an den maaltijid en dat deze allen één plengoffer brachten en daarna een paean*) zongen." (Red.) *)Loflied (Red.).

Ther and wife and two unmarried daughters, being taken amongs he rest of the prisoners, upon the sight of his chariot and bow, were ill in mourning and sorrow, imagining him to be dead. After a little ause, more lively affected with their affliction than with his own
success, he sent Leonnatus to them, to let them know Darius was no uccess, he sent Leonnatus to them, to let them know Darius was no
dead, and that they need not fear any harm from Alexander, who dead, and that they need not fear any harm from Alexander, who
made war upon him only for dominion; they should themselves be provided with everything they had been used to receive from Darius.










his kind message could not but be very welcome to the captive dies, especially being made good by actions no less humane and ersians, and to make use for this purpose of what garments and runiture they thought fit out of the booty. He diminished nothing of heir equipage, or of the attentions and respect formerly paid them,
nd allowed larger pensions for their maintenance than they had efore. But the noblest and most royal part of their usage was, that he treated these illustrious prisoners according to their virtue and haracter, not suffering them to hear, or rece.
So that they seemed rather lodged in some temple, or some holy
virgin chambers, where they enjoyed their privacy sacred and wife was accounted the most beautiful princess then living, as her
usband the tallest and handsomest man of his time, and the











But Alexander, esteeming it more kingly to govern himself than to inquer his enemies, sought no intimacy with any one of them, no
inded with any other women before marriage, except Barsine, Memnon's widow, who was taken prisoner at Damascus. She had been instructed in the Grecian learning, was of a gentle temper, and
y her father, Artabazus, royally descended, with good qualities, her father, Artications and encouragement of Parmenio as Aristobulus tells us, made him the more willing to attach himself to Of the rest of the femprole captives th.
the rest of the female captives, though remarkably handsome an vell proportioned, he took no further notice than to say jestingly tha
Persian women were terrible eyesores. And he himself, retaliating, a were, by the display of the beauty of his own temperance and self lifeless images.
einciperet. 13 Ille, quamquam unam urbem sibi, quo minus sccurus Aegyptum intraret, obstare aegre ferebat, tamen paruit val porta recedentibus inferunt signa cunctationem hostium suam fore occasionem rati. 14 Sed acrius quam constantius proelium inierunt quippe ut Macedonum signa circumagi videre, repente sistunt gradum. Lamque ad regem proeliantium clamor pervenerat, cum
denuntiati periculi haud sane memor- loricam tamen quam rar nduebat, amicis orantibus sumpsit - ad prima signa pervenit. 15 uo conspecto Arabs quidam, Darei miles, maius fortuna sua facinus ausus, gladium clipeo tegens, quasi transfuga genibus regis
advolvitur. Ille adsurgere supplicem recipigue inter suos iussi. barbarus gladio strenue in dextram translato cervicem adpetiit regis: qui exigua corporis declinatione evitato ictu in vanum manum barbari lapsam amputat gladio, denuntiato in illum diem periculo, ut arbitrabatur ipse, defunctus. 17 Sed, ut opinor, inevitabile est fatum:
quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat sagita ictus est quippe dum inter primores promptius dimicat, sagitta ictus est, quan
per loricam adactam, stantem in humero medicus eius Philippus evellit. 18 Plurimus deinde sanguis manare coepit omnibus territis, quia non, quam alte penetrasset telum, lorica obstante cognoverant.
Ipse ne oris quidem colore enutato supprimi sanguinem tet vilus Ipse ne oris quidem colore mutato supprimi sanguinem et vulnus
obligari iussit. 19 Diu ante ipsa signa vel dissimulato vel victo dolore perstiterat, cum suppressus paulo ante sanguis medicamento, quo retentus erat, manare largius coepit, et vulnus, quod tepens adhuc
dolorem non moverat, frigente sanguine intumuit. 20 Linqui deinde animo et submitti genu coevit: auem proximi exceptum in castra receperunt. Et Betis interfectum ratus urbem ovans victoria repetit. 21 At Alexander nondum percurato vulnere aggerem, quo moenium altitudinem aequaret, exstruxit pluribusque cuniculis muros suburi
iussit. 22 Oppidani ad pristinum fastigium moenium novum exstruxere munimentum, sed ne id quidem turres aggeri inposita poterat aequare. Itaque interiora quoquee urbis infesta teris in erant. 23
Ultima pestis urbis fuit cuniculo subrutus murus per Ultima pestis urbis fuit cuniculolo suburutus murus, per cuius ruinas
hostis intravit. Ducebat ipse rex antesignanos et, dum incautius subit hostis intravit. Ducebat ipse rex antesignanos et, dum incautius subit,
saxo crus eius adfligitur. 24 Innixus tamen telo nondum prioris saxo crus eius andigitur. 24 nnixus tamen telo nondum prioris vulneris obducta cicatrice inter primores dimicat, ira quaque Betim egregia edita pugna multisque vulneribus confectum
deseruerunt sui: nec tamen segnius proelium capessebat lubricis deseruerunt suil: nec tamen segnius proolium capessebat lubricis
armis suo pariter atque hostium sanguine. 26 Sed cum undique telis peteretur, ad postremum exhaustis viribus vivus in potestatem hostium pervenit. Quo adducto insolentit gaudio iuvenis elatus, alias
virtutis etiam in hoste mirator, 'Non, ut voluisti', inquit, 'morieris, sed virtutis etiam in hoste mirator,' Non, ut voluisti', inquit, 'morieris, sed
quidquid in captivum inveniri potest, passurum esse te cogita'. 27 Ille non interrito modo, sed contumaci quoque vultu intuens regem, nullam ad minas eius reddidit vocem. 28 Tum Alexander, 'Videtisne obstinatum ad tacendum?' ' inquit, 'num genu posuit? num vocem
supplicem misit? Vincam tamen silentium et si nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellabo.' 29 Ira deinde vertit in rabiem iam tum peregrinos ritus nova subeunte fortuna. Per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi
gloriante rege, Achillen, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda. 30 Cecidere Persarum Arabumque
circa X circa X milia, nec Macedonibus incruenta victoria fuit. Obsidio certe non tam claritate urbis nobilitata est, quam geminato periculo re
Qui Aegyptum adire festinans Amynan cum X triremibus in Macedoniam ad inquisitionem novorum militum misit. 31 Namque etiam secundis atterebantur tamen copiae, devictarumque gentium Caput VII
1 Aegyptii, olim Persarum opibus infensi, quippe avare et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant, ad spem adventus eius erexeran impor, utpote qui Amyntam quoque transfugam et cum precar Pelusium, qua intraturus videbatur, convenerat. Atque ille septimo die, postquam a Gaza copias moverat, in regionem Aegypti, quam
nunc castra Alexandri vocant, pervenit. 3 Deinde pedestribus copiis nunc castra Alexandri vocant, pervenit. 3 Deinde pedestribus copiis
Pelusium petere iussis ipse cum expedita delectorum manu Nilo amne vectus est. Nec sustinuere adventum eius Persae, defectione
nough to disturb their proper formation, while the light-armed troops remained in
slinging bullets.
linging bullets.
10.21.2] The cavalry on both sides proved useless, as the grould he Pass is not only narrow, but also smooth because of the natural ock, while most of it is slippery owing to its being covered with streams. The Gauls were worse armed than the Greeks, having no
other defensive armor than their national shields, while they were other defensive armor than their national shields, while they
still more inferior in war exprienc.
[10.21.3] On they marched against their enemies with the nreasoning fury and passion of brutes. Slashed with axe or sword ey kept their desperation while they still breathed; pierced by rrow or javelin, they did not abate of their passion so long as life
femained. Some drew out from their wounds the spears, by which hey had been hit, and threw them at the Greeks or used them in close fighting.
$[0.21 .4]$ Meanwhile, the Athenians on the triremes, with difficulty and with danger, nevertheless coasted along through the mud that
extends far out to sea, brought their ships as close to the barbarians xtends far out to sea, brought their ships as close to the barbarians
as possible, and raked them with arrows and every other kind of issile. The Celts were in unspeakable distress, and as in the onfined space, they inflicted few losses but suffered twice or four
mes as many, their captains gave the signal to retire to their camp. Retreating in confusion and without any order, many were crushed
beneath the feet of their friends, and many others fell into the swan and disappeared under the mud. Their loss in the retreat was no les nan the loss that occurred while the battle raged.
han
$1021.5]$ On this
han the loss that occurred while the battle raged.
10.21.5 On this day, the Attic contingent surpassed the other Greeks in courage. Of the A thenians themselves, the bravest was
Cydias, a young man who had never before been in battle. He was Cydias, a young man who had never before been in battle. He was
iilled by the Gauls, but his relatives dedicated his shield to Zeus, God of Freedom, and the inscription ran:

Here hang I, yearning for the still youthful bloom of Cydias,
The shield of a glorious The shield of a glorious man, an offering to Zeus.

- was the very first through which at this battle he thrust his left an When the battle raged furiously against the Gaul. 10.21.6] This inscription remained until Sulla and his army took away, among other Athenian treasures, the shields in the porch of
Zeus, God of Freedom. After this battle at Thermopylae, the Greel Zurs, Goo of fredeom. Anfer this batte arthermopylae, hee Greeks
buried their own dead and spoiled the barbarians, but the Gauls sent no herald to ask leave to take up the bodies and were indifferent wild beasts or carrion birds. 10.21.7] There were in my opinion two reasons that made them careless about the burial of their dead: they wished to strike terror into their enemies, and through habit, they have no tender feeling for
those who have gone. In the battle there fell forty of the Greeks the those who have gone. In the battle there fell forty of the Greeks; the
losses of the barbarians it was impossible to discover exactly. For the number of them that disappeared beneath the mud was great.
[10.22.1] On the seventh day after the battle, a regiment of Gauls 10.22.1] On the seventh day after the battle, a regiment of Gauls path rises just past the ruins of Trakhis. There was also at that time sanctuary of Athena above the Trachinian territory, and in it were votive offerings. So they hoped to ascend Oite by this path and at the same time to get possession of the offerings in the temple in passing.
They overcame the barbarians in the engagement, but Telesarkhos himself fell, a man devoted, if ever a man was, to the Greek cause. 10.22.2] All the leaders of the barbarians except Brennus were errified of the Greeks, and at the same time were despondent of the mprovement. But Brennus reasoned that if he could compel the Aetolians to return home to Aetolia, he would find the war against Greece prove easier hereafter. So he detached from his army forty command Orestorius and Combutis,
memmand Orestorius and Combutis,
10.22.3 who, making their way back by way of the bridges over the Spercheios and across Thessaly again, invaded Aetolia. The fate of
the Kallians at the hands of Combutis and Orestorius is the most he Kallians at the hands of Combutis and Orestorius is the most
wicked ever heard of and is without a parallel in the crimes of men. Every male they put to the sword, and there were butchered old men
as ook een van de knapste en strengste critici, Maurice Holleaux wanneer ain gearne een eervolle vermelding zou weigeren, eneigd om aan de bombastische uitingen van Droysen lof toe to waaien? 1)
Wat het zoo
Wat het zoo veel omstreden tijdperk betreff, waarin Quintus Curtius Rufus zijn werken schreef, Wilcken plaatst dit, in overeenstemming net J. Stroux, onder de regering van Vespasianus (blz. 12 ). Naar
mijne meening is de weerlegging der argumenten van Stroux door mijne meening is de weerlegging der argumenten van Stroux door
Leon Herrmann overtuigend en moet het werk van den Latijnschen hetor na de troonsbestijging van Claudius, in het jaar 41 na Christu, Wat den plattegrond van Alexandriè betreft, wordt ons Wat ont parg vord van Alexader sta streft, word ons gezegd, dat
het ontwerp voor der stad "het schema (volgde), dat Hippodamus van Milete in de 5 de eeew als architect had ingevoerd blz. 126). Maar de verdienste van dezen metaphysicus-geometricu
bestond alleen daarin, dat hij een vroegere regeling voor de bestond alleen daarin, dat hij een vroegere regeling voor de
ijdgenooten van Pericles had doen herleven. Aan de voorliefde der Doriërs voor rechte lijnen is, zooals Charles Picard 1) schijnt te rdsgewijze indeeling der straten to schrijven.
Tidens den tocht door de Libysche woestijn zou er volgens een
nzzer verhalen een moment ziin geweest, dat het water in de leeren zakken, welke ede kameelen op hunne ruggen droegen, op was
geraakt 2). Toch zou de kameel volgens Breccia 3), voor het eerst geraakt 2). Toch zou de kameel volgens Breccia 3), voor het eerst
onder Ptolomeus Philadelphus in het dal van de Nil voorgekomen zijn. Maar Wilcken heeft gelijk gehad met den tekst van Quintus ijn. Marar Wilcken heeft gelijk gehad met den tekst van Quintus
Curtius (blz. 130) te volgen. Pierre Montet, die een passage uit Senesis aan verschillende archeologische vondsten toetste, neemt is geweest 4).
is
Wat betreft "de technische verbeteringen van den bouw der
zeeschepen, waardoor deze in staat waren zich in eeschepen, waardoor deze in staat waren zich in volle zee te wage (blz. 295-296) ziet men te goed, dat van de zoo recente
nasporingen van Commandant Lefebbre des Noêtes over de uitvinding van het roer in Duitschland geen nota is genomen; evena de uitdrukking "lance de choc" 5), die een practijk van de charge op
de moderne wize impliceert, 6 ) bewijst, dat de door dezen meester in hippische wetenschap aan de bespanning en het gezadelde paard gewijde boeken evenmin aan gene zijde van den Rijn eenige wijziging in de verouderde dwalingen hebben gebracht. 7) Tot steun van zijn Duitschen tekst had de auteur aan het einde van
zin werk zeven bladzijden met onmerkingen bijeengegard Dit zijn werk zeven bladzijden met opmerkingen bijeengegaard. Dit
aanhangsel, dat reeds al te beknopt en zeer onvolledig was, is in de ransche uitgave weggelaten. Enkele noten zijn slechts overgebleve
n hier en daar onder aan de bladzijden opgenomen Zij wekken on hier en daar onder aan de bladzijden opgenomen. Zij wekken de heuwssierigheid op zonder haar te bevredigen. De Bibliothèque
historique, waarheen de Berlijnsche Alexander der Grosse is verhuisu, , richt zich tot ontwikkelde menschen, die hun kennis wille vermeerderen. Wanneer ziij aan fantastische werken gastvrijheid
verleent, waarin geen enkele methode te bespeuren valt ij $z i j$ voor erleent, waarin geen enkele methode te bespeuren valt, is zij voor
den lezer niet de plaats om er middelen tot verdere ontwikkeling te zoeken. Maar in dit geval ligt de zaak toch eenigszins anders. Zooals de schrijiver van het voorwoord (blz. 9 ) terecht in hem roemt is Wilcken een historicus, wiens kennis onafgebroken een stijgend
lijn vertoont. Hij heeft een boek geschreven, dat, rijk aan feiten, Wh vertont. Hiju theelt
verwonderlijk uiteenloopende aspecten omvat en waarvan de kern geencadreerd is door een breede inleiding over de antecedenten van de verovering en niet minder uitgebreide beschouwingen over de
oestanden, die er het gevolg van waren. Hoe meer dat eetanden, die er het gevolg van waren. Hoe meer dat men er op gesteld is zich de door zulk een studie en ervaring verkregen inlichtingen ten nutte te maken, des te meer betreurt men de weglatingen, waardoor de te spaarzame manier van doen val
boekhandel ons niet geeft wat ons toekomt.
Een andere tekortkoming, die gemakkelijk te vermijden ware geweest, is het zonderlinge ne nerschrijijen van Grieksch in Latijnscl
letters. Het volgende citaat: "Hermou tou trismegistou Thot en orei logos apokruphos" 1) (blz. 132, no. 1) heeft meer van een rebus, die maar matig in een serieuse publicatie op haar plats is.


## 





 know if he would buy two young boys of greaat beauty, whom one Theodorus, a Tarentine, had to sell, he was so offended that he often apostulated wim his friends what baseness Priloxenus had reproachful offer. And he immediately wrote him a very sharp letter,
telling him Theodorus and his merchandise might go with his goodelling him Theodo









 Hóuzvov.
Corinthian youtt lere to Hagnon, who sent him word he would buy Corinthian youth named Crobylus, as a present for him. And
hearing that Damon and Timotheus, two of Parmenio's Macedon oldiers, had abused the wives of some strangers who were in his ay, he wrote to Parmenio, charging him strictly, if he found them he mischief of mankind.
the same letter he added, that he had not so much as seen or er 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 a o say, that weariness and pleasure proceed both from the same d imbecility of human natur









In his diet, also, he was most temperate, as appears, omitting many her circumstances, by what he said co Ada, wom he adopted, wit she, out of kindness, sent him every day many curious dishes and weetmeats, and would have furrished him with some cooks and pastry-men, who were thought to have great skill, he told her he him the best, which were a night march to prepare for breakfast, and moderate breakfast to create an appetite for supper. Leonidas also, e added, used to open and search the furniture of his chamber and delicate or superfluous.


quoque perterritu. 4 lamque haud procul Memphi erat: in cuit praesisio Mazaces, praetor Darei, relictus ad Cercasoron amic
superato octingenta alaenta Alexandro omnemque regiam interiora Aegypti penetrat conpositisque rebus ita, ut nihil ex patrio Aegyptiorum more mutaret, adire Iovis Hammonis oraculum statuit. 6 Iter expeditis quoque et paucis vix tolerabile ingrediendum erat:
terra caeloque aquarum penuria est, steriles harenae iacent, quas ubi terra caeloque aquarum penuria est, steriles harenae iacent, quas ubi
vapor solis accendit, fervido solo exurente vestigia, intolerabilis aestus existit. 7 Luctandumque est non solum cum ardore et siccitate regionis, sed etiam cum tenacissimo sabulo, quod praealtum et
vestigio cedens aegre moliuntur pedes. 8 Haec Aegytii vero maiora vestigio cedens aegre moliuntur pedes. 8 Haec Aegyptii vero maio
iactabant. Sed ingens cupido animum stimulabat adeundi Iovem, quem generis sui auctorem haud contentus mortali fastigio aut credebat esse aut credi volebat. 9 Ergo cum iis, quos ducere secum statuerat, secundo amne descendit ad Mareotin paludem. Eo legati
Cyrenensium dona attulere pacem et ut adiret urbes suas petentes. Ille donis acceptis amicitiaque coniuncta destinata exequi pergit. 10 Ac primo quidem et sequente die tolerabilis labor visus nondum tam vastis nudisque solitudinibus aditis, iam tamen sterili et emoriente quam profundum aequor ingressi terram oculis requirebant. 12 Nulla arbor, nullum culti soli occurrebat vestigium. Aqua etiam defecerat, quam utribus cameli vexerant, et in arido solo ac fervido sabulo null
erat. 13 Ad hoc sol omnia incenderat siccaque et adusta erant ora cum repente - sive illud deorum munus sive casus fuit - obductae caelo nubes condidere solem, ingens aestu fatigatis, etiamsi aqua deficeret auxilium. 14 Enimvero ut largum quoque imbrem excusserunt procellae, pro se quisque excipere eum, quidam ob sitim
inpotentes sui ore quooue hianti captare coeererunt. quadriduum per vastas solitudines absumptum est. Iamque haud procul oraculi sede aberant, cum conplures corvi agmini occurrunt: modico volatu prima signa antecedentes [et] modo humi residebant, cum lentius monstrantium ritu. 16 Tandem ad sedem consecratam deo ventum est. Incredibile dictu, inter vastas solitudines sita undique ambientibus ramis vix in densam umbram cadente sole contecta est, nultique fontes dulcibus aquis passim manantibus alunt silvas. 17 Caeli quoque mira temperies, verno tepori maxime similis, omnes
anni partes pari salubritate percurrit. 18 Accolae sedis sunt ab oriente proximi Atcthopum. In meridiem versam Arabes spectant, Trogodytis cognomen est: horum regio usque ad rubrum mare
excurrit. 19 At qua vergit ad occidentem, alii Aethiopes colunt, quos Simuos vocant. 20 A septentrione Nasamones sunt, gens Syrtica, navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa, quippe obsident litora et aestu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis occupant. Incolae nemoris, quos
Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriis habitant: medium nems pro Hammonios vocant, aspersis tuguris habitant: medium ne
arce habent, triplici muro circumdatum. 21 Prima munitio tyrannorum veterum regiam clausit: in proxima coniuges eorum cum beris et pelicibus habitabant: hic quoque dei oraculum est: ultima Hammonis nemus: in medio habee fontem - Solis aquam vocant. Sub lucis ortum tepida manat, medio die, cuius vehementissimus est calor, frigida eadem fluit, inclinato in vesperam calescit, media nocte
fervida exaestuat, quoque nox propius vergit ad lucem, multum ex nocturno calore decrescit, donec sub ipsum diei ortum adsueto tepore languescat. 23 Id , quod pro deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo diis artifices accommodaverunt: umbilico maxime milis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. 24 Hunc, rgenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus: sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt, ut certum edat oraculum. 25 Ac tum quidem regem propius adeuntem maximus natue
sacerdotibus filium appellat, hoc nomen illi parentem Iove sacerdoubus filium appeliat, hoc nomen ilid parentem lovem reddere
adfirmans. Ille se vero et accipere ait et adgnoscere, humanae sortis oblitus. 26 Consuluit deinde, an totius orbis imperium fatis sibi ectorem fore ostendit. 27 Post haec institit quaerere, an omnes parentis sui interfectores poenas dedissent. 28 Sacerdos parentem

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Moralia (Plutarch), Phocis, PYTHIA, Alexander (Plutarch)
equally with children at their mothers' breasts. The more plump of hese suckin heir flesh.
10.22.4] Women and adult maidens, if they had any spirit all in 10.22.4] Women and adult maidens, if they had any spirit at all in
hem, anticipated their end when the city was captured. Those who survived suffered under imperious violence every form of outrage he hands of men equally voiod of pity or of love. Fvery wouman whe
hhanced to find a Gallic sword committed suicide. The others were oon to die of hunger and want of sleep, the incontinent barbarians outraging them by turns, and satisfying their lust even on the dying and the dead.
10.22.5] The Aetolians had been informed by messengers what isasters had befallen them and, at once with all speed, removed
heir forces from Thermopylae and hastened to Aetolia, eeing Heir forces from Thermopylae and hastened to Aetolia, being
exasperated at the sufferings of the Kallians and still more fired wib determination to save the cities not yet captured. From all the citites
at home were mobilized the men of military age and even those to old for service, their fighting spirit roused by the crisis, were in the anks, and their very women gladly served with them, being even nore enraged against the Gauls than were the men.
10.22.6] When the barbarians, having pillaged houses and anctuaries, and having fired Kallion, were returning by the way, they were met by the Patraeans, who alone of the Achaeans were helping the Aetolians. Being trained as hoplites, they made a
when
trontal attack on the barbarians but suffered severely owing to the frontal attack on the barbarians but suffered severely owing to the
number and desperation of the Gauls. But the Aetolians, men and women, drawn up all along the road, kept shooting at the barbarian and few shots failed to find a mark among enemies protected by nothing but their national shields. Pursued by the Gauls, they easily
oscaped renewing their attack with vigor when their enemies eturned from the pursuit.
10.22.7] Although the Kallians suffered so terribly that even Homer's account of the Leastrygones and the Cyclops [35] does no seem outside the truth, yet they were duly and fully avenged. For ou
of their number of forty thousand eight hundred, there escaped of the barbarians to the camp at Thermopylae less than one half. 10.22.8] Meanwhile, the Greeks at Thermopylae were faring as
ollows. There are two paths across Mount Oite: the one above Trakhis is very steep, and for the most part precipitous; the other, hrough the territory of the Aenianians, is easier for an army to cros was through this that on a former occasion, Hydarnes the Persian passed to attack in the rear the Greeks under Leonidas. [36]
$10.22 .9]$ By this road the Herakleia and of Ainiania promised to ead Brennus, not that they were ill disposed to the Greek cause, but eccause they were anxious for the Celts to go away from their
country and not o e establish themselves in to to its yuin I think that ountry and no to estabish themselves in to its ruin. I think that
Pindar [37] spoke the truth again when he said that everyone is crushed by his own misfortunes but is untouched by the woes of
thers. 10 0.22.10] Brennus was encouraged by the promise made by the Ainiania and of Herakleia. Leaving Acichorius behind in charge of
he main army, with instructions that it was to attack only when the enveloping movement was complete, Brennus himself, with a detachment of forty thousand, began his march along the pass. dhe mountain, darkening the tun, so that the men of Phokis who wers uarding the path found the barbarians upon them before they were warde of their approach. Then the Gauls attacked. The men of Phok resisted manfully, but at last were forred to retreat from the path.
However, they succeeded in running down to their friends with a report of what was happening before the envelopment of the Greek army was quite complete on all sides.
10.22.12] Then the Athenians with the fleet succeeded in withdrawing in time the Greek forces from Thermopylas, which
disbanded and returned to their several homes. Brennus, without delaying any longer, began his march against Delphi without wait or the army with Acichorius to join up. In terror, the Delphians to efuge in the oracle. The god ordered them not to be afraid and 10.22.13] The Greeks who came in defense of the god were as

Minn laatste opmerking is, dat ik weinig heb genoten van de in profiel weergegeven plaat, die op den omslag der Fransche uitgave
staat. Ik heb in deze revue 2 ) reeds mijn twiffel uitgesproken over d elijkenis van de buste van Azara - "een marmeren copie van een bronzen origineel van Lysippus" (de reproductie en face tegenover blz. 64) - met Alexander, zooals hij er werkelijk uitzag. De eetrouwbaarste gids inzake iconographie, Frederic Poulsen, dien ik er op heb nages lagen, toont zich minder negatief dan ik. "De
'L Louvre", zoo schreef hij mij den 18den Augustus 1933 uit Kopenhagen, "is verweerd en hardhandig schoongemaakt; ik meen chtrer een antiek fond in dezz beeltenis te ontdekken, het origineel wellicht te Babylon vervaardigd, kort voor den dood van den groote
koning. Ik durf in dit verband den naam van Lysippus niet uit te preken, want wij weten niet zeker, of hij Alexander vergezeld heefi of niet. Overigens," zoo voegt de scherpzinnige archeoloog er aan
oe, terwijl hij herinnert aan de wonden en verminkingen, die toe, terwijl hij herinnert aan de wonden en verminkingen, die
Philipus volgens het getuigenis van Demosthenes 1 had ondergaa "om in eere en aanzien te leven, is zijn zoon niet tot het toppunt van zijn macht gekomen zonder lichamelijk veel te moeten doormaken, n ik geloof in de beeltenis van Azara darvan de sporen te zien."'
 Kallisthenes. Toch zou ik, ondanks alles, om de schitterende loopbaan van den held voor den geest te roepen, de voorkeur geven
aan de beeltenis van den geidealiserden Alexander (de plaat egenover bl. 224) die voorkont op een gouden munt van Lysimachus.
GEORGES RADET.
EORGES RADET.
ONTLEEND AA
934 T. CLXXIII.
*34. T. CXXXIII:

1) UE Wilcken, Alexere
1)年traald door Robertit Bouvier. Parijs, Payot, 1933, 1 dil., 3355 bladzz, met act
illustraties niet in den tekst en een landkaart.
2) Revue des Etudes anciennes, dI. XXXIII, 1931, p. 141-145.
3) Journal des Savants, Februari 1932, bl. 50, no.
 f) Hermes, dl. LXVII, 1931, bl. 467-469. Het betoog, dat hier volot, bepaal tich to het volstrekt noodige. Voor作
4) Justinus, XI, 11,6
5) Zie min Notes criit

## 3) Sizungsb 63-166.

1) Op. cit. blz. 139, no. 2
2) De Fransche veratiling lijkt hier overigens wel op het origineel. Vier maal
blz. 132 ) ien wij das Allerheiligste" weergegeven door "sanctuaire", wat
 ding zich uit historisch oogpunt als vanzelf op als corresponderenend met
moet men de algemeene beteekenis behouden en niet preciseren "buige
met het hoofd" (blz. 131 ), want anders lost men de kwestie op, of het

*) Hetgeen de gedante van een mensch heeft. (Vert).
***) "Aniconischi" is fofgeleid van icon, "heiligenbeeld", terwijl de alpha
privans uiteraard duidt op een ontkenning (Vert)
) Men leze op dit punt Wilcken zelf (blz. 121, 122, 133) na
3) Alexander, III, 1 .
) Cf. Petit-Dutaillis, in 1 'Histoire de France van Ernest Lavisse, dl. IV, 2 ,
1z. $51-52$, no. 3 .






















 He was much less addicted to wine than was generally believed; tha which gave people occasion to think so of him was, that when he ha 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 orther generals offen were, either by wine, or sleep, nuptial solemnities, spectacles, or any ther diversion whatsoever; a convincing argument of which is, that actions. When he was free from employment, after he was up, and ad 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 required no great haste, he would practise shooting as he went alon,
or to mount a chariot and alight from it in full speed. Sometimes, fo sport's sake, as his journals tell us, he would hunt foxes and go
fowling. fowling.
When he
When he came in for the evening, after he had bathed and was nointed, he would call for his bakers and chief cooks, to know if
hey had his dinner ready. He never cared to dine till it was pretty ate and beginning to be dark, and was wonderfully circumspect at with proper attention: and his love of talking as was said before, with proper atevtion: and his love of taking, as was said before,
made him delight to sit long at his wine. And then, though otherwis 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 danger, they were in a great strait
how to behave themselves. After such an entertainment, he was wo 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 are fish or fruits were sent him, he would distribute them among his was always magnificent, the expense of it still increasing with his was al ways magnificent, the expense of it still increasing with his
good fortune, till lit amounted to ten thousand drachmas a day, to which sum he limited it, and beyond this he would suffer none to la tin any entertainment where he himself was the guest.

eius negat ullius scelere posse violari, Philippi autem omnes luisse supplicia: adiecit, invictum fore, donec excederet ad deos. Sacrificio deinde facto dona et sacerdotibus et deo data sunt permissumque
amicis, ut ipsi consulerent Iovem. Nihil amplius quaesierunt quam, amicis, ut ipsi consulerent Iovem. Nihil amplius quaesierunt quam,
an auctor esset sibi divinis honoribus colendi suum regem. 29 Hoc quoque acceptum fore Iovi vates respondent. Vera et salubri aestimatione pensanti fidem oraculi vana profecto responsa ei videri
potuissent: sed fortuna, quos uni sibi credere coëgit, magna ex parte potuissent: sed fortuna, quos uni sibi credere coëgit, magna ex parte
avidos gloriae magis quam capaces facit. 30 Iovis igitur filium se non solum appellari passus est, sed etiam iussit rerumque gestarum famam, dum augere vult tali ippellatione, corrupit. 31 Et Macedone
adsueti quidem regio imperio, sed in maiore libertatis umbra adsueti quidem regio imperio, sed in maiore libertatis umbra quam
ceterae gentes immortalitatem adfectantem contumacius, quam aut ipsis expediebat aut regi, aversati sunt. 32 Sed haec suo quaeque tempori reserventur: nunc cetera exequi pergam.

## Caput VIII

Alexander ab Hammone rediens ad Mareotin paludem haud procul insula Pharo sitam venit. Contemplatus loci naturam primum in ipsa insula statuerat urbem novam condere, inde ut adparuit magnae sedi insulam haud capacem esse, elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc est
Alexandrea, appellationem trahens ex nomine auctoris. 2 Conplexus, quidquidr sol apest inter paludem ac mare, octoginta stadiorum muris ambitum destinat ett quii exaedificicandae urbib praeessent, relictis
Memphim petit. 3 Cupido haud ininsta quidem ceterum Memphim peiti. 3 Cupido haud inusta quidem, ceterum
intempestiva incesserat, non interiora modo Aegypti, sem Aethiosiam inviserere: Memnonis Tithonique celebprata regia cognoscendae vetustatis avidum trahebat paene extra terminos solis. Sed inminens bellum, cuius multo maior supererat moles, otiosae eregrinationi tempora exemerat. Itaque Aegypto praefecit militum in prasidium regionis eius datis: claustra Nilif fluminis
Polemonem tueri Polemonem tueri iubet: XXX ad hoc triremes datae. 5 Africa
deinde, quae Aegypto iuncta est, praepositus Apollonius deinde, quae Aegypto iuncta est, praepositus Apollonius,
vectigalibus eiusdem Africae Aegyptique Cleomenes. Ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandream iusis novam urbem magna multitudine inplevit. 6 Fama est, cum rex orbem futuris muris
polenta, ut Macedonm mos est destinasset polenta, ut Macedonum mos est, destinasset, avium greges advolass
et polenta esse pastas: cumque id omen pro tristi a plerisque esset et polenta esse pastas: cumque, id omen pro tristi a plerisque esset
acceptum, respondisse vates, magnam illam urbem advenarum frequentiam culturam, multisque eam terris alimenta praebituram.
7 Regem, cum secundo amni deflueret adsequi cupiens Hector Regem, cum secundo amni deflueret, adsequi cupiens Hector,
Parmenionis filius, eximio aetatis flore, in paucis Alexandro carus parvum navigium conscendit pluribus, quam capere posset, inpositis. Itaque mersa navis omnes destituit. 8 Hector, diu flumini obluctatus, cum madens vestis et adstrictic crepidis pedes natare prohiberent, in
ripam tamen semianimis evasit et, ut primum fatigatus spiritum ripam tamen semianimis evasit et, ut primum fatigatus spirite -
laxavit, quem metus et periculum intenderat, nullo adiuvante quippe in diversum evaserant alii - exanimatus est. 9 Amissi eius desididrio vehemen extulit funere.
10 Oneravit hunc dolorem nuntius mortis Andromachi, quem praefecerat Syriae: vivum Samaritae cremaverant. Ad cuius
vindicandum, quanta maxime celeritate potuit, contendit, advenientique sunt traditit tanti scelerits auctores. 11 Andromacho deinde Menona substituit adfectisque supplicio, qui praetorem interemerant, tyrannos - inter quos Methymnaeorum Aristonicu et Chrysolaum-
tortos necaverunt.
12 Atheniensium deinde Rhodiorum et Chioum Athenienses victoriam gratulabantur et, ut captivi Graecorum suis restituerentur, orabant: Rhodii et Chii de praesidio quereobantur. Omnes aequa desiderare visi inpetraverunt. 13 Mitylenaeis quoque
ob egregiam in partes fidem et pecuniamm quam in bellum ob egregiam in partes fidem et pecuniam, quam in bellum
inpenderant, reddidit et magnam regionem finibus eorum adi Cypriorumm quoque regibus, qui et a Dareo defececrant ad ipsum et oppugnanti Tyyum miserant classem , proo merito honono habitum et et.
15 Amphoterus deinde, classis praefectus, ad liberandam Cretam missus - namquue et Persarum et Spartanorum armis pleraque eius missus - namque e et Persarum et Spartanorum armis pleraque
insulae obsidebantur - ante omnia mare a piraticis classibus

pressing shortage of wheat and other food
Lilled close on six thousand; those who perished in the wintre
ind t night and afterwards in the panic terror amounted to over ten housand, as likewise did those who were starved to death. 10.23.11] Athenian scouts arrived at Delphit to gather information, barbarians, and all that the god had inflicted upon them. Then the Athenians took the field, and as they marched through Boeotia the were joined by the Boeotians. Thus the combined armies followed
he barbarians, lying in wait and killing those who happened to be he last.
10.23.12] Those who fled with Brennus had been joined by the rmy under Acichorius only on the previous night. For the Aetol had delayed their march, hurling at them a merciless shower of avelins and anything else they could lay hands on, so that only a hope of saving the life of Brennus, so far as his wounds were oncerned; but, they say, partly because he feared his fellow ountrymen, and still more because he was conscience stricken
rinking neat wi
[10.23.13] After this, the barbarians proceeded with difficulty as far as the Spercheios, pressed hotly by the Aetolians. But after their
arrival at the Spercheios, during the rest of the retreat, the rrival at the Spercheios, during the rest of the retreat, the
Thessalians and Malians kept lying in wait for them, and so took heir fill of slaughter that not a Gaul returned home in safety. 10.23.14] The expedition of the Celts against Greece, and their estruction, took place when Anaxikratas was arkhō̄n in Athens, in he second year of the hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad [279
BCE] when Ladas of Aigion was victor in the foot race. In the following year, when Demokles was arkhōn in Athens, the Celts
crossed back again to Asia.

## TEMPLE OF APOLLON AT DELPHI CONTINUED

[10.24.1] Such was the course of the war. In the fore temple at hose whom the Greeks say were fages These were: from Io hose whom the Greeks say were sages. These were: from Ionia,
Thales of Miletus and Bias of Priene; of the Aeolians in Lesbos Pittacus of Mitylene; of the Dorians in Asia, Kleoboulos of Lindus, Solon of Athens and Khilon of Sparta; the seventh sage, according Ke list of Plato, [38] the son of Ariston, is not Periandros, the son Kypselos, buu Myson of Chenae, dedilage on Mount tite. These naxims, "Know thyselff," and "Nothing in excess."
$10.24 .2]$ So these men wrote what I have sid 0.24.2] So these men wrote what I have said, and you can see a oomze staue of Head the oracle that they say
Homer recived:
Bou seeksed and unhappy, for to be both were you born.
You seek your fatherland; but no fatherland have you, only The island of Ios is the fatherland of your
When you have died; but be you your guard ather, which will receiv . The inhabitants of los point to Homer's tomb in the island, and in another pa
10.24.3] But the Cyprians, who also claim Homer as their own, say 10.24.3] But the Cyprians, who also claim Homer as their own, say
hat Themisto, one of their native women, was the mother of Homer,
and that Euklos foretold the birth of Homer in the following verses: and that Euklos foretold the birth of Homer in the following verses
And then in sea girt Cyprus there will be a mighty singer, Whom Themisto, lady fair, shall bear in the fields, A man of renow
far from rich Salamis.

Leaving Cyprus, tossed and wetted by the waves,
The first and only poet to sing of the woes of spacious Greece,
For ever shall he be deatless and
For ever shall he be deathtess and ageceloss. Grece,
These things I have heard, and I have read the oracles, but express
private opinion about either the age or date of Homer.
10.24.4] In the temple has been built an altar of Poseidon, because
ine. In 334 voor Christus steekt hij naar Azié over, het begin van een langdurige wraakactie voor wat de Perzische koning Xerxes
nderhalve eeuw eerder in Grieknland heeft aangericht. In de slag bij de rivier de Granicus wordt hij gered door zijn jeugdvriend Ileitos die hij later tijdens een dronken ruxie met een speer zal oorboren. In Persepolis steekt de cultuurbarbaar het paleis van Xerxes in brand; verder in het Oosten geeft hij bevel ziing generaal Yhilotas, na een vaag gerucht over een samenzwering, gruwelijk te
martelen en op Macedonische wijze (steniging) terecht te stellen; martelen en op Maceconische wijze (steniging) terecht te stellen;
onmiddellijk daarna laat hij de vader van Philotas, Parmenion, zijn beste generaal, vermoorden. De eens zo veelbelovende pupil van
Aristoteles vertoont in zijn grenzeloze veroveringszucht toenemend Aristoteles vertoont in zijn grenzeloze veroveringszucht toene
tekenen van grootheidswaanzin, drinkt steeds mér minder aangelengde wijn, ontpopt zich als een wraakzuchtig Perzisch despoot.
Verzet tegen 's konings arrogantie wordt in bloed ses anneer zelfs de als vleier bekend staande hofbiograat Kallisthenes, leerling en verwant van Aristoteles, zijn misnoegen kenbaar maakt over de introductie van de proskunesis (knieval) voor de koning, ordt hij op vage gronden gearresteerd en vermoord. Tijdens zijn vijandelijike huurlingen met beloftes om hen daarna lafhartig tot de laatste man af te slachten. Steeds meer geisoleerd van zijn vrienden alt hij ten prooi aan paranoia, vooral na de doodd van zijn volgzame Babylon, overlidt is 7 ijin rijk reeds stervende. "Alexander dood?" bept de Atheense orator Demades uit als het nieuws tot Griekenland doordringt, "onmogelijk, de hele wereld zou van een lijklucht vervuld zijn"!
Is de steen wordt weggerold, krioelt het ongedierte omhoog: lientallen jijheen durend, moordend sevecht tussen de odiadochenen, zij politieke erfgenamen. Zijn wereldrijik valt daasen in in drie brokken iteen, panklaar voor de Romeinse legioenen. Alexander toont geen
enkele belangstelling voor een politiek van consolidatie Tienduizenden doden en verminkten, maar hij overwint slechts, hij wint het Perzische rijk niet. Hij rekt de grenzen van de Mediterrane
wereld te veel op; de helleense cultuur, die vór hem via handel, tsen en huurlingen reeds bezig is in het Perzische rijk te penetreren, wordt geforceerd opgelegd en schiet daardoor in het Oosten nauwelijks wortel. Een ruw opgediende Grieks-Macedonische vis past niet op een Perzisch bord.

Hoffelijk
aar de warrheid heeft vele gezichten.
Er is ook een Alexander die van zijn vader het militaire talent en van liefde voor de wetenschap en de Griekse literatuur krijgt ingeblazen. Na de dood van zijn vader stelt hij orde op zaken in Griekenland en leekt de Hellespont over on et Perzische juk te ontdoe
Meteen al bij de rivier de Granicus verslaat de geniale tacticus het
vijandelije leger, het begin van een elf jaar durende triomftocht door het Perrisishe rijk; in latere slagen zal hij de Perrische koning
Darius persoonlij tot de aftocht dwingen Hij treed witeret onfelijk Darius persoonlijk tot de aftocht dwingen. Hij treedt uiterst hoffelij. op jegens de verslagen viand en wordt geleicid door de gedachte
Grieken en Perzen tot éen culturgemeenschap te verbinden. Zo tre hijd door het onmetelijke rijk en nóg verder, tot in India, op zoek naar de oostelijke oceaan aan de rand van de grote platte pannekook die
de aarde dan is. Om deze wereldverbroedering te symboliseren neemt hij het Perzische hofceremonieel over, wat bevreemding en zelfs verzet oproept bij zijn Macedonische vrienden die zich ver boven d
voelen.
soelen.
Maar de onoverwinnelijk veldheer zet door. Hij heeft een vast gelo in zijn goddelijkheid; is hij niet van moederszijde afstammeling van Achilles en heeft de priester van het orakel van Zeus Ammon in
Egypte hem niet begroet als Zeus' zoon? Zijn soldaten dragen hem op handen, maar als hun moreel voorbij de Indus na een aanhoudende moesson geknakt blijkt, dwingen zij hem naar het


 iбто́рпкеv.
While the body of the army lay before Tyre, he made an excursion
against the Arabians who inhabit the Mint against the Arabians who inhabit the Mount Antilibanus, in which h
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 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, on, and the enemy near, Alexander was fait to stay behind sol long,
to encourage and help up the lagging and tired old man, that before he was aware he was left behind, a great way from his soldiers, with
a slender attendance, and forced to rass an extremely cold night in 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 Libours himself to cheer and support the Macedonians in any dagger despatching two of the barbarians that sat by it, snatched up lighted brand, and returned with it to his own men. They
mmediately made a great fire, which so alarmed the enemy that and thus they rested securely the remainder of the night. Thus Chars writes.











But to return to the siege, it had this issue. Alexander, that he might effresh his army, harassed with many former encounters, had led hy a small party towards the walls, rather to keep the enemy busy han with any prospect of much advantage. It happened at this time
hat Aristander, the soothsayer, after he had sacrificed, upon view of he 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 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 upport the credit of the predictions, gave order that they should not count it as the thirtieth, but as the twenty--third of the month, and ordering the trumpets to sound, attacked the walls more seriously
than he at first intended. The sharpness of the assault so inflamed the rest of his forces who were left in the camp, that they could not hold rom advancing to second it, which they performed with so much





 The next place he sat down before was Gaza, one of the largest cities
of Syria, when this accident befell him. A large bird flying over him let a clod of earth fall upon his shoulder, and then settling upon one of the battering engines, was suddenly entangled and caught in the
gadum firmare vix poterant, cum modo saxa lubrica vestigium fallerent, modo rapidior unda subduceret. 19 Praecipuus erat labor corum, quir himeris onera portabant: quippe cum semetipsos regere
non possent, in rapidos gurgites incommodo onere auferebantur, et, non possent, in rapiolos gurgites incommodo onere auferebanar, e,
dum sua quisque spolia consequi studet, maior inter ipsos quam cum amni orta luctatio est, cumuliques sarcinarum passim fluitante plerosque perculerant. 20 Rex monere, ut satis haberent arma accipi poterat: obstrepebat hinc metus, praeter hunc invicem luctantium mutuius clamor. 21 Tandem qua leniore tractu amnis aperit vadum, emersere, nec quicquam praeter paucas sarcinas
desideratum est. 22 Deleri potuit exercitus, si quis vincere ausus esset, sed perpetua fortuna regis avertititinde hostem. Sic Granicum tot milibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa superavit, sic angustis in Ciliciae callibus tantam multitudinem hostium: 23
audaciae quoque audaciae quoquue, qua maxime viguit, ratio minui potest, quia
numquam in discrimen venit, an temere fecisset Mazaus, qui transeuntibus flumen supervenisset, haud dubie oppressurus fuit inconpositos, in ripa demum ad iam perarmatos adequitare coepit. 2 Mille admodum equites praemiserat. Quorum paucitate Alexander explorata, deinde contempta praefectum Paeonum equitum Aristona
laxatis habenis invehi iussit. 25 Insignis eo die pugna equitum et praecipue Aristonis fuit: praefectum equitatus Persarum Satropaten directa in guttur hasta transfixit fugientemque per medios hostes quod relatum magna cum laude ante regis pedes posuit. Caput X
1 Biduo ibi stativa rex habuit: in proximum deinde pronuntiari iter iussit. 2 Sed prima fere vigilia lana deficiens srimum nitorem sideris
sui condidit, deinde sanguinis colore suffuso lumen omne foedavit, sollicitisque sub ipsum tanti discriminis casum ingens religio et ex e merebention in flum. 3 Dise invitis in ultimas terras trahi se querebantur: iam nec flumina posse adiri nec sidera pristinum
servare fulgorem, vastas terras, deserta omnia occurrere: in unius hominis iactationem tot milium sanguinem inpendi: fastidio esse patriam, abdicari Philippum patrem, caelum vanis cogitationibus
petere. 4 lam prope seditionem res erat, cum ad omnia interitus duces principesque militum frequentes adesse praetorio [iubet] Aegyptosque vates, quos caeli ac siderum peritissimos esse credebat, quid sentirent, expromere iubet. 5 At illi, qui satis scirent temporum orbes inplere destialaas edocent vulgus: 6 ceterum adfirmant solem Graecorum, lunam esse Persarum, quotiensque illa deficiat, ruinam stragemque illis gentibus portendi: veteraque exempla percensent Persidis regum, quos
adversis dis pugnasse lunae ostendisset defectio. 7 Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit quam superstitio: alioquin inpotens saeva, mutabilis, ubi vana religione capta est, melius vatibus, quam
ducibus suis paret Igitur edita in vulgus $A$, ducibus suis paret. Igitur edita in vulgus Aegyptiorum responsa
rursus ad spem et fiduciam erexere torpentes 8 Rex inpetu animorum utendum ratus secunda vigilia castra movit: dextra Tigrin habebat, a laeva montes, quos Gordyaeos vocant. 9 Hoc ingressis iter speculatores, qui praemissi erant, sub lucis ortum Dareum adventare peciem magni agminis fecerant: quippe ubi explorari vera non possunt, falsa per metum augentur. 11 His cognitis rex cum paucis suorum adsecutus agmen refugientium ad suos alios cecidit, cepit alios: equitesque praemisits speculatum, simul ut ignem, quo barbari
cremaverant vicos, extinguerent. 12 Quippe fugientes raptim tectis cremaverant vicos, extinguerent. 12 Quippe fugientes raptim tectis
acervisque frumenti iniecerant flammas, quae cum in summo haesissent, ad inferiora nondum penetraverant. 13 Extincto igitur igne plurimum frumenti repertum est: copia aliarum quoque rerum
abundare coeperumt
Ea res ipsa milit ad persequendum hostem animum incendit: quippe urente et populante eo terram festinandum erat, ne incendio cuncta praciperet. 14 In rationem ergo necessitas versa est: quippe Mazaeus, qui antea per otium vicos incenderat, iam
fugere contentus pleraque inviolata hosti reliquit. 15 Alexander haud longius CL stadiis Dareum a se abesse conpererat. Itaque ad satietatem quoque copia commeatuum instructus quadriduo in eoden

Poseidon too possessed in part the most ancient oracle. There are also images of two Fates; but in place of the third Fate, there stand y their side Zeus, Guide of Fate, and Apollo, Guide of Fate. Here
ou may behold the hearth on which the priest of Apollo killed Neoptolemos, the son of Achilles. The story of the end of Neoptolemos, I have told elsewhere. [39]
$10.24 .5]$ Not far from the hearth
10.24.5] Not far from the hearth has been dedicated a chair of indar. The chair is of iron, and on it they say Pindar sat whenever
he came to Delphi, and there composed his songs to Apollo. Into the he came to Delphi, and there composed his songs to Apollo
nnermost part of the temple there pass but few, but there is

## GRAVE OF NEOPTOLEMUS AT DELPHI

10.24.6] Leaving the temple and turning to the left, you will come to an enclosure in which is the tomb of Neoptolemos, the son of Achilles. Every year, the Delphians sacrifice to him as to a hero. it everyday, they pour olive oil, and at each feast, they place on it nworked wool. There is also an opinion about this stone, that it w iven to Kronos instead of his child and that Kronos vomited it up again.

SPRING OF CASSOTIS AT DELPH
10.24.7] Coming back to the temple after seeing the stone, you ome to the spring called Cassotis. By it is a wall of no great size,
and the ascent to the spring is through the wall. It is said that the water of this Cassotis sinks under the ground and inspires the wom water of this Cassotis sinks under the ground and inspires the wome
n the shrine of the god. She who gave her name to the spring is said
o have been a nymph of Parnassos.

PAINTINGS BY POLYGNOTUS AT DELPHI
10.25.1] Beyond the Cassotis stands a building with paintings of Polygnotus. It was dedicated by the people of Knidos, and is called by the Delphians Lesche (Place of Talk), because here in days of of
hey used to meet and talkabout the more serious matters and thing hey used to meet and talkabout the more serious matters and thing
hat had to do with myth. That there used to be many such places at ver Greece is shown by Ho
Melantho abuses Odysseus:
10.25.2 Inside this building the whole of the painting on the righ depicts Troy taken and the Greeks sailing away. On the ship of
denelos, they Menelas, they are preparing to put to sea. The ship is painted with
children among the grown up sailors: maid ships is htrontis the children among the grown up sailors; amid ships is P Prontis the
teersman holding two boat hooks. Homer [40] represents Nestor as speaking about Phrontis in his conversation with Telemachus, saying hat he was the son of Onetor and the steersman of Menelaos, of very high repute in his craft, and how he came to his end when he was been sailing along with Nestor, but now he was left behind to build Phrontis a tomb and to pay him the due rites of burial.
10.25.3] Phrontis then is in the painting of Polygnotus, and beneat im is one Ithaemenes carrying clothes, and Echoeax is going down he gangway, carrying a bronze urn. Polites, Strophios, and Alphios Anouther hut is being pulled down by Amphialus, at whose feet is sated a boy. There is no inscription on the boy, and Phrontis is the only one with a beard. His too is the only name that Polygnotus to
from the Odyssey; the names of the others he invented, I think, imself.
1025.4] Brisesis is standing with Diomeda ont of both; they appear to be examining the form of Helen. Hele front of both; they appear to be examining the form of Helen. Helen
herself is sititing, and so is Eurybates near her. We inferred that he was the herald of Odysseus, although he had yet no beard. One aandmaid, Panthalis, is standing beside Helen; another, Electra, is
fastening her mistress' sandals. These names too are different from astening her mistresss sandals. I hese nemes to are different from
those given by Homer in the lliad, [41] where he tells of Helen goin to the wall with her slave women.
ot the wall with her slave women.
$10.25 .5]$ Beyond Helen, a man wrapped in a purple cloak is sitting in an attitude of the deepest dejection; one might conjecture that he Near Helenos is Meges, who is wounded in the arm, as Lescheos of

Cntrum van het rijk terug te kere mar het Arabische schiereiland, overlijdt Alexander plotseling in Babylon. Hij leeft te kort, nog geen 33 jaar, om zijn versmeltingspoititek in het enorme rijk tot volle wasdom te doen Oosten voor de Griense cultuur: in Batylon en Susa worden Euripides en Sophocles opgevoord, in India Homerus, Plato en
Aristoteles gelezen! Deze vruchtbare wisselwerking tussen de Aristetes
Griekse en Oosezense cultuur leidt eeen nisuuw wijidperk in, dat van het hellenisme, dat op zijn beurt een heilzame weg effent naar het
christendom en, zes eeuwen later, naar de islam.

Eeuwig conflic
Beide versies zijn te verdedigen, zijn althans te herleiden uit de antieke bronnen. Alexander is een ordinaire imperialist, een
Homerische held, en alles wat zich daatussen bevindt. Wie zich in hem verdiept, raakt verstrikt in het eeuwige conflict tussen nythologie en geschiedenis. Onmidddellijik na zijn dood worden zijn karakter en carrière door een eindelozer rij propagandisten,
(pseudo-)monarchen, schrijers, historici en filosofen voor (pseudo-monarchen, schrijvers, historici en filosofen voor eigen
gebruik gekneed. Zijn generaal Ptolemaios vervoert zijn lijk in een praalwagen naar Alexandrie in Egypte om een graantje van de Alexander-cultus mee te pikken. De Macedonische koning die zich Astammeling waant van Achilles, Herakles, Dionysos en en Zeus
ondergaat in korte tijd een apotheose; op munten worden hem heroische en gooddelijije en trekkenten toebeededeeld ment, sterker nog, nemen heroën en goden zijn uiterlijk aan. Vooral als drie eeuwen na zijn dood, ten tijde van de Romeinse keizer Augustus de oning zich tot hemelse hoogte. De Romeinen beschouwen zich als de erfgenamen van zijn rijk en verlenen hem de eretitevel 'de Grote''. In Alexandrië strooit Augustus bloemen op zijn sarcofaag, hij gebruik
Alexanders beeltenis bij het verzegelen van oorkonden en brieven Llexanders beettenis bij het verzegelen van orkonden
Keizer Hadrianus bewondert hem, Caracalla doet even lachwekkende als tragische pogingen hem te imiteren, keizer Alexander Severus vereert hem in zijn huiskapel. Zijn afbeelding geldt als gelukbrengend en wordt veelvuldig als talisman gebruik
de Middeleuwen wordt hij in de uiteenlopende versies van de Alexanderroman door de christenen afgeschilderd als een ascetisch eilige, door de Perzen als zoon van Darius, door de Egyptenaren al Hoornenman uit de achttiende Sura van de Koran.

## ragmenten

De tegenstrijidigheid van de bronnen staat een zuivere blik op Alexander de Grote in de weg. Numismatiek, inscripties en
archeoogie hebben hier betrekkelijk weinig te bieden zodat de wetenschap voornamelijk is aangewezen op de interpretatie van literaire teksten. Vrijwel de gehele, overvloedige Alexander-
literatuur uit de hellenistische tijd is echter verloren gegaan, waaronder talrijke verslagen van Alexanders tijgenoten: van zijn secretaris Eumenes, van de eerder genoemde Kallisthenes (biograat) In Ptolemaios (generaal, later koning van Egypte), van zijn ingenie vergezelden hem on zijn veldtocht-en van Kleitarchos, een net 20 opulaire als onbetrouwbare biograaf.
Helemáal verloren zijn deze primaire bronnen niet: honderden ragmenten ervan zijn bewaard gebleven waarvan er vele de kop
posteken in vijf, van veel later eeuwen daterende biografiè̈.. De schrijers van deze biografieên zijn Diodorus Siculus die, doordat Zijn bronnen niet noemt, met de grootste voorzichtigheid moet worden gehanteerd, Quintus Curtius Rufus, wiens bombastisch zijn geloofwaardigheid ersstig belemmert, de vel gelezen
Plutarchus, die Alexander te weinig kritisch benadert en wi bronnenkeus vrijwel niet te achterthalen is, Justinus, die een slap ffreksel geeft van een eerder, verloren gegaan werk van de stoits Pompeiws Trogus en Arriamus.

Deze laatste, begiftigd met een kritische geest en algemeen erkend
nets, composed of sinews, which protected the ropes with which the machine was managed. This fell out exactly according to Aristander's prediction, which w
wounded and the city reduced

## 









From hence he sent great part of the spoils to Olympias, Cleopatra, and the rest of his friends, not omitting his preceptor Leonidas, on
whom he bestowed five hundred talents' weight of frankincense and an hundred of myrrth, in remembrance of the hopes he had once expressed of him when he was but a child. For Leonidas, it seems, tanding by him one day while he was sacrificing, and seeing him 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 nd saying, come from. So Alexander now wrote to him, saying, "We have sent you abundance of myrrh and rind


## 











 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
to be laid up in it; and when they had delivered their various pinions, he told them he should keep Homer's Iliad in it. This is attested by many credible authors, and if what ithose 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.
his expedition.
For when he was master of Egypt, designing to settle a colony of
Grecians there he resolved to build lage 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 hanced one night in his sleep to see a wonderful vision; a greyheaded old man, of a venerable aspect, appeared to stand by hin,
"An issand lies, where loud the billows roar,
Pharos they call it, on the Egyptian shore."






loco substiti.
16 Interceptae deinde Darei litterae sunt, quibus Graeci milites an eas pro contione recitaret satis confisus Graecorum, quoque erga an eas pro contione recitaret, satis confisus Graecorum quoque erga
se benivolentiae ac fidei. 17 Sed Parmenio deterruit, non esse talibus promissis inbuendas aures militum adfirmans: patere vel unius insidis regem: nihil nefas esse avaritiae. Secutus consilii auctorem castra movit. 18 Iter facienti spado e captivis, qui Darei uxorem
comitabantur, deficere eam nuntiat et vix spiritum ducere. 19 Itineris continui labore animique aegritudine fatigata inter socrus et virginum filiarum manus conlapsa erat, deinde et extincta. Id ipsum nuntians alius supervenit. 20 Et rex haud secus, quam si parentis mors
nuntiata esset, crebros edidit gemitus lacrimisque obortis, qual is Dareus profudisset, in tabernaculum, in quo mater erat Darei, defuncto adsidens corpori, venit. 21 Hic vero renovatus est maeror,
ut prostratam humi vidit. Recenti malo priorum quoque admonita ut prostratam humi vidit. Recenti malo priorum quoque admonita
receperat in gremium adultas virgines, magna quidem mutui doloris solacia, sed quibus ipsa deberet esse solacio. 22 In conspectu erat nepos parvulus, ob id ipsum miserabilis, quod nondum sentiebat calamitatem, ex maxima parte ad ipsum redundantem. 23 Crederes sed quaerere. Cibo certe absstinuit omnemque honorem funeri patrio Persarum more servavit, dignus, hercule, qui nunc quoque tantae et mansuetudinis et continentiae ferat fructum. 24 Semel omnino eam viderat, quo die capta est, nec ut ipsam, sed ut Darei matrem videre,
eximiamque pulchritudinem formae eius non libidinis habuerat invitamentum, sed gloriae.
25 E spadonibus, qui circa reginam erant, Tyriotes inter trepidationem lugentium elapsus per eam portam, quae, quia ab hoste
aversa erat, levius custodiebatur, ad Darei costra pervent eceptusque a vigigibus in tabernaculum regis perducitur veste lacerata. 26 Quem ut conspexit Dareus, multiplici doloris expectatione commotus est, quid potissimum timerert, incertus, Vultus, inquit, 'tuus nescio quod ingens malum praefert, sed cave
miseri hominis auribus parcas: didici esse infelix, et saepe calamitatis solacium est nosse sortem suam. 27 Num, quod maxime suspicor et eloqui timeo, ludibria meorum nuntiaturus es, mihi et, ut
credo, ipsis ouoque omni tristiora supplicion' 28 Ad haec Tyriotes, 'stud quidem procul abest', inquit: 'quantuscumque enim reginis honos ab his, qui parent, haberi potest, tuis a victore servatus est, sed uxor tua paulo ante excessit e vita.' 29 Tunc vero non gemitus modo, sed etiam eiulatus quin interfecta esset, qui nequisset contumeliam perpeti, exclamatque
amens dolore: 'Quod ego tantum nefas commisi, Alexander? quem tuorum propinquorum necavi, ut hanc vicem redderes saevitiae meae? Odisti me, non quidem provocatus: sed finge iustum intulisse te bellum, cum feminis ergo agere debueras?' 30 Tyriotes adfirmare
per deos patrios nihil in eam gravius esse consultum: ingemuisse etiam Alexandrum morti et non parcius flevisse, quam ipse lacrimaret. 31 Ob haec ipsa amantis animus in sollicitudinem suspicionemque revolutus est, desiderium captivae profecto a
consuetudine stupri ortum esse coniectans. 32 Summotis igitur arbitris, uno dumtaxat Tyriote retento, iam non flens, sed suspirans, 'Videsne', inquit, 'Tyriote, locum mendacio non esse? tormenta iam hic erunt: sed ne expectaveris per deos, si quid tibi tui regis
reverentiae est: num, quod et scire expeto et quaerere pudet, reverentae est: num, quod et scire expeto et quaarere pudet, ausus
est et dominus et iuvenis? 33 Ile quaestioni corpus offerre, deos testes invocare, caste sancteque habitam esse reginam. 34 Tandem ut
fides facta est vera esse, quae adfirmaret spado capite yelato diu fides facta est vera esse, quae adfirmaret spado, capite velato diu
flevit manantibusque adhuc lacrimis, veste ab ore reiecta, ad caelum manus tendens, 'Di patrii', inquit, ' 'rimum mihi stabilite regnum: deinde, si de me iam transactum est, precor, ne quis potius Asiae rex sit, quam iste tam iustus hostis, tam misericors victor,
Caput XI
1 Itaque
Haque quamquam frustra pace bis petita omnia in bellum consilia converterat, victus tamen continentia hostis ad novas pacis condiciones ferendas X legatos, cognatorum principes, misit: quos
Alexander consilio advocato introduci iussit. 2 E quibus maximus natu, 'Dareum', inquit, 'ut pacem a te iam hoc tertio peteret, nulla vis

Pyrrha, son of Aiskhylinos, describes in the Sack of Troy. For he hat the Trojans fought in the night
10.25.6] Beside Meges is also painted Lykomedes the son of Creon, who has a wound in the wrist: Lescheos says he was so wounded by
Agenor. So it is plain that Polygnotus would not have represented Agenor. So it is plain that Polygnotus would not have repres
However, he has painted Lykomedes as wounded also in the ankle
and yet again in the head. Euryalus the son of Mecisteus has also and yet again in the head. Euryalus the son of Mecisteus
received a wound in the head and another in the wrist.
[10.25.7] These are painted higher up than Helen in the picture. Ne
to Helen comes the mother of Theseus with her heads shaved and Helen comes the mother of Theseus with her head shaved, and
Demophon, one of the sons of Theseus, is considering to Demophon, one of the sons of Theseus, is considering, to judge from
his attitude, whether it will be possible for him to rescue Aithra. The Argives say that Theseus had also a son Melanippos by the daughter of Sinis and that Melanippos won a running race when the Epigonoi,
as they are called, held the second celebration of the Nemean Games, hat of Adrastos being the first.
10.25.8] Lescheos says of Aithra that, when Troy was taken, she ame stealthily to the Greek camp. She was recognized by the sons of Thesess, and Demophon asked for her from Agamemnon. He wa
eady to grant Demophon the favor, but said that Helen must first ive her consent. He sent a herald, and Helen granted him the favor So in the painting, Eurybates appears to have come to Helen to ask
about Aithra, and to be saying what he had been told to say by anout Aithra,
agamemnon.
gamemnon.
10.25.9] The Trojan women are represented as already captives and menting. Andromache is in the painting, and near stands her boy rasping her breast; this child Lescheos says was put to death by
being flung from the tower, not that the Greeks had so decreed, but eing flung from the tower, not that the Greeks had so decreed, but
Neoptolemos, of his own accord, was minded to murder him. In the painting is also Medesicaste, another of Priam's illegitimate daughters, who according to Homer [42] left her home and went to
the city of Pedaeum to be the wife of Imbrios, the son of Mentor. he city of Pedaeum to be the wife of Imbrios, the son of Mentor.
10.25.10] Andromache and Medesicaste are wearing hoods, but the hair of Polyxena is braided after the custom of maidens. Poets sing of her death at the tomb of Achilles, and both in Athens and in
Pergamon-on-the-Kaikos. Ihave seen the tragely of Polyyena Pergamon-on-the-Kaik
depicted in paintings.
10.25.11] The artist has painted Nestor with a cap on his head and a spear in his hand. There is also a horse, in the attitude of one about oll in the dust. Right up to the horse, hhere is a beach with what appear to be pebbles, but beyond the horse, the sea scene breaks of
10.26.1] Above the women between Aithra and Nestor are other captive women, Clymene, Kreousa, Aristomache, and Xenodice.
Now Stesichorus, in the Sack of Troy includdes Clymene in the Now Stesichorus, in the Sack of Troy, includes Clymene in the number of the captives; and similarly, in the Returns, he speaks of
Aristomache as the daughter of Priam and the wife of Kritolas, so Aristomache as the daughter of Priam and the wife of Kritolaos, So
of Hicetaon. But I know of no poet, and of no prose writer, who makes mention of Xenodice. About, Kreousa, the story is sold that the
nother of the gods and Aphrodite rescued her from slavery among nother of the gods and Aphrodite rescued her from slavery among
he Greeks, as she was, of course, the wife of Aeneas. But Lescheo he Greeks, as she was, of course, tye wife of Aeneas. But Lescheo
and the writer of the epic poem Cypria make Eurydike the wife of Aeneas.
[10.26.2] Beyond these are painted on a couch Deinome, Metioche, 10.26.2] Beyond these are painted on a couch Deinome, Metioche, Peisis, and Kleodike. Deinome is the only one of these names to occur in what is called the Little liliad; Polygnotus, think, invented
the names of the others. Epeios is painted naked; he is razing to the ground the Trojan wall. Above the wall rises the head only of the
Wooden Horse. There is Polypoetes, the son of Peirithous, his hea wound with a fillet, by his side is Akamas, the son of Theseus, wearing on his head a helmet with a crest on it.
10.26.3] There is also Odysseus $[\ldots]$ and Odysseus has put on his arselet. Ajax, the son of Oileus, holding a shield, stands by an alta, taking an oath about tho outrage on Cassandra. Cassandra is sitting
on the ground, and holdd the image of Athena, for she had knocked over the wooden image from its stand when Ajax was dragging her
away from sanctuary. In the painting are also the sons of Atreus, way from sanctuary. In the painting are also the sons of Atreus,
wearing helmets like the others; Menelaos carries a shield, on whic
w is figured a serpent as a memorial of the prodigy that appeared on the
als de betrouwbaarste Alexander-biograaf, schrijtt in het voorwoord van zijn boek, dat van al zijn bronnen de verhalen van Ar
en Ptolemaios hem het meest geloofwaardig voorkomen: nn Ptolemaios hem het meest geloof waardig voorkomen:
Aristoboulos omdat hij Alexander vergezelde op diens expeditie, Aristoboulos omdat hij Alexander vergezelde op diens expeditie
Ptolemaios niet alleen omdat hij de tocht door Perzie eveneens meemaakte, maar ook "omdat hij zelff een koning was en het voor hem, meer dan voor wie ook, een schande zoo zijn nals hij de feiten compleatesen" Alexander itstsuit. Zeker wanneer men weet dat Aristoboulos te boek staat als een vleier en Ptolemaios in zijn (verloren) biografie Alexanders minder plezante kanten graag onder
het tapijt schoof. Voor een plaatsing in de tijd: de eerste van de vijf het tapijt schoof. Voor een plaatsing in de tijd: de eerste van de vijf
iografiên, die van Diodorus Siculus, verscheen zo'n drie eeuwen na Alexanders dood, het verslag van Arrianus weer zo'n twee eeuwen daarna.
De vijf flassieke auteurs verdiepten zich voornamelijk in de persóón
Alexander en bekreunden rich nauwelijks om iin Alexander en bekreunden zich nauwelijks om zijn motieven, zodat
zich hier een zee van mogelijkheden opent. Een ander probleem do zich voor riji de beoordeling van het oogmerk van de oude schrijive warom namen zij de pen op, waren zij Alexander goed of slecht
gezind, waar hemelen zij op, waar bedrijven zij propaganda, waar sezind, waar hemelen zij op, waar bedrijven zij propaganda, waar
hanteren zij rhetoriek, vervalsen zij, verzwijgen zij? Niet een gebrek aan bewismateriaal vormt de moeilijijheid, maar de juiste
interpretatie van de verschillende versies van hetzelfe incident. interpretatie van de verschillende versies van hetzelfde incident.
Zat bijvoorbeeld achter de brand die Alexander in Persepolis stichtit (een feit) een politieke gedachte, of liet hij zich in dronkenschap daartoe aansporen door de Atheense courtisane Thais, zoals onder nderen Diodorus en Plutarchus vermelden? Arrianus doet de bran opvallend kort af en lain a de rol van Thais te noemen. Niet zo
onbegrijpelij, want ziin bron Ptolemaios hult zich in stilzwijgen: Thais was zijn (Ptolemaios') maitresse. Moeten de sport- en culturwedstrijden van Alexanders leger in Egypte en elders (een feit) worden opgevat als een normale ontspanning voor de troepen
dient er een diepe gedachte achter te worden gezocht een dient er een diepe gedachte achter te worden gezocht: een poging de
Griekse cultuur in den vreemde te introduceren? Van dezelfde orde dienden de Alexandrï's', de door Alexander gestichte steden (een feit), end banaal milititair of een verder gelegenen cultureel doel? Als Alexander uit was op de verovering van de wereld - waaroom liet
dan koning Poros diens Indische rijk behouden (een feit) nadat hij hem en zijn olifanten eerder overtuigend had verslagen? Alexanders dood (een feit): algehele uitputting als gevolg van de drank, naweeeỉ vergif, malaria? Of, om een toch vrij elementaire vraag te stellen: Waaróm trok hij Perzië in en wist hij daar niet van ophouden? Was het pothos (het hem veelvuldig overvallende, onbedwingbare verlangen), zin voor avontur, de neurotische dwang zijn vader
voortdurend te overtreffen, panhelleense wraak? Of heeft hij er domweg niet aan gedacht het niet te doen? op hem de eigen ervaringen en de eigen warheid. IIdere historicus
heeft zijn eigen Alexander; hij is zich van dat probleem bewust, ma kan inet buiten zichzzerf freden. De enegentiende-e-euswe Pruisische geschiedkundige Droysen, de eerste Alexandergeleerde die de
antieke bronnen met methodische kritiek tegemoet trad, ziet in hem een wereldhervormende Pruis; W.W. Tarn, een keurige Brit met ee geloor in een betere wereld, reageert in zijn overigens indrukwekkende Alexander-studie als door een wesp gestoken op antitike tekstgedeelten die zouden kunnen wijzen op
mogelijke drankucht en homoseksuele geaardheid. Meteen na de Tweede Wereldoorlog begint de weldoener plaats te naken voor de veroveraare en zelfs de contouren aan te nemen van een omhooggevallen waterverfschilder uit Braunau. De psychologic
heeft een Freudiaunse Alexander gebaard: een overheersende hoeder, een inniagne verstandhouding meto oudere dames (koning Ada an Cariè, Darius' moeder Sisygambisis, een noet alleen
geestelijike vriendschap met Hephaistion en de mooie enuch Bagoas. Zo langzamerhand kan met recht worden beweerd dat een publikatie over Alexander meer inzicht biedt in het karakter van de








 برwos 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 he 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
ithmus between large lagoons and shallow waters on one side and he 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 straight lines from each end,
thus giving it something of the form of a cloak or cape; while he w 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 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 visions. He com thanded temple of Ammon.









his was a long and painful, and, in two respects, a dangerous journey; first, if they should lose their provision of water, as for
several days none could be obtained; and, secondly, if a violent 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 when Cambyses led his army that way, blowing the sand together in
heaps, and raisisg, as it were, the whole desert like a sea upon them, tills, and raising, as it were, the whole desert like a sea upon them,
thousand were swallowed up and destroyed by it. All these
difficulties were weighed and represented to him; but Alexander difficulties were weighed and represented to him; but Alexander w fortune having hitherto seconded him in his designs, made him 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 victorious in the field, unless place d seasons and nature herself submitted to him.

## 

## 

## 






解解, sed iustitia et continentia tua expressit. 3 Marrem, coniugen, iberos eius, nisi quod sine illo sunt, captos esse non sensimus: padicitiae earum, quae supersunt, curam haud secus quam parens agens reginas appellas, speciem pristinae fortunae retinere pateris. 4
Vultum tuum video, qualis Darei fuit, cum dimitteremur ab eo: et ille tamen uxorem, tu hostem luges. Iam in acie stares, nisi cura $t$.
sepulturae eius moraretur Ecquid mirum est, si tam ab amico sepulturae eius moraretur. Ecquid mirum est, si tam ab a amico animo pacem petit? quid opus est armis, inter quos odia sublata sunt? 5
Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halym amnem, qui Lydiam Antea imperio tuo finem destinabat Halym amnem, qui Lydiam
terminat: nunc, quidquid inter Hellespontum et Euphraten est, in dotem filiae offert, quam tibibitradit. 6 Ochum filium, quem habes, pro tribus corporibus XXX milia talentum auri precatur accipias Nisi moderationem animi tui notam haberem, non dicerem hoc esse tempus, quo pacem non dare solum, sed etiam occupare deberes. 8 Respice, quantum post te reliqueris: intuere, quantum petas. Periculosum est praegrave imperium: difficile est enim continere,
quod capere non possis. Videsne, ut navigiai, quae modum excedunt, regi nequeant? Nescio, an Dareus ideo tam multa amiserit, quia nimiae opes magnae iacturae locum faciunt. 9 Facilius est quiden vincere, quam tueri praedam: quam, hercule, expeditius manus
nostrae rapiunt, quam continent. Ipsa mors uxoris Darei admonere to potest minus iam misericordiae tuae licere, quam licuit.' 10 Alexander legatis excedere tabernaculo iussis, quid placeret, ad
consilium refert. Diu nemo, quid sentiret, ausus est dicere incerta regis voluntate. 11 Tandem Parmenio antea suasisse ait, ut captivos apud Damascum redimentibus redderet: ingentem pecuniam potuisse redigi ex his, qui multi vincti virorum fortium occuparent manus. 12 agminumque inpedimenta XXX milibus talentua purit permutet. 13 Opimum regnum occupare posse condicione, non bello, nec quemquam alium inter Istrum et Euphraten possedisse terras ingenti spatio intervalloque discretas. Macedoniam quoque potius respiceret, finem dicendi fecit,' 'Et ego', inquit, 'pecuniam quam gloriam mallem, si Parmenio essem: nunc Alexander de paupertate securus sum et me
non mercatorrem memini esse, sed regem. 15 Nhihi quidem habeo non mercatorrem memini esse, sed regem. 15 Nihil quidem habeo reddi, honestius dono dabimus, quam pretio remittemus.' Introductis deinde legatis ad hunc modum respondit: 16 'Nuntiate Dareo me, quae fecerim clementer et liberaliter, non amicitiae eius tribuisse, sed armatus sit oportet, quem oderim. 18 Quodsis saltem pacem bona fide peteret, deliberarem forsitan, an darem. Verum enimvero, cum modo milites meos litteris ad proditionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia sollicitet, ad internecionem mihi persequendusest, pacis, quas adfertis, si accepero, victorem eum faciunt. Quae post Euphraten sunt, liberaliter donat. Ubi igitur me adeatis, oblitit estis: nempe ultra Euphraten [sum]. Summum ergo dotis, quam promittii vestrum esse, quo ceditis. Eadem liberalitate dat mihi filiam suam nempe quam scio alicui servorum eius nupturam. Multum vero mihi praestat, si me Mazaeo generum praeponit! 21 Ite, nuntiate regi regente utriusque terminos regni, id quemque habiturum, quod regente utriusque terminos regni, id quemque habiturum, quod
proximae lucis adsignatura fortuna est.' 22 Legati ressondent, cum proximae hucis adsisnatara ertuna est. 2 Legait respondent, cu
bellum in animo sit, facere eum simpliciter, quod spe pacis non frustraretur: ipsos petere, ut quam primum dimittantur ad regem:
eum quoque bellum parare debere. Dimissi nuntiant adesse certame Caput XII
1 IIle quid
1 Ille quidem confestim Mazaeum cum tribus equitum milibus ad itinera, quae hostis petiturus erat, occupanda praemisit. 2 Alexander corpori uxoris eius iustis persolutis omnique graviore comita
eadem munimenta cum modico praesidio relicto ad hostem
contendit. 3 In duo cornua diviserat peditem utrique lateri equite
circumdato: inpedimenta sequebantur agmen. 4 Praemissum deinde cum citis equitibus Menidan iubet explorare, ubi Dareus esset. At ille, cum Mazaeus haud procul consedisset, non ausus ultra











this journey, the relief and assistance the gods afforded him in his distresses were more remarkable, and obtained greater belief than the
racles he received afterwards, which, however, were valued and credited the more on account of those occurrences. For first, plentifu ains that fell preserved them from any fear of perishing by drought, and, allaying the extreme dryness of the sand, which now
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 tavens, which flew before them when on their march, and waited fo hem when they lingered and fell behind; and the greatest miracle, a Callisthenes tells us, was that if any of the company went astray in neans they had brought thed croaking and makig a noise $t$ by th means they had brought them into the right way again. Having
passed through the wilderness, they came to the place where the hig priest, at the first salutation, bade Alexander welcome from his father Ammon. And being asked by him whether any of his father's nore respect, since his was not a mortal father. Then Alexander, changing his expression, desired to know of him if any of those who murdered Philip were yet unpunished, and further concerning
dominion whether the empire of the world was reserved for him? This, the god answered, he should obtain, and that Philin's death fully revenged, which gave him so much satisfaction that he made plendid offerings to Jupiter, and gave the priests very rich presents. his is what most authors write con the oracles.









 pítrovs.
Sit Alexander, in a letter to his mother, tells her there were some nly answers, which at his res
Others say that the priest, desirous as a piece of courtesy to address him in Greek, "O Paidion," by a slip in pronunciation ended with the instead of the n, and said "O Paidios," which mistake Alexander was well enough $p$ p.
had called him so.
among the sayings of one Psammon, a philosopher, whom he heard in Egypt, he most approved of this, that all men are governed by God, bec
divine.
But what he pronounced himself upon this subject was even more
ocedere, nihil aliud quam fremitum hominum hinnitumque equorum exaudisse nuntiat. 5 Mazaeus quoque conspectis procul Dareus, qui in patentibus campis decernere optabat armari militem iubet aciemque disponit. 6 In laevo cornu Bactriani ibant equites, mille admodum: Dahae totidem et Arachosii Susianique quattuor milia explebant. Hos centum falcati currus sequebantur. Proximu quadrigis erat Bessus cum VIII milibus equitum, item Bactrianis.
Massagetae duobus milibus agmen eius claudebant. 7 Pedites his plurium gentium non inmixtos, sed suae cuiusque nationis iunxerat copias. Persas deinde cum Mardis Sogdianisque Ariobarzanes et
Orontobates ducebant. 8 Illi partibus copiarum summae Orsines praeerat, a septem Persis oriundus, ad Cyrum quoque, nobilissimum regem, originem sui referens. 9 Hos aliae gentes, ne sociis quidem satis notae, sequebantur. Post quas L quadrigas Prradates magno aspiorum agmine anteccedeba. Indi celecique rubris maris accol Claudebatur hoc agmen aliis falcatis currib Cilitudeatuur hoc agmen aliis falcatis curribus, quis peregrinu Armenios Babylonii, utrosque Belitae et qui montes Cossaeorum incolebant sequebantur. 11 Post hos ibant Gortuae, gentis quidem
Euboicae, Medos quondam secuti, sed iam degeneres et patrii moris Euboicae, , Medos quondam secutut, sed iam degenerese et patril moris
ignari. Adplicuerat his Phrygas et Cataonas. Parthyaeorum deinde gens, incolentium terras, quas nunc Parthi Scythia profecti tenent
claudebant agmen. 12 Haec sinistri cornus facies fuit. Dextrum tencebanant agmen. 12 Haec sinistric maioris Armenis facies fait. Dextrum
Cadsiique et Cappadoces et Syri ac Medi. His quoque falcatic currus L erant. 13 Summa totius exercitus, equites XLV milia, pedestris acies DC milia explevera Hoc modo instructi
hostem expectabant.
hostem expectabant.
14 Alexandri exercitum pavor, cuius causa non suberat, invasit: quippe lymphatit trepidare coeperunt omnium pectora occulto metu percurrente. Caelif fuggor tempore aestivo ardentir similis interniten ignis praebuit speciem, flammasque ex Darei castris splendere, velut
inlati temere praesidiis, credebant. 15 Quodsi perculsis Mazaeus, qui praesidebat titineri, supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit: nunc, praesideba tineri, supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potiil. nun,
dum ille segnis in eo, quem occupaverat, tumulo sedet, contentus no
lacessi, 16 Alexander cognito pavore exercitus signum, ut ssi. 16 Alexander cognito pavore exercitus signum, ut onsisterent, dari, ante ipsos arma deponere ac levare corpora iubet,
dmonens, nullam subiti causam esse terroris, hostem procul stare. 17 Tandem compotes sui pariter arma et animos recepere: nec quicquam ex praesentibus tutius visum est, quam eodem loco castra
munire. 18 Postero die Mazaeus - cum delectis equitum in edito colle, ex quo Macedonum prospiciebantur castra, consederat - sive metu, sive quia speculari modo iussus erat, ad Dareum rediit. 19 Aacedones eum ipsum collem, quem deseruerat, occupaverunt: na explicabatur, conspici poterat. 20 Sed caligo, quam circa hu effuderant montes, universam equidem rei faciem non abstulit, ceterum agminum discrimina atque ordinem prohibuit perspici. Multitudo inundaverat campos fremitusque tot milium etiam procul
stantium aures inpleverat. 21 Fluctuari animo rex et modo suum, modo Parmenionis consilium sera aestimatione perpendere: quippe eo ventum erat, unde recipi exercitus, nisi victor, sine clade non posset. 22 Itaque dissimulato pavore mercennarium equitem ex
Paeoonia praecedere iubet. 23 I pse phalangem, sicut antea dictum est, Paeonia praceceere iubert
in duo corrua extenderat: utrumque corrnu equites tegebant. lamque nitidior lux discussa caligine aciem hostium ostenderat, et Macedones sive alacritate sive taedio expectationis ingentem
pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis nemor pugnantium more edidere clamorem. Redditus et a Persis nemora
vallesque circumiectas terribili sono inpleverat: 24 nec iam continer Melius adhuc ratus in eodem tumulo castra hostem contenderent. issit: strenueque opere perfecto in tabernaculum, ex quo tota acie hassit: strenueque opere perfecto
Caput XIII
1 Tum vero
1 Tum vero universa futuri discriminis facies in oculis erat: armis insignibus equi virique splendebant, et omni intentiore cura
praeparari apud hostem sollicitudo praetorum agmina sua
ar as we know, no poet has sung. There is the house of Anteno
ith a leopard's skin hanging over the entrance, as a sign to the Greeks to keep their hands off the home of Antenor. There are painted Theano and her sons, Glaukos sitting
he two pieces, and Eurymakhos upon a rock. 1e two pieces, and Eurymakhos upon a rock.
10.27.4] By the latter stands Antenor, and next to him Crino, a daughter of Antenor. Crino is carrying a baby. The look upon theii
faces is that of those on whom a calamity has fallen. Servants are aces is that of those on whom a calamity has fallen. Servants a
lding an donkey with a chest and other furniture. There is also siting on the donkey a small child. At this part of the painting, there also an elegiac couplet of Simonides:

Polygnotus, a Thasian by birth, son of Aglaophon,
Painted a picture of Troy's citad being
-
Simonides, unknown location.
10.28. 1] The other part of the picture, the one on the left, shows
Odysseus, who has descended into what is is called Hedes Odysseus, who has descended into what is called Hades 5 inquire
he soul of Teiresias about his safe return home. The objects depic are as follow. There is water like a river, clearly intended for Acheron, with reeds growing in it; the forms of the fishes appear so iver is a boat, with the ferryman at the oars.
10.28.2] Polygnotus followed, I think, the poem called the Minyad. or in this poem occur lines referring to Theseus and Peiritithous:
Then the boat on which emark the dead, that the old ferryman, Then the boat on which embark the dead, that the old ferryman,
Kharon, used to steer, they found not within its moorings.

Minyad, an unknown work
or this reason then, Polysus too painted Kharon as a man well
tricken in years.
on then,
ard the boat are not altogether distinguished. ellis appears as a youth in years, and Kleoboia as still a maiden, olding on her knees a chest such as they are wont to make for his grandson, while as for Kleoboia, they say that she was the first to bring the orgies of Demeter to Thasos from Paros.
10.28.4] On the bank of Acheron, there is a notable group under the ooat of Kharon, consisting of a man who had been undutifit to his
father and is now being throttled by him. For the men of old held heir parents in the greatest respect, as we may infer, among other nstances, from those in Catana called the Pious, who, when the fire flowed down on Catana from Aetna, held of no account gold or
iilver, but when they fled took up, one his mother and another his father. As they struggled on, the fire rushed up and caught them in he flames. Not even so would they put down their parents, and it is aid that the stream of lava divided itself in two, and the fire passed n, doing no hurt to either young men or their parents. These
Catanians even at the present day receive honors from their fellow countrymen.
ountrymen.
$10.28 .5]$ Near to the man in Polygnotus' picture who maltreated his ather and for this drinks his cup of woo in Hades, is a man who pai
the penalty for sacrilege. The woman who is punishing him is kill he penalty for sacrilege. The
poisonous and other drugs.
10.28.6] So it appears that in these on piety to the gods, as the Athenians showed when they took the nctuary of Olympian Zeus at Syracuse; they moved none of the fiferings but left the Syracusan priest as their keeper. Datis the ct as well, when having found in address to the Delians, and in this act as well, when having found an image of Apollo in a Phoenician
hip, he restored it to the Tanagraeans at Delium. So at that time all men held the divine in reverence, and this is why Polygnotus has depicted the punishment of him who committed sacrilege. 10.28.7] Higher up than the figures I have enumerated comes Eurynomos, said by the Delphian guides to be one of the demons in
Hades, who eats off all the flesh of the corpses, leaving only their bones. But Homer's Odyssey, the poem called the Minyad, and the Returns, althought they tell of Hades and its horrors, know of no
demon called Eurynomos. Howere, will describe what he is like emon called Eurynomos. However, 1 will describe what he is like
and his attitude in the painting. He is of a color between blue and black, like that of meat flies; he is showing his teeth and is seated,
(in de niet-modieuze betekenis van het woord) zal hij wel niet geweest zijn; catapultstenen, zwarden, speren en pijlen hebben he
getroffen, enkele keren heeft hij tussen leven en dood gebalanceerd. Arrianus citeert een redevoering waarin Alexander zijn morrende soldaten toeroept dat er geen deel
voorkant, dat geen litteken vertoo
Hij dacht snel, sprak snel, liep snel. Een atleet van Olympisch oudau, die er echter weimig voor voelde aan de Spelen deel te kat-achtig. Hij nam soms letterlijk de gedaante van een grote kat aa op munten wordt hij vaak afgebeeld met een helm in de vorm van Nemeische leeuw. Een fraai voorbeeld van deze hoofdtooi is te zie op de marmeren Alexander-sarcofaag uit Sidon.
Ziji haar stond boven het voorhoofd rechtop en viel naar beide diden min of meer krullend neer tot in de nek. Dat lange haar, een van atleten en soldaten en werd in de oudheid gezien als een teken an moreel verval. Vooral na de dood van Darius, toen hij zich als heerser van Perzië beschouwde, tooide hij zich met diadeem en, als In tegenstelling tot zijn vader Phmilippushornat hij zich geen baard aan, een nieuwe mode die de vijand in een lijf aan lijf-gevecht minde
houvast bood. Die kale kaak die hem een frisse jugdigheid verleende, gaf zijn tegenstanders een argument van verwifddheid in
de hand. Een enkele bron spreekt van een adelaarsneus. Voorts een de hand. Een enkele bron spreekt van een adelaarsseus. Voorts een
intense blik, die het midden zou hebben gehouden tussen smachten en starend. Alexander mocht traag dromerig voor zich uitkijken.
Misschien had hij ogen van verschillende kleur, rrijsblauw en Misschien had hij ogen van verschillende kleur, grijsblauw en
donkerbruin. En, zeer karakteristiek een licht ededraide hals en hoofd dat hij schuin omhoog hield. Een houding die strijdlust, onstuimigheid, energie, trots, maar ook vervoering uitdrukt en door in opvolgers werd overgenomen.
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, jossmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, waar tijdelijk Alexanders
oofd prominent is gehuisvest. De 41 centimeter hoge kop, uit het Archeologisch Museum van Istanbul, werd in de vorige eeuw
gevonden in de laagst gelegen agora van Pergamon (West-Tukije) sevonden in de laagst gelegen agora van Pergamon (West-Turkije)
Hij dateert van de eerste helft van de tweede eeuw voor Christus en heeft misschien deel uitgemaakt van het befaamde Pergameense Zeus-altar. Met uitzondering van de verminkte linkerneusvleugel een minieme beschadiging van het haar recht boven het voorhoofd
het een gaaf exemplaar. De leeuwemaan kuift omhoog, het hoofd staat scheef op een krachtige om niet te zeggen vlezige nek, de mond iets geopend en wie goed kijkt neemt in de ronde kin een kuiltje war.
Het is ee
hobeed Het is een marmeren kopie van een, naar wordt aangenomen, door
hofbeeldhouwer Lysiop kunstenaar, die de koning overigens niet op diens tocht heeft gevolgd, was waarschijilijij autodidact maar bekend is dat hij een
diepe bewondering had voor Polykleitos's speerdrager een beeld dat diepe bewondering had voor Polykleitos' speerdrager, een beeld dat
in de oudheid gold als canon van menselijke lichaamsverhoudingen. Lysippos moet zo'n 1500 bronzen beelden hebben gemaakt, waaronder vele van Alexander. Slechts een enkele kopie van later
iid heeft het overleefd. Terwijl de twee ander hofkunstenaars Apelles en Pyrgoteles de goddelijke aspecten van de koning trachtre e vangen, maakte Lysippos vooral realistische portretten; hij toont Alexander de supermens, maar een mens. In tegenstelling tot andere beeldhouwers die de mensen afbeeldden zoals zij waren, zou Lysippos hen hebben afgebeeld zoals zij zich aan het oog voordoen.
Hoofd en ledematen maakte hij in verhouding kleiner dan ziin voorgangers gewoon waren, de lengte van het lichaam acht maal die van het hoofd, de romp slanker, wat ziin beelden een grote beweegijikheid verleende. Door zijn figuren minder op één been te
doen steunen suggereerde hij een nerveuze heftigheid; het was also zijn beelden ieder moment konden opveren om aan de loop te gaan. Lysippos schijint als geen ander de tegenstrijidige trekken in
Alexanders uiterlijk te hebben getroffen. Plutarchus schrijt dat de beldhouwer de enige was die erin slaagde de draaing van de hals de vochtigheid van Alexanders ogen overtuigend te combineren met
like a philosopher, for he said God was the common father of us all, more particularly of the best of us.

















 fully persuaded of his divine birth and parentage; but to the Grecia once in writing to the Athenians about Samos, when he tells them hat he should not himself have bestowed upon them that free and glorious city; "You received it," he says, "from the bounty of hin
who at that time was called my lord and father," meaning Philip. However, afterwards being wounded with an arrow, and feeling nuch pain, he turned to those about him, and told them,
"This, my friends, is real flowing blood, not Ichor
And another time, when it thundered so much that everybody fraid, and Anaxarchus, the sophist, asked him if he who was Jupiter's son could do anything like this, "Nay," said Alexander, would have me, who despised my table for being furnished with fish and not with the heads of governors of provinces."
For in fact it is related as true, that Anaxarchus, seeing a present of
small fishes, which the king sent to Hephestion mall fishes, which the king sent to Hephaestion, had used this ndergo vast labours and encounter great hazards in pursuit of magnificent objects which after all bring them little more pleasure joyment than what others have. From what I have said upon this subject, it is apparent that Alexander in himself was not foolishly
ffected, or had the vanity to think himself really a god, but merely ised his claims to divinity as a means of maintaining among other eople the sense of his superiority











interequitantium ostendebat, 2 ac pleraque inania, sicut fremitus hominum, equorum hinnitus, armorum internitentium fulgor, sollicitam expectatione mentem turbaverant. 3 Igitur sive dubius
animi, sive ut suos experiretur, consilium adhibet, quid optimum animi, sive ut suos experirietur, consilium adhibe, quid optimum
factu esset, exquirens. 4 Parmenio, peritissimus inter duces artium belli, furto, non proclio opus esse censebat: 'intempesta nocte opprimi posse hostes: discordis moribus, linguis, ad hoc somno et
inproviso periculo territos, quando in ooturna trepidatione coituros? inproviso periculo territos, quando in nocturna trepidatione co
5 At interdiu primum terribiles occursuras facies Scytharum Bactrianorumque - hirta illis ora et intonsas comas esse, praeterea eximiam vastorum magnitudinem corporum: vanis et inanibus
militem magis quam iustis formidinis causis moveri, - deinde tantam maltitudinem circumfundi paucioribus posse. 6 Non in Ciliciae angustiis et inviis callibus, sed in aperta et lata planitie dimicare'. 7 Omnes ferme Parmenioni adsentiebantur: Polypercon inuct dubie in eo consilio positam victoriam arbitrabatur. 8 Quem increpitum rursus castigare non sustinebat, 'Latrunculorum', inquit, et furtum ista sollertia est, quam praecipitis mihi, quippe illorum votum unicum est fallere. 9 Meae vero gloriae semper aut absentiam Darei aut angustias locorum aut furtum noctis obstare non patiar:
palam luce adgredi certum est: malo me meae fortunae paeniteat, quam victoriae pudeat. 10 Ad haec illud quoque accedit: vigilias agere barbaros et in armis stare, ut ne decipi quidem possint, corpora curanda dimisit.
11 Dareus id, quod Parmenio suaserat, hostem facturum esse coniectans frenatos equos stare magnamque exercitus partem in armis esse ac vigilias intentiore cura servari iusserat: ergo ignibu
tota eius castra fulgebant. 12 Ipse cum ducibus propinquisque agmina in armis stantium circumibat, Solem et Mithrem sacrumque et aeternum invocans ignem, ut illis dignam vetere gloria aiorumque monumentis fortitudinem inspirarent. 13 ' Et profecto, , Secum. Illos nuper Macedonum animis subitam incussisse formidinem: adhuc lymphatos ferri agique, arma iacientes: expetere praesides Persarum imperii deos debitas e vecordibus poenas. Nec quam expeteret intuentem in perniciem, quae ante praedam posita sset, incurrere.' Similis apud Macedones quoque sollicitudo erat: noctemque velut in cam certamine edicto metu egerunt. 15 Alexander non alias magis
territus ad vota et preces Aristandrum vocari iubet. Ille in candida veste verbenas manu praeferens capite velato praeibat preces regi lovem Minervamque et Victoriam propitianti. 16 Tunc quidem ediit Sed nec somum capere nec guitem pati poterat tadnaculum montis aciem in dextrum Persarum cornu demittere agitabat, modo recta fronte concurrere hosti, interdum haesitare, an potius in laev detorquueret agmen. 17
altior somnus oppressit.
tamque luce orta duces ad accipienda imperia Tamquu luce orta duces ac accipienda imperia convenerant insolito
circa praetorium silentio attoniti: 18 quipe alias accersere ipsos et interdum morantes castigare adsueverat, tunc ne ultimo quidem rerum discrimine excitatum esse mirabantur et non somno quic
sed pavore marcere credebant. 19 Non tamen quisquam ex custodibus corporis intrare tabernaculum audebat: et iam tempus instabat nec miles iniussu ducis aut arma capere poterat aut in ordines ire. 20 Diu Parmenio cunctatus, cibum ut caperent, ipse
pronuntiat Iamque exire necesse erat. tunc demum intrat tabernaculum saepiusque nomine conpellatum, cum voce non posset, tactu excitavit. 21 'Multa lux', inquit, 'est: instructam aciem hostis admovit: tuus miles adhuc inermis expectat imperium. Ubi est vigor
ille animi tui? nempe excitare vigiles soles. 22 Ad haec Alexander: 'Credisne me prius somnum capere potuisse, quam exonerarim nimum sollicitudine, quae quietem morabatur?' signumque pugnae tuba dari iussit. 23 Et Ecum in eadem admiratione Parmenio 'Minime', inquit, 'mirum est: ego enim, cum Dareus terram uret vicos excinderet, alimenta corrumperet, potens mei non eram: 24

might conjecture that he is angry with them for having been useless
and of no help in their
hatring adventures. Panyassis the poot says and Peirithous did not sit chained to their chairs but he rock grew to their flesh and so served as chains.
10.29.10] The proverbial [10.29.10] The proverbial friendship of Theseus and Peirithous
been mentioned by Homer in both his poems. In the Odyssey,
Odyssens ses to dysseus says to the Phaeacians:
have seen more men of former days, whom I Wheseus and Peirithous, renow very much thil to see, And in the Iliad, he has made Nestor give advice to Ayssey 11.63 chilles, and speaking among others the following verses:
I have never yet seen such men, and I am never liekly

As were Peirithoös, Dryas, shepherd of the folk,
Kaineus, Exadios, god-like Polyphemos,
And
Iliad 1.262 ff
$[10.30 .1]$ Next Polygnotus has painted the daughters of Pandareos.
Homer makes Penelope say in a speech $[455$ that the parents of the Homer makes Penelope say in a speech $[45]$ that the parents of the sorphans by Aphrodite and received gifts from other goddesses: sorphans by Aphrodite and received gitts from other goddesses:
from Hera, wisdom and beauty of form; from Artemis, high stature; from Athena, schooling in the works sthat efiftwomen.
10.30 .2 He geos on to say that Aphrodite ascended int
$10.30 .2]$ He goes on to say that Aphrodite ascended into the sky
ouranos], wishing to secure for the girls a happy marriage, and in her absence, they were carried off by the Harpies and given by then to the Furies. This is the story as given by Homer. Polygnotus has painted them as girls garlanded with flowers and playing with dice
nd gives them the names of Cameiro and Clytie I Imst tell you th nd gives them the names of Cameiro and Clytie. I must tell you tha
Pandareos was a Milesian from Miletus in Crete and implicated in the theft of Tantalos and in the trick of the oath.
10.30.31 After the daughters of Pandares is Ant
10.30.3] After the daughters of Pandareos is Antilokhos, with one
foot upon a rock and his face and head resting upon both hands, foot upon a rock and his face and head resting upon both hands,
while after Antilokhos is Agamemnon, leaning on a scepter beneath While after Antilokhos is Agamemnon, leaning on a scepter beneat
is left armpit, and holding up a staff in his hands. Protesilaos is
seated with his gaze fixed on Achilles. Such is the postur of eated with his gaze fixed on Achilles. Such is the posture of atesilaos, and beyond Achilles is Patroklos standing. With 10.30.4] Beyond them has been painted Phokos as a youth, and
10. aseus, well bearded, is taking off a ring from the left hand of
Phokos. The story boout this is as onlows. When Pheos, Phokos. The story about this is as follows. When Phokos, the son of
Aiakos, had crossed from Aegina into what is now called Phokis and Aiakos, had crossed from Aegina into what is now called Pho
wished to gain the rule over the men living on that part of the wished to gain the rule over the men living on that part of the
nainland and to settle there himself, laseus conceived a great
friendshin for him Anome friendship for him. Among the gifts that laseus gave a s freiends will)
was a seal ring, a stone set in gold. But when Phokos returned, not was a seal ring, a stone set in gold. But when Phokos returned, not
ong afterwards, to Aegina, Peleus at once plotted to kill him. This he reason why in the painting, as a reminder of their great fiendship, laseus is im take it.
10.30 .51 Be
[10.30.5] Beyond these is Maera sitting on a rock. About her, the poem Reurns says that she was still a maid when she departed this on of Sisyphus. Next to Maera is Actaeon, son of Aristaios, toget
vith the mother of Actaeon, they hold in their hands a young deer with the mother of Actaen; they hold in their hands a young deer
nd are sitting on a deer's skin. A hunting dog lies stretched out beside them, an allusion to Actaeon's mode of life, and to the mann
of his death f his death.
0.30.6] Turning our gaze again to the lower part of the picture we see, next after Patroklos, Orpheus sitting on what seems to be a sort
of hill; he grasps with his left hand a harp, and with his right, he ouches a willow. It is the branches that he touches, and he is sleaning
gainst the tree. The grove seems to be that of Persephone, where against the tree. The grove seems to be that of Persephone, where
grow, as Homer thought, [46] black poplars and willows. The appearance of Orpheus is Greek, and neither his garb nor his eadgear is Thracian.
10.3071 On the other
[0.30.7] On the other side of the willow tree Promedon is leaning were a poetic invention of Polygnotus; others have said that

Epitome uit Pompeius Trogus (3e eeuw nC). De inscripties etreffende Alexander en zijn daden zijn helaas betrekkelijk sch ver de sagen rond de held zie s.v. Alexander-roman. (II) Leven.
(a) 356 -335. Alexander was de zoon van Philippus II van Macedonia Olympias, een Epirotische prinses. Geboren in oktober 356 v.C., van Pella, waarheen in $343-342$ op verzoek van Philippus ook de wijsgeer en universele geleerde Aristoteles kwam om de opvoeding van de prins te voltooien. Misschien mag men aan de invloed van
Aristoteles Alexanders levenslange bewondering voor Homerus en Aristoteles Alexanders levenslange bewondering voor Homerus en
de held Achilles toeschrijven; in elk geval placht Alexander nog jaren later te zeggen dat hij aan Philippus het leven ( (ढñv), aan
 zestienjarige leeftijd onderscheidde hij zich als legeraanvoerder en sloeg een opstand van bergstammen neer. Bij Chaeronea (338)
forceerde hij aan het hoofd van de Macedonische cavalerie de doorbraak door de heilige keurschare der Thebanen. Toen in 337 Piilippus Olympias verstiet en Cleopatra tot vrouw nam, begaf
Alexander zich met ziin moeder naar Epirus, maar keerde spoedis erug om zich, althans voor het oog, met zijn vader te verzoenen. terug om zich, althans voor het oog, met zijn vader te verzoenen.
Toen deze in 336 vermoord werd, was Alexander niet de enige roonpretendent, maar hij werd erkend door het leger en ontdeed zit
oen snel van zijn mededingers: Cleopatra's oom Attlus Phelipus neef Amyntas en wellicht nog enkele andere.
Onmiddellijk nam hij het plan van zijn vader, een grootscheepse xpeditie tegen het Perzische rijk, weer op en liet zich door de Corinthische bond het oppercommando over de voorgenomen ergeldingstocht opdragen. Tijdens de voorbereidingen
Alexander het Macedonische gezag in de noordelijke en noordwestelijke grensgebieden van zijin rijk, toen hij vernam dat de
Grieken, daartoe aangezet door lieden als Demosthenes en dor het Grieken, daartoe aangezet door lieden als Demosthenes en door het rijkelijk stromende Perzische goud, naar de wapens hadden
gegrepen. Bliksemsnel, binnen 13 dagen, marcheerde hij van de illyrische grens naar Boeotiè, versloeg de Thebanen bij verrassing am hun stad in. Om een afschrikwekkend voorbeeld te stellen liet ij deze met de grond gelijk maken - slechts de tempels en het huis
aarin de dichter Pindarus had gewoond werden gespara - en de bewoners als slaven verkopen (335).
b) $\mathbf{3 3 4 - 3 3 0}$. In het voorjaar van 334 was Alexander zover dat hij, ormeel in ond koning van Macedonie, het sein voor de opmars kon geven. Een van zijn beste generaals, Antipater, liet hij als stadhouder van Macedoni z zijn plaatsvervanger in Griekenland achter. Met ruim 40.000 ma
n een staf van uitstekende generaals stak hij bij Sestus de n een staf van uitstekende generaals stak hij bij Sestus de
Hellespont over. Bij het naderen van de Aziatische kust wie Henspont over. Bij hei naderen van de Aziatische kust wierp de
oning vanaf zijn schip zijn speer in de bodem van Azie, het aldus op symbolische wijze in bezit nemend. De romantische arard van de
jonge vorst bleek ook uit het feit dat hij een bezoek bracht an de
 Ahilles. Darius enil, zwarde op horst van een verzwakt rijk, had het sevaar onderschat en was geheel onvoorbereid, het voor de hand m een uitputtingsstrategie toe te passen sloog hij in de wind. De satrapen van Lydië, Phrygie en Cappadocië concentreerden hun troepen in het noordwesten van Klein-Aziè, maar leden een zware
nederlaag bij het riviertien de ederlaag bij het riviertje de Granicus (mei 1334 ): Alexander voor de stadsgodin. In een snel tempo kon hij vervolgens het eerste deel van zijn taak volbrengen, de bevrijding van de Griekse aststeden. Slechts hier en daar, bv. in Milete, stuitte hij op enige noop!). Van hieruit brak hij in 333 op, met het doel zo spoedig knoop.).
nogelijik de kusten van Syriè en Egypte te bezetten en aldus systematisch de betrekkelijij sterke e perzische vloot van haar bases te
beroven en te land te eversan'. Via Ancyra en het Taurusgebergte croven en te land te verslann'. Via Ancyra en het Taurusgeber
rok hij naar Noord-Syrie, waar hij in november bij Issus de befaamde slag met omgekeerde fronten won. Darius, die inmidd
his wife's death. He, when he heard it, beating his head, and bursting into tears and lamentations, said, "Alas! how great is the calamity o he Persians! Was it not enough he must now sho is dead slo but meanly and obscurely buried?"












и३о́ддиог:"
O king," replied the eunuch, "as to her funeral rites, or any respect
r honour that should have been shown in them, you have not the 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 owledge neither your queen Statira when alive, nor your mothe or children, wanted anything of their former happy condition, less it were the light of your countenance, which I doubt not but ecease, I assure you, she had not only all due funeral ornaments, Alexander is as gentle after victory as he is terrible in the field." At he bearing of these words, such was the grief and emotion of Darius's mind, that they carried him into extravagant suspicions; and
aking Tireus aside into a more private part of his tent, "Unless tho dike Tireus aside into a more private part of his tent, "Unless thou ortune 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 king, do I not lament the least of Statira's misfortunes in her captivity and death? Have I not suffered something more injurious and deplorable in her lifetime? And had I not been miserable with less
dishonour if $I$ had met with a more severe and inhuman enemy? For ow is it possible a young man as he is should treat the wife of h . opponent with so much distinction, were it not from some motive hat does me disgrace?














hist he was yet speaking, Tireus threw himself at his feet, and besought him neither to wrong Alexander so much, nor his dead wi im of the greatest consolation left him in his adversity, the belief that he was overcome by a man whose virtues raiseds him above
human nature; that he ought to look upon Aleander with love and human nature, that he gught no leos upon Alexander with love and
admiration, who had given no less proofs of his continence towards
plures dimicaturos. 6 Nec postulare se, ut fortiter capesserent roelium, ni inse ceteris fortitudinis fuisset exemplum: se ante prima signa dimicaturum. Spondere pro se tot cicatrices, totidem corporis decora: sciri ipsos unum paene se praedaa communis exsortem in
illis colendis ornandisque usurpare victoriae praemia. 7 Haec se fortibus viris dicere. Si qui dissimiles eorum essent, illa fuisse dicturum: pervenisse eo, unde fugere non possent. Tot terrarum spatia emensis, tot amnibus montibusque post tergum obiectis iter in
patriam et penates manu esse faciendum.' 8 Sic duces, sic proximi patriam et penates
militum instincti sunt.
Dareus in laevo cornu erat, magno suorum agmine, delectis equitum
peditumque stipatus, peditumque stipatus, contempseratque paucitatem hostis, vanam
aciem esse extentis cornibus ratus. 9 Ceterum, sicut curru eminebat, dextra laevaque ad circumstantia agmina oculos manusque circumferens, 'Terrarum', inguit, 'quas Oceanus hinc adluit, illinc claudit Hellespontus, paulo ante domini, iam non de gloria, sed de
salute et, quod saluti praeponitis, libertate pugnandum est. 10 Hic salute et, quod saluti praeponitiss, libertate pugnandum est. 10 Hic
dies imperium, quo nullum amplius vidit aetas, aut constituet aut finiet. Apud Granicum minima virium parte cum hoste certaviimus: in Cilicia victos Syria poterat excipere: magna munimentar regni
Tigris atque Euphrates erant. 11 Ventum est eo, unde pulsis ne fuga Tigris atque Euphrates erant. 11 Ventum est eo, unde pulsis ne fugae
quidem locus est. Omnia tam diutino bello exhausta post tergum sunt: non incolas suos urbes, non cultores habent terrae. Coniuges quoque et liberi sequuntur hanc aciem, parata hostibus praeda, nisi partium, exercitum, quem paene inmensa planities vix caperet conparavi: equos, arma distribui: commeatus ne tantae multitudini deessent, providi: locum, in quo acies explicari posset, elegi. 13 Cetera in vestra potestate sunt: audete modo vincere famamque,
infirmissimum adversus fortes viros telum, contemnite. Temeritas est, quam adhuc pro virtute timuistis: quae ubi primum impetum effudit, velut quaedam animalia emisso aculeo, torpet. 14 Hi vero Videtis ordines rares pauc, cornuatem, quam Cilenta mediame montes abscondera xhaustam: nam ultimi, quos locavit aversos, terga iam praebent Obteri, mehercule, equorum ungulis possunt, etiamsi nihil praater
falcatos currus emisero. 15 Et bello vicerimus, si vicimus proelio falcatos currus emisero. 15 Et bello vicerimus, si vicimus proelio: prohibet inclusos. 16 Et quae antea pro illis erant in contrarium versa sunt. Nostrum mobile et expeditum agmen est, illud praeda grave. Inplicatos ergo spoliis nostris trucidabimus, eademque res et
causa erit victoriae et fructus 17 Oudsi quem e vobis nomen entis movet, cogitet Macedonum illic arma esse no corpora Multum enim sanguinem invicem hausimus, et semper gravior in paucitate iactura est. 18 Nam Alexander, quantuscumque ignavis et timidis videri potest, unum animal est et, si quid mihi creditis, temerarium et autem potest esse diuturnum, cui non subest ratio. Licet felicitas adspirare videatur, tamen ad ultimum temeritati non sufficit. Praeterea breves et mutabiles vices rerum sunt, et fortuna numquam
simpliciter indulget. 20 Forsitan ita dii fata ordinaverint, ut Persarum imperium, quod secundo cursu per CCXXX annos ad summum imperium, quod secundo cursu per cCXXX annos ad summu
fastigium evexerant, magno motu concuterent magis quam adfligerent admonerentque nos fragilitatis humanae, cuius nimia in
prosperis rebus oblivio est. 21 Modo (raecis altro bellum prosperis rebus oblivio est. 21 Modo Graecis ultro bellum inferebamus: nunc in sedibus nostris propulsamus inlatum. lact
invicem varietate fortunae. Videlicet imperium, quia mutuo adfectamus, una a gens non capit. 22 Ceterum, etiamsi spes non est. Matrem meam, duas filias, Ochum in spem huius imperii est. Natrem meam, duas filias, Ochum in spem huius imperii
genitum, principes, illam subolem regiae stirpis, duces vestro reorum instar vinctos habet: nisi quidid in vobis opis est, ego maiore mei parte captivus sum. Eripite viscera mea ex vinculis: restituite mihi pignora, pro quibus ipsi mori non recusatis, parentem, libero
nam coniugem in illo carcere amisi. 23 Credite nunc omnes hos tendere ad vos manus, inclorare patrios deos, opem vestram, misericordiam, fidem exposcere, ut compedibus, ut servitute, ut
precario victu ipsos liberetis. An creditis aequo animo iis servire, quorum reges esse fastidiunt? 24 Video admoveri hostium aciem: sed quo propius discrimen accedo, hoc minus iis, quae dixi, possum

the Persian women, than of his valour among the men. The eunuct confirmed all he said with solemn and dreadful oaths, and was thrther enlarging upon Alexander's moderation and magnanimity on hiver occasions, when Derius, breaking away from him of the tent, where his friends and couttiers were, lifted up his hands to heaven and uttered this prayer, "Ye gods," said he, "of ny family, and of my kingdom, if it be possible, I beseech you to ourishing a condition as I found them, and have it in my powe nake 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 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 Cyrus." Suc
historians.












 he Euphrates, he advanced towards Darius, who was coming down gainst him with a million of men. In his march a very ridiculous sakse divided themselves into two parties, and named the commande 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 eelted one another with clods of earth, but presently took to their wists, and at last, heated with contention, they fought in good earnes 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 th quarrel by byingle combat and arred him who bore his name
himself, while Philotas did the same to him who represented
imself, while Philotas did the same to him who represented Darius, he whole army were spectators of this encounter, willing from the had fought stoutly a pretty long while, at last he who was called
Alexander had the better and for reward Alexander had the better, and for a reward of his prowess had twel villages given him, wi
old by Eratosthenes.














esse contentus. Per ego vos deos patrios aeternumque ignem, qui praefertur altaribus, fulgoremque solis intra fines regni mei orientis, per aeternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque
imperium primus in Persidem intulit: vindicate ab ultimo dedecore nomen gentemque Persarum. 25 Ite alacres et spiritus pleni, ut, quam gloriam accepistis a maioribus vestris, posteris relinquatis. In dextris vestris libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit 26 Ipse non patrio more solum, sed etiam ut conspici possim, curru vehor nec recuso, quo minus imitemini me, sive fortitudinis xemplum sive ignaviae fuero!

## Caput XV

Interim Alexander, ut et demonstratum a transfuga insidiarum locum circumiret et Dareo, qui cornu tuebatur, occurreret, agmen Besso admom incederee iuber. 2 Dareus quoque eodem suum obvertit
Bussagetas equites in laevum Alexandri cornu latere invehi iuberet. 3 Ipse ante se falcatos currus habebat, quos signo dato universos in hostem effudit. Ruebant laxatis habenis aurigae, quo plures nondum satis proviso impetu obtererent. 4 Alios demissae falces laceravere. Nec sensim Macedones cedebant, sed effusa fuga turbaverant ordines. 5 Mazaeus quoque perculsis metum incussit mille equitibus ad diripienda hostis inpedimenta circumvehi
iussis, ratus, captivos quoque, qui simul adservabantur, rupturos Iussis, ratus, captivos quoque, qui simul adservabantur, rupturos
vincula, cum suos adpropinquantes vidissent. 6 Non fefellerat Parmenionem, qui in laevo erat: propere igitur Polydamanta mittit, qui et periculum ostenderet et, quid fieri iuberet rex, consuleret. 7 Ille audito Polydamante, 'Abi, nuntia', inquit, 'Parmenioni, si acie
vicerimus, non nostra solum nos recuperaturos, sed etiam, quae Vicerimus, non nostra soum nos recuperaturo, sed eitam, quae
hostium sunt, occupaturos. 8 Proinde non est, quod quicquam virium subducat ex acie, sed, ut me et Philippo patre dignum est, contempto sarcinarum damno fortiter dimicet.' 9 Interim barbari inpedimenta turbaverant caesisque plerisque custooum captivi vinculis rupsti
quidquid obvium erat, quo armari possent, arripiunt et adgregati suorum equitibus Macedonas ancipiti circumventos malo invadunt. 10 Laeti, qui circa Sisigambim erant, vicisse Dareum, ingenti caede untiant quippe eandem fortunam ubique esse credebant et vic Tersas ad praedam discurrisse. 11 Sisigambis hortantibus captivis, ut
Per animum a maerore adlevaret, in eodem, quo antea fuit, perseveravit. in vox ulla excidit el, non oris color vultusve mutatus est: sedit adeo ut, quid mallet, intuentibus eam fuerit incertum. 12 Inter haec Menidas, praefectus equitum Alexandri, cum paucis turmis opem inpedimentis laturus advenerat - incertum suone consilio an regis quippe vix temptato certamine refugit ad regem, amissorum inpedimentorum testis magis quam vindex. 13 lam consilium Alexandri dolor vicerat: et, ne cura recuperandi sua militem a proelio averteret, non inmerito verebatur. Itaque Areten, ducem hastatorum

- sarissophoros vocabant - adversus Scythas mittit. 14 Inter haec currus, qui circa signa prima turbaverant aciem, in phalangem invect erant. Macedones confirmatis animis in medium agmen accipiunt. 15
Vallo similis acies erat: iunxerant hastas et ab utroque latere temere incurrentium ilia sufffodiebant. Circumire deinde et currus et propugnatores praecipitare coeperunt. Ingens ruina equorum aurigarumque aciem conpleverat. 16 Hi territos regere non poterant, qui crebra iactatione cervicum non iugum modo excusserant, sed
etiam currus everterant vulnerati interfectos trahebant nec consistere territit nec progredi debiles poterant. 17 Paucae tamen evasere quadrigae in ultimam aciem iis, quibus inciderant, miserabil morte consumptis: quippe amputata virorum membra humi iacebant debiles quidam arma non omittebant, donec multo sanguine effuso exanimati procumberent. 18 Interim Aretes Scytharum, qui inpedimenta diripiebant, duce occiso gravius territis instabat
Multi ergo Macedonum primo impetu obtritis sunt, plures ad Alexandrum refugerunt. 19 Tum Persae clamore sublato, qualem
[10.31.8] Beyond Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris, as yet beardless, hough Paris were calling Penthesileia to him by the noise of his her head, she seems to show her disdain and contempt. In appearance, Penthesileia is a maiden, carrying a bow like Scythian bows, and wearing a leopard's skin on her shoulders.
$10.31 .9]$ The women beyond Penthesileia are carrying $10.31 .9]$ The women beyond Penthesileia are carrying water in
broken pitchers; one is depicted as in the bloom of youth, the othe is Iready advanced in years. There is no separate inscription on eithe woman, but there is one common to the pair, which states that they e of the number of the uninitiated.
$0,31,10]$ Higher up than these is K
0.31.10] Higher up than these is Kallisto, daughter of Lykaon,
Nomia, and Pero, daughter of Neleus. As her bride por asked for the oreno of of lphiklos. Inestes. As her bride price, Neleus bearskin, and her feet are lying on Nomia's knees.I have already
mentioned that the Arcadians say that Nomia 499 is a nymh native o their country. The poets say that the nymphs live for a great number of years but are not altogether exempt from death. fter Kallisto and the women with her is the form of a cliff, and
10.31.11] There is also in the painting a jar and an old man with a boy and two women. One of these, who is young, is under the rock he other is beside the old man and of a like age to his. The others a
carrying water, but you will guess that the old woman's water jar is carrying water, but you will guess that the old woman's water jar is
broken. All that remains of the water in the sherd, she is pouring ou again into the jar. We inferred that these people too were of those hho had held of no account the rites at Eleusis. For the Greeks of a
arlier period looked upon the Eleusinian mysteries as being as muc higher than all other religious acts as gods are higher than heroes. 10.31.12] Under this jar is Tantalos, enduring all the pains that
[50] seak
Hol Homer $[50]$ speaks of, and in addition, the terror of the stone that
langs over him. Polygnotus has plainly followed the account of hangs over him. Polygnotus has plainly followed the account of
Archilochus, but I do not know whether Archilochus borrowed fro others the story of the stone or whether it was an invention of his ti
he introduced into his poem he introduced into his poem.
So great is the number of the
oo great is the number of the figures and so many are their beauties


## HEATRE AT DELPHI

0.32.1] Adjoining the sacred enclosure is a theater worth seeing, and on coming up from the enclosure $[. .1$ and here is ant image of Dionysus, dedicated by the people of Knidos. The Delphian race
ourse is on the highest part of their city. It was made of the stone hat is most common about Parnassos until Herodes the Athenian Delphi that are worth recording.

## the corycian cave

0.32.2] On the way from Delphi to the summit of Parnassos abou sixty stades distant from Delphi, there is a bronze image. The ascent
o the Corycian cave is easier for an active walker than it is for mul or horses. I mentioned a little earlier in my narrative [51] that this cave was named after a nymph called Corycia, and of all the
have ever seen, this seemed to me the best worth seeing. ave ever seen, this seemed to me the best worth seeing.
10.32 .3 It would be impossible to discover even the mere number of caves whose entrances face the beach or the deep sea, but the $m$
famous ones in Greek or in foreign amous ones in Greek or in foreign lands are the following. The
Phrygians on the river Pencelas, and those who came to this land originally from the Azanians in Arcadia, show visitors a cave called reunos, which is round and handsome in its loftiness. It is sacred to Seunos, which is round and handsome
10.32.4] Themisonium above Laodiceia is also inhabited by Phrygians. When the army of the Gauls was laying waste Ionia and
he borders of Ionia, the Themisonians say that they were helped by Herakles, Apollo, and Hermes, who revealed to their magistrates in eams a cave and commanded that in it sho
Themisonians with their wives and children.
et leven had gered. Calisisthenes, aangesteld als officiee listoriograaf van de expeditie, werd in de gevangenis geworpen,
(d) 327-324. In 327 bereikte Alexander met zijn leger het Indische Vijfstromenland, stak de Indus over, maar stootte aan de Hydaspes thans Djhilan) op tegenstand van de machtige koning Porus. Deze verloor, ondanks de vele strijd daagens en olifanten die hij in het vel
bracht, de slag (326), maar werd door Alexander clement behandeld en zelfs als trouwe bondgenoot gewonnen. Nog verder oostwaarts ging de tocht onder voortdurende schermutselingen met de inheems
bevolking Bij de Hyphasis (thans Satledi) aangekomen weigerden de uitgeputte troepen echter nog verder te trekken. Alexander moes zijn plan om de oostelijike oceaan te bereiken opgeven. Na het bouwen van twalf geweldige altaren ter ere van de olympische goden nam de teruytocht naar het Westen een aanvang, deze werd berikte men de Indische Oceaan. Nearchus zeilde westwaarts met de opdracht de zeeweg tussen de Indus en de Perzische Golf te
ontdekken, Craterus koos een route door het binnenland terwij1 ontdekken, Craterus koos een route door het binnenland, terwijl Aexander zelf met een groot gedeeete van het landleger onder grote
ontberingen door de zuidelijke woestijnen marcheerde. Bij de ingan an de Perzische Golf troffen de drie contingenten elkaar weer, en
ver het voorjiar van 324 zag het zegevierende leger na zes jaar Susa weer.

## en gewanders laatste levensjaar en dood.

en geweldig feest werd aangericht, het leger rijkelijk beloond. 1.000 Macedonièrs huwden met Perzische en andere oosterse
rouwen, Alexander zelf nam een tweede echtgenote in Darius' dochter Statira. Maar nieuwe taken wachtten. Allereerst moest een inde gemaakt worden aan de ontrouw en corruptie die tijdens zijn noest een definititieve organisatijevorm voor het geveldis). Voorts ontworpen worden. Hij trof voorbereidingen voor nieuwe veldochten, tegen. Arabie en, als we latere yeschiedschrijvers mog geloven, zelfs tegen Carthago en Italiie. Een voorgenomen
Legerhervorming deed een muiterij onder zijn Macedonische troepe worden. De handel werd bevorderd door het in omloop brengen var de Perzische staatsschatten en de invoering van de Attische nuntvoet. Van zijin Griekse onderdanen eiste hij zijn opneming Temidden van al deze bezigheden werd hij door een ernstige ziekte getroffen (malaria?); binnen weinige dagen stierf hij, slechts 32 jaar oud, op 13 juni 323 , nadat het gehele Macedonische leger de
gelegenheid had gehad langs het stertbed defilerend afscheid te nemen. Het stoffelijk overschot werd eerst in Memphis bijigezet, lat
door Ptolemaeus naar Alexandrié overgebracht, waar het eeuwenlang door Ptolemaeus naar Alexandriè overgebracht, waar het eeuwenlan
het religieuze middelpunt van de stad vormde. Een paar maanden n V. De opvol schonk Roxane het leven aan een zoon, Alexande IV. De opvolging was echter niet geregeld; het gev)
ten prooi aan de twistende generaals (Diadochen).
(III) De fascinerende persoonlijkheid van Alexander vertoont een vonderlijke mengeling van schitterende intelligentie, vartstoctochtelijike prestatiezucht, brede belangstelling, grote verbeeldingskracht en een
sterke neiging tot romantisch vertoon, alles in evenwicht gehouden door een ongeëvenaarde wilksracht en bovennate begunstigd door
de historische onstandigheden. Aan ziij grootheid als veldher wijfelt vrijwel niemand, maar over zijn polititieke oogmerken en verdiensten zijn de meningen zeer verdeeld. In elk geval heeft zijn optreden een nieuwe fase in de ontwikkeling van de Griekse wereld hiet Nabije Oosten ingeluid. Hij streefde bewust naar een culturel. zich van de voorafgande tijd vooral onderscheidt door een meer kosmopolitisch denken en handelen. De stichting van zoveel nieuwe
steden, die onder meer met Grieken werden bevolkt, kan gelden als steden, die onder meer met Grieken werden bevolkt, kan gelden als
de derde Griekse kolonisatie. Het culturele en religieuze syncretism de derde Griekse kolonisatie. Het culturele en religieuze syncretisn
waartoe dit alles aanleiding gaf wordt niet zelden overschat. Als




But the great battle of all that was fought with Darius was not, as nost writers tell us, at Arbela, but at Gaugamela, which, in 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 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 on another, Darius kept his men in arms, and by torchlight took a general review of them. But Alexander, while his soldiers slept, performing certain mysterious ceremonies, and sacrificing to the go Fear. In the meanwhile the oldest of his commanders, and chiefly Parmenio, when they beheld all the plain between Niphates and the
Gordyaean mountains shining with the lights and fires which were Gordyaaan 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 a amazed at the thoughts of such a multititude, that after
some conference among themselves, they concluded it an enterprise too difficult and hazardous for them to engage so numerous an enemy in the day, and therefore meeting the king as he came from sacrificing, besought him to attack Darius by night, that the darknes night conceal the danger of the ensuing battle.







To this he gave them the celebrated answer, "I will not steal a
victory," which though some at the time thought a boyish and inconsiderate speech, as if he played with danger, others, however,
regarded as an evidence that he confided in his present agarded 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 gain, which he might suppose himself to have, if he could impute nountains, the narrow passages, and the sea. For while he had such nountains, the narrow passages, and the sea. For while he had such want of men or arms that could induce him to give up the war, but unly the loss of all courage and










 down they were gone from him with tent this answer, hept the rest of the night mimsere soundly than was usual with him, to the astonishment of the commanders, who
victores solent edere, ferociter in hostem, quasi ubique profligatum, incurrerunt. Alexander territos castigare, adhortari, proelium, quod iam elanguerat, solus accendere: confirmatisque tandem animis ire in inde Bactriani discesserant ad opprimenda inpedimenta. Itaque Alexander laxatos ordines invadit et multa caede hostium invehitur. 21 At qui in laevo cornu erant Persae, spe posse eum includi, agme suum a tergo dimicantis opponunt: ingensqueve periculum in mess
haerens adisset, ni equites Agriani calcaribus subditisis circumfusos regi barbaros adorti essent aversosque caedendo in se obverti coegissent. 22 Turbata erat utraque acies. Alexander et a fronte et a ergo hostem habebat. Qui averso ei instabant, ab Agrianis equitibus suos recuperare non poterant: plura simul abrupta a ceteris agmina, ubicumque alium alii fors miscuerat, dimicabant. 23 Duo reges iunctis prope agminibus proelium accenderant. Plures Persae
cadebant, par ferme utrimque numerus vulnerabatur. 24 C Curn Dareus, Alexander equo vehebatur: utrumque delectit tuebantur sui inmemores, quippe amisso rege nec volebant salvi esse nec poterant. Ante oculos sul quisque regis mortem occumbere ducebaet egregium. 25 Maximum tamen periculum adibant, quos maxime
tuebantur: quippe sibi quisque caesi regis expetebat decus. 26 Ceterum, sive illud ludibrium oculorums sive vera species fuit, qui circa Alexandrum erant, vidisse se crediderunt paulum super caput
regis placide volantem aquilam, non sono armorum, non gemitu regis placide volantem aquilam, non sono armorum, non gemitu
morientium territam: diuque circa equum Alexandri pendenti magis, quam volanti similis adparuit. 27 Certe vates Aristander alba veste indutus et dextra praeferens lauream milititibus in pugnam intentis avem monstrabat, haud dubium victoriae auspicium. 28 Ingens erg
alacritas et fiducia paulo ante territos accendit ad pugnam, utique postquam auriga Darei, qui ante ipsum sedens equos regebat, hasta transfixus est. Nec aut Persae aut Macedones dubitavere, quin ipse rex esset occisus. 29 Ergo lugubri ululatu et incondito clamore gemituque totam fere aciem adhuc aequo Marte pugnantium
turbavere cognati Darei et armigeri: laevumque cornu in fuga effusum destituerat currum, quem a dextra parte stipati in medium agmen receperunt. 30 Dicictur acinace stricto Dareus dubitasse, an
fugae dedecus honesta morte vitaret. sed eminens omnem suorum aciem proelio excedentem destituere erubescebat dumque inter spem et desperationem haesitat, sensim Persae cedebant et laxaverant ordines. 31 Alexander mutato equo, quippe
plures fatigaverat, resistentium adversa ora fodiebat fugientium terga. 32 lamque non pugna sed terga. 32 lamque non pugna, sed caedes erat, cum Dareus quoque
currum suum in fugam vertit. Haerebat in tergis fugientium victor, sed prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris, quae ad caelum
ffferebatur, abstulerat: ergo haud secus quam in tenebris errabant, tamen strepitus habenarum, quibus equi currum vehentes identidem verberabantur: haec sola fugientis vestigia excepta sunt.

## aput XVI

At in laevo Macedonum cornu - Parmenio, sicut ante est dictum, batur - longe alia fortuna utriusque partis res gerbeatur. Mazaeus Tacedonum alas. 2 Iamquue abundans multitudine aciebut eeprat, cum Parmenio equites nuntiare iubet Alexandro in discrimine ipsi essent: ni mature subveniretur, non posse sisti fugam. lam multum viae praceceperat rex inminens fugientium tergis, cum Parmenione tristis nuntius venit. Refrenare equos iussi, qui victoriam e manibus et Dareum felicicus fugere quam se sequi. Interim ad Mazaeum superati regis fama pervenerat. Itaque, quamquam validior erat, tamen fortuna partium territus perculsis pugnae remissae, sed occasione vincendi strenue est usus. 5 spont Thessalos equites ad se vocari iubet. 'Ecquid videtis', inquit, 'istos, qui ferociter modo instabant, pedem referre subito pavore
perteritos? Nimirum nobis quoue regis ostri fortuna vici.
Persarum caede strata sunt Quid cessatis? an ne fugientibus quiden pares estis?' 6 Vera dicere videbatur et spes languentes quoque

Naspeuringen van Paul Theelen: Moralia (Plutarch), Phocis, PYTHIA, Alexander (Plutarch)
small images, called Gods of the Cave, of Herakles, Hermes, and Apollo. The cave is some thirty stades distant from the city and in it
are springs of water. There is no entrance to it: the sunlight does no reach very far, and the greater part of the roof lies quite close to the
loor.
10.32.6] There is also near Magnesia on the river Lethaios a place called Aulae (Hallss, where there is a cave sacred to Apollo, not ve and bestows strength equal to any task. The men sacred to the god eap down from sheer precipices and high rocks, and uprooting tre of exceeding height walk with their burdens down the narrow
paths.
${ }_{[10.32 .7]}$ put the Corycian cave exceeds in size those I have mentioned, and it is possible to make one's way through the greater
part of it even without lights. The roof stands at a sufficient height from the floor, and water, rising in part from springs but still more on the floor throughout the cave. The dwellers around Parnassos believe it to be sacred to the Corycian nymphs and especially to Pan From the Corycian cave, it is difficult even for an active walker to teach thy eieights ef Parnassos. ine heights are above the clouds,

## ithorea

10.32.8] Tithorea is, I should guess, about one hundred and eighty tades distant from Delphi on the road across Parnassos. This road is not mountainous throughout, being fit even for vehicles but was said
to be several stades longer. I am aware that Herodotus $[52]$ in his ccount of the Persian invasion gives the town a different name fro hat given to it in the oracles of Baci
10.32.9] For Bacis called the inhabitants Tithoreans, but the accoun of them in Herodotus states that during the advance of the arbarians, the people dwelling here fled up to the summit and that he city's name was Neon, Tithorea being the name of the peak of
Parnassos. It appears then that at first Tithorea was the name applied the whole district, but in course of time, when the people migrated fom the villages, the city too came to be called Tithorea, and not ymph of the same name, one of those who in days of old, according the story of the poets, grew out of trees and especially out of oak $10.32 .10]$ One generation before I was born, the superhuman forc daimōn] made the fortunes of Tithorea decay. There are the
uildings of a theater, and the enclosure of a rather ancient marketplace. The most noteworthy objects in the city are the grove, emple, and image of Athena. There is also the tomb of Antiope and Phokos. I have already in my account of Thebes mentioned [53] ho why she brought on herself the anger of the god;
10.32 .11 I] I have also told how Phokos, the son of Ornytion, fell in ove with her, how she married him and is buried with him, and wh Sacis the soothsayer says about this tomb in common with that of
Zethus and Amphion at Thebes. I found nothing else remarkable in he town except what I have already mentioned. Running past the hie town excepe wha t have already menioned. Running past her
city of Tithora is a river hat gives the inhabitants sfrinking water.
They go down to the bank and draw the water up. The name of the iver is Cachales.

## EAR TITHOREA

[0.32.12] Seventy stades distant from Tithorea is a temple of Asklepios called Arkhagetas (Founder). He receives divine honors
from the Tithoreans and no less from the other people of Phokis. Within the precincts are dwellings for both the suppliants of the god nd his servants. In the middle is the temple of the god and an imag made of stone, having a beard more than two feet long. A couch is
set on the right of the image. It is usual to sacrifice to the god any animal except the goat.
10.32.13] About forty stades distant from Asklepios is a precinct and shrine sacred to IIsis, the holiest of all those made by the Greek und about it, and no one may enter the shrine except those whom
oorbeeld en ideaal heeft Alexander veel antrekkingskracht itgeoefend op latere veldheren en staatslieden (Caesar, Constantijn, (IV) Real
(IV) Reeds de grootste kunstenaars van zijn tijd, de beeldhouwer Lysippus, de schilder Apelles en de zegelsnijder Pyrgoteles, die doe
onze bronnen als officieile hofkunstenaars van Alexander worden ermeld, hebben de basis gelegd voor de iconografie van Alc
ie met een bind fbeeldingen op munten, mozaieken en gemmen tot de rijkste van Oudheid behoort en een beslissende invloed heeff gehad op de conografie van vorsten in de Oudheid, de middeleeeuwen, de
tenaissance en zelfs daarna. De geschreven bronnen en de bewaard gebleven kopieën steunen de opvatting dat reeds tijdens het leven an Alexander twee typen van beeltenissen bestonden, een van de eheroiseerde veldheer en een van de vergoddelijkte vorst. Het mee de z.g. Azara-herme in het Louvre (4e eeuw v.C.). Het belangrijkste grote standbeeld is de Alexander Rondanini in de Münchense Glyptothek (4e eeuv v.C.), die Alexander als Apollo schijnt voor to
stellen. Het Alexander-mozaiek in stellen. Het Alexander-mozaiek, in 1831 gevonden in de z.g. Casa
del Fauno te Pompeji (thans in het Museo Nazionale te Napels), is vaarschijnlijk een kopie naar een schilderij van Philoxenus van Eretria (4e eeeuw v.C.). De beroemde Alexander-sarkofaag
(evonden bij Sidon, thans in het museum te Istankul) is niet de gevonden bij Sidon, thans in het museum te Istanbul) is nie
graftombe van Alexander, maar ontleent zijn naam aan de grattombe van Alexander, maar ontleent tijn naam aan de
vermeende?) aanexezigheid van de figuur van Alexander op de acht-en strijdscènes die de vier zijden sieren (eind 4e eeuw v.C.)
Lit. J. Karst (PRE 1, 1412-1434). - G. Radet, Alexandre le Grand (Paris
 Cexa. .re and the Greeks (Oxford 1938). W. W. Tarn, Alexander the Grea
Cambridge 1948). F. Schachermeyr, Alexander der Grosse. Ingenium und Cambridge 1948). F. Schachermeyr, Alexander der Grosse, Ingenium und
Macht Grazz-Wien 1949 . P. Cloche, Alexandre le Grand et les essais de (usion entre 'I'Ccident greco--romain et I'Orient (Neuchatel 1955). G. A. Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen (München 1905). K. Gebauer,
Alexanderbildnis und Alexandertypus (Mitteilungen des Deutschen

 Alexandersarkophag von Sidon (1912). Andraeae, Das Alexandermosaik
Bremen 1959). L. Pearson, The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great (Ne
 So-called vulgate authors, Diodorus, Justita and Curtius (Cambridge 1983 ).
F. Schachermeyr, Alexander der Grosse. Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit


$\frac{\text { http: // www. stilus.nl/oudheid/wdo/GRIEKEN/GES/B }}{\text { LEXM.html }}$
came to him early in the morning, and were fain themselves to give mer heave to waiders should breakfast. But at last, time not giving alled 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
mportant battle of all, he could sleep as soundly as if he were
miling, "since we are at last relieved from the trouble of wandering in pursuit of Darius through a wide and wasted country, hoping in











Ad not only before the battle, but in the height of the danger, he howed himself great, and manifested the self-possession of a just fresight and confidence. For the battle for some time fluctuated and as dious. The left wing, where Parmenio commanded, was so forced to give ground at the same time that Mazaeus had sent a etachment 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 unless he out of the front. This message being brought him just as he was siving 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 ha heir enemies' baggage; and if defeated, instead of taking care of heir wealth or their slaves, have nothing more to do but to fight allantly and die with honour.










 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 hickly 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 un admirable temper and lightness. The belt which hea 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 his armour. It was a work of he ancient Helicon, and had been So long as he was engaged in drawing up his men, or riding about to
exerat. Subditis calcaribus proruere in hostem: et ilit iam non sensim, sed citato gradu recedebant nec quicquam fugae, nisi quod nondum terga verterant, deerat. Parmenio tamen ignarus, quaenam in
dextro cornu fortuna regis esset, repressit suos: 7 Mazaeus dato fugae spatio non recto titinere, sed maiore et ob id tutiore circuitu Tigrin superat et Babyloniam cum reliquiis devictie exercitus intrat.
8 Dareus paucis fugae comitibus ad Lycum amnem contenderat: quo 8 Dareus paucis fugae comitibus ad Lycum amnem contenderat: quo traiecto dubitavit, an solveret pontem, quippe hostem iam ad
nuntiabatur. Sed tot milia suorum, quae nondum ad amnem
pervenerant ponte rescisso videbat hostis praedam fore. 9 pervenerant, ponte rescisso videbat hostis praedam fore. 9
Abeuntem, cum intactum sineret pontem, dixisse constat, malle Abeuntem, cum intactum sineret pontem, dixisse constat, malle se
sequentibus iter dare quam auferre fugientibus Ipse ingens spatium fuga emensus media fere nocte Arbela pervenit. 10 Quis tot ludibria fortunae, ducum, agminum caedem multiplicem, devictorum fugam, clades nunc singulorum, nunc universorum aut
animo adsequi queat aut oratione conplecti? Propemodum saeculi res animo adsequi queat aut oratione conplecti? Propemodum sevisimum
in unum illum diem, pro, fortuna cumulavit. 11 Alii qua brevissimu patebat iter, alii devios saltus et ignotas sequentibus calles petebant. Eques pedesque confusi sine duce, armatis inermes, integris debiles inplicabantur. 12 Deinde misericordia in metum versa, qui sequi inon poterant, inter mutuos gemitus deserebantur. Sitis praceipue fatigac
et saucios perurebat, passimque omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora et saucios perurebat, passimque omnibus rivis prostraverant corpora
praeterfluenter aquam hianti ore captantes. 13 Quam cum avide turbidam hausissent, tendebantur extemplo praecordia premente limo
resolutiscue et torpentibus membris, cum supervenisset hostis, novis vulneribus excitabantur. 14 Quidam occupatis proximis rivis deverterant longius, ut, quidquid occulti humoris usque manaret, exciperent, nec ulla adeo avia et sicca lacuna erat, ut vestigantium
sitim eminarumquue exaudiebantur barbaror ritu Dareum adhuc regem clamantium.
16 Alexander, ut supra dictum est, inhibito suorum impetu ad Lycum amnem pervenerat, ubi ingens multitudo fugientium oneraverat gravesque armis et proelio ac fuga defatigati gurgitibus hauriebantur 7 Iamque non pons modo fugientes, sed ne amnis quidem capiebat agmina sua inprovide subinde cumulantis: quippe ubi intravit animos Alexander instantibus suis, inpune abeuntem hostem permintteret sequi, hebetia esse tela et manus fatigatas tantoque cursu corpora exhausta et praeceps in noctem diei tempus causatus stt. 19 Re vera ad leerondam opem suis statuit. Iamque signa converterat, cum equites a Parmenione missi illius quoque partis victoriam nuntiant. 20 Sed nullum hoc die maius periculum adiit, quam dum copias
reducit in castra. Pauci eum et inconosositit equeatantur ovantes reducit in castra. Pauci eum et inconpositi sequebantur ovantes victoria, quippe omnes hostes ne fugam effusos aut in acie cecidisse
credebant: 21 cum repente ex adverso apparuit agmen equitum, qui primo inhibuere cursum, deinde Macedonum paucitate conspecta urmas in obvios concitaverunt. 22 Ante signa rex ibat dissimulato magis periculo quam spreto. Nec defuit ei perpetua in dubiis rebus
felicitas: 23 namque praefectum equitatus avidum certaminis et ob ic ipsum incautius in se ruentem hasta transfixit, quo ex equo lapso proximum ac dein plures eodem telo confodit. 24 Invasere turbatos
amici quoque: nec Persae inulti cadebant, quippe non universae amici quoque: nec Persae inulti cadebant, quippe non universae
acies, quam hae tumultuariae manus, vehementius iniere certamen. 25 Tandem barbari, cum obscura luce tutior fuga videretur esse quan pugna, dispersis agminibus abiere. Rex extraordinario periculo
defunctus incolumis suos reduxit in castra. defunctus incolumis suos reduxit in castra.
26 Cecidere Persarum, quorum numerum victores finire potuerunt,
milia XL, Macedonum minus quam CCC desider Ceterum hanc victoriam rex maiore ex parte virtutit 28 quam fortunae suae debuit: [animo, non, ut antea, loco vicitt]. Nam et acien peritissime instruxit et promptissime ipse pugnavit et magno consili
iacturam sarcinarum inpedimentorumque contempsit, cum in ipsa acie summae rei videret esse discrimen, dubioque adhuc pugnae eventu pro victore se gessitit 29 perculsos deinde hostium fudit,
fugientes, quod in illo ardor animi vix credi potest pudentius
avidius persecutus est. 30 Nam si parte exercitus adhuc in acie stante instare cedentibus perseverasset, aut culpa sua victus esset aut aliena
sis herself has honored by inviting them in dreams. The same rule bserved in the cities above the Maeander by the gods of the lowe visions seen in dreams.
visions seen in dreams.
10.32 .14 J In the country of the Tithoreans, a festival in honor of Is is held twice each year, one in spring and the other in autumn. On the hird day, before each of the feasts, those who have permission to
nter cleanse the shrine in a certain secret way and also take and bury, always in the same spot, whatever remnants they may find of he victims thrown in at the previous festival. We estimated that the distance from the shrine to this place was two stades.
10.32.15] So on this day they perform these
10.32.15] So on this day, they perform these acts about the sooths of reeds or other improvised material. On the last of the thr ayss, they hold a fair, selling slaves, cattle of all kinds, clothes, silver, and gold.
10.12 .16 After $m$
[10.32.16] After midday, they turn to sacrificing. The more wealthy But it is oxt the custom, to poorer people geese and guinea fowl. Those whot the custom to use for the sacrifice sheep, pigs, or goats into the shrine $[\ldots]$ having made a beginning must wrap the victim bandages of coarse or fine linen; the mode of preparing is the Eyyptian.
10.32.17] All that they have devoted to sacrifice are led in rocession; some send the victims into the shrine, while others bur say that once a profane man, who was not one of those descending into the shrine, when the pyre began to burn, entered the shrine to satisfy his rash inquisitiveness. It is said that everywhere he saw
hosts, and on returning to Tithorea and telling what he had seen, he ghosts, and on retu
departed this life.
departed this 1rife.
$[10.32 .18]$ I have heard a similar story from a man of Phoenicia, that
the Egyptians hold the feast for sis he Egytians hold the feast for Isis at a time when they say she is
mourning for Osiris. At this time the Nile begins to ise, and it is a mourning for Osiris. At this time the Nile begins to rise, and it is a
saying among many of the natives that what makes the river rise and water their fields is the tears of Isis. At that time then, so said my hoenician, the Roman governor of Egypt bribed a man to go dow
noto the shrine of Isis in Coptus. The man dispatched into the shrine Tho the shrine of Isis in Coptus. The man dispatched into the shrine I was told, died immediately. So it appears that Homer's verse 55] speaks the truth when it says that it bodes no good to man to se godhead face to face.
10.32.19] The olive
ikyonian oil, but in color Sikyonian oil, but in color and pleasantresss, it surpasses Iberian oil
and that from the island of Istria. .hey disitilall manner of unguents
from the oil and also send it to the Emperor.

EDON
10.33.1] Another road from Tithorea is the one that leads to Ledon Once Ledon also owas considered a citt, but in my dey, the Ledontians owing to their weakness, had abandoned the city, and the
dwellers on the Kephisos were about seventy people. Still, the of Ledon is given to their werellings, and the citizens,
tike the Panopeans, have the right to be represented at the general assembly
f the people of Phokis. The ruins of the ancient Ledon are forty of the people of Phokis. The ruins of the ancient Ledon are forty
stades farther up from these dwellers on the Kephisos. They syy the the city took its name from an aborigine.
10.33.2] Other cities have incurred incurable harm through the sin the c.33.2] Other cities have incurred incurable harm through the sin
of their own citizens, but Troy's ruin was complete when it fell f their own citizens, but Troy's ruin was complete when it fell
though the eutrage that Alexander committed against Menelaos, and
Rietus through the lack of control shown by Histiaios and his Miletus through the lack of control shown by Histiaios, and his passionate desire, now to possess the city in the land of the Edonians
ow to be admitted to the councils of Dareios, and now to go back to onia. Again, Philomelus brought on the community of L.
punishment to be paid for the crime of his own impiety.
LILAEA
LILAEA
[10.33.3] Lilaea is a winter day's journey distant from Delphi; we stimated the length of the road, which goes across and down
who was now directions, or to view them, he spared Bucephalus, he was actually to fight he sent made use of another horse; but whe mounted, commenced the attack.











 ічп



He made the longest address that day to the Thessalians and other Greeks, who answered him with loud shouts, dessiring him to lead them on against the barbarians, upon which he shifted his javeli
into his left hand, and with his right lifted up towards heaven, 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 showed 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 Alexanders approach was so terrible, ground, that he beat down and dispersed them almost all.

















virtute vicisset. Iam si multitudinem equitum occurrentium
extimuisset, victori aut foede fugiendum aut miserabiliter cadendum fuit. 31 Ne duces quidem copiarum sua laude fraudandi sunt: quippe
vulnera, quae equisque excepit indicia virtutis sunt 32 Hephestionis vulnera, quae quisque excepit, indicia virtuis sumt. 32 Hephaistis
brachium hasta ictum est, Perdicca et Coenos et Menidas sagitis prope occisi. 33 Et, si vere aestimare Macedonas, qui tunc erant, volumus, fatebimur et regem talibus ministris et illos tanto reg sse dignissimos.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Curtius/5*htm Caput I
Quae interim ductu imperiogue Alexandri vel in Graecis vel Illyriis ac Thracia gesta sunt, si suis quaeque temporibus reddere voluero, 2 Interrumpendae sunt res Asiae, quas utique ad fugam mortemque opere ipso coniungi had paulo aptius videri potest. Igitur, quae proelio apud Arbela coniuncta sunt, ordiar dicere.
3 Dareus media fere nocte Arbela pervenerat, eodemque magnae partis amicorum eius ac militum fugam fortuna conpulerat. 4 Quibus convocatis exponit, haud dubitare se, quin Alexander celeber
urbes agrosque omni copia rerum abundantes petiturus esset: praedam opimam paratamque ipsum et milites eius spectare. 5 Id sui rebus tali in statu salutit fore, quippe se desesta cum expedita manu
petiturum. Ultima regni sui aduc intacta esse inde bello vires haud petiturum. Ultima regni sui adhuc intacta esse, inde bello vires haud
aegre reparaturum. 6 Occuparet sane gazam avidissima gens aegre reparaturum. 6 Occuparet sane gazam avidissima gens et ex
longa fame satiaret se auro, mox futura praedae sibi: usu didicisse pretiosam supellectilem pelicesque et spadonum agmina nihil aliud fuisse, quam onera et inpedimenta: eadem trahentem Alexandrum, qubus rebus antea vicisset, inferiorem fore. 7 Plena om
desperationis videbatur oratio, quippe Babylona, urbem opulentissimam, dedi cernentibus: iam Susa, iam cetera ornamenta regni, causam belli, victorem occupaturum. 8 At ille docere pergit non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda
esse: ferro geri bella, non auro, viris, non urbium tectis: omnia sequi armatos. Sic maiores suos perculsos in principio rerum celeriter pristinam reparasse fortunam. 9 Igitur sive confirmatis eorum anim ingressus est
Faio post Alexandro Arbela traduntur, regia supellectile ditique gaza repleta: IIII milia talentum fuure, praeterea pretiosae vestes, 11 Ingruentibus deinde morbis, quos odor cadverum totis iacentium campis vulgaverat, maturius castra movit. Euntibus a parte laeva erat Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis regio. 12 Campestre iter est in terra inter Tigrin et Euphraten iacenti, tam uberi et pingui, ut a pastu
repelli pecora dicantur ne satietas perimat Caus fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter vena aquarum resudante. 13 Ipsi amnes ex Armeniae montibus profluunt ac magno deinde aquarum divortio iter, quod coeperunt, percurrunt: II milia et quingenta stadia emensi sunt, qui amplissimum intervallum circa Armeniae montes notaverunt. 14 Idem cum Mediae
et Gordyaeorum terras secare coeperunt, paulatim in artius coeunt et, quo longius manant, hoc angustius inter se spatium terrae relinquunt. appellant: mediam namque ab utroque latere cludunt Idem per Babyloniorum fines in rubrum mare inrumpunt. 16 Alexander quartis castris ad Mennin urbem pervenit. Caverna ibi est, ex qua fons ingentem bituminis vim effundit, adeo ut satis constet Babylonios muros ingentis operis huius fontis bitumine interlitos esse
17 Ceterum Babylona procedenti Alexandro Mazaeus eam urbem confugerat, cum adultis liberis supplex occurrit urbem seque dedens. Gratus adventus eius regi fuit, quippe magni operis promptus famaque etiam proximo proelio celebris et ceteros ad deditionem sui incitaturus exemplo videbatur. Igitur hunc quidem benigne cum liberis excipit: 19 ceterum quadrato agmine, quod ipse ducebat, velut in aciem irent, ingredi suos iubet. Magna pars plures obviam egressi sunt. 20 Inter quos Bagophanes, arcis et regiae
lad been restored, its inhabitants were fated to suffer a second disaster at the hands of the Macedonians. Besieged by Philip, the so
of Demetrios, they made terms and surrendered, and a garrison was Demetrios, they made terms and surrendered, and a garrison wa atron, united against the garrison those of the citizens who were of ailitary age conquered the Macedonians in battle and forced them ithdraw under a truce. In ret edicated his statue at Delphi,
$0.33 .4]$ In Lilaea are also a
salso a sanctuary of Apollo, and one of Artemis. The images are standing, of Attic workmanship, and of marble from the Pentelic
quarries. They say that Lilaea was one of the Naids as they are yuarries. They say that Lilaea was one of the Naids, as they are
called, a daughter of the Kephisos, and that after this nymph the city was named. Here the river has its source.
10.33 .5 IIt is not always quiet when it rises from the ground, but it isually happens that at about midday, it makes a noise as it wells up.
You could compare the roar of the water to the bellowing of a bull You could compare the roar of the water to the bellowing of a bull.
Lilaea has a temperate climate in autumn, in summer, and in spring but Mount Parnassos prevents the winter from being correspondingly
mild. mild.

## CHARADRA \& PARAPOTAMII

[10.33.6] Kharadra is twenty stades distant, situated on the top of a ofty crag. The inhabitants are badly off for water, their drinking water is the river Kharadros, and they have to go down about three
tades to reach it. This river is a tributary of the Kephisos, and it sems to me that the town was named after the Kharadros. In the marketplace at Kharadra are altars of Heroes, as they are called, said by some to be the Dioskouroi, by others to be local heros.
10.33.7] The land beside the Kephisos is distinctly the best in Phokis for planting, sowing and pasture. This part of the district, too is the one most under cultivation, so that there is a saying that the verse,

And they who dwelled beside the divine river Kephisos
Tliad not to 2.522 alludes, not to a city
beside the Kephisos. $\qquad$
Iliad 2.522
eside the Kephis
10.33.8] The saying, however, is at variance with the history of
[ 5 . Games. For the Pythian Games were fists of victories at the Pythian and at this first meeting a Parapotamian of the by the Amphiktyons on the prize in the boxing match for boys. Similarly Herodotus, mong them the city of Parapotamii. However P Phokis, includes estored by the Athenians and Boeotians, but the inhabitanit was no poverty stricken and few in number, were distributed among the other cities. I found no ruins of Parapotamii left, nor is the site of the other cities. I foun
city remembered.
MPHICLEIA from Lilaea to Amphicleia is sixty stades. The ame of this Amphicleia has been corrupted by the native nhabitants. Herodotus, following the most ancient account, called it Amphicaea; but the Amphikyyones, when they published their dec
for the destruction of the cities in Phokis, gave it the name of Amphicleia. The natives tell about it the following story. A certain chief, suspecting that enemies were ploting against his baby son, pu
the child in a vessel, and hid him in that part of the land where he he child in a vessel, and hid him in that part of the land where he knew there would be most security. Now a wolf attacked the ch

but a serpent coiled itself round the vessel, and kept up a strict | watch. |
| :--- |
| wat |
| and |
| 1033.10 |

10.33.10] When the child's father came, supposing that the serpent ad purposed to attack the child, he threw his javelin, which killed he serpent and his son as well. But being informed by the shepherd one common pyre for both the serpent and his son. Now they say that
even today the place resembles a burning pyre, maintaing that after even today the place resembles a burning pyre, maintaining that
his serpent the city was called Ophiteia. 10.33.11] They celebrate orgies, well worth seeing, in honor of
were slain in their king's presence, falling in heaps upon one anothe Darius now seeing all was lost, that those who were placed in front not turn or disengage his chariot without great difficulty, the wheels being clogged and entangled among the dead bodies, which lay in such heaps as not only stopped, but almost covered the horses, and
made them rear and grow so unruly that the frightened charioter could govern them no longer, in this extremity was glad to quit his chariot and his arms, and mounting, it is said, upon a mare that had been taken from her foal, betook himself to flight.
But he had not escaped se either if Parmenio had But he had not escaped so either, if Parmenio had not sent fresh messengers to Alexander, to desire him to return and assist him
against a considerable body of the enemy which yet stood together, and would not give ground.
For, indeed Parmeno is
For, indeed, Parmenio is on all hands accused of having been
sluggish and unserviceable in this battle wheter his courage, or that, as Callisthenes says, he secretly disliked and envied Alexander's growing greatness. Alexander, though he was no a little vexed to be so recalled and hindered from pursuing his 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 ayy longer, marched back towards the place of danger, and by of the enemy's total overthrow and flight.
way









 This battle being thus over, seemed to put a period to the Persian
empire; and Alexander, who was now proclaimed King of Asia, empire; and Alexander, who was now proclaimed King of Asia,
returned thanks to the gods in magnificent sacrifices, and rewarded 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 wwith the Grecians,
he wrote to them that he would have all tyrannies abolished, that he wrote to them that he would have all tyrannies abol shed, that, they might live free according to their own laws, and specially to the had permitted their countrymen of old to make their territory the sea of the war when they fought with the barbarians for their common iiberty. He sent also part of the spoils into Italy, to the Crotoniats, to honour the zeal and courage of their citizen Phayllus, the wrestler,
who, in the Median war, when the other Grecian colonies in Italy who, in the Median war, when the other Grecian colonies in Itray
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 esione the memory of laudable actions.

 $\pi \eta \eta \check{c}$ бow




 т

ecuniae custos, ne studio a Mazaeo vinceretur, totum iter floribus coronisque constraverat argenteis altaribus utroque latere dispositis, eum sequebantur greges pecorum equorumque, leones quoque et pardales caveis praeferebantur. 22 Magi deinde suo more carmen canentes, post hos Chaldaei Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant: laudes hi regum canere 23 Equites deinde Babylonii suo equorumque cultu ad luxuriam magis, quam ad magnificentiam exacto ultimi ibant. Rex armatis stipatus oppidanorum turbam post ultimos pedites ire iussit: ipse cur curru urbem ac deinde regiam intravit. Postero die supeliectile
Darei et omnem pecuniam recognovit 24 Ceterum ipsius urbis pulchritudo ac vetustas non regis modo, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet haud inmerito convertit. Samiramis eam condiderat, non, ut plerique credidere, Belus, cuius regia ostenditur. 25 Murus instructus
laterculo coctilib bitumine interlitus, spatium XXX et duorum pedum in latitudinem amplectitur: quadrigae inter se occurrentes sine periculo commeare dicuntur. 26 Altitudo muri L cubitorum eminet spatio: turres denis pedibus quam murus altiores sunt. Totius operi structuram singulis diebus perfectam: esse memoriae proditum es. Aedificia non sunt admota muris, sed fere spatium iugeri unius absunt. 27 Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt - per
LXXX stadia habitabatur - nec omnia continua sunt, credo, quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. Cetera serunt coluntque, ut, si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrentur. 28 Euphrates interfluit magnaeque molis crepidinibus coerecectur. Sed omnium operum magnitudinem accipiendum impetum fluminis, quod, ubi adpositae crepidinis fastigium excessit, urbis tecta corriperet, nisi essent specus lacusque, qui exciperent. 29 Coctili latercull structi sunt: totum opus bitumine
adstringitur. Pons lapideus flumini inpositus iungit ubbem Hic quoque inter mirabilia Orientis opera numeratus est: quippe Euphrates altum limum vehit, quo penitus ad fundamenta iacienda egesto vix sufficiens operi firmo reppererunt solum: 30 harenae morantur amnem, qui retentus acrius, quam si libero cursu mearet, inliditur. 31 Arcem quoque ambitu XX stadia conplexam habent. XXX pedes in terram turrium fundamenta demissa sunt, ad LXXX Gracorum fabulis miraculum pensiles hotti sunt summan murorum altitudinem aequantes multarumque arborum umbram proceritate amoeni. 33 Saxo pilae, quae totum onus sustinent, structae sunt, super pilas lapide quadrato solum stratum est patiens Lurae, quam altam iniciunt, et humoris, quo rigant terras: adeoque
validas arbores sustinent moles, ut stipites earum VIII cubitorum spatium crassitudine aequent, in $L$ pedum altitudinem eminent fugiferaeque sint, ut si terra sua alerentur duram paulatitm exedendo perimat, haec moles, quae tot arborum rat, quippe XX tantique nemoris pondere onerata est, inviolata tan es pe pedes lati parietes sustinent, XI pedum interval videantur. 35 Syriae regem Babylone regnantem hoc opus es molitum memoriae proditum est, amore coniugis victum, qua desiderio nemorum silvarumque in campestribus locis virum conpult amoenitatem naturae genere huius operis imitari.
disciplinae militari magis nocuit nihil urbbitit rex, nec alio loco hil ad inritandas inliciend nocuit: nihil urbis eius corruptius moribus, 7 Liberos coniugesque cum hospintibudicas cupiditates instructius. Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt, Babylonii maxime in Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt, Babylonii maxime in
vinum et, quae ebrietatem sequuntur, effusi sunt. 38 Feminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus, dein summ ultimue amicula exuunt paulatimque pudorem profanant, ad
ulanos auribus habitus sit - ima corporum velament proiciunt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum

Dionysus, but there is no entrance to the shrine, nor have they any mage that can be seen. The people of Amphicleia say that this god heir prophet and their helper in disease. The diseases of the mphicleans themselves and of their neighbors are cured by means
d dreams. The oracles of the god are given by the priest, who utter them when under the divine inspiration.

## RYMAEA

10.33.12] Fifteen stades away from Amphicleia is Tithronium, lyin a plain. It contains nothing remarkable. From Tithronium it is Wenty stades to Drymaea. At the place where this road joins at the
Kephisos the straight road from Amphicleia to Drymaea, $[57]$ the thronians have a grove and altars of Apollo. There has also been made a temple, but no image.
Drymaea is eighty stades distant from Amphicleia, on the left ...
according to the account in Herodotus 588 ] but in earlier dys according to the account in Herodotus, $[58]$ but in earlier days
Naubolenses. The inhabitants say that their founder was Naubolus, son of Phokos, son of Aiakos. At Drymaea is an ancient sanctuary Demeter Lawgiver, with a standing image made of stone. Every yea
hey hold a feast in her honor, the Thesmophoria.

## Lateia

10.34.1] Elateia is, with the exception of Delphi, the largest city in hokis. It lies over against Amphicleia, and the road to it from Amphicleia is one hundred and eighty stades long, level for the mo
art, but with an upward gradient for a short distance quite close to he town of Elateia. In the plain flows the Kephisos, and the most ommon bird to live along its banks is the bustard.
10.34.2] The people of Elateia were successful in repelling the Macedonian army under Kassandros, and they managed to escape
from the war that Taxilos, general of Mithridates, brought against hem. In return for this deed the Romans have given them the
privilege of living in the country free and immune from taxation frivilege of living in the country free and immune from taxation.
They claim to be of foreign stock, saying that of old they came fro Arcadia. For they say that when the Phlegyans marched against the Anctuary at Delphi, Elatos, the son of Arkas, came to the assistance of the god, and with his army stayed behind in Phokis, becoming the founder of Elateia
10.34.3.3 Elateia must be numbered among the cities of the people of Phokis burned by the Persians. Some disasters were shared by
Elateia with the other people of Phokis, but she had peculiar alamities of her own, inflicted by fate at the hands of the Macedonians. In the war waged by Kassandros, it is Olympiodoros,
who must receive most credit for the Macedonians being forced to bandon a siege. Philip, the son of Demetrios, reduced the people of lateia to the utmost terror, and at the same time seduced by bribery e more pown hor the citizens,
ome to give all Greeks their freedom, prosid a commission from Lateia its ancient constitution, and by messengers made overtures to its citizens to secede from Macedonia. But either they or their
government were stupid enough to be faithful to Philip, and the covernment were stupid enough to be faithful to Philip, and the
Romans reduced them by siege. Later on the people of Elateia held Romans reduced them by siege. Later on the people of Elateia held
out when besieged by the barbarians of Pontos under the command
of Taxilos, the general of Mithridates. As a reward for this deed the omans gave them their freedom
$10.34 .5]$ An army of bandits, called the Kostoboes, who overran
Greece in my day, visited among other cities Elateia. Whereupon a certain Mnesiboulos gathered round him a compary. Whereupon a the sword many of the barbarians, but he himself fell in the fighting. This Mnesiboulos won several prizes for running, amo which were prizes for the foot-race, and for the double race with hield, at the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympic festival. [59] In
Runner Street at Elateia there stands a bronze statue of Mnesiboulos. 10.34.6] The marketplace itself is worth seeing, and so is the figure of Elatos carved in relief upon a slab. I do not know for certain hether they made the slab to honor him as their founder or merel serve as a tombstone to his tomb. A temple has been built to
Asklepios, with a bearded image of the god. The names of the makers of the image are Timokles and Timarchides, artists of Attic







Fom hence he marched through the province of Babylon, which immediately submitted to him, and in Ecbatana was much surprised the sight of the place where fire issues in a continuous strea, aphtha, which, not far from this spot, flows out so abundantly form a sort of lake. This naphtha, in other respects resembling ill kindle at the very light that surrounds it and often inflame the termediate air also. The barbarians, to show the power and nature it, sprinkled the street that led to the king's lodgings with little ops of it, and when it was almost night, stood at the further end ce taking, fire, instantly as quick as a man could think of it it nce 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 esired him to make an experiment of the naphtha upon Stephanus, who stood by in the bathing place, a youth with a ridiculously ugly mand is not put out it must undeniably be allowed to be of the nost invincible strength."

















The youth, as it happened, readily consented to undergo the trial, an 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, by good chance there had not been people at hand with a great tad much ado to extinguish the fire; and his body was so burned all er 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 edea anointed the crown and veil which she gave to Creon's daughter.
aughter.
or neither the things themselves, nor the fire, could kindle of its wn accord, but being prepared for it by the naphtha, they brought near them.
virginumque, apuc quas comitas habetur vulgatic corporis vilitas. 39 Inter haec flagitia exercitus ille domitor Asiae per XXXIIII dies saginatus ad ea, quae sequebantur, discrimina haud dubie debi
futurus fuit, si hostem habuisset. futurus fuit, si hostem habuisset.
enovabatur. 40 Namque A Amyntas Andromeni ab Antipatro renovabatur. 4 Namque Amyntas Andromeni a Antipatro
Macedonum peditum VI milia adduxit, 41 D practerea eiusden generis equites, cum his DC Thracas adiunctis peditibus suae gentis
III milibus D et ex Peloponneso mercennarius miles ad IIII milia advenerat cum nongentis octoginta equitibus. 42 Idem Amyntas adduxerat $L$ principum Macedoniae liberos adultos ad custodiam corporis: quippe inter epulas his sunt regis ministri iidemque equos
ineuntibus proelium admovent venantesque comitantur et vigiliarum vices ante cubiculi fores servant: magnorumque praefectorum et ducum haec incrementa sunt et rudimenta.
43 Igitur rex arci Babylonis Agathone praesidere iusso cum septingentis Macedonum trecentisque mercede conductis praetores,
qui regioni Babyloniae ac Ciliciae praeessent, Menetem Apollodorum relinquit. II milia iis militum cum mille talentis data utrique praeceptum, ut in supplementum milites legerent. 44 arem tradiderat se sequi iussit Armenia Mithreni Sardium, quan arcem tradiderat, se sequi iussit, Armenia Mithreni, Sardium
proditori, data est. 45 Ex pecunia deinde Babylone tradita Macedonum equitibus sexceni denarii tributi: peregrinus eques quingeno
mensum.

Caput II
conpositis in regionem, quae satrapea Sittacene vocatur, pervenit: fertilis terra, copia rerum et omni commeatu abundans. iudices dedit praemiaque pos, ne desides otio demitterent animos, nova: qui fortissimi iudicatit essent, singulis militum milibus praefuri erant. 3 Chiliarchas vocabant tunc primum in hunc fuerant nec fortitudidinis praemia cesserant. 4 Ingens militum turba convenerat egregio interfutura certamini, testis eadem cuiusque
factorum et de iudicibus latura sententiam factorum et de iudicibus latura sententiam: quippe verone an fals
honos cuique haberetur ignorari non poterat. 5 Primus omnium virtutis causa donatus est Atharrias senior, qui omissum apud Halicarnasson a iunioribus proelium unus maxime accendera proximus ei Antigenes visus est: tertium locum Philotas Augaeu obinuit: quartus Amyntae datus: post hos Antigonos e e al eo
Lyncestes Amyntas fuit: septimum Iocum Theodotus, ultimum obtinuit Hellanicus. 6 In disciplina quoque militaris rei a maioribus tradita pleraque summa utilitate mutavit. Nam cum ante equites in suam quisque gentem discriberentur seorsus a ceteris, exempto
nationum discrimine praefectis non utique suarum gentium sed delectis attribuit. 7 Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum daba cuius sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu exoriente haud satio exaudiebatur: ergo perticam, quae undique conspici posset, supra
praetorium statuit, ex qua signum eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum: observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu. 8 Iamquue Susa ei adituro Abulitess regeionins eius praefectus, sive
Darei iussu, ut Alexandrum praeda retineret sive sua sponte fium Darei Iussu, ut Alexandrum praeda retineret, sive sua sponte filiu
obviam misit, traditurum se urbem promittens. 9 Benigne iuvenem excepit rex et eodem duce ad Choaspin amnem pervenit, delicatam, ut fama est, vehentem aquam. 10 Hic Abulites cum donis regalis opulentiae occurrit. Dromades cameli inter dona erant velocitatis speraverant, Macedonum, sed auxilium, opes victi ad victorem transferente fortuna. 11 Ut vero urbem intravit, incredibilem ex thesauris summam pecuniae egessit, $L$ milia talentum argenti non
signati forma, sed rudi pondere 12 Mult reges tantas ones ing aetate cumulaverant liberis posterisque, ut arbitrabantur, quas una hora in externi regis manus intulit. 13 Consedit deinde in regia sella multo excelsiore quam pro habitu corporis. Itaque, cum pedes primum gradum non contingerent, unus ex regiis pueris me
subdidit pedibus. 14 Et cum spadonem, qui Darei fuerat ingemiscentem conspexisset rex, causam maestitiae requisivit. Ile
birth. At the end of the city on the right is a theater, and an ancient bronze image of Athena. They say th
against the barbarians under Taxilos.
gainst the barbarians under Taxilos.
10.34.7] About twenty stades away from Elateia is a sanctury of 10.34.7] About twenty stades away from Elateia is a sanctuary of
thena surnamed Cranaea. The road to it slopes upwards, but so Ahtena surnamed Cranaea. The road toit slopes ipwards, bus so otices it. At the end of the road is a hill which, though for the most
part precipitous, is neither very large nor very high. On this hill the part precipitous, is neither very large nor very high. On this hill the
sanctuary has been built, with porticoes and dwellings through then, anctuary has been built, with porticoes and dwellings through them,
where live those whose duty it is to wait on the god, chief of whom is the priest.
10.34 .8 They choose the priest from boys who have not yet reache he age of puberty, taking care beforehand that his term of of successive years, during which the priest boards with the goddess, nd bathes in tubs after the ancient manner. This image too was
nade by the sons of Polykles. It is armed as for battle, and on the made by the sons of Polykles. It is armed as for battle, and on the
shield is worked in relief a copy of what in Athens is wrought on the shield of her whom the Athenians call the Virgin.
abaE
BAE
[10.35.1] To reach Abae and Hyampolis from Elateia you may go along a mountain road on the right of the city of Elateia, but the
highway from Orkhomenos to Opus also leads to those cities. If the ou go along the road from Orkhomenos sto Opus, and turn offa littlo hey came to Phokis from Argos, and that the city got its name from Abas, the founder, who was a son of Lynkeus and of Hypermnestra, sacred to Apollo, and here too there was an oracle of that god. 10.35.2] The treatment that the god at Abae received at the hands he Persians was very different from the honor paid him by the Romans. For while the Romans have given freedom of governmen burned down, as it did others, the sanctuary at Abae. The Greeks who opposed the barbarians resolved not to rebuild the sanctuaries urred down by them, but to leave them for all time as memorials of heir hatred. This too is the reason why the temples in the territory
Haliartos, as well as the Athenian temples of Hera on the road to Phaleron and of Demeter at Phaleron, still remain half-burned even at the present day.
[0.35.3] Such, I suppose, was the appearance of the sanctuary at Abae also, after the Perrian invasion, until in the war of the people
Phokis some of their men, overcome in battle, took refuge in Abae hhokis some of their men, overcome in batte, took refuge in Abae.
Whereupon the Thebans gave them to the flames, and with the efugees the sanctuary, which was thus burned down a second time. damaged by fire, seeing that the ruin begun by the Persian
ncendiaries was completed by the incendiaries of Boeotia.
10.35.4] Beside the large temple there is another, but smaller in size, made for Apollo by the emperor Hadrian. The images are of
earlier date, being dedicated by the Abaeans themselves; they are made of bronze, and all alike are standing, Apollo, Leto and Artemis At Abae there is a theater, and also a marketplace, both of ancient construction.

## hyampolis

10.35.5] Returning to the straight road to Opus, you come next to Hyampolis. Its mere name tells you who the inhabitants originally
were, ond the place from which they were expelled when they cal oo this land. For it was the Hyantes of Thebes who came here when hey fled from Kadmos and his army. In earlier times the city was alled by its neighbors the city of the Hyantes, but in course of tim he name of Hyampolis prevailed over the other.
10.35.6] Although Xerxes had burned down the
Philip had razed it to the ground, nevertheless there were left the structure of an old marketplace, a council-chamber (a building of $n$ o great size) and a theater not far from the gates. The emperor Hadrian
built a portico which bears the name of the emperor who dedicated The citizens have one well only. This is their sole supply, both for

For the rays and emanations of fire at a distance have no other effec upon some bodies than bare light and heat, but in others, where they
meet with airy dryness, and also sufficient rich moisture, they collect meet with airy dryness, and also sufficient rich moisture, they co
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 does not rather proceed from a soil that is unctuous and productive very hot that oftentimes the grains of barley leap up and are thrown 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.
Еגд $\eta v к к а \bar{c}$



Harpalus, who was left governor of this country, and was desirous to dorn the palace gardens and walks with Grecian plants, succeeding rilled. 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 th apatient reader will be more willing to pardon if they are kept
ithin a moderate compas.
 ßабидвiots








apxins кai to кo kupsuziv iunduvav.
At the taking of Susa, Alexander found in the palace forty thousand alents in money ready coined, besides an unspeakable quantity of her furniture and treasure, amongst which was five thousand undred 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 minade use lioney, and of wie oire he whice incturc, ightness of their lustre. Dinon also relates that the Persian $k$ had water fetched from the Nile and the Danube, which they laid up their treasuries as a sort of testimony of the greatness of their power and universal empire.










 was guarded by the noblest of the Persians, Darius himself having
escaped further. Alexander, however, chanced to find a guide in scaped further. Alexander, however, chanced to find a guide in a child, that a lycus should conduct him into Persia. For by such an
indicat Dareum vesci in ea solitum, seque sacram eius mensam ad ludibrium recidentem sine lacrimis conspicere non posse. 15 Subii ergo regem verecundia violandi hospitales deos, iamque subduci
iubebat, cum Philotas: 'Minime vero haec feceris, rex, sed omen quoque accipe, mensam, ex qua libavit hostis epulas, tuis pedibus esse subiectam.' .' $\quad$ nsam, ex qua libavit hostis epulas, tuis pedibus 16 Rex Persidis finem aditurus Susa urbem Archelao et praesidium III milium tradidit: Xenophilo arcis cura mandata est mille
Macedonum aetate gravibus praesidere arcis custodiae iussis thesaurorum Callicratit tutela permissa: satrapea regionis Susianae restituta Abulitae. Matrem quoque et liberos regis in eadem urbe
deponit. 18 Ac forte Macedonicas yestes multamue promam deponit. 18 Ac forte Macedonicas vestes multamque purpuram
ex Macedonia sibi missam cum his, quae confecerant, tradi Sisigambi iubet - omni namque honore eam et filii quoque pietate prosequebatur - 19 admonerique iussit, ut, si cordi quoque vestis esset, conficere eam neptes suas adsuufaceret: dono se, quae aspernantis id munus: quippe non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum feminae accipiunt, quam admovere lanae manus. 2 Nuntiant, qui dona tulerant, tristem esse Sisigambim, dignaque res et excusatione et solacio visa. Ipse ergo pervenit ad eam et, 'Mater',
inquit, 'hanc vestem, qua indutus sum, sororum non donum solum, inquit, hanc vestem, qua indutus sum, sororum non donum solum,
sed etiam opus vides: nostri decepere me mores. 21 Cave, obsecro, contumeliam acceperis ignorationem meam. Quae tui moris esse cognovi, ut spero, abunde servata sunt. 22 Scio apud vos filio
conspectu matris nefas esse considere, nisi cum illa permisit: quotienscumque ad te veni, donec, ut considerem, adnueres, restiti. Procumbens venerari me saepe veluisti: inhibui. Dulcissimae matri
Olympiadi nomen debitum tibi reddo.'

## Caput III

Mitigato animo eius rex quartis castris pervenit ad Tigrim fluvium. asitigrim incolae vocant: oritur in montibus Uxiorum et per $L$ stadia cum campi, quos clementiore alveo praeterit, iam navium patiens. DC sunt stadia mollioris soli, per quod leni tractu aquarum Persico mari se insinuat. 3 Amne superato cum VIIII milibus peditum et Agrianis sagitarisisue en Gracorun Uxerum pervenit Finitima Susis
additis Thracum mille in regionem Uxioum est et in primam Persidem excurrit, artum inter se et Susianos aditun relinquens. 4 Medates erat regionis praefectus, haud sane temporum homo, quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat. 5 Sed peni
locorum Alexandrum docent, occultum iter esse per calles et aversum ab urbe: si paucos misisset leviter armatos, super capita hostium evasuros. 6 Cum consilium placuisset, iidem itinerum fuerunt duces. M et D mercede conductiet Agriani fere M Tauroni vigilia castris motis circa lucis ortum superat angustias caesaque materia cratibus et pluteis faciundis, ut, qui turres admoverent, extra teli iactum essent, urbem obsidere coepit. 8 Praerupta erant omnia saxis et cotibus inpedimenta. Multis ergo vulneribus depulsi, ut
quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam cum loco dimicandum esset, quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam cum loco dimicandum esset,
9 subibant tamen, quia rex inter primos constiterat interrogans, tot urbium victores an erubescerent haerere in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis, simul admonens Tauronem mox auxilium esse laturum. Inter haec eminus petebatur: quem testudine obiecta milites -ut
decederet, perpellere nequierant - tuebantur. 10 Tandem Tauron
 et hostium animi labare et Macedones acrius proelium inire hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum, pluribus ad fugam animus fuit, magna pars in arcem concessit. Inde XXX oratoribus missis ad deprecandum triste responsum a rege redditur: non esse veni
locum. 12 Itaque, suppliciorum quoque metu perculsi, ad locum. 12 Itaque, suppliciorum quoque metu perculsi, ad
Sisigambim, Darei matrem, occulto itinere ignotogue hostibu mittunt, qui peterent, ut ipsa regem mitigaret, haud ignari, parentis eam loco diligi colique.
Et Medates sororis eius
seroris eius filiam secum matrimonio iunxerat, Dareum ene contingens. 13 Diu Sisigambis supplicum recibus repugnavit, abnuens deprecationem pro illis [non] convenir
drinking and for washing; from no other source can they get water, 10.35.77 Above all other divin.
hey have a temple. The image of her I cannot describe for their rule hey have a temple. The image of her I cannot describe, for their rule
it open the sanctuary twice, and not more offen, every year. They st open the sanctuary twice, and not more often, every year. They
say that whateever cattle they consecrate to Attemis grow up immun o disease and fatter than other cattle.

TIRIS
10.35.8] The straight road to Delphi that leads through Panopeus and past Daulis and the Cleft Way, is not the only pass from Khaironeia to Phokis. There is another road, rough and for the most
part mountainous, that leads from Khairōneia to the city of Stiris in part mountainous, that teads from Khaironneia to the city of Stiris in
Phokis. The length of the road is one hundred and twenty stades. Th inhabitants assert that by descent they are from Phokis, but from
Athens, and that they came from Attica with Peteos, the Athens, and that they came from Attica with Peteos, the son of
Orneus, when he was pursued from Athens by Aigeus. They add Orneus, when he was pursued from Athens by Aigeus. They add hat, because the greater part of those who accompanied eteos cat
from the district [demos] known as Stireis, the city received the name of Stiris.
0.35 .9 The Teople of Stiris have their dwellings on a high and
and ocky site. For this reason they suffer from a shortage of water in
ummer, the wells are few, and the water is bad that they supply summer, the wells are fev, and he water is bad that hey supply.
These wells give washing-water to the people and drinking-water to
the beasts of burden, but for their own drinking water the people go he beasts of burden, but for their own drinking water the people go
down about four stades and draw it from a spring. The spring is in a hole dug into the rocks, and they go down to it to fetch water. 10.35.10] In Stiris is a sanctuary of Demeter surnamed Stiria. It is of unburned brick; the image is of Pentelic marble, and the goddess is
holding torches. Beside her, bound [60] with ribbons, is an image of Demeter, as ancient as any of that goddess that exists.

## MBrossus

[0.36.1] From Stiris to Ambrossus is about six stades. The road is at, lying on the level with mountains on both sides of it The grea part of the plain is covered with vines, and in the territory of
Ambrossus grow shrubs, though not close together like the vin well as the rest of the Greeks, call kokko nd the Gauls above Phrygia call it in their native speech hys. This
kkos grows to the size of what is called the rhamnos the le - darker and soffter than those of the mastich tree, though in other espects the two are alike.
[0.36.2] Its fruit is like the fruit of the nightshade, and its size is bout that of the bitter vetch. There breeds in the fruit of the kokko small creature. If this should reach the air when the fruit has Iipened, it becomes in appearance like a gnat, and inmediately flies
away. But as it is they gather the fruit of the kokkos before the creature begins to move, and the blood of the creature serves as a dye for wool. 0.36.3] Ambrossus lies at the foot of Mount Parnassos, on the side opposite to Delphi. They say that the city was named after
Ambrosus, a hero. On going to war with Philip and his
Macedonians the Thebans drew round Ambrossus a double wall. It is made of a local stone, black in color and very hard indeed. Each ring of wall is a little less than a fathom broad, and two
fathoms in height except where it has broken down.
10.36.4] The interval between the first ring and the second is a athom. The building of towers, of battlements, or of any ornamen, has been entirely neglected, as the only object the citizens had in
constructing the walls was immediate protection. There is a small marketplace at Ambrossus, and of the stone statues set up in it most are broken.
ANTICYRA 10.36.5] The road to Anticyra is at first uphill. About two stades us
he slope is a level place, and on the right of the road is a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Dictynnaean, a goddess worshipped with great
reverence by citizens. The image is of Aeginetan workmanship, and everence by citizens. The image is of Aeginetan workmanshi,
made of a black stone. From the sanctuary of the Dictynnaean goddess the road is downhill all the way to Anticyra. They say the
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 Here a great many of the prisoners were put to the sword, of whid 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 an camels could well carry away.





 mongst other
Amongst other things he happened to observe a large statue of Xex es thrown carelessly down to the ground in the confusion made
by the multitude of soldiers pressing into the palace. He stood still. nd 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 But at lastion after he he hed pausesed some time and silently vonsidered 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.



 Opóv@ кaथńuvvov.
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 muc 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.


















rom hence designing to march against Darius, before he set out he diverted himself with his officers at an entertainment of drinking an by and drink with them. The most celebrated of them was Thais, an thenian, mistress of Ptolemy, who was afterwards King of Egypt.
fortunae, in qua esset: adicitque metuere sese, ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, saepiusque cogitare, captivam esse se, quam
reginam fuisse. 14 Ad ultimum victa litteris Alexandrum ita reginam fuisse. 14 Ad ultimum victa litteris Alexandrum ita
deprecata est, ut ipsum excusaret, quod deprecaretur- petere se, dilprecata est, ut ipsum excusaret, quod deprecaretur: petere se,
ilis quoque, si minus, sibi ignosceret. pro necessario ac propinquo suo, iam non hoste, sed supplice, tantum vitam precari. 15 Moderationem clementiamque regis, quae tunc fuit, vel una haec res possit ostendere: non Medati modo ignovit, sed omnes et deditos et captivos et libertate atque inmunitate donavit, urbem reliquit
intactam, agros sine tributo colere permisit. A victore Dareo plura mater non inpetrasset.
16 Uxiorum dein genten
16 Uxiorum dein sentem subactam Susianorum satrane divisisque cum Parmenione copiis illum campestri itinere proctredere iubet, ipse cum expedito agmine iugum montium cepit, quorum perpetuum dorsum in Persidem excurrit. 17 Omni hac regione vastata tertio die Persidem, quinto angustias, quas illi Susidas pylas
vocant, intrat. Ariobarzanes has cum XXV milibus peditum occupaverat, rupes abscisas et undique praeruptas, in quarum cacuminibus extra teli iactum barbari stabant, de industria quieti et paventibus similes, donec in artissimas fauces penetraret agmen. 18 Quod ubi contemptu sui pergere vident, tum vero ingentis
magnitudinis saxa per montium prona devolvunt, quae incus Magnitudinis saxa per montum prona devolvunt, quae incussa
saepius subiacentibus petris maiore vi incidebant nec singulos modo, sed agmina proterebant. 19 Fundis quoque excussi lapides et sagittae
undique ingerebantur. Nec id miserrimum fortibus viris erat, sed undique ingerebantur. Nec id misertimum fortibus viris erat, sed
quod inulti, quod ferarum ritu veluti in fovea deprehensi caederentur 20 Ira igitur in rabiem versa eminentia saxa conplexi, ut ad hostem pervenirent, alius alium levantes conabantur ascendere. Ea ipsa multorum simul manibus convulsa in eos, qui conmoverant,
recidebant. 21 Nec stare ergo poterant nec niti, ne testudine qui protegi, cum tantae molis onera propellerent barbari. Regem non dolor modo, sed etiam puddor temere in illas angustias coniecti exercitus angebat. 22 Invictus ante eam diem fuerat, nihil frustra ausus: inpune Cilicicia fauces intraverat, mare quoque novum in
Pamphyliam iter aperuerat: tunc haesitabat deprehensa felicitas nec aliud remedium erat, quam reverti, qua venerat. 23 Itaque signo receptui dato densatis ordinibus scutisque super capita consertis retro Caput IV
1 Tum castris undique aperto loco positis non consultare modo, quid agendum esset, sed vates quoque adhibere coepit a superstitione
animi. 2 Sed quid tunc praedicere Aristander, cui plurimum credebat ex vatibus, poterat? Itaque damnatis intempestivis sacrificiiis peritos locorum convocari iubet: per Mediam iter ostend bbant tutum
apertumque. 3 Sed rex deserere milites inspulto apertumque. 3 Sed rex deserere milites insepultos erubescebat ita
tradito more, ut vix ullum militiae tam sollemne esset munus quam humandi suos. 4 Captivos ergo, quos nuper exceperat, vocari iubet: inter quos erat quidam Graecae Persicaeque linguae peritus, qui frustra eum in Persidem montium dorso exercitum ducere adfirmat. silvestres esse calles, vix singulis pervios: omnia contegi find
inplexosque arborum ramos silvas committere. 5 Namque Persis ab altero latere perpetuis montium iugis clauditur. 6 Hoc dorsum, quod in longitudinem MDC, in latitudinem CLXX stadia procurrit, a Caucaso monte ad rubrum mare pertinet, quaque defecit mons, aliud
munimentum, fretum, obiectum est. Planities deinde sub radicibus montium spatiosa procumbit, fertilis terra multisque vicis atque urbibus frequens. 7 Araxes amnis per hos campos multorum aquas Torrentium evolvit in Medum: Medus [ad mare] ad meridiem versus
minor amnis eo, quem accepit - evehitur: 8 gignendaeque herba - minor amnis eo, quem accepit - evehitur: 8 gignendaeque herbae
non alius est aptior, quidquid adluit, floribus vestiens. Platani quoque et populi contegunt ripas, ita ut procul visentibus continuata vdeantur montibus nemora riparum. Quippe obumbratus ammis presso in solum alveo delabitur, inminentque colles, ipsi quoque
frondibus laeti, radices eorum humore subeunte. 9 Regio non alia tota Asia salubrior habetur: temperat caelum hinc perpetuum iugum opacum et umbrosum, quod aestus levat, illinc mare adiunctu
quod modico tepore terras fovet. 10 His captivus expositis interrogatus a regege auditune an oculis conperta haberett, quae diceret pastorem se fuisse et omnes eas calles percuurrisse respondit: bis
days of old the name of the city was Kyparissos, and that Homer in name, although it was called Anticyra in Homer's day, because Anticyreus was a contemporary of Herakles
[0.36.6] The city is situated in front of the ruins of Medeon. I have mentioned in the beginning of my account of Phokis that the people
of Anticyra were guilty of sacrilege against the san tuary [62] They were driven from home by Philip, son of Amyntas, and [62] They were driven from home by Philip, son of Amyntas, and
nce more by the Roman Otilius, because they were subjects of the once more by the Roman Otilius, because they were subject
Macedonian king Philip, son of Demetrios. Otilius had been
despatched from Reme to hep the Atheni despatched from Rome to help the Athenians against Philip. 10.36.7] The mountains beyond Anticyra are very rocky, and on
hem grows hellebore in great profusion. Black hellebore sends tho hem grows hellebore in great profusion. Black hellebore sends tho
who take it to stool, and purges the bowels; the nature of the other, he white kind, is to purge by vomiting. It is the root of the hellebore which is used as a purging drug.
ho36 8 In the marketplace at
[10.36.8] In the marketplace at Anticyra are bronze statues, and at
he harbor is a small sanctuary of Poseidon, built of unhewn stones. he harbor is a small sanctuary of Poseidon, built of unhewn stones
The inside is covered with stucco. The image, which is made of ronze, is a standing figure, with one foot resting on a dolphin. On dis side
rident.
10.36.9] Opposite the gymnasium, in which the baths have been made, is another gymnasium, an old one, in which stands a bronze statue. The inscription on it says that Xenodamos of Anticyra, a
contestant in the pankration, won an Olympic victory in the match or men. If the inscription speaks the truth, it would seem that for men. II the inscription speaks the truth, it would seem that
Xenodamos received the wild olive at the two hundred and eleventh
Olympic festival. $[63]$ But this is the only festival onited in the lympic festival. [63] But this is the only festival omitted in the
E10.36.10] Beyond the marketplace, there is in a well a spring of water. Over the well there is a roof to shelter it from the sun, with columns to support the roof. A little higher up than the well, is a tom
built of any stones that were on hand. Here they say are buried the uilt of any stones that were on hand. Here they say are buried the
ons of Iphitos; one returned safe from Troy and died in his native land; the other, Schedios, died, they say, in the Troad, but his bones also were brought home.
10.37.1] About two stades off the city there is, on the right, a high
rock, which forms part of a mountain, with a sanctury of At ock, which forms part of a mountain, with a sanctuary of Artemis
built upon it The image of Artemis is buit upon it. The image of Artemis is one of the works of Praxiteles, While rates therch in her right hand and a quiver over her shoulder allest woman.
bulis
10.37.2] Bordering on the territory of Phokis is a land named after Boulon, the leader of the colony, which was founded by a union of
migrants from the cities in ancient Doris. The people of Boulis are said of Philomelus and the men of Phokis... the the genereal assembly.
ond To Boulis from Thisbe in Boeotia is a journey of eighty stadess; but
do not know if in Phokis there be a road by land at all from Antikyra rough and difficult to cross are the mountains between Antikyra and Boulis. To the harbor from Antikyra is a sail of one hundre tades, and the road by land from the harbor to Boulis we conjectured to be about seven stades long.
10.37.3] Here a torrent falls into the sea, called by the natives Herakleios. Boulis lies on high ground, and it is passed by traveller crossing by sea from Antikyra to Lekhaion in Corinthian territory. More than half its inhabitants are fishers of the shellfish that
produces the purple dye. The buildings in Boulis are not so produces the purple dye. The buildings in Boulis are not so
vondrous; among them is a sanctuary of Artemis and one of Dionysus. The images are made of wood, but we were unable to udge who was the artist. The god worshipped most by the people
Boulis is named by them Megisto sthe Greatest' should think, of Zeus. At Boulis there is a spring called Saunion

## CIPRHA

0.37.4] The length of the road from Delphi to Cirrra, the port of elphi, is sixty stades. Descending to the plain you come to a race-
eurse, where at the Pythian Games the horses compete. I have told

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 ther a saying, not misbecoming her native country's character, 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 might be recorded to posterity that the women who followed
Alexander had taken a severer revenge on the Persians for the
Alexander had taken a severer revenge on the Persians for the ad been able to do by sea or land.
What she said was received with such universal liking and murmurs applause, and so seconded by the encouragement and eagerness of tarted from his seat, and with a chaplet of flowers on his head and lighted torch in his hand, led them the way, while they went after m in a riotous manne, lace; which when the rest of the Macedonians perceived, they also
great delight ran thither with torches; for they hoped the burning n great delight ran thither with torches; for they hopet 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 me writers give their account of this action, while others say it wa gave order to put out the fire.












Alexander was naturally most munificent, and grew more so as his fortune increased, accompanying what he gave with that courtesy nd 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 oo show him, and told him that in his country such a present was
recompensed with a cup of gold. "With an empty one," said compensed with a cup of gold. "With an empty one," said Alexander, smiling, "but I drink to you in this, which I give you full
wine." Another time, as one of the common soldiers was driving uule laden with some of the king's treasure, the beast grew tired, an e soldier took it upon his own back, and began to march with Alexander seeing the man so overcharged asked what was the
natter; and when he was informed, just as he was ready to lay dow mater, and when he was informed, just as he was ready to lay down finish the journey, and carry what you have there to your own tent ot accept of what he gave than with those who begged of him. And terefore he wrote to Phocion, that he would not own him for his friend any longer if he refused his presents.


 ©

captum, semel a Persis in Lycia, iterum ab ipso. 11 Subit animum regis memoria oraculo editae sortis: quippe consulenti responsum erat, ducem in Persidem ferentis viae Lycium civem fore. 12 Igitur
promissis promissis, quanta et praesens necessitas exigebat et ipsius fortuna
capiebat, oneratum armari iubet Macedonum more et, quod bene verteret, monstrare iter quamvis arduum et praeceps: evasurum so esse cum paucis, nisi forte crederet, qua ipse pecoris causa isset,
Alexandrum pro gloria et perpetua laude ire non posse. 13 Etiam Atcxue etiam docere captivus, quam difficile eiter esset, maxime armatis. Tum rex, 'Praedem', inquit, 'me accipe neminem eorum, qui sequuntur, recusaturum ire, qua duces.' 14 Cratero igitur ad copiiis, quas Meleager ducebat, et sagittariis quis equitibus M , praecipit, castrorum specie manente plures de industria ignes fieri imperet, quo magis barbari credant ipsum regem in castris esse. 15 Ceterum, si occupandum iter suum partem copiarum temptasset opponere, 16 Craterus eum inlato terrore retineret, ad propius periculum conversurum agmen: sin autem ipse hostem fefellisset et saltum occupasset, cum trepidantium barbarorum tumultum exaudisset, persequens tum regem id ipsum iter, quo pridie pulsi fuerant, ne
dubitaret ingredi: quippe vacuum fore hostibus in semet aversis. 17 Ipse tertia vigilia silenti agmine ac ne tuba quidem dato signo pergit ad demonstratum iter callium: triduu alimenta portare militem iusserat leviter armatum. 18 Sed praeter invias rupes ac praerupta
saxa, vestigium subinde fallentia, nix cumulata vento ingredientes fatigabat: quippe velut in foveas delati hauriebantur et, cum a commilitonibus adlevarentur, trahebant magis adiuvantes, quam sequebantur. 19 Nox quoque et ignota regio ac dux - incertum an
satis fidus - multiplicabant metum: si custodes fefell isset, quasi feras bestias ipsos posse deprehendi. Ex unius captivi vel fide vel anima pendere et regis salutem et suam. 20 Tandem venere in iugum. A dextra iter ad ipsum Ariobarzanen erat. Hic Philotam et Coenon
cum Amynta et Polyperconte, expeditam habentes manum, relinquit, cum Amynta et Polyperconte, expeditam habentes manum, relinquit
monitos, ut, quia et eques pediti iret mixtus et quam pinguissimum esset solum et pabuli fertile, sensim procederent: duces erant itineris de captivis dati. 21 Ipse cum armigeris et ala, quam agema appellabant, ardua semita, sed longius a stationibus hostium remota
multa cum vexatione processit. 22 Medius erat dies et fatigatis necessaria quies: quippe tantundem itineris supererat, quantu necessaria quies: quippe tantundem itineris supererat, quantum
emensi erant, sed minus praecipitis atque ardui. 23 Itaque refectis cibo somnoque militibus secunda vigilia surgit. Et cetera quidem
haud aegre praeterit: ceterum, qua se montium unum palatim ad haun aegre praateriti: ceterum, qua se montium iugum paulatiun ad
planiore demittit, ingens vorago concursu cavata torrentium iter ruperat. 24 Ad hoc arborum rami alius alio inplicati et cohaerentes perpetuam obiecerant saepem. Desperatio igitur ingens, adeo ut vix
lacrimis abstinerent, incesserat. 25 Praceipue obscuritas terrori erat: nam etiamsi qua sidera internitebant, continenti fronde tectae arbores conspicere prohibebant.
Ne aurium quidem usus supererat, silvas quatiente vento, qui Tandem expectata lux omnia qua terribilior sonum edebat. 26 circumiri brevi spatio poterat eluvies, et sibi quisque dux itineris coeperat fieri. 27 Evadunt ergo in editum verticem: ex quo hostium
statione conspecta strenue armati a tergo se ostendunt nihil tale statione conspecta strenue armati a tergo se ostendunt nihil tale
metuentibus, quorum pauci, qui congredi ausi erant, caesi sunt. 28 Itaque hinc morientium gemitus, hinc ad suos recurrentium miserabilis facies integros quoque, antequam discrimen experirentur, in fugam avertit. 29 Fremitu deinde in castra, quis Craterus praesidebat, inlato ad occupandas angustias, in quibus pridie
haeserant, miles educitur. 30 Simul et Philotas cum Polypercont Amyntaque et Coeno diversum iter ingredi iussus alium terorrem
intulit barbaris 31 Undique ergo Macedonum armis fulgentibus intulit barbaris. 31 Undique ergo Macedonum armis fulgentibus ancipiti malo oppressi memorabile tamen proelium edunt. Ut opinor, 32 Nudi conplectebantur armatos et ingenti corporum mole secum terram detrahentes ipsorum telis plerosque fodiebant. 33
Ariobarzanes tamen XL ferme equitibus et $V$ milibus peditur stipatus per mediam aciem Macedonum cum multo suorum atque hostium sanguine erupit, Persepolim urbem, caput regionis, occupare
in my account of Elis [64] the story of the Taraxippos at Olympia, and it is likely that the race-course of Apollo too may possibly harm
here and there a driver, for the superhuman force [daimōn] in every activity of man bestows, either better fortune or worse. But the raceCourse itself is not of a nature to
10.37.5] The plain from Cirrha is altogether bare, and the habitants will not plant trees, either because the land is under a curse, or because they know that the ground is useless for growing
rees. It is said that to Cirrha ... and they say that from Cirrha the rees. It is said that to Cirrha $\ldots$ and they say that from Cirrha the
place received its modern name. Homer, however, in the Iliad, [65] nd similarly in the hymn to Apollo, [66] calls the city by its ancient me of Crisa. Afterwards the people of Cirrha behaved wickedly owards Apollo; especially in appropriating some of the god's land.
10.37.6] So the Amphiktyones determined to make war on the Cirrhaeans, put Cleishenenes tyrant of Sikyon at the whar on the rmy, and brought over Solon from Athens to give them advice. rmy, and brought over Solon from Athens to give them advice.
They asked the oracle about victory, and the Pythian priestess They asked
ceplied:-

You will not take and throw down the tower of this city,
Until on my precinct shall dash the wave
Of bue-eyed Amphitrite, roaring over the wined
Of bue-eyed Amphitrite, roaring over the winedark sea.
o Solon induced them to consecrate to the god the territory of
Cirrha, in order that the sea might become neighbor to the precinct of
Apollo Apollo.
10.37.7]
$[0.37 .7]$ Solon invented another trick to outwit the Cirrhaeans. The werted the river Pleistos ran along a channel to the city, and Solon anst the besiother direction. When the Cirrhaeans still held out to the Pleistos roots of hellebore, and when he perceived that water held enough of the drug he diverted it back again into its channel. The Cirrhaeans drank without stint of the water, and those on the vall, seized with obstinate diarrhoea, deserted their posts, $10.37 .8]$ and the Amphiktyones captured the city. They exacted
unishment from the Cirrhaeans on behalf of the god, and Cirrha is he port of Delphi. Its notable sights include a temple of Apollo, rrtemis and Leto, with very large images of Attic workmanship.
drasteia has been set up y the Cirrheans in the same place, but Adrasteia has been set up by the Cirre.
she is not so large as the other images.

## OZOLIAN LOCRIS, MYTHICAL HISTORY <br> 0.381 The territory people of Lokris that is called Ozolian adjoin

 hokis opposite Cirrha. I have heard various stories about the surname of these people of Lokris, all of which I will tell my readers restheus, son of Deukalion, king of the land, had a bitch that gavebirth to a stick instead of a puppy Orestheus buried the stict he spring, it is said, a vine grew. from it, and from the branches he spring, it it said, a vine grew from it, ane.
(zoi) of the stick the people got their name.
[10.38.2] Others believe that Nessus, ferrying on the Evenus, was wounded by Herakles, but not killed on the spot, making his escape othis country; when he died his body rotted unburied, imparting a
foul stench to the atmosphere of the place. The third story says that he exhalations from a certain river, and its very water, have a peculiar smell; the fourth, that asphodel grows in great abundance nd when in flower $[\ldots]$ because of the smell.
10.38.3] Another story says that the first dwellers here were aboriginals, but as yet not knowing how to weave garments the untanned skins of beasts, turning outwards the shaggy side of the
skins for the sake of a good appearance. So their own skins were sure to smell as badly as did the hides.
MPHISSA
0.38.4 One hundred and twenty stades away from Delphi is Amphissa, the largest and most renowned city of Lokris. The people
told that they are Aetolians, being ashamed of the name of Ozolian Support is given to this view by the fact that, when the Roman
emperor [67] drove the Aetolians from their homes in order to emperor [67] drove the Aetolians from their homes in order to foun
the new city of Nikopolis, the greater part of the people went away mphissa. The originated, however, from the people of Lokris. It is


 iv ס' $^{\prime}$ icoß






He had never given anything to Serapion, one of the youths that layed at ball with him, because he did not ask of him, till one day coming to Serapion's turn to play, he still threw the balt to othe
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 that he was very liberal to him afterwards. One Proteas, a pleasant, jesting, drinking fellow, having incurred his displeasure, with tears, which at last prevailed, and Alexander declared he was fiends with him.
"I cannot believe it," said Proteas, "unless you first give me some pledge of it." The king understood his meaning, and presently ordered five talents to be given him. How magnificent he was in enriching his friends, and those who attended on his person, appear a letter which Olympias wrote to him, where she tells him he For now," said she, "you make them all equal to kings, you give hem power and opportunity of making many friends of their own, din the meantime you leave yourself destitute." She often wrote $m$ to this purpose, and he never communicated her letters to by, whom he permitted, as his custom was, to read it along with him it then as soon as he had done, he took off his ring, and set the sea man in Darius's court, had a son who was already governor of a rovince. Alexander bestowed another upon him that was better, he, owever, modestly refused, and told him, instead of one Darius, he ent the way to make many Alexanders.





 fapparel 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 tate or war, not indulging her busy temper, and when she fell out with him on this account, he bore her ill-humour very patiently. Nas more, when he read a long letter from Antipater full of accusations gainst her, "Antipater," he said, "does not know that one tear of a mother effaces a thousand such letters as these."







festinans. 34 Sed a custodibus urbis exclusus consecutis strenue hostibus cum omnibus fugae comitibus renovato proelio cecidit. Craterus quoque raptim agmine acto supervenit.

Caput V
Rex eodem loco, quo hostium copias fuderat, castra communit. Quamquam enim undique fugat hostes victoriam concesserant, abruperant iter, sensimque et caute progrediendum erat iam no hostium, sed locorum fraude suspecta. 2 Procedenti ei literae redduntur a Tiridate, custode pecuniae regiae, indicantes eos, qui in
ubbe essent, audito e eius adventu diripere velle thesauros properaret urbe essent, audito eius adventu diripere velle thesauros: properaret
occupare thesauros dimissos: expeditum ite esse, quamquam Araxes occupare thesauros dimissos: expeditum iter esse, quamquam Araxes
amnis interfluat. 3 Nullam virtutem regis iustius quam celeritatem laudaverim: relictis pedestribus copiis tota nocte vectus cum equitibus itineris tanto spatio fatigatis ad Araxen prima luce pervenit
4 Vici erant in propincuo: quibus dirutis pontem ex materia eorum 4 Vici erant in propinquo: quib
subditis saxis strenue induxit.
5 lamque haud procul urbe erant, cum miserabile agmen, inter pauca fortunae exempla memorandum, regi occurrit. Captivi erant Graeci Alios pedibus, quosdam manibus auribusguue amputatis inustisque Alios pedibus, quosdam manibus auribusque amputatis inustisque
barbararum litterarum notis in longum sui ludibrium reservaverant: et, cum se quoque alienae dicioonis esse cernerent, volentes regi videbantur nec quicquam in illis praeter vocem poterat adgnosci. Plures igitur lacrimas commovere, quam profuderant ipsi: quippe in tam multiplici variaque fortuna singulorum intuentibus similes quidem, sed tamen dispares poenas, quis maxime miserabilis esset,
liquere non poterat. 8 Ut vero Iovem ill tandem Graeciae ultorem aperuisse oculos conclamavere, omnes pari supplicio adfecti sibi videbantur. Rex abstersis, quas profuderat, lacrimis bonum habere animum iubet: visuros urbes suas coniugesque et liberos. Castra inde
duo ab urbe stadia communit. 9 Graeci excesserant vallo deliberaturi, quid potissimum a rege peterent: cumque aliis sedem in Asia rogare, aliis reverti domos placeret, Euctemon Cymaeus ita locutus ad eos fertur: 10 ' Ii, qui modo etiam ad opem petendam ex tenebris
carcere procedere erubuimus, ut nunc est, supplicia nostra carcere procedere erubuimus, ut nunc est, supplicia nostra-
quorum nos pudeat magis an paeniteat, incertum est - ostentare Graeciae velut laetum spectaculum cupimus. 11 Atqui optime miserias ferunt, qui abscondunt, nec ulla tam familiaris est infelicibus patria, quam solitudo et status prioris oblivio. Nam qui
multum in suorum misericordia ponunt, ignorant, quam celeriter lacrimae inarescant. 12 Nemo fideliter diligit, quem fastidit: nam et calamitas querula est et superba felicitas. Ita suam quisque fortunam in consilio habet, cum de aliena deliberat. Nisi mutuo miseri fortunatos semper parem quaerere? 13 Obsecro vos, olim vita defuncti quaeramus locum, in quo haec semesa obruamus. Grati prorsus coniugibus, quas iuvenes duximus, revertemur! Liberi in
flore et aetatis et rerum adgnoscent patres ergastuli detrimenta! quota pars nostri tot obire terras potest? Procul Europa in ultima quota pars nostrit tot obire terras potest? Procul Europa in ultima
Orientis relegati, senes, debiles, maiore membrorum parte mulcati tolerabimus scilictet, quae armatos et victores fatigarunt. 15 Coniuges deinde, quas captis fors et necessitas unicum solacium adplicuit,
parvosque liberos trahimus nobiscum an relinquimus? 16 Cum his venientes nemo adgnoscere volet: relinquemus ergo extemplo praesentia pignora, cum incertum sit, an visuri simus illa, quae petimus? Inter hos latendum est, qui nos miseros nosse coeperunt.' Neminem pium habitu corporis suos aestimaturum, utique saevitia hostis, non natura calamitosos. Dignum esse omni malo, qui erubesceret fortuito: tristem enim de mortalitate ferre sententiam et quod ipsi numquam optare ausi forent, offerre: partiam, coniuges, liberos et, quidquid homines vel vita aestimant vel morte redimunt. 19 Quin illi ex hoc carcere erumperent? alium domi esse caeli
haustum, alium lucis aspectum. Mores, sacra, linguae commerciu hetiam a barbaris expeti: quae ingenita ipsi omissuri sint sua sponte, non ob aliud tam calamitosi, quam quod illis carere coacti essent. 20
said that the name of the city is derived from Amphissa, daughter of Macar, son of Aeolus, and that Apollo was her lover
10.38.5] The city is beautifully constructed, and it
 im was buried, they say, his wife Gorge, daughter of Oineus. On the itadel of Amphissa is a temple of Athena, with a standing image of ronze, brought, they say, from Troy by Thoas, being part of the
poils of that city. But I cannot accept the story. spoils of that city. But canno
$[10.38 .6]$ For I have stated in an earlilier part of my work [68] that two
Samias Rheces son Samians, Rhoecus, son of Philaios, and Theodoros, son of Telekles, liscovered how to found bronze most perfectly, and were the first casters of that metal. I have found extant no work of Theodoros, at
east no work of bronze. But in the sanctuary of Ephesian Artemis, as you enter the building containing the pictures, there is a stone wall above the altar of Artemis called Goddess of the First Seat. Among he images that stand upon the wall is a statue of a woman at the en work 71 A mere glance shows that this image is ol ougher workmanship, than the Athena in Amphissa. The Amphissians also celebrate mysteries in honor of the Boy Kings, as re do not agree; some say they are the Dioskouroi, others the Kouretes, and others, who pretend to have fuller knowledge, hold them to be the Cabeiri.

MYONIA
[10.38.8] These people of Lokris also possess the following cities. Farther inland from Amphissa, and above it, is Myonia, thirty stades
istant from it Its poople ret distant from it. Its people are hose whodedicated the shield to Zeus altar of the Gracious Gods. The sacrifices to the Gracious Gods are offered at night, and their rule is to consume the meat on the spot efore sunrise. Beyond the city is a precinct of Poseidon, called Poseidonium, and a temple of
disappeared before my time.

## oeantheia

10.38.9] These, then, live above Amphissa. On the coast is Oiantheia, neighbor to which is Naupaktos. The others, but not Amphissa, are under the government of the Achaeans of Patrae, the seror Augustus having granted them this privilege. In Oiantheia is of cypress trees mixed with pines; in the grove is a temple of of cypress trees mixed with piness; in the grove is a temple of
Artemis with an image. The paintings on the walls I found had heir color with time, and nothing of them was still left worth seeing vaUPACTUS
[10.38.10] I gather that the city got its name from a woman or a
 nder the sons of Aristomakhos built here the vessels in which they cossed to the Peloponnesus, thus, it is said, giving to the place its
ame. [69] My account of Naupaktos, how the Athenians took it from the people of Lokris and gave it as a home to those who eceded to Ithome at the time of the earthquake at Lacedaemon, and ow, after the Athenian disaster at Aigospotamoi, the Lacedaemonians expelled the Messenians from Naupaktos, all this 1 .
ave fully related in my history of Messenia. [70] When the Mave fully related in my history of Messenia. [7]] When the It Naupaktos.
10.38.11] The
0.38 .11 The epic poem called the Naupactia by the Greeks is by nost people assigned to a poet of Miletus, while Kharon, the son of yyhes, says that it is a composition of Karkinos of Naupaktos. I am reason could there be in giving the name of Naupactia to to what reason could there be in giving the name of Naupactia to a poe
bout women composed by an author of Miletus? 10.38.12] Here there is on the coasta temple of Poseidon with a standing image made of bronze; there is also a sanctuary of Artemis
with an image of white marble, She is in the attitude of one hurling a avelin, and is surnamed Aetolian. In a cave Aphrodite is worshipped, to whom prayers are offered for various reasons, and

 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 Teian, wore silver nails in his shoes, that Leonnatus employed
several camels only to bring him powder out of Egyp 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 carried about servants everywhere with
them to rub them and wait upon them in their chambers, he reproved them in gentle and reasonable terms, telling them he wondered that
they who had been engaged in so many single battles did not know they who hat been engaged in so many single battles did not
by experience, that those who labour sleep more sweetly and by experience, that those who labour sleep more sweetly and
soundly than those who are laboured for, and could fail to see by comparing the Persians' manner of living with their own that it was
the most abject and slavish condition to be voluptuous, but the most noble and royal to undergo pain and labour.









 | «عoxappls. |
| :--- |
| He argued |

He argued with them further, how it was possible for any one who preended 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 le 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 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 [and had it dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.]






 Alexander exposed his person to danger in this manner, with the 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 atiently, saying it became a king well to do good to others, and be vil spoken of.
eantime, on the smallest occasions that called for a show of tenderness and respect.

Se certe rediturum ad penates et in patriam tantoque beneficio. regis usurum: si quos contubernii liberorumquue, quos servitus coëgisset adgnoscere, amor detineret, relinquerent, quibus nihil patria cariu
est. 21 Pauci huius sententiae fuere: ceteros consuetudo, natura potior, vicit. Consenserunt, petendum esse a rege, ut aliquam ipsis attribueret sedem. 22 C ad hoc electi sunt: quos Alexander ratus, quod ipse praestare cogitabat, petituros, 'Iumenta', inquit, 'adsignari, quae vos veherent, et singulis vestrum milia denarium dari iussi.
Cum redieritis in Graeciam, praestabo, ne qui statum suum, si haec Cum redieritis in Graeciam, prastabo, ne qui statum suum, si haec
calamitas absit, vestro credat esse meliorem.' 23 Illi obortis lacrimis terram intuebantur nec aut erigere vultus aut loqui audebant: tandem
rege tristitiae causam exigente Euctemon similia iis, quae in consilio rege tristitiae causam exigente Euctemon similia iis, quae in consilio
dixerat, respondit. 24 Atque ille non fortunae solum eorum, sed etiam paenitentiae misertus terna milia denarium singulis dari iussit denae vestes adiectae sunt et armenta cum pecoribus ac frumento
data, ut col serique attributus iis ager posset.

## aput VI

Postero die convocatos duces copiarum docet, nullam infestiorem mens agmisse, quan regiam veterum Persidis regum. Hinc illa impium intulisse bellum. Excidio illius parentandum esse maioribus. 2 lamque barbari deserto oppido, qua quemque metus agebat, difflygerant, cum rex phalangem nihiil cunctatus inducit. Multas urbe acceeperat, sed urbis divitiae huius vicere praeterita. 3 In hanc totits Persidis opes congesserant barbari: aurum argentumque cumulatum erat, vestis ingens modus, supellex non ad usum, sed ad ostentationem luxus conparata. 4 Itaque inter ipsos victores ferro et cum omnia, quae recipiebant, capere non possent, iam res non occupabantur, sed aestimabantur. 5 Lacerabant regias vestes, ad se quisque partem trahentes: dolabris pretiosae artis vasa caedeba
nihil neque intactum erat neque integrum ferebaur nihil neque intactum erat neque integrum ferebatur: abrupta
simulacrorum membra, ut quisque avellerat, trahebat. 6 Neque avaritia solum, sed etiam crudelitas in capta urbe grassata est: auro argentoque onusti vilia captivorum corpora trucidabant, passimque
obvii caedebantur, quos ante pretium sui miserabilis fecerat. 7 Multi ergo hostium manus voluntaria morte estium induti e muris semetipsos cum coniugibus ac liberis in pracecps iacientes. Quidam ignes, quod paulo post facturus host Tandem suos rex corporibus et cultum feminarum abstinenere iussit Ingens captivae pecuniae modus traditur, prope ut fidem excedat. 9 Ceterum aut de aliis quoque dubitabimus aut credemus in huius urbis gaza fuisse $C$ et XX milia talentum: ad quae vehenda - namque ad
usus belli secum portare decreverat - iumenta et camelo et a Susis et a Babylone contrahi iussit. 10 Accessere ad hanc pecuniae summam captis Parsagadis sex milia talentum. Cyrus [Parsagada] urbem condiderat: quam Alexandro praefectus eius Cobares tradidit relictis Nicarchiden tueri iubet. *** Tiridati quoque, qui gaza tradiderat, servatus est honos, quem apud Dareum habuerat: magnaque exercitus parte et inpedimentis ibi relictis Parmeniona expedita manu interiorem Persidis regionem sub ipsum Vergiliarum sidus petiit multisque imbribus et prope intolerabili tempestate vexatus procedere tamen, quo intenderat, perseveravit. 13 Ventu erat ad iter perpetuis obsitum nivibus, quas frigoris vis gelu militem terrebant, humanarum rerum terminos se videre credentem. Omnia vasta atque sine ullo humani cultus vestigio attoniti intuebantur et, antequam lux quoque et caelum ipsos deficerent, equo desiluit pedesque per nives et concretam glaciem ingredi equo desiluit pedesque per nives et concretam glaciem ingredi
coepit. Erubuerunt non sequi primum amici, deinde copiarum duces ad ultimum milites: primusque rex dolabra glaciem perfringens iter sibi fecit, exemplum regis ceteri imitati sunt. 15 Tandem passim errantes pecorum greges repperere. At incolae, qui sparsis
specially by widows who ask the goddess to grant them marriage，
10．38．13］The sanctuary riginally built by a a private Ascron called Phandysios For he t was complaint of the eyes，and when he was almost blind the god at Epidauros sent to him the poetess Anyte，who brought with her a sealed tablet．The woman thought that the god＇s appearance was a her own hands a sealed tablet；so sailing to Noupattos she ordered her own hands a sealed tablet；so sailing to Naupaktos she ordered
Phalysios to take away the seal and read what was written．He did Phatysios to the away
not think it possible to read the writing with his eyes in such a condition，but hoping to get some benefitit from Asklepios he took
away the seal when he had looked at the wax he recovered his sig way the seal．When he had looked at the wax he recovered his sig and gave to Any
staters of gold．
ttp：／／chs．harvard．edu／CHS／article／display／589





 রvov，aìto
tearing Peucestes was bitten by a bear，he wrote to him that he too it unkindly he should send others notice of it and not make him how you do，and whether any of your companions forsook you whe you were in danger，that I may punish them．＂He sent Hephaestion， who was absent about some business，word how，while they were
ghhting for their diversion with an ichneumon，Craterus was by fighting for their diversion with an ichneumon，Craterus was by
hance run through both thighs with Perdicasas＇s javelin．And upon Peucestes＇s recovery from a fit of sickness，he sent a letter of thanks his physician Alexippus．When Craterus was ill，he saw a vision him do so likewise．










Craterus with hellebore，partly out of an anxious concern for him， nd partly to give him a a caution how he used that medicine．He was issus，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 citiz If Aegae，got his name enrolled among the sick，though he ailed young woman named Telesippa，and wanted to go along with her to he sea－side．Alexander inquired to whom the woman belonged，and being told she was a free courtesan，＂I will assist you，＂said he to resents or persuasions；but we must use no other means，because she is free－born．＂






 ふїüßスそтov．
is surprising to consider upon what slight occasions he would write letters to serve his friends．As when he wrote one in which he ave order to search for a youth that belonged to Seleucus，who was n away into Cilicia；and in another thanked and commanded to Megabyzus，concerning a slave that had taken sanctuary in a emple，gave direction that he should not meddle with him while he him leave to seize him． It is reported of him that when he first sat in judgment upon capital
tuguriis habitabant，cum se callibus inviis saeptos esse credidissent， ut conspexere hostium agmen，interfectis，qui comitari fugientes non colloquia captivorum palatim feritate mitigata tradider se regi in deditos gravius consultum．
17 V Vastis
． 17 Vastatis inde agris Persidis vicisque conpluribus redactis in potestatem ventum est in Mardorum gentem bellicosam et multum a
ceteris Persis cultu vitae abhorrentem Specus in mantibus fodiunt ceteris Persis cultu vitae abhorrentem．Specus in montibus fodiunt，
quos seque ac conjuges et liberos condunt．Pecorum aut ferarum quos seque ac conjuges et tiberos condunt．Pecorum aut ferarum
carne vescuntur． 18 Ne feminis quidem pro naturae habitu molliora ingenia sunt：comae prominent hirtae，vestis super genua est． 19
Funda vinciunt frontem：hoc es ornamentum capitis te telum est Sed Funda vinciunt frontem：hoc et ornamentum capitis et telum est．
hanc quoque gentem idem fortunae impetus domuit． 20 Itaque hanc quoque gentem idem fortunae impetus domuit． 20 Itaque
tricesimo die，postquam a Persepoli profectus erat，eodem rediit． Dona deinde amicis ceterisquue pro cuiusque merito dedit：
Caput VII
1 Ceterum ingentia animi bona，illam indolem，qua omnes reges antecessit，illam in subeundis periculis constantiam，in rebus moliendis efficiendisque velocitatem，in deditos fidem，in captivos
clementiam，in voluptatibus permissis quoque et usitatis clementiam，in voluptatibus permissisis quoque e e usitais
temperantiam，haud tolerabili vini cupiditate foedavit． 2 Hoste aemulo regni，reparante cum maxime bellum，nuper subactis，quos
vicerat novermaue imperium aspernantibus de die inibat convivia vicerat，novumque imperium aspernantibus de die inibat convivia， quippe pelices，licentius quam decebat cum armato vivere adsue 3 Ex his una Thais，et ipsa temulenta，maximam apud omnes Graeco initurum gratiam adfirmat，si regiam Persarum iussisset incendi：
expectare hoc eos，quorum urbes barbari delessent 4 Fbrio scoto tanta re ferente sententiam unus et alter，et ipsi mero onerati， adsentiuntur．Rex quoque avidior fuit，quam patientior．＇Quin igitur， inquit，ulciscimur Gracciam et urbi faces subdimus？＇ 5 Omnes cui armati pepercerant．Primus rex ignem regiae iniecit，tum convivae et ministri pelicesque．Multa cedro aedificata erat reg convivae et ministri pelicesque．Multa cedro aedificata erat regia
quae celeriter igne concepto late fudit incendium． 6 Quod ubi exercitus，qui haud procul urbe tendebat，conspexit，fortuitum ratus
ad opem ferendam concurrit． 7 Sed ut ad vestibulum regiae ventum est，vident regem ipsum adhuc aggerentem faces．Omissa igitur， quam portaverant，aqua igni aptam materiem in incendium iacere coeperunt． 8 Hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis，unde to Graeciae terror，molita mille navium classem et exercitus，quibus Europa inundata est contabulato mari molibus perfossisque montibus，in quorum specus fretum inmissum est． 9 Ac ne tam longa habuere Macedonum reges，quas nunc habent Parthi：huius vestigium non inveniretur，nisi Araxes amnis ostenderet．Haud procul moenibu fluxerat：inde urbem fuisse XX stadiis distantem credunt magis quam comissabundo rege deletam esse．Itaque res in serium versa est et imperaverunt sibi，ut crederent illo potissimum modo fuisse delendam． 11 Ipsum，ut primum gravato ebrietate mentem quie reddidit，paenituisse constat et dixisse，maiores poenas Graecis coacti essent． 12 Postero die Lycio，titineris，quo Persidem intraverat， duci，XXX talenta dono dedit．
Hinc in regionem Mediae transiit，ubi supplementum novorum e utrisque Patan
persequi statuit．

## Vut VII

 Parthi eaque aestiva agentibus sedes est．Adire deinde Bactra decreverat，sed veritus，ne celeritate Alexandri occuparetur， am nullum intervallum adversus velcitatem eius satis longum videbatur．Itaque proelio magis quam fugae se praeparabat． 3 XXXcauses 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


 atrќc.
multitude of accusations were brought before , and so many proved true, that he lost his tenderness of heart, and the the also that were false, and especially when show himself cruel and inexorable, valuing his glory and











 Het volgende deel tomt van een andere website, nl. Plutarch.htm]
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 and gave them a largess of two thousand talents over and above the that was due to them. This long and painful pursuit of Darius hausted his soldiers so that most of them were rady chiefly for want of water. While they were in this distress, it appened that some Macedonians who had fetched water in skins he place where Alexander was, and seing him almost chouked with thirst, presently filled an helmet and offered it him. He asked them to hom they were carrying the water, they told him to their children, ding, that if his sife were but saved, it was no matter for them, the erished. Then he took the helmet into his hands, and looking bout, when he saw all those who were near him stretching their eturned it again th thanks without tasting a drop of it
 ' "20 0 ,
re, said he, "if 1 alone drink, the rest will be out of heart."
 wist hey had such a king they said they defied bo eariness and thirst, and looked upon themselves to be little less




milia peditum sequebantur, in quibus Graecorum erant IIII milia, fid illi erga regem ad ultimum invicta. 4 Funditorum quoque et
sagittariorum manus IIII milia expleverat: praeter hos III milia sagittariorum manus IIII milia expleverat: praeter hos III milia
CCC equites erant, maxime Bactrianorum Bessus praeerat Bactrianae regionis praefectus. 5 Cum hoc agmine paulum declinavit via militari iussis praecedere lixis inpedimentorumque custodibus. 6 Consilio deinde advocato, 'Si cum ignavis', inquitt, 'et pluris qualemcumque vitam honesta morte aestimantibus fortuna me
iunxisset, tacerem potius, quam frustra verba consumerem. 7 Sed maiore, quam vellem, documento et virtutem vestram et fidem expertus magis etiam coniti debeo, ut dignus talibus amicis sim, quam dubitare, an vestri similes adhuc sitis. 8 Ex tot milibus, qui sub imperio fuerunt meo, bis me victum, bis fugientem persecuti
estis. 9 Fides vestra et constantia, ut regem me esse credam, facit Proditores et transfugae in urbibus meis regnant: non, hercule, quia tanto honore digni habentur, sed ut praemiis eorum vestri sequi, dignissimi, quibus, si ego non possim, di pro me gratiam referant. Et, mehercule, referent. 10 Nulla erit tam surda posterita, nulla tam ingrata fama, quae non in caelum vos debitis laudibus agitiassem, vestra tamen virtute fretus obviam issem hosti 11
and Quousque enim in regno exulabo et per fines imperii mei fugia externum et advenam regem, cum liceat experto belli fortunam aut reparare, quae amisi, aut honesta morte defungi? 12 Nisi forte satius
est expectare victoris arbitrium et Mazaei et Mithrenis exemplo precarium accipere regnum nationis unius, ut iam malit ille gloriae suae quam irae obsequi. 13 Nec di siverint, ut hoc decus mei capitis aut demere mihh quisquamam aut condonare possit: nec ego hoc imperium vivus amittam, idemque erit regni mei, qui spiritus, finis
Si hic animus, si haec lex, nulli non parta libertas est: 14 nemo e vobis fastidium Macedonum, nemo vultum superbum ferre cogetur Sua cuique dextera aut ultionem tot malorum pariet aut finem. 15 Equidem, quam versabilis fortuna sit, documentum ipse sum ne
inmerito mitiores vices eius expecto. Sed si iusta ac pia bella di aversantur, fortibus tamen viris licebit honeste mori. 16 Per ego vo decora maiorum, qui totius Orientis regna cum memorabili laude tulit, per tot navium classes in Graeciam missas, per tot tropaea regum oro et obtestor, ut nobilitate vestra gentisque dignos spiritus capiatis, ut eadem constantia animorum, qua praeterita tolerastis, fullerit: 17 me certe in perpetu Caput IX
dicente Dareo prasentis periculi species omnium sim corda animosque horrore perstrinxerat, nee cuut consilium suppetebat
aut vox: cum Artapazus, vetustissims amicorum, quem hospitem fuisse Philippi supra diximus, 'Nos vero', inquit, 'pretiosissimam vestem induti armisque, quanto maximo cultu possumus, adornati regem in aciem sequemur, ea quidem mente, ut victoriam speremus, Nabarzanes, qui in eodem consilio erat, cum Besso inauditi antea facinoris societate inita regem suum per milites, quibus ambo praeerant, conprehendere et vincire decreverant, ea mente, ut, si victoris, magni profecto cepisse Dareum aestimaturi, sin autem eum effugere potuissent, interfecto Dareo regnum ipsi occuparent Iumque renovarent. 3 Hoc parricidium cum diu volutassen sententiam esse dicturum prima specie haudquaquam auribus tuis gratam. Sed medici quoque graviores morbos asperis remediis curan et gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, iactura, quidquid servari potest,
redimit. 4 Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem faciss suade sed redimit. 4 Ego tamen, non ut damnum quidem facias, suadeo, sed ut
te acegnum tuum salubri ratione conserves. Dis adversis bellum inimus, et pertinax fortuna Persas urgere non desinit. Novis inititis et ominibus opus est. Auspicium et imperium interim aliit trade, qui tamdiu rex appelletur, donec Asia decedat hostis, victor deinde intacta sunt, Indi et Sacae in tua potestate: tot populit tot exercitus, tot

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { But though they were all equally cheerful and willing, yet not above } \\
& \text { thre-score horse were able, it is said, to keep up, and to fall in with } \\
& \text { Alexander upon the enemy's camp, where they rode over abundance }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { three-score horse were able, it is sald, to keep up, and to tall in with } \\
& \text { Alexander upon the enemy's camp, where they rode over abundance } \\
& \text { of gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by agreat }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Of gold and silver that lay scattered about, and passing by a great } \\
& \text { nany chariots full of women that wandered here and there for want }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { many chariots ffill of woment that wandered here end there for want } \\
& \text { of drivers, they endeavored to overtake the first of those that fled, in }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { topes to meet with Darius among them. } \\
& \text { and at last. fter much trouble }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { opes to meet with Darius among them. } \\
& \text { nd d last, after much trouble, they found him lying in a chariot, } \\
& \text { and }
\end{aligned}
$$

ounded all over with darts, just at the point of death. However, he
lesired they would give him some drink, and when he had drunk a

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ecome the east extremity of his ill fortune to oreceive e enefits an } \\
& \text { not be bable to return them. "But latexander." said he. "whose }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\text { not be able to return them. "But Alexander," said he, "whose } \text { kindness to my mother, my wife, and my children I hope the gods }
$$

vil recompense, will doubtless thank you for your humanity to me

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { right hand,', } \\
& \hline \text { TOŪTT' }
\end{aligned}
$$

vith which words he took hold of Polystratus's hand and died. Whe
nd taking off his own cloak, threw it upon the body to cover it.
ome time afterwards, when Bessus was taken, he ordered him to be

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { torn in pieces in this manner. They fastened him to a couple of trees } \\
& \text { which were bound down so as to meet, and then being let loose, with }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { great force returned to their places, each of them carry } \\
& \text { f the body along with it that was tied to it. }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Dariu's body was laid in state, and sent to his mother with pomp } \\
& \text { suitable to his quality. His brother Exathres, Alexander received intc } \\
& \text { the number of his intimate friends. }
\end{aligned}
$$










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 tan the Eaxine, the waurd learn nothing of certainty concerning it, further
equitum peditumque milia ad renovandas vires parata habent, ut beluarum ritu in perniciem non necessariam? Fortium ruimus magis mottem contericiem non necessanian. Fortium virorum e magis mortem contemnere, quam odisse vitam. 7 Saepe taed
laboris ad vilitatem sui conpelluntur ignavi. At nihil virtus inexpertum omittit. Atqui ultimum omnium mors est: ad quam non
pigre ire satis est. 8 Proinde si Bactra pigre ire satis est. 8 Proinde si Bactra, quod tutissimum receptaculun
est, petimus praefectum regionis eis est, petimus, praefectum regionis eius Bessum regem temporis gratia
statuamus: rebus conpositis iusto regi tibi fiduciarum restituet imperium.' 9 Haud mirum est Dareum non temperasse animo, quamquam, tam impiae voci quantum nefas subesset, latebat. Itaque, Pessimum', inquit, 'mancipium, repperisti exoptatum tibi tempus, quo parricidium aperires! 11 strictoque acinace interfecturus eur
videbatur, ni propere Bessus Bactrianique, quasi deprecarentur, tristium specie, ceterum, si perseveraret, vincturi, circumstetissent.
11 Nabarzanes interim elapsus, mox et Bessus . onsecutus; copias, 11 Nabarazanes interim elapsus, mox et Bessus consecutus: copias, quibus praeerant, a cetero exercitiu secedere iubent secreves sent
consilium. 12 Artabazus convenientem praesenti fortunae sententian orsus mitigare Dareum, temporum identidem admonens, coepit: ferret aequo animo qualiumcumque, suorum tamen vel stultitiam vel errorem. Instare iam Alexandrum gravem, etiamsi omnes praesto
essent: quid futurum, si persecuti fugam ipsius alienentur? 13 Aegre paruit Artabazo et, quamquam movere castra statuerat, turbatic tamen omnium animis eodem in loco substitit. Sed attonitus maestitia simul et desperatione tabernaculo se inclusit. 14 Ergo in nec in commune, ut ante, consulebatur. 15 Dux Graecorum militum Patron arma capere suos iubet paratosque esse ad exequendum imperium: 16 Persae secesserant: Bessus cum Bactrianis erat temptabaycque Persas entibus instarent, pericula ostentans. Persarum
simulque, quae manent omnium eadem fere fuit vox, nefas esse deseri regem. 17 Inter haec Artabazus omnibus imperatoriis fungebatur officiis: ille Persarum tabernacula circumire, hortari, monere nunc singulos, nunc universo
non ante destitit, quam satis constaret imperata facturos. Idem aegre a Dareo inpetravit, ut cibum caperet animumque rebus adverteret. Caput X
as et Nabarzanes olim agitatum scelus exequi statuunt regni cupiditate accensi: Dareo autem incolumi tantas opes sperare non poterant. 2 Quippe in illis gentibus regum eximia maiestas est: sequitur adversam. 3 Inflabat impios animos regio cui praeerant armis virisque et spatio locorum nulli earum gentium secunda: tertiam partem Asiae tenet, multitudo iuniorum exercitus, quos lexandrum sperrebatt inde vires imperii repetitus, si regii ii potiri contigisset. 5 Diu omnibus cogitatis placuit per milites Bactrianos ad omne obsequium destinatos regem conprehendere eum: 6 si, id quod timebant, proditionem aspernatus esset Cerisur Dareum et Bactra cum suarum gentium manu petituri. 7 Ceterum propalam conprehendi Dareus non poterat tot Persarum milibus laturis opem regi: Graecorum quoque fides timebatur. 8 Itaque quod mime decrevat terim, qui Persas sollicitarent, mittuntur. 9 Hinc spe, hinc metu militares animos versant: ruinae rerum subdere illos capita, in perriciem trahi, cum Bactra pateant exceptura eos bonis et opulentia supervenit sive regis iussu sive sua sponte adfirmans, mitigatum esse Dareum et eundem illis amicitiae gradum patere apud regem. 11 Illi lacrimantes nunc purgare se, nunc Artabazum orare, ut causam ipsorum tueretur precesque perferret. 12 Sic peracta nocte sub lucis
exortum Bessus et Nabarzanes cum Bactrianis militibus in vestibulo pratorii aderant, titulum sollemnis officii occulto sceleri praeferentes. Dareus signo ad eundum dato currum pristino more
conscendit. 13 Nabarzanes ceterique parriciciae procumbentes humi, 2.. 13 Nabarzanes ceterique paric rocumbentes humi, lacrimas etiam paenitentiae indices profuderunt: adeo humanis
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 as the





 Here the barbarians, unexpectedly meeting with those who led 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, men, women, and children, without mercy, if they did not restore him. But on 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 hands, ho not only treated hem
horse to those who took him.









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 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 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 contrived his habit that it was not so flaunting a
and magnificent than the other.




 mixap




 $\delta i \omega \xi \varepsilon v$ हП.
iapooís.
t first he wore this habit only when he conversed with the Jarbarians, or within doors, among his intimate ffiends and
ingeniis parata simulatio est. 14 Preces deinde suppliciter admotaa Dareum, natura simplicem et mitem, non credere modo, quae
adfirmabant, sed flere etiam coëgerunt. 15 Ac ne tum quidem adfirmabant, sed flere etiam coëgerunt. 15 Ac ne tum quidem
cogitati sceleris paenituit cum inturentur cogitati sceleris paenituit, cum inturentur qualem et regem et virum
fallerent. Ille quidem, securus periculi, quod instabat, Alexandri manus, quas solas timebat, effugere properabat.
Caput XI
1 Patron autem, Graecorum dux, praceipit suis, ut arma, quae in sarcinis antea ferebantur, induerent, ad omne imperium suum parati et intenti. 2 Ipse currum regis sequebatur occasioni imminens adloquendi eum, quippe Bessi facinus praesenserat. Sed Bessus id
ipsum metuens, custos verius quam comes, a curru non recedebat. 3 Diu ergo Patron cunctatus ac saepius sermone revocatus, inter fidem timoremque haesitans, regem intuebatur. 4 Qui ut tandem advertit oculos, Bubacen spadonem inter proximos currum sequentem
percontari iubet, numquid ipsi velit dicere. Patron, se vero, sed percontari iubet, numquid ipsi velit dicere. Patron, se vero, se
remotis arbitris loqui velle cum eo, respondit iussuscue propi accedere sine interprete - nam haud rudis Graecae linguae Dareus
erat, -5 'Rex', inquit, 'ex L milibus Graecorum supersumus pauci, erat, - -5 'Rex', inquit, 'ex L milibus Graecorum supersumus pauci,
omnis fortunae tuae comites et in hoc tuo statu idem, qui florente te omnis fortunae tuae comites et in hoc tuo statu idem, qui florente te
fuimus, quascumque terras elegeris, pro patria et domesticis rebus petituri. 6 Secundae adversaeque res tuae copulavere nos tecum. Per petituri. 6 Secundae adversaequer res tuae copulavere nos
hanc fidem invictam oro et obtestor, in nostris castris tibi tabernaculum statue, nos corporis tui custodes esse patiaris.
Omisimus Graeciam, nulla Bactra sunt nobis: spes omnis in to utinam etiam ceteris esset. Plura dici non attinet. Custodiam corporis tui externus et alienigena non deposcerem, si crederem alium posse praestare.' 7 Bessus quamquam erat Gracei sermonis ignarus, tamen
stimulante conscientia indicium profecto Patronem detul ise stimulante conscientia indicium profecto Patronem detulisse
credebat: et interpreti relato sermone Graeci exempta dubitatio Dareus autem, quantum ex vultu concipi poterat, haud sane territus percontari Patrona causam consilii, quod adferret, coepit. 8 Ille non
ultra differendum ratus, 'Besss', tibi: in ultimo discrimine es fortunae tuae et vitae: hic dies aut parricicisis aut tibi futurus ultimus.' 9 Et Patron quidem egregian conservati regis gloriam tulerat. 10 Eludant me licet, quibus forte temere him nexuotia voriagique persuasum est: equicem fato
crediderim nexuque causarum latentium et multo ante destinatarum suum quemque ordinem inmutabili lege percurrere. 11 Dareus certe respondit, quamquam sibi Graecorum militum fides nota sit, numquam tamen a popularibus suis recessurum. Difficilius sibi esse malle, quam transfugam fieri. Sero se perire, si silvum esse milite suin olllent. 12 Patron desperata regis salute ad eos, quibus praeerat,
rediit, omnia pro fide experiri paratus.

Caput XII
1 At Bessus occidendi protinus regis impetum ceperat. Sed veritus, ne gratiam Alexandri, nisi ivivum eum tradidissett, inire non posset,
dilato in proximam noctem dilato in proximam noctem sceleris consilio agere regi gratias incip
quod perfidi hominis insidias iam Alexandri opes spectantis, prudenter cauteque vitasset. Donum eum hosti laturum fuisse reg caput. 2 Nec mirari hominem mercede conductum omnia habere venalia: sine pignore, sine lare, terrarum orbis exulem, ancipite hostem ad nutum licentium circumferri. 3 Purganti deinde
deosque patrios testes fidei suae invocanti Dareus vultu adsentiebaturr, haud dubius, quin vera deferrentur a G Graecis: sed eo
and
rerum ventum erat rerum ventum erat, ut tam periculosum esset non credere suis, quam
decipi 4 XXX milia erant decipi. 4 XXX milia erant, quorum inclinata in scelus levitas
timebatur: IIII milia Patron habebat: quibus si credidisset salu suam damnata popularium fide, parricidio excusationem videbat offerri. 5 Itaque praeoptabat inmerito quam iure violari. Besso tame insidiarum consilium purganti respondit, Alexandri sibi non minus
iustitiam quam virtutem esse perspectam. Falli eos, qui proditionis ab eo praemium expectent: violatae fidei neminem acriorem fore vindicem ultoremque. 6 lamque nox adpettbat, cum Persae more solito armis positis ad necessaria ex proximo vico ferenda discurrunt Dareus Artabazum acciri iubet, expositisque, quae Patron detulerat,
rief, but they so respected his other virtues and good qualities that hey 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 splinter 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
ood while afterwards. And yet all this could not hinder him from exposing himself freely to any dangers, insomuch that he passed the iver Orexartes, which he took to be the Tanais, and putting the seythians to flight, followed them abov.

 ounoíkpltos kai Avt lvévns kai 'Iotpos








 Here many claim that the Amazon came to give him a visit. So Clitarchus, Polyclitus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister tell us. But Aristobulus and Chares, who held the office of reporter of requests,
tolemy and Anticlides, Philon the Theban, Philip of Theangela, Hecataeus the Eretrian, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris the Samian, ay it is wholly a fiction. And truly Alexander himself seems to onfirm the latter statement, for in a letter in which he gives
ntipater an account of all that happened, he tells him that the King Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but makes no nention at all of the Amazon. And many years after, when Onesicritus read this story in his fourth book to Lysimachus, who
nen reigned the king laughed quietly and asked "Where could I have been at that time?" But it means little to Alexander whether it really happened or not.












Certain it is, that apprehending the Macedonians would be weary of Dursuing the war, he left the greater part of them in their quart
dubitare Artabazus, quin transeundum esset in castra otti suae et inm nullius saluris consili pations unics. 8 Destinatus fortuna opem Artabazum, ultimum illum visurus, amplectitur perfussquue mutuis lacrimis inhaerentem sibi avelli iubet: capite deinde velato, ne inter gemitus digredientem velut a rogo intueretur, quos regis salutem velpl periculis vitae tueri oportebatt dilapsi sunt metu, armatis, quos iam adventare credebant, haud rati se futuros pares. Ingens ergo in tabernaculo solitudo erat paucis spadonibus, quia, quo discederent, non habebant, circumstantibus regem. 10 At
ille remotis arbitris diu aliud atque aliud consilium animo volutabat, Iamque solitudinem, quam paulo antea pro solacio petiverat, perosus Iamque solitudinem, quam paulo antea pro solacio petiverat, perosus
Bubacen vocari iubet. 11 Quem intuens, Itte', inquit, 'consulite vobis, ad ultimum regi vestro, ut decebat, fide exhibita. Ego hic legem fati meo expecto. Forsitan mireris, quod vitam non finiam: a lieno scelere quam meo morr malo.
tabernaculum modo, sed etiam castra conplevit. Inrupere deind laceratisque vestibus lugubri et barbaro ululatu regem deplorare coeperunt. 13 Persae ad illos clamore perlato attoniti metu nec arma capere, ne in Bactrianos inciderent, nec quiescere audebant, ne impie
deserere regem viderentur. 14 Varius ac dissonus clamor sine duce ac sine imperio totis castris referebatur. Besso et Nabarzani nuntiaverant sui, regem a semetipso interemptum esse: planctus eos deceperat. 15 Itaque citatis equis advolant sequentibus, quos ad regem vivere spadones indicabant, conprehendi vinciriques iusserunt. regem vivere spadones indicabant, conprehendi vincirique usserunt
16 Rex curru paulo ante vectus et deorum auspiciis ac suis honoribu cultus nulla externa ope admota captivus servorum suorum in
sordidum vehiculum [pellibus undique contectus] inponitur Pecunia regis et supellex quasi belli iure diripitur, onustique praeda per scelus ultimum parta fugam intendunt. 18 Artabazus cum his, qui imperio parebant, Graecisque militibus Parthienen petebat, omni tutiora parriciciarum contuitu ratus. 19 Persae promissis Bes
onerati, maxime quia nemo alius erat, quem sequerentur co se Bactrianis, agmen eorum tertio adsecuti die. 20 Ne tamen honos regin non haberetur, aureis compedibus Dareum vinciunt, nova adgnosci, sordidis pellitibus vehiculum intexerant ignoti iumenta agebant: ne percontantibus in agmine monstrari posset, custodes procul sequebantur.
Caput XIII
1 Alexander audito, Dareum movisse ab Ecbatanis, omisso itinere, quod petebat [in Mediam], fugientem insequi pergit strenue. 2 Tabas -oppidum est in Paraetacene ultima- - pervenit: ibi transfugae cognoscit ex Bagistane Babylonio: non equidem vinctum resem, sed in periculo esse aut mortis aut vinculorum adfirmabat. 4 Rex ducibus convocatis, 'Maximum', inquit, 'opus, sed labor brevissimus superest Dareus haud procul, destitutus a suis aut oppressus: in illo corpore
posita est nostra victoria et tanta res celeritatis est praemium.' 5 Omnes pariter conclamant, paratos ipsos sequi: nec labori nec periculo parceret. Igitur raptim agmen cursus magis quam itineris , ma quidem quiete dirnum laborem relaxante. 6 Itaque D stadia processit, perventumque erat in vicum, in quo
Dareum Bessus conprehenderat. 7 Ibi Melon, Darei interpres excipitur: corpore aeger non potuerat agmen adsequi et deprehensus eleritate regis transfugam se esse simulabat. Ex hoc acta cognoscit. milibus CCC, quos dimachas appellabant, adiungit: dorso hi gravior arma portabant, ceterum equis vehebantur: cum res locusque posceret, pedestris acies erat
drum adeunt Orsilos et Mithracenes: Besi ersas, ipsos brevius itererant nuntiabantque stadia D abesse Prsas, ipsos brevius iter monstraturos. 10 Gratus regi adventus transfugarum fuit. Itaque prima vespera ducibus isdem cum expedita equitum manu monstratam viam ingreditur phalange, quantum festinare posset, sequi iussa. Ipse quadrato agmine incedens ita
cursum regebat, ut primi coniungi ultimis possent. 11 CCC stadia

processerant, cum occurrit Brochubelus, Mazaei filius, Syriae quondam praetor. Is quoque transfuga nuntiabat: 'Bessum hav
amplius quam CC stadia abesse. Exercitum, utpote qui nihil praecaveret, inconpositum inordinatumque procedere. Hyrcaniam praceaveret, inconpositum inordinatumque proceedere. Hyrcaniam
videri petituros. Si fi festinaret sequi palantes, superventurum. Dareum adhuc vivere.' 12 Strenuo alioquin cupiditatem consequendi
transfuga iniecerat Itaque calcaribus subditis effuso transfuga iniecerat. Itaque calcaribus subditis effuso cursu eunt
Iamque fremitus hostium iter ingredientium exaudiebatur, sed Iamque fremitus hostium iter ingredientium exaudie batur, sed
prospectum ademerat pulveris nubes. 13 Paulisper ergo inhibuit cursum, donec consideret pulvis. Iamque conspecti a barbaris erant abeuntium agmen conspexerant, nequaquam futuri pares, si Besso tantum animi fuisset ad proelium, quantum ad parricidium fuerat.
Namque et numero barbari praestabant et robore: ad hoc refecti cum Namque et numero barbari praestabant et robore: ad hoc refecti cun
fatigatis certamen inituri erant. 14 Sed nomen Alexandri et fama, maximum in bello utique momentum, pavidos in fugam avertit. Bessus vero et ceteri facinoris eius participes vehiculum Darei
adsecuti adsecuti coeperunt hortari eum, conscenderet equum et se hosti fuga
eriperet. 16 Ille deos ultores adesse testatur et Alexandrif iddem inplorans negat se parricidas velle comitari. Tum vero ira quoque accensi tela coniciunt in regem multisque confossum vulneribus relinquunt. 17 Iumenta quoque, ne longius prosequi possent,
convulnerant duobus servis, qui regem comitabantur, occisis. 18 Ho edito facinore, ut vestigia fugae spargerent, Nabarzanes Hyrcaniam, Bessus Bactra paucis equitum comitantibus petebant. Barbari
ducibus destituti, qua quemque aut spes ducebat aut pavor, ducibus destituti, qua quemque aut spes ducebat aut pavor,
dissipabantur: D tantum equites congregaverant se, incerti adhuc, resistere melius esset an fugere. 19 Alexander hostium trepidatione conperta Nicanorem cum equitum parte ad inhibendam fugam emititit: ipse cum ceteris sequitur. Tria ferme milia resistentia occisa
sunt, reliqum sunt, reliquuum agmen pecudum more intactum agebatur iubentrase
ut caedibus abstineretur. 20 Nemo captivorum erat, qui monstre Darei vehiculum posset: singula, ut quaeque prenderent, scrutabantur, nec tamen ullum vestigueqm fugae renderis extabat. 2 eos, qui lentius sequebantur, incidebant universa fugientium agmina. 22 Vix credibile dictu, plures captivi quam, qui caperent, erant: adeo omnem sensum territis fortuna penitus excusserat, ut nec hostium paucitiatem nec multitudinem suam satis cernerent.
23 Interim iumenta quae Dareum vehebant nullo re
decesserant militari via et errore delata per quattuor stadia in quadan valle constiterant, aestu simulque vulneribus fatigata. 24 Haud procul erat fons, ad quem monstratum a peritis Polystratus Macedo sit iumentorum deficieientium corporibus infixa conspexit. 25 Miratusque, confossa potius quam abacta esse, semivivi hominis gemitum percipit. Itaque more ingenii humani cupidus visendi, quid
rei vehiculo isto conderetur dimotis pelibus rei vehiculo isto conderetur, dimotis pellibus, quibus obtectum erat,
Dareum multis vulneribus confossum repperit. Regius enim cultus et aureae catenae, quis a parricidisis vinctus fuerat, dubitationem eximebant. Non erat expers Graeci sermonis Dareus gratiasque agebat di,
solacii, ne solaci, , te', inquit, 'quisquis es mortalium, per communem hostium sortem, a qua nec maximos regum exemtos esse praesenti spectacul moneris, rogo quaesoque, ut haec ad Alexandrum mandata mea perferas: nihil eorum, quae longe tristissima perpessus sum, ne hunc
quidem incomparabilis calamitatis exitum ita gravem mihi accidisse, ut hoc unum, quod post tanta in me meosque merita adversus clementissimum victorem inimico vivendum fuit et nunc ingrato
moriendum est. Sed - si qua postremis miserorum votis apud deos vis est et cum ipso spiritu profusasas preces mititus aliquod numen exaudit - ille quidem sospes et incolumis longeque supra contagiu meae sortis et invidiam fortunae positus in solio Cyri gloriosam aetatem exigat suaeque virtutis memor eum matri liberisque meis
locum apud se esse patiatur, quem illif fide et obsequio meruerint. A parricidas promptum exitium consequatur, quod Alexander inrogabi si non misericordia infelicis hostis, saltem odio facinorum, et ne
impunita in aliorum etiam regum suumque ipsius exitium erumpant. impunita in aliorum etiam regum suumque ipsius exitium erumpant.
Post haec, cum siti angeretur, adlata per Polystratum aqua recreatus, 'Ergo', ait, 'hanc etiam tantis calamitatibus extremam accedere
(
 risi sovers,
$\lambda$ yovtal.
Noticing also that among his chief friends and favorites, Hephaestion most approved all that he did, and complied with and imitated him in his change of habits, while Craterus continued strict in the
observation of the customs and fashions of his own it his practice to employ the first in all transactions with the Pe made and the latter when he had to do with the Greeks or Macedonians. And in general he showed more affection for Hephaestion, and more respect for Craterus -- Hephaestion, as he used to say, being
Alexander's, and Craterus the king's friend. And so these two Alexander's, and Craterus the king's friend. And so these two friend Always bore in secret a a grudge to each other, and at times quarreled
openly, so much so that once in India they drew upon one another, ond were proceeding in good earnest, with their froiends on each side
and
oo second them, when Alexander rode up and publicly reved o second them, when Alexander rode up and publicly reproved
Hephaestion, calling him fool and madman, not to be sensible that Hephaestion, calling him foot and madman, no trote sensible
without his favor he was nothing. He rebuked Craterus also in private, severely, and then causing them both to come into his presence, her reconciled them, at the same time swearing by Amun nd the rest of the gods that he loved them two above all other men,
ut if ever he perceived them fall out again he would be sure to put both of them to death, or at least the aggressor. After which they either ever did or said anything, so much as in jest, to offend one ther








信

Mere was scarcely any one who had greater repute among the was valiant and able to endure any fatigue of war, he was also next Alexander himself the most munificent, and the greatest lover of friends, one of whom asking him for some money, he not wherewith, "Have you not any plate, then," said he, "or any lothes of mine to sell?" But he carried his arrogance and his pride ealth and his habits of display and luxury to o degree of assumptio anecoming a private man; and affecting all the loftiness with ucceeding in showing any of the grace or gentleness of true
greatness, by this mistaken and spurious majesty he gained so muct nvy and ill-will, that Parmenio would sometimes tell him, " $\tilde{\omega}$ п $\quad$ a










oportuit, ut bene merito gratiam referre non possim: at referet Alexander, Alexandro vero di.' Dextram deinde protendit eamque manu animam efflavit. Alexander an spiranti adhuc supervenerit incertum est: illud constat miserabili regis opulentissimi exitu conperto copiosas lacrimas profudisse statimque chlamyde sibi detracta corpus operuisse et magno cum honore ad suos deferri inferretur: Ingratitudinem hominum, a quis pro summis meneficicis crudele exitium Dareus pertulit, quamquam suopte ingenio horrendam et execrabilem, insigniore ad posteritatem infami damnavit canis cuiusdam mira fides, qui ab omnibus familiaribus
derelicto solus adfuit et quam in vivum prae se tulit benevolentiam, morienti quoque constanter praestitit. Hunc vitae finem sortitus est ille, quem modo contumelia adfici putabant, nisi regem regum et
deorum consanguineum salutarent deorum consanguineum salutarent: magnoque iterum experimento adprobatum est: neminem magis patere ortunae, quam qui pluit
eiusdem blanditis inretitus iugum illius tota cervice receperit. Litpen VII 1 Alexander maiore fama quam gloria in dicionem redacta pe cum propter vagum hostem spargendae manus essent, in tres partes
divisit exercitum divisit exercitum. Hepp. Stionem uni, Coenon alteri duces dedera Armis quidam subacti, plures ante certamen imperata fecerunt, quibus eorum, qui in defectione perseveraverant, urbes agrosque iussit attribui. 3 At exules Bactriani cum DCCC Massagetarum regionis eius praefectus, CCC equites, insidiarum, quae parabantur, ignarus, eduxit. 4 Namque hostis in silvis - et erant forte campo iunctae - armatum militem condidit paucis propellentibus pecora, inprovidum ad insidias praeda perduceret. 5 Itaque inconposito
agmine solutisque ordinibus Attinas praedabundus sequebatur: praetergressum silvam, qui in ea consederant, ex inproviso adorti cum omnibus interemerunt. 6 Celeriter ad Craterum huius cladis fama perlata st, quent Dahae mille oppressi sunt, quorum totius
quidem iam refugerant regionis finita defectio est. 7 Alexander quoque Sogdianis rursus subactis Maracanda repetit. Ibi Berdes, quem ad Scythas sup Bosporum colentes miserat, cum legatis gentis occurrit: 8
Phrataphernes quoque, qui Corasmiis praeerat, Massagetis et Dahis regionum confinio adiunctus, miserat, qui facturum imperata pollicerentur. 9 Scythae petebant, ut regis sui filiam matrimonio sibi
iungeret si dedicy iungeret: sid dedignaretur adfinitatam, principes Macedonum cum venturum ad eum pollicebantur. 10 Utraque legatione benigne audita Hephaestionem et Artabazum opperiens stativa habuit: quibus adiunctis in regionem, quae appellatur Bazaira, pervenit. quam magnis nemoribus saltibusque nobilium ferarum greges clusi. 12 Spatiosas ad hoc eligunt silvas, crebris perennium aquarum fontibus amoenas: muris nemora cinguntur turresque habent venantium receptacula. 13 Quattuor continuis aetatibus intactum
salum fuisse constabat, quem Alexander cum toto exercitu ingress agitari undique feras iussit. 14 Inter quas cum leo magnitudinis rarae ipsum regem invasurus incurreret, forte Lysimachus, qui postea egnavit, proximus Alexandro, venabulum obicere ferae coeperat. Quo rex repulso et abire iusso adiecit tam a semet uno quam a
Lysimacho leonem interfici posse. 15 Lysimachus enim quondan cum venaretur in Syria, occiderat quidem eximiae magnitudinis feram solus, sed laevo humero ad ossa lacerato ad ultimum periculi perverat. 1 Id ipsum exprobrans ei rex fortius, quam locutus est,
fecit: nam feram non excepit modo, sed etiam uno vulnere occidit. 1 , Fabulam, quae obiectum leoni a rege Lysimachum temere vulgavit, ab eo casu, quem supra diximus, ortam esse credierim. 18 Ceterum , ne aut pedes venaretur aut sine delectis principum atque amicorum


$$
\text { Evituxove } \operatorname{Ev} \text { But about this time, one Limnus, a Macedonian of Chalastra, }
$$ conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his design to of the party. But he not relishing the thing, revealed it to his brother Balinus, who immediately addressed himself to Philotas, requiring

aim 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 then,
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 eans being admitted into Alexander's presence, they first told abo Limnus conspiracy, and by the way what twice disregarded their application to him. ,


19 Ille IIII milibus ferarum deiectis in eodem saltu cum toto exercitu epulatus est.
Inde Maraca
Inde Maracanda reditum est: acceptaque aetatis excusatione ab
Artabazo provinciam eius destinat Clito. 20 Hic erat qui aup Artabazo provinciam eius destinat Clito. 20 Hic erat, qui apud
Granicum amnem nudo capite regem dimicantem clipeo suo texit et Rhosacis manum capiti regis imminentem gladio amputavit, vetus Philippis miles multisquev bellicis operibus clacus. 21 Hellanice, quae
Alexandrum educaverat soror eius, haud secus quam mater a rege Alexandrum educaverat, soror eius, haud secus quam mater a rege
diligebatur. Ob has causas validissimam imperii partem fidei eius dutelaeque commisit. 22 lamque iter parare in posterum iussus Tute aeque commisit. 22 lamque ier parare in posterum iussus
sollemni et tempestivo adhibetur convivio. In quo rex cum multo soliemni et empestivo adhibetur convivio. In quo rex cum multo
incaluisset mero, immodicus aestimator sui, celebrare, quae gesserat, Silentium tamen habuere seniores, donec Philippi res orsus obterere nobilem apud Chaeroneam victoriam sui operis fuisse iactavit ademptamque sibi maligititate et invidia patris tantae rei gloriam.
Illum quidem seditione inter Macedones milites et Graecos Illum quidem seditione inter Macedones milites et Graecos
mercennarios orta debilitatum vulnere, quod in ea consternat acceperat, iacuisse, non alias quam simulatione mortis tutiorem; se corpus eius protexisse, clipeo suo ruentesque in illum sua manu occisos. 25 Quae patrem numquam aequo animo esse confessum,
invitum filio debentem salutem suam. Itaque post expeditionem, quam sine eo fecisset ipse in Illyrios, victorem scripsisse se patri, fusos fugatosque hostes nec adfuisse usquam Philippum. 26 Laude dignos esse, non qui Samothracum initia viserent, cum Asia
vastarique oporteret sed eos qui magnitudine rerum fidem antecessissent. 27 Haec et his similia laeti audiere iuvenes, ingrat senioribus erant, maxime propter Philippum, sub quo diutius vixerant: 28 cum Clitus, ne ipse quidem satis sobrius, ad eos, qui
infra ipsum cubabant, conversus Euripidis rettulit carmen, ita ut infra ipsum cubabant, conversus Euripidisis rettulit carmen, iti at
sonus magis quam sermo exaudiri posset a rege, quo significabatur, 29 male instituisse Graecos, quod tropaeis regum dumtaxat nomina inscriberent, alieno enim sanguine partam gloriam intercipi. Itaque rex, cum suspicaretur malignius habitum esse sermonem, percontari
proximos coepit, quid ex Clito audissent. 30 Et illis ad silendum obstinatis Clitus paulatim maiore voce Philippi acta bellaque in Graecia gesta commemorat, omnia prasestibus praeferens. 31 Hinc inter iuniores senesque orta contentio est: et rex, velut patienter
audiret, quis Clitus obterebat laudes eius, ingentem iram concep 32 Ceterum cum animo videretur imperaturus, si finem procaciter 32 Ceterum cum animo videretur imperaturus, si finem p p
orto sermoni Clitus inponeret, nihil eo remitente magis exasperabatur. 33 Iamque Clitus etiam Parmenionem defender audebat et Philippi de Atheniensibus victoriam Thebarum praeferbat excioio, non vino modo, sed etiam animi prava
contentione provectus. 34 Ad ultimum, 'Si moriendum', inquit, 'est pro te, Clitus est primus: at cum victoriae arbitrium agis, praccipuum ferunt praemium, qui procacissime patris tui memoriae inludunt. 35
Sogdianam regionem mihi attribuis, totiens rebellem et non modo indomitam, sed quae ne subigi quidem possit. Mittor ad feras bestias praciiptia ingenia sortitas. Sed, quae ad me pertinent, transeo. 3 pugnam detrectantes revocasset, adhuc nos circa Halicarnassum haesuros fuisse. 37 Quomodo igitur Asiam etiam cum istis iunioribus subiecisti? Verum est, ut opinor, quod avunculum tuum in Italia
dixisse constat insum dixisse constat, ipsum in viros incidisse, te in feminas.' 38 Nihil ex omnibus inconsulte ac temere iactis regem magis moverat, quam
Parmenionis cum honore mentio inlata. Dolorem tamen rex pressit, Pantentus iussisse, ut convivio excederet. 39 Nec quicquam aliud
cont adiecit guam forsitan eum, si diutius locutus foret, exprobraturu sibi fuisse vitam a semetipso datam: hoc enim superbe saepe
iactasse. 40 Atque illum cunctantem adhuc surgere, qui proxim cubuerant, iniectis manibus iurgantes monentesque conabantur abducere. 41 Clitus, cum abstraheretur, ad pristinam violentiam ira quoque adiecta, suo pectore tergum illius esse defensum, nunc
postquam tanti meriti practerierit tempus etiam memoriam inv esse, proclamat. 42 Attali quoque caedem obiciebat et ad ultimum
Iovis, quem patrem sibi Alexander adsereret Iovis, quem patrem sibi Alexander adsereret, oraculum eludens,
veriora se regi quam patrem eius respondisse dicebat. 43 lam tant veriora se regi quam patrem eius respondisse dicebat. 43 lam tantum
irae conceperat rex, quantum vix sobrius ferre potuisset Enimero olim mero sensibus victis ex lecto repente prosiluit. 44 Attoniti amic

ne positis quidem, sed abiectis poculis consurgunt in eventum rei,
quam tanto impetu acturus esset, intenti. 45 Alexander rapta lancea quam tanto impetu acturus esset, intenti. 45 Alexander rapta lance furentem percutere conatus a Ptolemaeo et Perdicca inhiben
Medium conplexi [et] obluctari perseverantem morabantur: Lysimachus et Leonnatus etiam lanceam abstulerant. 47 IIle militum fidem inplorans conprehendi se a proximis amicorum, quod Dareo nuper accidisset, exclamat signumque tuba dari, ut ad regiam armati
coirent, iubet. 48 Tum vero Ptolemaeus et Perdicas genibus advoluti orant, ne in tam praecipiti ira perseveret spatiumque potius animo det: omnia postero die iustius executurum. Sed clausae erant aures obstrepente ira. 49 Itaque impotens animi procurrit in regiae necesse erat iis, qui simul cenaverant, egredi. Abierant ceteri. 50 Clitus ultimus sine lumine exibat. Quem rex, quisnam esset, interrogat. Eminebat etiam in voce sceleris, quod parabat, atrocitas. 51 Et ille, iam non suae, sed regis irae memor, Clitum esse et de
convivio exire respondit. 52 Haec dicentis latus hasta transfixit morientisque sanguine adspersus, I nunc,' inquit, 'ad Philippum et Parmenionem et Attalum.'

## Caput II

1 Male humanis ingeniis natura consuluit, quod plerumque non decesserat, etiam ebrietate discussa magnitudinem facionoris sente aestimatione perspexit 2 Videbat tunc immodica libertate abusum, aestimatione perspexit. 2 Videbat, tunc immodica libertate abusum,
sed alioqui egregium bello virum et, nisi erubesceret fateri, sed ailioqui egregium bello virum et, nisi erubesceret fater)
servatorem sui occisum. Detestabile carnificis ministeriun occupaverat rex, verborum licentiam, quae vino poterat inputari, nefanda caede ultus. 3 Manabat toto vestibulo cruor paulo ante
convivae: vigiles attoniti et stupentibus similes procul stabant liberioremque paenitentiam solitudo exciebat. 4 Ergo hastam ex corpore iacentid evolsam retorsit in semet: iamqua admoverat
pectori, cum advolant vigiles et repugnant e manbur pectori, cum advolant vigiles et repugnanti e manibus extorquent
adlevatumque in tabernaculum deferunt. 5 Ille humi prostraverat corpus gemitu eiulatuque miserabili totam personans regiam. Laniar deinde os unguibus et circumstantes rogare, ne se tanto dedecori superstitem esse paterentur. 6 Inter has preces tota nox extracta est.
Scrutantemque num ira deorum ad tantum nefas actus esset subit anniversarium sacrificium Libero Patri non esse redditum statuto tempore: itaque inter vinum et epulas caede commissa iram dei fuisse manifestam. 7 Ceterum magis eo movebatur, quod omnium sermonem postea ausurum: vivendum esse in solitudine velut fera bestiae terrenti alias timentique. 8 Prima deinde luce tabernaculo corpus, sicut adhuc cruentum erat, iussit inferri. Quo posito ante ipsum lacrimis obortis, 'Hanc', inquit, 'nutrici meae gratiam retululi,
cuius duo filii apud Miletum pro mea gloria occubuere mortem, hic frater, unicum orbitatis solacium, a me inter epulas occisus est. 9 Quo nunc se conferet misera? Omnibus eius unus supersum, quem
solum aequis oculis videre non poterit Et ego servatorum, solum aequis oculis videre non poterit. Et ego servatorum ine
latro, revertar in patriam, ut ne dexteram quidem nutrici sine latro, revertar in partiam, ut ne dexteram quidem nutrici sine
memoria calamitatis eius offerre possim!! 10 Et cum finis lacrimis querellisque non fieret, iussu amicorum corpus ablatum est. 11 Rex
triduum iacuit inclusus. Quem ut triduum iacuit inclusus. Quem ut armigeri corporisque custodes ad
moriendum obstinatum esse cognoverunt, universi in tabernaculum inrumpunt diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum aegre vicerunt, ut inrumpunt diuque precibus ipsorum reluctatum aegre vicerunt, ut
cibum caperet. 2 Quoque minus caedis puderet, iure interfectum
Clitum Macedones decernunt sepultura quoque prohibituri, ni rex
humari iussisset.
13 Igitur $X$ diebus maxime ad confirmandum pudorem apud Maracanda consumptis cum parte exercitus Hephaestionem in regionem Bactrianam misit, commeatus in hiemem paraturum. 1 Quam Clito ante destinaverat provinciam, Amyntae dedit: ipse
Xenippa pervenit. Scythiae confinis est regio habitaturque pluribus ac frequentibus vicis, quia ubertas terrae non indigenas modo detinet sed etiam advenas invitat. 15 Bactrianorum exulum, qui ab Alexandro defecerant, receppaculum fuerat. Sed postquam regem acventare conpertum est, pusi ab incolis- 1 milia fere et D--
congregantur. 16 Omnes equites erant, etiam in pace latrociniis

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |



exader 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 ettled that he could stay silent no longer. He said it was not well nemies, since though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yot ey were much better men than those who laughed at them. And hen Alexander remarked, that Clitus was pleading his own cause, owardice, as you are pleased to term it," said he to him, "saved the lif of a son of the gods, when in flight from Spithridates's sword; it and by these wounds, that you are now raised to such a height as to be able
father Philip, and call yourself the son of Amun."









 toí Make हріாат $\varepsilon$ โv;"
"You base fellow," said Alexander, who was now thoroughly xasperated, "do you think you can speak these things everywhere
bout me, and stir up the Macedonians to rebellion? Do you think ou well and stir up the Macedo
"We were poushed 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 see their countrymen beaten with Median
the Persians to have access to their king."
While he talked thus at random, and those near Alexander got up from their seats and began to revile him in turn, the older me neantime turning about to Xenodochus, the Pardian, and Artemius, Colophonian, asked if they were not of opinion that the Greeks, comparison with the Macedonians, behaved themselves like so
many demigods among wild beasts,
















But Clitus for all this
levis dolor excepit. Erigyius inter claros duces fuerat: quem extinctum esse paulo ante, quam reverteretur in castra, cognovit. Caput III
1 Dahas deinde statuerat petere: ibi namque Spitamenen esse cognoverat. Sed hanc quoque expeditionem, ut pleraque alia, fortuna durlgendo ei numquam fatigata pro absente transegit. Spitamenes subinde exilia tolerantem, in omne discrimen comitem trahebat. 2 Illa malis fatigata identidem muliebres adhibere blanditias, ut tanden
fugam sistere victorisque Alexandri clementiam expertus, placaret fugam sisteret victorisque Alexandric clementiam expertus placaret, quem effugere non posset. 3 Ires adulti erant liberi ex eo geniti: quc
cum pectori patris admovisset, ut saltem eorum misereri vellet, orabat: et, quo efficaciores essent preces, haud procul erat Alexander. 4 Ille se prodi, non moneri ratus et formae profecto
fiducia cupere eam percussurus uxorem, nisi prohibitus esset fratrum eius occursu. 5 Ceterum abire conspectu iubet addito metu mortis, sis se oculis eius obtulisset, et ad desiderium levandum noctes agere inter pelices coepit. Susd penitus haerens amor fastidio prazesentium acce
Itaque rursus uni ei deditus orare non destitit, ut tali consilio abstineret patereturque sortem, quamcumque iis fortuna fecisset: sib mortem deditione esse leviorem. 7 At illa purgare se, quod, qua
utilia esse censebats utilia esse
suasi captus obsequio de die convivium apparari iubet vinoque et epulis gravis et semisomnus in cubiculum fertur. 9 Quem ut alto et gravi somno sopitum esse sensit uxor, gladium, quem veste occultaverat, facinoris tradit. 10 Eodem comitante, sicuti erat cruenta veste, in Macedonum castra pervenit nuntiarique Alexandro iubet, esse, quaa ex ipsa deberet adgnoscere. IIle protinus barbaram iussit admitti. 11 Quam ut respersam cruore conspexit, ratus ad deplorandam contum iliam venisse, dicere quae velled tubet. 12 At illa servum,
quem in vestibulo stare iusserat, introduci desideravit. Qui, quia caput Spitamenis veste tectum habebat, suspectus scrutantibus, quid occuleret, ostendit. 13 Confuderat oris exsanguis notas pallor nec,
quis esset, nosci satis poterat. Ergo rex, certior factus humanum caput adferre eum, tabernaculo excessit percontatusque, quid rei sit, illo profitente cognoscit. 14 Variae hinc cogitationes invicem illo profitente cognoscit. 1 Variae hinc cogitationes invicem iniecturus moram, interfectus esset: contra facinus ingens aversabatur, cum optime meritum de ipsa, communium parentem
liberum, per insidias interemisset. 15 Vicit tem liberum, per insidias interemisset. 15 Vicit tamen gratiam meriti
sceleris strocitis denutiarique issit tut exceret castris neu licentiae barbarae exemplar in Graecorum mores et mitia ingenia ransferret. 16 Dahae Spitamenis caede conperta Dataphernen, defectionis eius participem, vinctum Alexandro seque dedunt. Ille vindicandas iniurias eorum, quibus a praetoribus suis avare ac superbe imperabatur. 17 Ergo Phratapherni Hyrcaniam et Mardo cum Tapuris tradidit mandavitque, ut Phradaten, cui succedebat, ad se in custodiam mitteret. Arsami, Drangarum prafecto, substitutus
est Stasanor: Arsaces in Mediam missus, ut Oxydates inde decederet. Babylonia demortuo Mazaeo Stameni subiecta est.
Caput IV
1 His conpositis tertio mense ex hibernis movit exercitum, regionem quae Gazaba appellatur, aditurus. 2 Primus dies quietum iter praebuit: proximus ei nondum quidem procellosus et tristis,
obscuri Tertio ab omni parte cali emicare fulsoure et nunc internitentere tuce, nunc condita, non oculos modo meantis exercitus sed etiam animos terrere coeperunt. 4 Erat prope continuus caeli fragor et passim cadentium fulminum species visebatur attonitisque auribus stupens
agmen nec progredi nec consistere audebat. 5 Tum renente imber agmen nec progredi nec consistere audebat. 5 Tum repente imber armis suis tecti exceperant, sed iam nec retinere arma lubrica rigente

|  |  |  | 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 with barbarians and slaves who would not scruple to bow the knee to his Persian girdle and his white tunic These words so provoked Alexand <br> These words so provoked Alexander that, not able to suppress his at him, and it hit him. He then looked for his sword, but Aristophanes, one of his guards, had hidden it away. Other men came about him and pleaded with him to stop, but their efforts were in vain. Breaking away from them, he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian language, which was a certain sign of some great disturbance in him, and he commanded a trumpeter to sound, giving him a blow with his clenched fist for not instantly obeying him (though afterwards the same man was commended for disobeying an my into tumult and Clitus still refused to yield, and was pushed with much trouble by his friends out of the room. But he came in again immediately at another door, very irreverently and confidently singing the verses out of Euripides's Andromache, "In Greece, alas! how ill things ordered are." <br>  <br>  <br>  $\square$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


|  |  |  |  friend of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera, to him. Callisthenes used moral language, and gentle and soothing means, hoping to find access for words of reason, and get a hold upon the passion. But Anaxarchus, who had always taken a course of his own in philosophy, and had a name for despising and slighting his contemporaries, as soon as he came in, cried aloud, "Is this the Alexander whom the whole world looks to, lying here weeping like a slave, for fear of the censure and reproach of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law and measure of equity, if he would use the right his conquests have given him as supreme lord and governor of all, and not be the victim of a vain and idle opinion? Do not you know," said he, "that Zeus is represented to have Justice and Law on each hand of him, to signify that all the actions of a conqueror are lawful and just?" <br>  kai toũ $\square$ $\dot{\beta} \lambda \lambda \omega \omega$ <br>  king's grief, but at the same time corrupted his character, rendering him more assertive and lawless than he had been. Nor did Anaxarchus fail to insinuate himself into Alexander's his favor, and to make Callisthenes's company, which at all times, because of his austerity, was not very acceptable, more uneasy and disagreeable to Alexander. <br> It happened that these two philosophers met at an entertainment where conversation turned on the subject of climate and the temperature of the air. Callisthenes joined with their opinion, who held that those countries were colder, and the winter sharper there than in Greece. Anaxarchus would by no means allow this, but argued against it with some heat. "Surely," said Callisthenes, "you must admit this country to be colder than Greece, for there you used to have but one threadbare cloak to keep out the coldest winter, and here you must have three good warm cloaks one over another." <br>  learning, <br>  | contenti esse deberent. 29 Hoc modo rex Asiae et Europae <br> introductam inter convivales ludos matrimonio sibi adiunxit, e captiva geniturus, qui victoribus imperaret. 30 Pudebat amicos, super vinum et epulas socerum ex deditis esse delectum, sed post Cliti caedem libertate sublata vultu, qui maxime servit, adsentiebantur. <br> Caput V <br> 1 Ceterum Indiam et inde Oceanum petiturus, ne quid a tergo, quod destinata inpedire posset, moveretur, ex omnibus provinciis XXX milia iuniorum legi iussit et ad se armata perduci, obsides simul habiturus et milites. 2 Craterum autem ad persequendos Haustanen et Catenen, qui ab ipso defecerant, misit: quorum Haustanes captus est, Catenes in proelio occisus. Polypercon quoque regionem, quae Bubacene appellatur, in dicionem redegit. 3 Itaque omnibus conpositis cogitationes in bellum Indicum vertit. Dives regio habebatur non auro modo, sed gemmis quoque margaritisque, ad luxum magis quam ad magnificentiam exculta. 4 Periti, militares auro et ebore fulgere, dicebant: itaque, necubi vinceretur, cum ceteris praestaret, scutis argenteas lamnas, equis frenos aureos addidit, loricas quoque alias auro, alias argento adornavit. CXX milia armatorum erant, quae regem ad id bellum sequebantur. 5 Iamque omnibus praeparatis, quod olim prava mente conceperat, tunc esse maturum ratus, quonam modo caelestes honores usurparet, coepit tamquam perinde animis imperare posset ac linguis: 6 more Persarum Macedonas venerabundos ipsum salutare prosternentes humi corpora. Non deerat talia concupiscenti perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum, quorum opes saepius adsentatio quam hostis evertit. 7 Nec Macedonum haec erat culpa - nemo enim illorum quicquam ex patrio more labare sustinuit - sed Graecorum, qui professionem honestarum artium malis corruperant moribus. 8 Agis quidam Argivus, pessimorum carminum post Choerilum conditor, et ex Sicilia Cleo - hic quidem non ingenii solum, sed etiam nationis vitio adulator - et cetera urbium suarum purgamenta propinquis etiam maximorumque exercituum ducibus a rege praeferebantur. Hi tum caelum illi aperiebant Herculemque et Patrem Liberum et cum Polluce Castorem novo numini cessuros esse iactabant. 9 Igitur festo die omni opulentia convivium exornari iubet, cui non Macedones modo et Graeci, principes amicorum, sed etiam barbari nobiles adhiberentur. Cum quibus cum discubuisset rex, paulisper epulatus convivio egreditur. Cleo, sicut praeparatum erat, sermonem cum admiratione laudum eius instituit. 10 Merita deinde percensuit: quibus uno modo referri gratiam posse, si, quem intellegerent deum esse, confiterentur, exigua turis inpensa tanta beneficia pensaturi. 11 Persas quidem non pie solum, sed etiam prudenter reges suos inter deos colere: maiestatem enim imperii salutis esse tutelam. Ne Herculem quidem et Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam: tantundem quoque posteros credere, quantum praesens aetas spopondisset. 12 prostraturum humi corpus. Debere idem facere ceteros et in primis sapientia praeditos: ab illis enim cultus in regem exemplum esse prodendum. 13 Haud perplexe in Callisthenen dirigebatur oratio. Gravitas viri et prompta libertas invisa erat regi, quasi solus Macedonas paratos ad tale obsequium moraretur. 14 Is tum silentio facto unum illum intuentibus ceteris, 'Si rex', inquit, 'sermoni tuo adfuisset, nullius profecto vox responsuri tibi desideraretur: ipse enim peteret, ne in peregrinos externosque ritus degenerare se cogeres neu rebus felicissime gestis invidiam tali adulatione contraheres. 15 Sed quoniam abest, ego tibi pro illo respondeo, nullum esse eundem et diuturnum et praecoquem fructum caelestesque honores non dare te regi, sed auferre. Intervallo enim opus est, ut credatur deus, semperque hanc gratiam magnis viris posteri reddunt. 16 Ego autem seram inmortalitatem precor regi, ut et vita diuturna sit et aeterna maiestas. Hominem consequitur aliquando, nunquam comitatur divinitas. 17 Herculem modo et Patrem Liberum consecratae inmortalitatis exempla referebas. Credisne illos unius convivii decreto deos factos? Prius ab oculis mortalium amolita natura est, quam in caelum fama perveheret. 18 Scilicet ego et tu, Cleo, deos facimus: a nobis divinitatis suae |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

non occurrit modo abeunti, sed etiam semet obiecit vultuque et oculis motum praeferens animi, ut rediret in convivium monuit. 17 Et ille per ludum, bene deos suadere, respondit revocatisque amicis in
horam diei ferme secundam convivi tempus extraxit. 18 Iam alii ex horam diei ferme secundam convivii tempus extraxit. 18 lam alii ex
cohorte in stationem successerant ante cubiculi fores excubbituri, adhuc tamen coniurati stabant vice officii sui expleta: adeo pertinax spes est, quam humanae mentes devoraverunt. 19 Rex benignius quam alias adlocutus discedere eos ad curanda corpora, quoniam tota
nocte perstitissent, iubet. Data singulis $L$ sestertia conlaudatique, nocte perstitissent, iubet. Data singulis L sestertia conlaudatique,
quod etiam aliis tradita vice tamen excubare perseverassent. 20 Illi tanta spe destituti domos abeunt. Et ceteri quidem expectabant
stationis suae noctem: Epimenes sive comitate regis stationis suae noctem: Epimenes sive comitate regis, qua ipsum inter coniuratos exceperat, repente mutatus, sive quia coeptis deos obstare
credebat, fratri suo Eurylocho, quem antea expertem esse consilii voluerat, quid pararetur, aperit. 21 Omnibus Philotae supplicium in oculis erat. Itaque protinus incicit fratri manum et in regiam pervenit excitatisque custodibus coipons, qalutem regis pertinere, quaa
adferret, adfirmat. 22 Et tempus, quo venerant, et vultus, haud sane securi animi index, et maestitiae duobus alterius Polemaeum ac Leonnatum excubantes ad cubiculi limen excitaverunt. Itaque apertis foribus et lumine intato sopitum mero ac somno excitant regem. IIte
paulatim mente collecta, quid adferrent, interrogat. 23 Nec cunctatus paulatim mente collecta, quid adferrent, interrogat. 23 Necc cunctatus
Eurylochus non ex toto domum suam aversari deos dixit, quia frater ipsius, quaamquam impium facinus ausus foret, tamen et paenitentiam eius ageret et per se potissimum profiteretur indicium. In eam ipsam
noctem, quae decederet, insidias conparatas fuisse auctores scelesti noctem, quae decederere, insidias conparatas fuisse auctores scelesti
consilii esse, quos minime crederet rex. 24 Tum Epimenes cuncta ordine consciorumque nomina exponit. Callisthenen non ut participem facinoris nominatum esse constabat, sed solitum
puerorum sermonibus vituperantium criminantiumque regem faciles purrorum sermonibus vituperantium criminantiumque regem faciles
aures praebere. 25 Quidam adiciunt, cum Hermolaus apud eum quoque verberatum se a rege quereretur, dixisse Callisthenen, meminisse debere eos iam viros esse: idque ad consolandam
patientian yerberum pesset, in ambiguo fuisse. 26 Rex animi corporisque sopore discusso, cum tanti periculi, quo evaserat, imago oculis oberraret, Eurylochum L talentis et cuiusdam Tiridatis opulentis bonis protinus dona fratremque, antequam pro salute e eius precaretur, restituit. 27 Scele
autem auctores, inter quos Callisthenen, vinctos adservari iubet: quibus in regiam adductis toto die et nocte proxima mero ac vigiliis gravis adquievit. 28 Postero autem frequens consilium adhibuit, cui patres propinquique eorum, de quibus agebatur, intererant, ne de sua quidem salute securi: quippe Macedonum more perire debebant,
omnium devotis capitibus, qui sanguine contigissent reos. 29 Rex introduci coniuratos praeter Callisthenen iussit: atque, quae agitaverant, sine cunctatione confessi sunt. 30 Increpantibus deinde universis eos ipse ret.
facinus, interrogat.

## aput VII

1 Stupentibus ceteris Hermolaus, 'Nos vero', inquit, 'quoniam, quasi nescias, quaeris, occidendi te consilium inimus, quia imperare coepisti, sed quasi in mancipia dominari.' 2 Primus ex omnibus pater ipsius Sopolis, parricidam etiam parentis sui clamitans esse, consurgit et ad os manu obiecta scelere et malis insanientem
ultra negat audiendum. 3 Rex inhibito patre dicere Hermolaum iubet, ultra negat audiendum. 3 Rex inhibito patre dicere Hermolaum iubet,
quae ex magistro didicisset Callisthene. Et Hermolaus, 'Utor', inquit, 'beneficio tuo et dico, quae nostris malis didicici 4 Quota pars Macedonum saevitiae tuae superest? Quotus quidem non e vilissimo
sanguine? Attalus et Philotas et Parmenio t Lyncestes A lexader et sanguis Ataus e hostes pertinet, vivunt, stant in acie, te clipeis suis protegunt et pro gloria tua, pro victoria vulnera excipiunt: quib tu egregiam gratiam rettulisti. 5 Alius mensam tuam sanguine suo adspersit. Alius ne simplici quidem morte defunctus est: duces exercituum tuorum in eculeum inpositi Persis, quos vicerant, fuere
spectaculo. Parmenio indicta causa trucidatus est, per quem Attalum spectacullo. Parmenio indicta causa trucidiatus est, per quem Attalum
occideras. 6 Invicem enim miserorum uteris manibus ad expetenda supplicia et, quos paulo ante ministros caedis habuisti, subito ab aliis supremum strinxerat ferrum, percussurus haud dubie, ni inhibibius


esset a rege: quippe Hermolaum dicere iussit petiitque, ut causas supplici augentem patienter audirent. 8 Aegre ergo coerctitis rursus Hermolaus: 'Quam liberaliter', inquit, 'pueris rudibus ad dicendum
agere permittis' at Call sthenis vox carcere inclusa est potest dicere. 9 Cur enim non producitur, cum etiam confessi audiuntur? nempe quia liberam vocem innocentis audire metuis ac vultum quidem pateris. 10 Atqui nihil eum fecisse contendo. Sunt hic, qui mecum rem pulcherrimam cogitaverunt: nemo est, qui
conscium fuisse nobis Callisthenen dicat, cum morti olim destin sit a iustissimo et patientissimo rege. 11 Haec ergo sunt Macedonum praemia, quorum ut supervacuo et sordido abuteris sanguine! At tibi
milia mulorum captivem arem milia mulorum captivum aurum vehunt, cum milites nihil domum
praeter gratuitas cicatrices relaturi sint. Quae tamen omnia tolerare potuimus, antequam nos barbaris dederes et novo more victores sub iugum mitteres. 12 Persarum te vestis et disciplina delectat, patrios mores exosus es. Persarum ergo, non Macedonum regem occidere
voluimus et te transfugam belli iure persequimur 13 Tu Macedonas voluisti genua tibib ponere venerarique te ut deum: tu Philippum patrem aversaris et, si quis deorum ante Iovem haberetur, fastidires
etiam Iovem 14 Miraris si etiam Iovem. 14 Miraris, si liberi homines superbiam tuam fere non possumus? Quid speramus ex te, quibus aut insontibus moriendum
est aut, quod tristius morte est, in servitute vivendum? 15 Tu quidem, si emendari potes, multum mihi debes. Ex me enim scire coepisti, quid ingenui homines ferre non possint.
De cetero parce: quorum orbas senectutem, suppliciis ne oneraveris. nostra.' Haec Hermolaus.

## Caput VII

1 At rex: 'Quam falsa sint', inquit, 'quae iste tradita a magistro suo dixit, patientia mea ostendit. 2 Confessum enim ultimum facinus tamen non solum ipse audivi, sed ut vos audiretis expressi, non
 conpulsus est, ut me, quem parentis loco colere deberet, vellee
occidere. 3 Nuper cum procacius se in venatione gessisset, mo patrio et ab antiquissimis Macedoniae regum usurpato castigari eum iussi. Hoc et oportet fieri et ferunt a tutoribus pupilli, a maritis uxores, servis quoque pueros huius aetatis verberare concedimus. 4
Haec est saevitia in ipsum mea, quam inpia caede voluit ulcisci. in ceteros, qui mihi permittunt uti ingenio meo, quam mitis sim, -non ignoratis - commemorare supervacuum est. 5 Hermolao
parricidarum supplicia non probari, cum eadem ipse meruerit parricidarum supplicia non probari, cum eadem ipse meruerit, suae servit causae. 6 Lyncestem vero Alexandrum bis insidiatum capiti meo liberavi, rursus [a duobus indicibus] convictum per riennium tamen distuli, donec vos postularetis, ut tandem debito suppicio scelus lueret. Attaum, antequam rex essem, hostem meo
capiti fuisse meministis. Clitus utinam non coegisset me sibi irasci! cuius temerariam linguam probra dicentis mihi et vobis diutius tuli, quam ille eadem me dicentem tulisset. 8 Regum ducumque clementi non in ipsorum modo, sed etiam in illorum, qui parent, ingeniis sita et summa imis confundi videmus, vi opus est, ut vim repellamus. 9 Sed quid ergo mirer istum crudelitatem mihi obiecisse, qui avaritiam exp ihi liberalitatem meam faciam, si pudori vestro saver fecero mihi liberalitatem meam faciam, si pudori vestro gravem fece
Totum exercitum adspicite: qui paulo ante nihil praeter arma habebat, nunc argenteis cubat lectis: mensas auro onerant, servorum greges ducunt, spolia de hostibus sustinere non possunt. 10 At enim
Persae, quos vicimus, in magno honore sunt apud me! Equidem moderationis meae certissimum indicium est, quod ne victis quidem superbe impero. Veni enim in Asiam, non ut funditus everterem gentes nec ut dimidia parte terrarum solitudinem facerem, sed ut militant vobiscum, pro imperio vestro sanguinem fundunt, qui superbe habitit rebellassent. Non est diuturna possessio, in qua gladio inducimur: beneficiorum gratia sempiterna est. 12 Si habere
Al Asiam, non transire volumus, cum his communicanda est nostra plus habemus, quam capimus. Insatiabilis autem avaritia est adhuc
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 the benefit oalling sic's knindess for him, any otherwise than that
soon after falling the army raised him a monument of earth fourscore cubits high, and of a vast circumference. His ashes were convv
chariot, drawn by four horses, to the seaside.











 hexander, now intent upon his expedition into India, took notice 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 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
army. An act which in the deliberation of it had seemed more dangerous and difficult than it proved in the execution, with which few were dissatisfied for most of the soldiers, as if they had been inspired, uttering loud outcries and warlike shoutings, supplied one
another with what was absolutely necessary, and burnt and destroyed all that was superfluous, the sight of which redoubled Alexander's eal and eagerness for his design. And, indeed, he was now grown very severe and inexorable in punishing those who committed any
fault. For he put Menander, one of his friends to death for deserting fortress where he had placed him in garrison, and shot Orsodates, one of the barbarians who revolted from him, with his own hand.




 $\alpha$ циóviov.
this time a sheep happened to yean a lamb, with the perfect shap ortent Alexander regon the head, and testicles on each side; which Gused his Babylonian priests, whom he usually carried about with m for such purposes, to purify him, and told his friends he was no much concerned for his own sake as for theirs, out of an mpire to fall into the hands of some degenerate, impotent person. मñ aגda





inplere velle, quod iam circumfluit. Verumtamen eorum mores in Macedonas transfundo! 13 In multis enim gentibus esse video, quae potest, quam ut quaedam et tradamus illis et ab isdem discamus. 14 Illud paene dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat a me, ut aversarer Iovem, cuius oraculo adgnoscor. 15 An etiam, quid di respondeant, in mea potestate est? ?btulit nomen filii mihi: recipere ipsis rebus, quas agimus, haud alienum fuit. Utinam Indi quoque
deum esse me credant! Fama enim bella constant et saepe etiam, deum esse me credant! Fama enim be ella constant et saepe etiam,
quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit. 16 An me luxuriae indulgentem putatis arma vestra auro argentoque adornasse? Adsuetis nihil vilius hac videre materia volui ostendere, Macedonas invictos ceteris ne auro quidem vinci. 17 Oculos ergo primum eorum
sordida omnia et humilia expectantium capiam et docebo, nos non auri aut argenti cupidos, sed orbem terrarum subacturos venire. Quam gloriam tu, parricicia, intercipere voluisti et Macedonas rege
adempto devictis gentibus dedere. 18 Ac nunc mones me ut vestris adempto devictis gentibus dedere. 11 Ac nunc mones me, ut vestris
parentibus parcam! Non oportebat quidem vos scire, quid de his statuissem, quo tristiores periretis, si qua vobis parentum memoria cura est: sed olim istum morem occidendi cum scelestis insontes propinquos parentesque solvi et profiteor in eodem honore futuro
omnes eos in quo fuerunt. 19 Iam tuum Callisthenen, cui uni vir videris, quia latro es, scio, cur produci velis: ut coram his probra, quae in me modo iecisti, unde audisti, illius quoque ore referantur Quem, si Macedo esset, tecum introduxissem, dignissimum te discipulo magistrum: nunc Olynthio non idem iuris est.' 20 Post haec
consilium dimisit tradique damnatos hominibus, qui ex eadem consilium dimisit tradique damnatos hominibus, quie ex eadem
cohorte erant, iussit. Illi, ut fidem suam saevitia regi adprobaren excruciatos necaverunt. 21 Callisthenes quoque tortus inter
consilii in caput regis innoxius sed haudquaquam aulae et adsentantium accommodatus ingenio. 22 Itaquae nullius caed maiorem apud Graecos Alexandro excitavit invidiam, quod praeditum optimis moribus artibusque, a quo revocatus ad vitam erat etiam interfectit Clito mori perseveraret, non tantum occiderit, sed paenitentia consecuta est.

## Caput IX

Sed ne otium serendis rumoribus natum aleret in Indiam movit semper bello quam post victoriam clarior. 2 India tota ferme spectat nientem, minus in latitudinem quam recta regione spatiosa. 3 Quae cetera multisque inclitis amnibus Caucaso monte ortis placidum per campos iter praebent. 4 Indus gelidior est quam ceteri: aquas vehit a colore maris haud multum abhorrentes. 5 Ganges, omnium ab
Oriente fluvius eximius ad meridiana regigen decurriter Oriente fluvius eximius, ad meridianam regionem decurrit et magnorum montium iuga recto alveo stringiti: inde eum obiectae
rupes inclinant ad orientem. 6 Alter, qui rubro mari accipitur, Indus, ripas multasque arbores cum magna soli parte exsorbet, saxis quoque inpeditus, quis crebro reverberatur: 7 ubi mollius solum reperit, stagnat insulasque molitur. 8 Acesines eum auget: decursurum in
mare Indus intercipit magnoque motu amnis uterque colliditur, quippe asperum os influenti obicit nec repercussae aquae cedunt. 9 Diardines minus celeber auditu est, quia per ultima Indiae currit: ceterum non crocodilos modo uti Nilus sed etiam delphinos ignotasque aliis gentibus beluas alit.10 Etymandrus, crebris flexibus
subinde curvatus, ab accolis rigantibus carpitur: ea causa est, cur tenues reliquias sine nomine in mare emittat. 11 Multis praeter hos amnibus tota regio dividitur, sed ignobilibus, quia non adeo nota deuruntur: is cohibitus iugis montium ad interiora non penetrat ita alendis frugibus mitia. 13 Sed adeo in illa plaga mundus statas temporum vices mutat, ut, cum alia fervore solis exaestuant, Indiam nives obruant, rursusque, ubi cetera rigent, illic intolerandus aestus
existat. Nec, cur ibi se natura verterit, patet causa. 14 Mare certe, que adluitur, ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Ab Erythro rege inditum est nomen, propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt.
15 Terra lini ferax: inde plerique sunt vestes. Libri arboum 15 Terra lini ferax: inde plerique sunt vestes. Libri arborum tene imitandum humanae vocis sonum dociles sunt, animalia invisitata



 Hiò $\theta \varepsilon$ Oũ $\delta \varepsilon \delta \delta o ́ \sigma \theta \alpha$ L.
But this fear was soon removed by a wonderful thing that happened not long after, and was thought to presage better. For Proxenus, a,
Macedonian, who was the chief of those who looked to the king's furniture, as he was breaking up the ground near the river Oxus, to set up the royal pavilion, discovered a spring of a fat oily liquor, Ifference either of taste or smell, having exactly the same noothness and brightness, and that, too, in a country wher ives grew. The water, indeed, of the river Oxus, is said to be the conthest to the feeling of all waters, and to leave a gloss on the cause, certain it is that Alexander was wonderfully pleased with it,
cher appears by his letters to Antipater, where he speaks of it as one of he most remarkable presages that God had ever favored him with. The diviners told him it signified his expedition would be glorious in
he event, but very painful and attended with many difficulties, for hil, they said, was bestowed on mankind by God as a refreshment o eir labors.




 or did they judge wrong, for he exposed himself to many hazards the battles which he fought, and received very severe wounds, but he greatest loss in his army was occasioned through the nwholesomeness of the air and the lack of necessary provisions. But he still applied himself to overcome fortune and whatever impossible to true intrepidity, and on the other hand nothing secure



 Toũ

 accessible, impregnable rock against him, and his soldiers bega inaccessible, impreenable rock against him, and his soldiers began
despair of taking it, he asked Oxyartes whether Sisimithres was a nan of courage, who assuring him he was the greatest coward alive Then you tell me," said he, "that the place may easily be taken,
ince what is in command of it is weak." And in a little time he so









ceteris gentibus nisi invecta. Eadem terra rhinocerotas alit, no Smitant, et viribuntorum magnitudo rest vis, quam quos in Africa quae leni modicoque lapes segnes aquas ducunt 19 Gemma vehur, margaritasque mare litoribus infundit: neque alia illis maior opulentiae causa est, utique postquam vitiorum commercium vulgavere in exteras gentes. quippe aestimantur purgamenta
exaestuantis freti pretio, quod libido constituit. 20 Ingenia sicut ubique, apud illos locorum quoque situs format. 21 Corpora usque pedes carbaso velant, soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt, lapilli i ex auribus pendent, brachii a quoquue et lacertos auro colunt,
quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut ones eminent 22 Caillum quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent. 22 Capillu pectunt saepius, quam tondent, mentum semper intonsum est,
reliquam oris cutem ad speciem levitatis exaequant. 23 Regum luxuria, quam ipsi magnificentiam appellant, super omnium gentium vitia. Cum rex semet in publico conspici patitur, turibula argentea ministri ferunt totumque iter, per quod ferri destinavit, odoribus
conplent. 24 Aurea lectica margaritis circumpendentibus recubat distincta sunt auro et purpura carbasa, quae indutus est: 25 lecticam sequuntur armati corporisque custodes, inter quos ramis aves. pendent, quas cantu seriis rebus obstrepere docuerunt. 26 Reg
auratas columnas habet: totas eas vitis auro caelata percurrit aviumque, quarum visu maxime gaudent, argenteae effigies oper distinguunt. 27 Regia adeuntibuus satet, cum capililum pectit atque
ornat: tunc responsa legationibus, tunc iura popularibus seddit ornat: tunc responsa legationibus, tunc iura popularibus reddit.
Demptis soleis odoribus inlinuntur pedes. 28 Venatus maximus labo est inclusa vivario animalia inter vota cantusque pelicum figere. Binum cubitorum sagittae sunt, quas emittunt maiore nisu quam
effectu quipe telum, cuius in levitate vis omnis est inhabil effectu, quippe telum, cuius in levitate vis omnis est, inhabili pondere oneratur. 29 Breviora itinera equo conficiti: longior ubi
expeditio est, elephanti vehunt currum et tantarum beluarum corpora tota contegunt auro. Ac ne quid perditis moribus desit, lecticis aureis pelicum longus ordo sequitur: separatum a reginae ordine agmen est aequatque luxuriam. 30 Feminae epulas parant. Ab isdem vin
ministratur, cuius omnibus Indis largus est usus. Regem mero somnoque sopitum in cubiculum pelices referunt, patrio carmine noctium invocantes deos. 31 Quis credat inter haec vitia curam esse sapientiae? Unum agreste et horridum genus est, quod sapientes
vocant. 32 Apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum et vivos se vocant. 32 Apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum et vivos se
cremari iubent, quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda valitudo est. Expectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent nec ullus corporibus, quae senectus solvit, honos redditur: inquinari putant ignem, nisi qui spirantes recipit. 33 Illi, qui in urbibus publicis moribus degunt,
siderum motus scite spectare dicuntur et futurara praedicere. Nec
quemquam admovere leti diem credunt, cui expectare interrito liceal 34 Deos putant, quidquid colere coeperunt, arbores maxime, quas anni plena spatia servantur. 36 Lunae cursu notant tempora, non, ut plerique, cum orbem sidus inplevit, sed cum se curvare coepit in cornua, et idcirco breviores habent menses, quia spatium eorum hunc lunae modum dirigunt. 37 Multa et alia traduntur, quib C

## Caput X 1 Igitur A

Igitur Alexandro finis Indiae ingresso gentium suarum reguli occurrerunt imperata facturi, illum tertium Iove senitum ad ipsos cognitos esse, ipsum coram adesse cernique. 2 Rex benigne excepto sequi iussit, isdem itinerum ducibus usurus. Ceterum cum amplius praemisit ad subigendos, qui aversarentur imperium, iussitque ad flumen Indum procedere et navigia facere, quis in ulteriora transportari posset exercitus. 3 IIli, quia plura flumina superanda coniungi. 4 Post se Cratero cum phalange iusso sequie equitatum ac levem armaturam eduxit eosque, qui occurrerent, levi proelio in arbem proximam conpulit. Iam supervenerat Craterus.
5 Itaque ut principio terrorem incutere genti nondum Itaque ut principio terrorem incuteret genti nondum arma quam obsidebat, incensis. 6 Ceterum, dum obequitat moenibus,


sagita ictus. Cepit tamen oppidum et omnibus incolis eius trucidatis 7 Inde domita ignobili gente ad Nysam urbem pervenit. Forte castris ante ipsa moenia in silvestri loco positis nocturnum frigus vehementius quam alias horrore corpora adfecit opportunumque remedium ignis oblatum est: 8 caesis quippe silvis flammam excitaverunt. Quae lignis alita oppidanorum sepulcra conprehendit. Vetusta cedro erat acce conceptumque ignem late fudere, donec etiam hominum fremitus auditus est. Tunc et oppidani hostem et Macedones ad urbem ipsos venisse cognoscunt. 10 lamque rex eduxerat copias et moenia obsidebat, cum hostium, qui discrimen temptaverant, obrutit telis sunt. Aliis ergo deditionem, aliis pugnam
experiri placebat, quorum dubitatione conperta circumsideri tantum eos et abstineri caedibus iussit: tandemque obsidionis malis fatigati dedidere se. 11 A Libero Patre conditos se esse dicebant et vera hae origo erat. 12 Sita est sub radicibus montis, quem Meron incolae
appellant. Inde Graeci mentiendi traxere licentiam, Iovis femine Liberum Patrem esse celatum. 13 Rex situ montis cognito ex incolis
cum toto exercitu praemissis commeatibus verticem eius ascendit. cum toto exercitu praemissis commeatibus verticem eius ascendit.
Multa hedera vitisque toto gignitur monte, multae perennes aquae Multa hedera vitisque toto gignitur monte, multae perennes aquae
manant. 14 Pomorum quoque varii salubresque suci sunt sua sponte manant. 14 Pomorum quoque variino naturesques suct buccarisque et inulae multa in illis rupibus agrestis est silva. 15 Credo equidem no divino instinctu, sed lascivia esse provectos, ut passim hederae bacchantibus vagarentur. 16 Vocibus ergo tot milium praesidem nemoris eius deum adorantium iuga montis resonabant, cum orta licentia a paucis, ut fere fitt, in omnes se repente vulgasset. 17 Quipp velut in media pace per herbas adgestamque frondem prostravere
corpora. Et rex fortuitam laetitiam non aversatus large ad epulas omnibus praebitis per $X$ dies Libero Patri operatum habuit exercitum. 18 Quis neget eximiam quoque gloriam saepius fortunae quam virtutis esse beneficium? quippe ne epulantes quidem et
sopitos mero adgredi ausus est hostis, haud secus bacchantium sopitos mero adgredi ausus est hostis, haud secus bacchantium
ululantiumque fremitu perterritus, quam si proeliantium clamor auditus. Eadem felicitas ab Oceano revertentes temulentos commissantesque inter ora hostium texit
19 Hinc ad regionem, quae Daedala vocatur, perventum est. Deseruerant incolae sedes et in avios silvestresque montes
confugerant. Fig confugerant. Ergo Acadira transit aeque usta et destituta incolentium
fuga. 20 Itaque rationem belli necessitas mutavit. Divisis enim copis pluribus simul locis arma ostendit, oppressique, ubi non pluics sectaverant hostem, omnic clade perdomiti sunt. 21 Ptol plurimas urbes, Alexander maximas cepit: rursusque, quas distribuerat, coopias iunxit. 22 Superato deinde Choaspe amne
Coenon in obsidione urbis opulentae - Beira incole vocal Coenon in obsidione urbis opulentae - Beira incolae vocant -
reliquit: ipse ad Mazagas venit. Nuper Assacano, cuius regnum fuerat, demortuo regioni urbique praeerat mater eius Cleophis. 23 XXXVIII milia peditum tuebantur urbem non situs solum, sed etiam opere munitam. Nam qua spectat orientem, cingitur amne torre
qui praeruptis utrimque ripis aditum ad urbem inpedit. 24 Ad qui praeruptis utrimque ripis aditum ad urbem inpedit. 24 Ad
occidentem et a meridie velut de industria rupes praealtas obmolita natura est, infra quas cavernae et voragines longa vetustate in altum
cavatae
aicent
quaque desinut, fossa ingentis operis obiecta est
25 cavatae iacent, quaque desinunt, fossa ingentis operis obiecta est. 25
XXXV stadium murus urbem conplectitur, cuius ima saxo, superiora crudo latere sunt structa. Lateri vinculum lapides sunt, quos interposuere, ut duriori materiae fragilis incumberet, simulque terra humore diluta. 26 Ne tamen universa consideret moles, inpositae erant trabes validae, quibus iniecta tabulata muros et tegebant et
pervios fecerant. 27 Haec munimenta contemplantem Alexandrum consilique incertum, quia nec cavernas nisi aggere poterat inplere nec tormenta aliter muris admovere, quidam e muro sagita percussit eum. 28 Forte in suram in noblen: cuius spicalo evoso admove
equum iussit, quo vectus ne obligato quidem vulnere haud segnius equatinata exequebatur. 29 Ceterum cum crus saucium penderet et cruore siccato frigescens vulnus adgravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur se
quidem Iovis filium dici, sed corporis aegri vitia sentire. 30 Non quidem Iovis filium dici, sed corporis aegri vitia sentire. 30 Non tamen ante se recepit in castra, quam cuncta perspexit et, quae fied
vellet, edixit. Ergo, sicut imperatum erat, alii extra urbem tecta
kind words and courteous behavior will bring you off in this
interview without a contest? No, you shall not escape so. shall
contend and ho battle with you so sar, that no matter how obliging contend and do battle with you so far, that no matter how obliging
you are, you shall not have the better of me." Then receiving some complet his bounty gave him in money ready coined one thousand lents; at which his old friends were much displeased, but it gained







 кр $\check{\mu \alpha \sigma \varepsilon . ~}$
he 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 exander to a great deal of trouble, until at last they surrendered, word. This breach of his word remains as a blemish upon his achievements in war, which he otherwise had performed throughout
with justice and honor that befits a king. Nor was he less disturbed ith justice and honor that befits a king. Nor was he less disturbed by the Indian philosophers, who criticized those princes who
his party, and who solicited the free nations to oppose him. Alexander took several of these also and caused them to be hanged.


## 













 Alexander, in his own letters, has given us an account of his war with Porus. He says the two armies were separated by the Hydaspe River, on whose opposite bank Porus continually kept his elephants
in order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard and clamor in his camp, to dissipate the apprehensions of the arbarians; that one stormy dark night he passed the river, at a distance from the place where the enemy lay, into a little island,
art of his foot and the best of his horse. Here there fell a most violen storm of rain, accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and seeing some of his men burnt and dying with the lightning, he yvertheless quitted the island and made over to the other side. The Hydaspes, he says, now after the storm, was so swollen and grown
o 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 fficulty he got a footing on the land, which was slippery and
demoliebantur ingentemque vim materiae faciendo aggeri detrahebant, alii magnarum arborum stipites cum ramis ac moles saxorum in cavernas deiciebant. 31 Iamque agger aequaverat
summae fastigium terrae. Itaque turres erigebant, quae opera ingent militum ardore intra nonum diem absoluta sunt. Ad ea visenda rex nondum obducta vulneri cicatrice processit laudatisque militibus admoveri machinas iussit, e quibus ingens vis telorum in
propugnatores effusa est. 32 Praecipue rudes talium operum propugnatores effusa est. 32 Praecipue rudes talium operum
terrebant mobiles turres tantasque moles nulla ope, quae cerner admotas deorum numine agi credebant: pila quoque muralia et excussas tormentis praegraves hastas negabant convenire mortalibus. obsessis praeter deditionem patebat, legati ad regem. Inde, quia nihil veniam petituri. 34 Qua inpetrata regina venit cum magno nobilium feminarum grege aureis pateris vina libantium. 35 Ipsa genibus regis parvo filio admoto non veniam modo, sed etiam pristinae fortunae inpetravit decus: quippe appellata regina est. 36 Et credidere quidan
plus formae quam miserationi datum. Puero certe postea ex ea utcumque genito Alexandro fuit nomen

## Caput X

1 Hinc Polypercon ad urbem Noram cum exercitu missus inconditos oppidanos proelio vicit: intra munimenta conpulsos secutus urbem in dicionem redegit. 2 Multa ignobilia oppida deserta a suis venere in
regis potestatem. Quorum incolae armati petram Aornin nomine occupaverunt. Hanc ab Hercule frustra obsessam esse terreque coactum absistere fama vulgaverat. 3 Inopem consilii Alexandrum, quia undique praeceps et abrupta rupes erat, senior quidam peritus locorum cum duobus filis a adiit, si pretium operae esset, aditum se
monstraturum esse promittens. 4 LXXX talenta constituit daturum Alexander et altero ex iuvenibus obside retento ipsum ad exequenda quae obtulerat, dimisit. 5 Leviter armatis dux datus est Mylleas, scriba regis. Hos enim circuitu, quo fallerent hostem, in summu iugum placebat evadere. 6 Petran non, ut pleraeque, modicis ac
mollibus clivis in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae maxim modum erecta est, cuius ima spatiosiora sunt, altiora in artius coeunt, summa in acutum cacumen exurgunt. 7 Radices eius Indus amnis subit, praeallus, eluviesque praerutae sunt. 8 Nec alia expugnandi pateragnies ut replerentur. Ad manum silva erat, quam rex ita caedi iussit, ut nu stipites iacerentur, quippe rami fronde vestiti inpedissent ferente. Ipse primus truncam arborem iecit clamorque exercitus, index 9 Intra septimum diem cavernas expleverant, cum rex sagitarios et Agrianos iubet per ardua nitit iuvenesque promptissimos ex sua cohorte XXX delegit. 10 Duces his dair sunt Charus et Alexander, primo, quia tam manifestum periculum erat, ipsum regem discrimen subire non placuit: 11 sed ut signum tuba datum est, vir audaciae promptae conversus ad corporis custodes sequi se iubet primusque relictisque stationibus sua sponte regem sequebatur 12 Mul miserabilis fuit casus, quos ex praerupta rupe lapsos amnis praeterfluens hausit, triste spectaculum etiam non periciliantibus: cum vero alieno exitio, quid ipsis timendum foret, admonerentur, in
metum misericordia versa non extinctos, sed semetipsos deflebant 13 Et iam eo perventum erat, unde sine pernicie nisi victores redire non possent, ingentia saxa in subeuntes provolventibus barbaris, qui perculsi instabili et lubrico gradu pracipipites recidebant. 14 praemiserat rex, et iam pugnare comminus coeperant: sed cum superne tela barbari ingererent, saepius ipsi feriebantur quam vulnerabant. 15 Ergo Alexander et nominis sui et promissi memor Quem ut Charus iacentem conspexit, ruere in hostem omnium praeter ultionem immemor coepit multosque hasta, quosdam gladio interemit. Sed cum tot unum incesserent manus, super amici corpus ud secus, quam par erat, promptissim receptui dedit. 18 Salutif fuit, quod sensim et intrepidi ise recep



Alexander mire laetus et, quae is dederat, remisit et mille talenta ex praeda, quam vehebat, adiecit multaque convalia ex auro et argento vasa, plurimum Persicae vestis, XXX equos ex suis cum iisdem
insignibus, quis adsueverant, cum ipsum veherent. 17 Quae insignibus, quis adsueverant, cum ipsum veherent. 17 Quae
liberalitas sicut barbarum obstrinxerat, ita amicos ipsius vehementer offendit. E quibus Meleager super cenam largiore vino usus gratulari se Alexandro dixit, quod saltem in India repperisset dignum talentis
mille. 18 Rex haud oblitus, quam aegre tulisset, quod Clitum ob mille. 18 Rex haud oblitus, quam aegre tulisset, quod Clitum ob
linguae temeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenuit sed dixit, invidos linguae temeritatem occidisset, iram quidem tenui
homines nihil aliud quam ipsorum esse tormenta.

## Caput XIII

Postero die legati Abisarae adiere regem. Omnia dicioni eius, ita ut mandatum erat, permittebant firmataque invicem fide remittuntur ad regem. 2 Porum quoque nominis sui fama ratus ad deditionem posse conpelli, misit ad eum Cleocharen, qui denuntiaret ei, ut stipendium
penderet et in primo suorum finium aditu occurreret regi. Porus penderet et in primo suorum finium aditu occurreret regi. Porus
alterum ex his facturum sese respondit, ut intranti regnum suum pracsto esset, sed armatus. 3 Iam Hydaspen Alexander superare decreverat, cum Barzaentes, defectionis Arachosiis auctor, vinctus
trigintaque elephanti simul capti perducuntur, opportunum adversus trigintaque e eephanti simul capti perducuntur, opportunum adversus
Indos auxilium, quippe plus in beluis quam in exercitu spei ac virium illis erat. 4 Samaxus quoque, rex exiguae partis Indorum, qui ilis erat. 4 Samaxus quoque, rex exiguae partits Indorum, qui
Barraenti se coniunxerat, vinctus adductus est. 5 Igitur transfuga et regulo in custodiam, elephantis autem Taxili traditis ad amnem Hydaspen pervenit, in cuius ulteriore ripa Porus consederat transitu
prohibiturus hostem. 6 CLXXX et V elephantos obiecerat eximio prohibiturus hostem. 6 CLXXX et e elephantos obiecerat eximi
corporum robore ultraque eos currus CCC et peditum XXX fere milia, in quis erant sagittarii, sicuti ante dictum est, gravioribus telis quam ut apte excuti possent. 7 Ipsum vehebat elephantus super
ceteras beluas eminens armaque auro et argento distincta corpus rarae magnitudinis honestabant. Par animus robori corporis et, quanta inter rudes poterat esse, sapientia. 8 Macedonas non conspectus hostium solum, sed etiam fluminis, quod transeundum
erat, magnitudo terrebat. IIII in latitudinem stadia diffusus profundo alveo et nusquam vada aperiente speciem vasti maris fecerat. 9 Nec pro spatio aquarum late stagnantium impetum coercebat, sed quasi i artum coeuntibus ripis torrens et elisus ferebatur, occultaque saxa
inesse ostendebant pluribus locis undae repercussae. 10 Terribilior facies erat ripae, quam equi virique conpleverant. Stabant ingentes vastorum corporum moles et de industria inritatae horrendo stridore aures fatigabant. 11 Hinc amnis, hinc hostis capacia quidem bonae spei pectora et saepe se experta inproviso tamen pavore percusserant.
Quippe instabiles rates nec dirigi ad ripam nec tuto adplicari posse credebant. 12 Erant in medio amne insulae crebrae, in quas et Indi et Macedones nantes levatis super capita armis transibant. Ibi levia proelia conserebantur et uterque rex parvae rei discrimine sumn
experiebatur eventum. 13 Ceterum in Macedonum exercitu temeritate atque audacia insignes fuere Symmachus et Nicano nobiles iuvenes et perpetua partium felicitate ad spernendum omne periculum accensi. 14 Quis ducibus promptissimi iuvenum lanceis
modo armatit transnavere in insulam, quam frequens hostis tenebat, multosque Indorum, nulla re melius quam audacia armati,
interemerunt. 15 Abire cum gloria poterant, si umquam temerita felix inveniret modum: sed dum supervenientes contemptim et superbe quoque expectant, circumventi ab iis, qui occulti enaverant,
eminus obruti telis sunt. 16 Qui effugerant hostem, aut impetu amnis eminus obrutit telis sunt. 16 Qui effugerant hostem, aut impetu
ablati sunt aut verticibus fiduciam erexit cuncta cernentis e ripa. 17 Alexander inops consilii tandem ad fallendum hostem talem dolum intendit. Erat insula in ine amplior ceteris, silvestris eadem Fossa quoque praealta haud procul ripa, quam tenebat ipse, non
pedites modo, sed etiam cum equis viros poterat abscondere. 18 Igitur ut a custodia huius opportunitatis oculos hostium averteret, Ptolemaeum omnibus turmis obequitare iussit procul insula et
subinde Indos clamore terrere, quasi flumen transnaturus foret. 19 Per conplures dies Ptolemaeus id fecit eoque consilio Porum quoque
agmen suum ei parti, quam se petere simulabat, coegit advertere 20 agmen suum ei parti, quam se petere simulabat, coegit advertere. 20 ripae statui suum tabernaculum iussit adsuetamque comitari ipsum

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

cohortem ante id tabernaculum stare et omnem apparatum regiae magnificentiae hostium oculis de industria ostendi. 21 Attalum etiam, aequalem sibie thaud disparem habitu oris et corporis, utique
cum procul viseretur, veste regia exornat prabiturum speciem, cum procul Viseretur, veste regia exornat prabiturum speciem,
ipsum regem illi ripae praesidere nec cogitare de transitut 22 Huius consilii effectum primo morata tempestas est, mox adiuvit, incommoda quoque ad bonos eventus vertente fortuna. 23 Traicere amnem cum ceteris copiis in regionem insulae, de qua ante dictum est, parabat, averso hoste in eos, qui cum Ptolemaeo inferiorem
obsederant ripam, cum procella imbrem vix sub tectis tolerabilem effundit: obrutique militiss nimbo in terram refugerunt navigiis
ratibusque desertis. Sed tumultuantium fremius obstrenetibus ratibusque desertis. Sed tumultuantium fremitus obstrepentibus ventis ab hoste non poterat audiri. 24 Deinde momento temporis
repressus est imber, ceterum adeo spissae intendere se nubes, ut repressus est imber, ceterum adeo spissae intendere se num
conderent lucem vixque conloquentium inter ipsos facies noscitarentur. 25 Terruisset alium obducta nox caelo, cum ignoto
amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam, quam ceat amne navigandum esset, forsitan hoste eam ipsam ripam, quam caeci
atque inprovidi petebant, tenente. At rex periculo gloriam accersens et obscuritatem, quae ceteros terrebat, 26 suam occasionem ratus dato signo, ut omnes silentio ascenderent in rates, eam, qua ipse vehebatur, primam iussit expelli. 27 Vacua erat ab hostibus ripa,
quae petebatur, quippe adhuc Porus Ptolemaeum tantum intuebatur. Una ergo navi, quam petrae fluctus inliserat, haerente ceterae evadunt: armaque capere milites et ire in ordines iussit.
Caput XIV
1 lamque agmen in cornua divisum ipse ducebat, cum Poro nuntiatur armis virisque ripam obtineri et rerum adesse discrimen. Ac primo humani ingenii vitio spei suae indulgens Abisaren belli socium - et
ita convenerat - adventare credebat. 2 Mox liquidiore luce aperiente ita convenerat - adventare credebat. 2 Mox liquidiore luce aperiente
aciem hostium C quadrigas et IIII milia equitum venienti agmini obiecit. Dux erat copiarum, quas praemisit, Hages, frater ipsius, summa virium in curribus. 3 Senos viros singuli vehebant, duos clipeatos, duos sagittarios, ab utroque latere dispositos: aurigae erant
ceteri, haud sane inermes, quippe iacula conplura, ubi comminus ceteri, haud sane inermes, quippe iacula conplura, ubi comminus
proeliandum erat, omissis habenis in hostem ingerebant. Ceterum vix ullus usus huius auxilii eo die fuiut. 4 Namque, ut supra dictum est,
imber violentius quam alias fusus campos lubricos et inequitabiles imber violentius quam alias fusus campos lubricos et inequitabi
fecerat gravesque et propemodum inmobiles currus inluvie ac voraginibus haerebant. 5 Contra Alexander expedito ac levi agmine strenue invectus est. Scythae et Dahae primi omnium invasere Indos Perdiccam deinde cum equitibus in dextrum cornu hostium emisit. 6 lam undique pugna se moverat, cum ii, qui currus agebant, illud
ultimum auxilium suorum rati effusis habenis in medium discrimen ruere coeperunt. Anceps id malum utrisque erat. 7 Nam et
Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebantur et per lubris Macedonum pedites primo impetu obterebantur et per lubrica atque invia it equi non in voragines modo lacunasque, sed etiam in amnem
turbati praecipitavere curricula. 9 Pauci telis hostium exacti penetravere ad Porum acerrime pugnam cientem. Is, ut dissipatos tota acie currus
vagari sine rectoribus vidit, proximis amicorum distribuit elephantos. vagari sine rectoribus vidit, proximis amicorum distribuit elep1
10 Post eos posuerat peditem ac sagittarios et tympana pulsare solitos: id pro cantu tubarum Indis erat. Nec strepitu eorum moveantur, olim ad notum sonum auribus mitigatis. 11 Herculis simulacrum agmini peditum praeferebatur
Id maximum erat bellantibus incitamentum et deservisse gestantes
militare flagitium habebatur. 12 Capitis etiam senam iis, qui ex acie non rettul issent, metu, quem ex illo hoste quondam conceperant, etiam in religionem venerationemque converso.
Macedonas non beluarum Macedonas non beluarum modo, sed etiam ipsius regis aspectus
parumper inhibuit. 13 Beluae dispositae inter armatos speciem turrium procul fecerant, ipse Porus humanae magnitudinis propemodum excesserat formam. Magnitudinem corpori adicere videbaur beerua, qua vehebatur, tantum inter ceteras eminens, quanto
aliis ipse praestabat. 14 Itaque Alexander contemplatus et regem et agmen Indorum, "Tandem', inquit, 'par animo meo periculum video. Cum bestiis simmul et cum egregios viris res estst. 15 Intuensque
Coenon, Cum ego', inquit, 'Polemaeo Perdiccaque et Coenon, 'Cum ego', inquit, 'Ptolemaeo Perdiccaque et Hephaestione medio ardore certaminis, ipse dextrum move et turbatis signa infer.


|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |

his cuirass, they came to cut the head of it, which was three fingers broad and four long, and stuck fast in the bone. During the operation
he was taken with almost mortal swooning, but when it was out he came to himself again. Yet though all danger was past, he continued
very weak, and confined himself a areat while to a regula diet and the method of his cure, until one day hearing the Macedonians clamoring outside in their eagerness to see him, he took his cloak
and went out. And having sacrificed to the gods, without more delay and went out. And having sacrificed to the gods, without more delay
he went on board again, and as he coasted along subdued a great dea of the country on both sides of the river, including several considerable cities.




























$\varepsilon i \quad \mu \grave{1}$

## фпокр اvá

绪 had been most active in persuading Sabbas to revolt, and had caused Nacedonians a lot of trouble. These men, called Gymnosophists, Wich he made trial of by py puting difficult questions to them, letting them know that those whose answers were not pertinent should be put to death, on which he made the eldest of them judge. The first being asked which he thought the most numerous, the dead or the living, answered, "The living because those who are dead are not at
Ill." 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 ut a part of it." His question to the third was, Which is the most cunning of beasts? "That," said he, "which men have not yet found
out." He bade the fourth tell him what argument he used to Sabbas 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
hponere. Ergo telis undique obruitur confossoque eo in vehiculum Porus inponitur. 41 Quem rex ut vidit adevantem oculos, non odio, rerum mearum cognita fama belli fortunam experirit, cum Taxilis esset in deditos clementiae meae tam propinquum tibi exemplum?' 42 At ille, 'Quoniam', inquit, 'percontaris, respondebo ea libertate, 43 Meas enim noveram vires, nondum expertus tuas: fortiorem esse te belli docuit eventus. Sed ne sic quidem parum felix sum, secundus tibi'. Rursus interrogatus, quid ipse victorem statuere debere censeret, 'Quod hic', inquit, 'dies tibi suadet, quo expertus es, quam
caduca felicitas esset.' 44 Plus monendo profecit, quam si precatus caduca felicitas esset.' 44 Plus monendo profecit, quam si precatu esset: quippe magnitudinem animi eius interritam ac ne fortuna
quidem infractam non misericordia modo, sed etiam honore excipes dignatus est. 45 Aegrum curavit haud secus, quam si pro ipso pugnasset: confirmatum contra spem omnium in amicorum numeru recepit, mox donavit ampliore regno, quam tenuit. 46 Nec sane
quiccuaum ingenium eius solidius aut constantius habuit cuam admirationem verae laudis et gloriae: simplicius tamen fama aestimabat in hoste quam in cive. Quippe a suis credebat magnitudinem suam destrui posse, eandem clariorem fore, quo fuissent, quos ipse vicisset.
$\frac{\text { http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Curtius/ } /{ }^{*} \text {.htm }}{\text { Liber VIII }}$ Caput I
1 Alexander, tam memorabili victoria laetus, qua sibi Orientis finis apertos esse censebal, Soli victimis caesis milites quoque, quo promptioribus animis reliqua belli obirent, pro contione laudatos
docuit, quidquid Indis virium fuisset illa dimicatione prostratum cetera opimam praedam fore celebratasque opes in ea regione eminere, quam peterent. 2 Proinde iam vilia et obsoleta esse spolid de Persis: gemmis margaritisque et auro atque ebore Macedoniam et pecuniae et gloriae, simul quia numquam eos adfirmatio eius fefellerat, pollicentur operam. Dimissisque cum bona spe navigia exaedificari iubet, ut, cum totam Asiam percucurrisset, finem terrarum, mare inviseret. 4 Multa materia navalis in proximis
montibus erat: quam caedere adgressi magnitudinis invisitata repperere serpentes. 5 Rhinocerotes quoque, rarum alibi animal, in isdem montibus erant. Ceterum hoc nomen beluis inditum a Graccis,
 coronis et mille aureis singulos donat: ceteris quoque pro portione aut gradus, quem in amicitia obtinebant, aut navatae operae ho habitus est. 7 Abisares, qui prius, quam cum Poro dimicaretur, legatos ad Alexandrum miserat, rursus alios misit policentes, omnia
facturum, quae imperasset, modo ne cogeretur corpus suum dedere: neque enim aut sine regio imperio victurum aut regnaturum esse captivum. 8 Cui Alexander n ipsum ad eum esse venturum.
Hinc porro ampe superto
prope in immensum spatium diteriora Indiae processit. 9 Silvae erant Ititudinem editis arboribus umbrosae. 10 Plerio gentium stipitum flexi in humum rursus, qua se curvavera erigebantur, adeo ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arb ex sua radice generatae. 11 Caeli temperies salubris, quippe et vim solis umbrae levant et aquae large manante e fontibus. 12 Ceterum hic uoque serpentium magna vis erat squamis fulgorem aur
praesens mors sequebatur, donec ab incolis remedium oblatum est Hinc per deserta ventum est ad flumen Hyarotim. 13 Iunctum era flumini nemus, opacum arboribus alibi invisitatis agrestiumque procul positum corona capit obsidibusque acceptis stipendium inponit.
Ad magnam deinde, ut in ea regione, urbem pervenit, non muro clum, sed etiam palude munitam. 15 Ceterum barbari vehiculis inter transsiliebantque in vehicula strenuo saltu, cum succurrere

account, he added, 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, "Life is stronger than death, because it do." The eighth told him, "Life is stronger than death, because it
supports so many miseries." And the last being asked how long he 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 than another." "Nay," said the king "then you shall die first, for giving such a sentence." "Not so, O king," replied the gymnosophis, unless you said falsely that he should die first who made the worst nswer." In conclusion he gave them presents and dismissed them.




















 But to those who were in greatest reputation anong them for wisdom, and lived a private quiet life, he sent Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, asking them to come to him. Calanus, it is aid, arrogantly and roughly commanded him to strip himself and him, though he came from Zeus himself! Dandamis received him with more civility, and hearing him talk about Socrates, Pythagoras, d Diogenes, told him he thought them men of great parts who erred only in having too great respect for the laws and customs of
their country. Others say Dandamis only asked him the reason why Alexander undertook so long a journey to come into those parts. Taxiles, however, persuaded Calanus to stay with Alexander. His roper name was Sphines, but because he always said "cale," which
n the Indian tongue is a word of greeting, the Greeks called him
Calanus.
te is said to have shown Alexander an instructive emblem of government, which was this. He threw a dry shriveled hide upon the ound, and stepped upon the edges of it. The skin when it was ound about its edges, until he set his foot in the middle, which mad 11 the parts lie even and quiet. The meaning of this show being that
borantibus suis vellent. 16 Ac primo insolitum genus pugnae Nacedonas terruit, cum eminus vulnerarentur. Deinde spreto tam fodere coeperunt. 17 Et vincula, quis conserta erant iussit incidi, quo facilius singula circumvenirentur. Itaque VIII milibus suorum missis in oppidum refugerunt. 18 Postero die scalis undique admotis muri occupantur. Paucis perricitas salutif fuit, qui cognito urbis excidio paludem transnavere et in vicina oppida ingentem intt
terrorem, invictum exercitum et deorum profecto advenises memorantes.
19 Alexander ad vastandam eam regionem Perdicca cum expedita manu misso partem copiarum Eumeni tradidit, ut is quoque barbaros
ad deditionem conpelleret: ipse ceteros ad urbem validam in ad deditionem conpelleret. ipse ceteros ad urbem valdam, in quam
aliarum quoque confugerant incolae, duxit. 20 Oppidani missis, qui regem deprecarentur, nihilo minus bellum parabant. Quippe orta potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse ducebant. 21 Sed dum potiora, quidam nullam opem in ipsis esse ducebant. 21 Sed dum
nihil in commune consulitur, qui deditioni inminebant, apertis portis hostem recipiunt. 22 Alexander quamquam belli auctoribus iure poterat irasci, tamen omnibus venia data el obsidibus acceptis agmen. Quos cum ex muris adgnovissent, utpote gentis eiusdem, in agmen. Quos cum ex muris adgnovissent, utpote gentis eiusdem, in
conloquium convocaverunt. 23 Illi clementiam regis simulque vim commemorando ad deditionem eos conpulere: ceterasque urb simili modo domitas in fidem accepit.
24 Hinc in regnum Sopithis perventum sapientia excellet bonisque moribus regitur. 25 G , barbari credunt, parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque, sed eorum, quibus spectandi infantum habitum cura mandata est. Si quos insignes aut aliqua parte genere ac nobilitate coniunctis, sed electa corporum specie, quia eadem aestimatur in liberis. 27 Huius gentis oppidum, cui Alexander admoverat copas, ab ipso Sopithe obtinebaw. Classe erant porta, Macedones, deseruissent urbem incolae an fraude se occulerent: 28 cum subito patefacta porta rex Indus cum duobus adultis filiis occurrit, multum inter omnes barbaros eminens corporis specie. 29 Vestis erat auro purpuraque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat: ornata erant. 30 Pendebant ex auribus insignes candore ac magnitudine lapilli. Baculum aureum berylli distinguebant. Quo tradito precatus, ut sospites acciperet, se liberosquue et gentem suam
dedidit. 31 Nobiles ad venandum canes in ea reione abstinere dicuntur, cum viderunt feram, leonibus maxime infesti. 32 Horum vim ut ostenderet Alexandro, in conseptum leonem eximiae magnitudinis iussit emitti et IIII omnino admoveri canes, qui celeriter feram occupaverunt. Tum ex his, qui adsueverant talibus
ministeriis, unus canis leoni cum aliis inhaerentis crus avellere et, quia non sequebatur, ferro amputare coepit. 33 Ne sic quidem pertinacia victa rursus aliam partem secare instititet inde no segnius inhaerentem ferro subinde caedebat. Ille in vulnere ferae
dentes moribundus quoque infixerat: tantam illis animalibus ad venandum cupiditatem ingenerasse naturam memoriae proditum est. 34 Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere, quae accepi. 35 Relicto igitur Sopithe in suo regno ad fluvium Hypasin processit,
Hephaestione, qui diversam regionem subegerat, coniuncto 36 Phegeus erat gentis proximae rex: qui popularibus suis colere agros, ut adsueverant, iussis Alexandro cum donis occurrit, nihil, Caput II
1 Biduum apud eum substitit rex: tertio die amnem superare decreverat, transitu diffficilem non spatio solum aquarum, sed etiam saxis inpeditum. 2 Percontatus igitur Phegea, quae noscenda erant, XII dierum ultra flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse cognoscit excipere deinde Gangen, maximum totius Indiae fluminum: 3
ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangoridas et Prasios eorumg Iteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Prasios eorumque
regem esse Aggrammen, XX milibus equitum ducentisque peditum regen esse Aggrammen, $X X$ milibus equitum ducentisque
obsidentem vias. 4 Ad hoc quadrigarum II milia trahere et,

praecipuum terrorem, elephantos, quos III milium numerum explere dicebat. Incredibilia regi omnia videbantur. 5 Igitur Porum - nam cum eo erat - percontatur, an vera essent, quae dicerentur. 6 IIle
vires quidem gentis et regni haud falso iactari adfirmat: ceterum, qui vires (rearet, non modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimae sortis, quippe patrem eius, tonsorem vix diurno quaestu propulsantem famem, propter habitum haud indecorum cordi fuisse reginae. 7 Ab ea in propiorem eius, quitum regnasset, amicitiae locum admotum
interfecto eo per insidias sub specie tutelae liberum eius invasis regnum necatisque pueris hunc, qui nunc regnat, generasse, invisum vilemque popularibus, magis paternae fortunae quam suae memorem. 8 Adfirmatio Pori multiplicem animo regis iniecerat
curam. Hostem beluasque spernebat, situm locorum et vim fluminu ceram. Hostem beluasquut spernebat, situm locorum et vim fluminum persequi terminum et eruere arduum videbatur: rursus avaritia gloriae et insatiabiis cupido famae nihiri invium, nihil remotum
videri sinebat. 10 Et interdum dubitabat, an Macedones tot emeni spatia terrarum, in acie et in castris senes facti, per obiecta flumina, per tot naturae obstantes difficultates secuturi essent: abundantes onustosque praeda magis parta frui velle, quam adquirenda fatigari.
11 Non idem sibi et militibus animi esse, se totius orbis imperium 11 Non com stibi et militibus animi esse, se thim ondio stare: militem labore defatigatum proximum quemque fructum finito tanden periculo expetere. 12 Vicit ergo cupido rationem et ad contio vocatis militibus ad hunc maxime modum disseruit: 'Non ignoro milites, multa, quae terrere vos possent, ab incolis Indiae per hos dies
de industria esse iactata. 13 Sed non est inprovisa vobis mentientium de industria esse actata.
vanitas. Sic Ciliciae fauces, sic Mesopotamiae campos, Tigrim et Euphraten, quorum alterum vado transivimus, alterum ponte, terribilem fecerant Persae. 14 Numquam ad liquidum fama
perducitur, omnia illa tradente maiora sunt vero. Nostra quo gloria, cum sit ex solido, plus tamen habet nominis quam operis. 15 Modo quis beluas offerentes moenium speciem, quis Hydaspem amnem, quis cetera auditu maiora quam vero sustineri posse
credebat? Olim, hercule, fugissemus ex Asia, si nos fabulae debellare potuissent. 16 Creditisne elephantorum greges maiores esse, quam usquam armentorum sunt, cum et rarum sit animal nec facile capiatu multoque difficilius mititigetur? 17 Atqui eadem vanitas copias
peditum equitumque numeravit. Nam flumen, quo latius fusum hoc placidius stagnat: quippe angustis ripis coercita et in angustiore alveum elisa torrentes aquas invehunt, contra spatio alvei segnior cursus est. 18 Praeterea in ripa omne periculum est, ubi adplicantes
navigia hostis expectat. Ita
anantumcumque flumen intervenit idem navigia hostis expectat. Ita quantumcumque flumen intervenit, idem
futurum discrimen est evadentium in terram. Sed omnia ista vera esse fingamus. 19 Utrumne vos magnitudo beluarum an multitudo hostium terret? Quod pertinet ad elephantos, prasens habemus exemplum: in suos vehementius quam in nos incucurrrerunt, tam
vasta corpora securibus falcibusque mutilata sunt. 20 Quid autem interest, totidem sint, quot Porus habuit, an III milia, cum uno aut altero vulneratis videamus ceteros in fugam declinari? 21 Dein paucos quoque incommode regunt: congregata vero tot milia ipsa se
elident, ubi nec stare nec fugere potuerint inhabiles vastorum corporum moles. Equidem sic animalia ista contempsi, ut, cum haberem ipse, non opposuerim, satis gnarus, plus suis quam hostibu periculi inferre. 22 At enim equitum peditumque multitudo vos commovet! Cum paucis enim pugnare soliti estis et nunc primum
inconditam sustinebitis turbam. 23 Testis adversus multitudinem invicti Macedonum roboris Granicus amnis et Cilicia inundata crue Persarum et Arbela, cuius campi devictorum a nobis ossibus strati sunt. 24 Sero hostium legiones numerare coepistis, postquam
solitudinem in Asia vincendo fecistis. Cum per Hellespontum navigaremus, de paucitate nostra cogitandum fuit: nunc nos Scythae sequuntur, Bactriana auxilia prasto sun, Dahae Sogdianique inter nos militant. Nec tamen illi turbae confido. 25 Vestras manu intueor, vestram vitutem rerum, quas gesturus sum, vadem
praedemque habeo. Quamdiu vobiscum in acie stabo, nec mei nec
hostium exercitus numer. Vos modo animos mihi plenos alacritatis hostium exercitus numero. Vos modo animos mihi plenos alacritatis ac fiduciae adhibete. 26 Non in limine operum laborumque Oceanum: nisi obstat ignavia, inde victores perdomito fine terrarum


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 scaffeld widh was upon a platform erected on a lofty, conspicuous scaffold, which was
slowly drawn by eight horses. This was followed by a great many hariots 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 but cups and goblets and Thericlean drinking vessels, which, along te whole way, they dipped into lage owls and jars, and drank ealths 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
Wacchus For this disorderly wandering march, besides the dris acchus. For this disorderly, wandering march, besides the drinking part of it, was accompanied with all the sportiveness and insole
of bacchanals, as much as if the god himself had been there to countenance and lead the procession.




 Ap soon as he came to the royal pilañev.
Afreshed ne came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he again ard, it is said, he went to see a prize of dancing contended for in which his favorite Bagoas, having gained the victory, crossed the theatre in his dancing habit, and sat down close by him, which so eased the Macedonians that they made loud acclamations for him kiss Bagoas, and never stopped clapping their hani














 nisa aive of his voyage that he reslved delighted him so with nouth of the Euphrates with a great fleet, with which he designed to go round by Arabia and Africa, and so by Hercules's Pillars into the editerranean, in order for whin, seamen and pilots. But the news of the difficulties Alexander had uffered in his Indian expedition, the danger of his person among the Mallians, hie repoth loss safety, had bis forces, and
revertemur in patriam. Nolite, quod pigri agricolae faciunt, maturos fructus per inertiam amittere e manibus. 27 Maiora sunt periculis praemia: dives eadem et inbellis est regio. Itaque non tam ad gloriam vos duco, quam ad praedam. Digni estis, qui opes, quas illud mare
litoribus invehit, referatis in patriam, digni, qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquatis. 28 Per vos gloriamque vestram, qua humanum fastigium exceditis, perque et mea in vos et in me vestra
merita, quibus invicti contendimus, oro quaesoque, merita, quibus invicti contendimus, oro quaesoque, ne humanarum
rerum terminos adeuntem alumnum commilitonemque vestrum, ne dicam regem, deseratis. 29 Cetera vobis imperavi, hoc unum debiturus sum. Et is vos rogo, qui nihil umquam vobis praceepi, quin primus Patrem, si invidia afuerit, aequabo. 30 Date hoc precibus meis et tandem obstinatum silentium rumpite. Ubi est ille clamor, alacritatis vestrae index? ubi ille meorum Macedonum vultus? Non adgnosco
vos, milites, nec adgnosci videor a yobis S Suda iamdudum ares pulso, aversos animos et infractos excitare conor'. 31 Cumque illi in terram demissis capitibus tacere perseverarent, 'Nescio quid', inquit, 'in vos inprudens deliqui, quod me ne intueri quidem vultis. In solitudine mihi videor esse. Nemo respondet, nemo saltem
Quos adloquor? quid autem postulo? Vestram gloriam et magnitudinem vindicamus. 32 Ubi sunt illi, quorum certamen paulo ante vidi contendentium, qui potissimum vulnerati regis corpus quoque ire perseverdo. 33 Obicite me fluminibus et bedui st tillis gentibus, quarum nomina horretis. Inveniam, qui desertum a vobis sequantur: Scythae Bactrianique erunt mecum, hostes paulo ante, nunc milites nostri. 34 Mori praestat, quam precario imperatorem esse. Ite reduces domos! ite deserto rege ovantes! Ego hic
desperatae victoriae aut honestae morti locum inveniam.'

## -

Ne sic quidem ulli militum vox exprimi potuit. Expectabant, ut duces principesque ad regem perferrent, vulneribus et continuo labore militiae fatigatos non detrectare munia, sed sustinere non
posse. 2 Ceterum illo men primo fremitus sua sponte, deinde gemitus ora defixerant. paulatimque liberius dolor erigi coepit manantibus lacrimis, adeo ut rex ira in misericordiam versa ne ipse quidem, quamquam cuperet, temperare oculis potuerit. 3 Tandem universa contione effusius flen significans se bequi velle. 4 Quem propis, acceder galeam capiti - ita enim regem adloqui mos est - hortari coeperunt, ut causam exercitus ageret. 5 Tum Coenus, 'Di prohibeant', inquit, 'a nobis inpias mentes: et profecto prohibent. periclitari, sanguine nostro commendare posteritati tuum nomen. Proinde si perseveras, inermes quoque et nudi et exangues, utcumque tibi cordi est, sequimur vel antecedimus. 6 Sed si audire vis non
fictas tuorum militum voces verum necessitate wltima expressas praebe, quaeso, propitias aures imperium atque auspicium tuum constantissime secutis et, quocumque pergis, secuturis. 7 Vicisti, rex magnitudine rerum non hostes modo, sed etiam milites. Quidquid mortalitas capere poterat, inplevimus. Emensis maria terrasque
melius nobis quam incolis omnia nota sunt. Paene in ultimo fine consistimus. 8 In alium orbem paras ire et Indiam quaeris Indis quoque ignotam: inter feras serpentesque degentes eruere ex latebris et cubilibus suis expetis, ut plura, quam sol videt, victoria lustres. 9 tua semper in incremento erit, nostra vis iam in fine est. Intuere corpora exsanguia, tot perfossa vulneribus, tot cicatricibus putria lam tela hebetia sunt, iam arma deficiunt. Vestem Persicam degeneravimus cultum. Quoto cuique lorica est? quis equum habet? Iube quaeri, quam multos servi ipsorum persecuti sint, quid cuique supersit ex praeda. Omnium victores omnium inopes sumus. Nec
luxuria laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsins. luxuria laboramus, sed bello instrumenta belli consumpsimus. 12
Hunc tu pulcherrimum exercitum nudum obicies beluis? Quarum multitudinem augeant de industria barbari, magnum tamen esse

|  |  |  | 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 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. 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. $\square$ <br> Upon this he despatched Nearchus again to his fleet, to carry the war punished those commanders who had behaved ill, particularly Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abuletes, whom he killed with his own hand, thrusting him through the body with his spear. And when 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 provision do us?" and sent him away to prison. <br>  <br>  $\square$ $\square$ $\square$ $\square$ <br>  as their own kings had been wont to do, who as often as they came 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 Pella. And after he had read the inscription, he caused it to be cut "O man, whosoever thou art, and from whencesoever thou comest 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. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

numerum etiam ex mendacio intellego. 13 Quodsi adhuc penetrare in Indiam certum est, regio a meridie minus vasta est, qua subacta licebit decurrere Cin cid mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit sic quoque occurrit Oceanus. Nisi mavis errare, pervenimus, quo tua fortuna ducit. 15 Haec tecum quam sine te cum his loqui malui, non uti inirem circumstantis exercitus gratiam, sed ut vocem loquentium
potius quam gemitum murmurantium audires. 16 Ut finem orationi potius quam gemitum murmurantium audires.' 16 Ut finem orationi
Coenus inposuit, clamor undique urbs ploratu oritur regem patrem dominum confusis appellantium vocibus. 17 Iamque et alii duces pracipueque seniores, quis ob aetatem et excusatio honestior erat et auctoritas maior, eadem precabantur. 18 Ille nec castigare obstinatos
nec mitigare poterat iratos. Itaque inops consili desiluite tribunali nec mititgare poterat iratos. Itaque inops consilit desiluite e tribunali
claudique regiam iussit omnibus praeter adsuetos adire prohibitis. Biduum irae datum est. 19 Tertio die processit erigique duodecim aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suae, munimenta pro corporum habitu relinqui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritat fallax miraculum praeparans.
20 Hinc repetens, quae ems. castra. Ibi forte Coenus morbo extinctus est : quidem rex, adiecit tamen, propter paucos dies longam orationem eum exorsum, tamquam solus Macedoniam visurus esset. 21 lam in aqua classis, quam aedificari iusserat, stabat. Inter haec Memnon ex
Thracia in supplementum equitum V milia, praeter eos ab Harpalo Thracia in supplementum equitum V milia, praeter eos ab Harpalo
peditum VII milia adduxerat armaque XXV milibus auro et argento calata pertulerat, quis distributis vetera cremari iussit. 22 Mille navigis aditurus Oceanum discordesque et vetera odia retractan Porum et Taxilen, Indiae reges, firmatae eer adfinitatem gratiae
relinquit in suis regnis, summ, in aed ficanda classe amborum studi relinquitit in suis regnis, summo in aedificana classe amborum stud
usus. 23 Oppida quoque duo condidit, quorum alterum Nicaeam appeliavit, alterum Bucephalam, equi, quem amiserat, memoriae ac nomini dedicans urbem. 24 Elephantis deinde et inpedimentis terra
sequi sequi iussis secundo amne defluxit, quadraginta ferme stadia singulis
diebus procedens, ut opportunis locis exponi subinde copiae possent. Caput IV
1 Perventum erat in regionem, in qua Hydaspes amnis Acesin committitur. 2 Hinc decurrit
Herculis maiores suos esse
Hercu
p23
memorant: aegros relictos cepisse sedem, quam insi obtinebant Pelles ferarum pro veste, clavae tela erant: multaque enim, cum
Graeci mores exolevissent, stirpis ostendebant vestigi. 4 Hinc escensione facta CC et L stadia excessit depopulatusque regionem
oppidum, caput eius, corona cepit 5 XL pedium oppidum, caput eius, corona cepit. 5 XL peditum milia Agalasses in
ripa fluminum opposuerant: quae amne superato in fugam conpulit ripa fluminum opposuerant: quae amne superato in fugam conpulit
inclusosque moenibus expugnat. Puberes interfecti sunt, ceteri venierunt. 6 Alteram deinde urbem expugnare adortus magnaque vi defendentium pulsus multos Macedonum amisit. Sed cum in obsidione perseverasset, oppidani desperata salute ignem subiecere
tectis seque ac liberos coniugesque incendio cremant. 7 Quod cum ipsi augerent, hostes extinguerent, nova forma pugnae erat. Delebant incolae urbem, hostes defendebant: adeo etiam naturae iura bellum in contrarium mutat. 8 Arx erat oppidi intacta, in qua praesidium tota India praeter Gangen maxima munimento arcis adplicant undas A septentrione Indus adluit, a meridie Acesines Hydaspi confunditur. 9 Ceterum amnium coetus maritimis similes fluctus movet multoque ac turbido limo, quod aquarum concursu subinde turbatur, iter, qua
meatur navigiis, in tenuem alveum cogitur. 10 Itaque cum crebri fluctus se inveherent et navium hinc proras, hinc latera pulsarent, subducere nautae vela coeperunt. Sed ministeria eorum hinc metu, hinc praerapida celeritate fluminum occupantur. 11 In oculis omniu duo maiora navigia submersa sunt: leviora, cum et ipsa nequirent
regi, in ripam tamen innoxia expulsa sunt. Ipse rex in rapidissimos vertices incidit, quibus intorta navis obliqua et gubernaculi inpatiens agebaur. L2 lam vestem detraxerat corpori proiecturus sen adparebatque anceps periculum tam nataturi quam navigare



|  |  |  | 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 value for them. And when he proceeded to send down the inf 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 hom condition than when they came out; therefore they desired him to dismiss them one and all, and to account his Macedonians useless, 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 and attendants. <br> 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 alread something mollified, yet he would not admit them into his presence, nor would they stir from thence, but continued two days and nights lord to have 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, hat when they came best and foremost seats, crowned with chaplets of flowers. He ordered, also, that the children of those who had lost their lives in his <br>  к $\alpha \tau \varepsilon \pi \varepsilon \boldsymbol{\gamma} \mathbf{0} \tau \boldsymbol{\tau} \alpha$, |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |


|  |  |  | At this misfortune, Alexander was so beyond all reason transported that, to express his sorrow, he immediately ordered the manes and that, to express his sorrow, he immediately ordered he manes tails of all his horses and mules to be cut, and threw down the battiements of the neighboring cities. The poor physician he crucitied, and forbade playing on the flute or any other musical instrument in the camp a great while, until diriections 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. <br> $\tau \alpha \tilde{\tau} \tau \alpha$ <br> In his sepulchre and monument and the adorning of them he intended to bestow ten thousand talents; and designing that the might outdo the expense, his wishes turned, above all other artists, to Stasicales, because he always promised something very bold, 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 ofious river into the inhabitants, and out of its right should pour a copious sea. Though Alexander declined this proposal, yet now he spent a great deal of time with workmen to invent and contrive others even more extravagant and sumptuous. <br>  $\alpha$ ã̃ 1 c $\square$ <br> uعvos, $\square$ $\square$ $\square$ <br> As he was upon his way to Babylon, Nearchus, who had sailed back Alexander he had met with some 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 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |



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 friends. fiends. His greatest apprehension was of Antipater and his sons, one of
whom, Iolaus, was his chief cupbearer; and Cassander, who had atom, Iolaus, was his chief cupbearer, and Cassander, who had
lately arrived, and had been bred up in Greek manners, the first tim 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 interrupting hin, aid, "What is it you say? Do you think people, if they had recei
o injury, would come such a journey only to calumniate your ther?"
to which when Cassander replied, that their coming so far from the evidence was a great proof of the falseness of their charges, hich would serve equally on e were some of Aristotle's sophism d wis father serve equally on both sides; and added, that both he the least injustice towards those who complained All of this guilt uch 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 ght of that of Alexande before he recovered himself.









When once Alexander had given way to fears of supernatural When once Alexander had given way to fears of supernatural
nfluence, his mind grew so disturbed and so easily alarmed that the least unusual or extraordinary thing happened, he thought it a prodigy or a presage, and his court was thronged with diviners and ture. So miserable a thing is incredulity and contempt of divine power on the one hand, and so miserable, also, superstition on the other, which like water, where the level has been lowered, flowing d never stopping, fills the mind with slavish fears and follies, as ow in Alexander's case
$\dot{\dot{U}} \mu \dot{\eta} \nu \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha} \alpha<\alpha i$






 yáavtec. Aplotóboulos dé 甲nouv aútov


territi nova facie, deorum exercitum et alium Liberum Patrem, clamor hilis rentibus nomen, adventare credebant. 6 Hinc militum clamor, hinc remorum pulsus variaeque nautarum voces hortantium pavidas aures inpleverant. F Ergo universi ad eos, quis in armis erant,
currunt, furere clamitantes: cum dis proelium inituros, navigia non posse numerari, quae invictos viros veherent. Tantumque in
exercitum suorum intulere terroris, ut legatos mitterent genten dedituros
8 His in
Hisilo in ficem acceptis ad alias deinde gentes quarto die pervenit Nhilo plus animi his fuit, quam ceteris fuerat. Itaque oppido ibi Musicani appellantur, intravit. 9 Hic de Teriolte satrara, , qui Parapamisadis prafececrat, iisdem arguentibus cognovit multaque avare ac superbe fecisse convictum interfici iussit. 10 Oxyartes, practor Bactrianorum, non absolutus modo, sed etiam iure amoris
amplioris imperii donatus est finibus Musicanis deind in die redactis urbi eorum praesidium inposuit.
11 Inde ad Praestos, et in Poricanus rex erat, qui se munitae urbi cum magna manu bsidere expugenit 12 Et Pextander tertio die, quam coeperat lessidere, expugnav. 12 ede condicione deditionis misit ad regem: sed antequam adirent eum, duae turres cum ingenti fragore prociderant, per quarum ruinas Macedones evasere in arcem, qua capta Porticanus cum pauc repugnans occiditur
13 Diruta igitur arce
fines ingressus est multisnoibus captivis venumdatis Sambi regis gentis urbem cuniculo cepque oppidis in fidem acceptis validissimam rudibus miltarium onerum. 14 Barbaris simile monstri visum est, existebant nullo suffossi specus ante vestigio facto. 15 LXXX milia Indorum in ea regione caesa Clitarchus est auctor multosque captivo sub corona venisse. 16 Rursus Musicani defecerunt, ad quos opprimendos missus est Pithon, qui captum principem gentis eundemque defectionis auctorem adduxit ad regem. Quo Alex
in crucem sublato rursus amnem, in quo classem expectare se iusserat, repetit.
17 Quarto deinde die secundo amne pervenit ad oppidum, quod in
regno imo erat Sambi. Nuper se ille dediderat sed regno imo erat Sambi. Nuper se ille dediderat, sed oppidani
detrectabant imperium et clauserant portas. 18 Ouorum pauc contempta rex D Agrianos moenia subirie iussit et sensim recedentes elicere extra muros hostem secuturum profecto, si fugere eos
crederet 19 Agriani, sicut imperatum erat, lacessito hoste subito crederet. 19 Agriani, sicut imperatum erat, lacessito hoste subito
terga verterunt: quos barbari effuse sequentes in terga verterunt: quos barbari effuse sequentes in alios, inter quos ips
rex erat, incidunt. Renovato ergo proelio ex III milibus barbarorum ICC casi sunt, mille capti, ceteri moenibus urbis inclusi. 20 Sed non ut prima specie laeta victoria, ita eventu quoque fuit, iuppet barbari tam strenuae mortis excogitari poterat a medicis, cum etiam leves plagae insanabiles essent. 21 Barbari autem speraverant incautum et temerarium regem excipi posse. Et forte inter promptissimos dimicans intactus evaserat. 22 Praecipue Ptolemaeus, laevo humero
leviter quidem saucius, sed maiore periculo quam vulnere adfectus, leviter quidem saucius, sed maiore periculo quam vulinere adfectus,
regis sollicitudinem in se converterat. Sanguine coniunctus erat et quidam Philippo genitum esse credebant, certe pelice eius ortum
constabat. 23 Idem corporis custo promptissimusqe bellor constabat. 23 Idem corporis custos promptissimusque bellator et
pacis artibus quam militiae maior et clarior modico civilique cultu, paciseralis in primis adituque facili, nihil ex fastu regiae adsumpserat.
liber 24 Ob haec regi an popularibus carior esset, dubitari poterat: tum certe primum expertus suorum animos, adeo ut fortunam, in quam 25 Quippe non levior illis Ptolemaei fuit cura, quam regis. Qui et proelio et sollicitudine fatigatus cum Ptolemaeo adsideret, lectum, in quo ipse adquiesceret, iussit inferri. 26 In quem ut se recepit,
protinus altior insecutus est somnus. Ex quo excitatus per quietem
vidisse se exponit speciem draconis oblatam herbam ferentis ore, quam veneni remedium esse monstrasset: colorem quouque herbae referebat, adgniturum, si quis repperisset, adfirmans. 27 Inventam
deinde - quippe a multis simul erat requisita - vulneri inposuit deinde - quiipe a multis simul erat requisita - vulneri inposuit
protinusque dolore finito intra breve spatium cicatrix quoque obducta est. 28 Barbaros ut prima spes fefellerat, se ipsos urbemque


But upon some answers which were brought him from the oracle concerning Hephaestion, he laid aside his sorrow, and fell again to
sacrificing and drinking; and having given Nearchus a splendid entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his custom, just as he was entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his custom, 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, hot as some write, after he had drunk of the bowl of seized him, not as some write, after he had drunk of the bowl of
Hercules, nor was he taken with any sudde pain in his back Hercules, nor was he taken with any sudden pain in his back, as if h
had been struck with a lance, for these are the inventions of some authors who thought it their duty to make the last scene of so great an action as tragic and moving as they could. Aristobulus tells us, at in the rage of his fever and a violent thirst, he took a draught of wine, upon which he fell
of the month Daesius.




 (1)


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { toxo } \\
& \text { vper }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \dot{\alpha} \pi \bar{\varepsilon} \theta \alpha v \varepsilon \varepsilon . \\
& \text { Rut tho ion }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { But the journals give the following record. On the eighteenth day of } \\
& \text { he month he slept in the bathing-room on account of his fever. The }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { he month he slept in the bathing-room on account of his fever. The } \\
& \text { next day he bathed and removed into his chamber, and spent his tim }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { next day he bathed and removed Into his chamber, and spent } h \text { hed } \\
& \text { in playing at dice with Medius. In the evening he bathed and }
\end{aligned}
$$

sacrifice, and ate freely, and had the fever on him through the nigh

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { On the twentieth, after the usual sacrifices and bathing, he lay in the } \\
& \text { bathing-room and heard Nearchus's narrative of his voyage, and the }
\end{aligned}
$$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { athing-room and heard Nearchus's narrative of his voyage, and the } \\
& \text { observations he had made in the great sea. The twenty first he passec }
\end{aligned}
$$ iimself removed and his bed set by the great bath, and discoursed ith his principal officers about finding fit men to fill up the vacant laces in the army. On the twenty-fourth he was much worse, and hat the general officers should wait within the court, whilst the Iferior officers kept watch without doors. On the twenty-fifth he as removed to his palace on the other side the river, where he slep is 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 menaced his friends so that they were

forced to admit them, and let them all pass through unarmed by his
dediderunt.
Hinc in proximam gentem Pataliam perventum est. Rex erat Moeris, potitur agrosque populatur Magnae inde praede Alexander oppido armentorumque, magna vis reperta frumenti. 30 Ducibus deinde Caput IX

## Caput IX

fuge ofigeant, misist, qui conquirerent alios: nec repertis pervicax cupido visendi Oceanum adeundique terminos mundi sine regionis peritis flumini ignoto caput suum totque fortissimorum virorum
salutem permittere conpulit. 2 Navigabant ergo omnium, per quae ferebantur, ignari. Quantum inde abesset mare, quae gentes colerent, quam placidum amnis os, quam patiens longarum navium esset, anceps et caeca aestimatio augurabatur: 3 unum erat temeritatis solacium perpetua felicitas. lam CCCC stadia processerant, cum
gubernatores adgnoscere ipsos auram maris et haud procul videri sibi Oceanum abesse indicant regi. 4 Laetus ille hortari nauticos coepit, incumberent remis. adesse finem laboris omnibus votis expeti
iam nihi glo iam nihil gloriae deesse, nihil obstare virtuti, sine ullo Martis
discrimine, sine sanguine orbem terrae ab illis capi- ne natura quidem longius posse procedere, brevi incognita nisi immortalibus esse visuros. 5 Paucos tamen navigio emisit in ripam, qui agrestes vagos exciperent, e quibus certiora nosci posse speraba.. III scrua procul abesset mare, responderunt nullum ipsos mare ne fama quidem accepisse, ceterum tertio die perveniri posse ad aquam amaram, quae corrumperet dulcem. Intellectum est mare destinari ab proximo [quoque] die, quo propius spes admovebatur, crescebat ardor animorum. Tertio iam die mixtum flumini subibat mare, leni adhuc aestu confundente dispares undas. 8 Tum aliam insulam med
amni sitam amni sitam evecti paulo lentius, quia cursus aestu reverberatur
adplicant classem et ad commeatus petendos discurrunt, securi eius, qui supervenit ignaris. 9 Tertia ferme hora erat, cum stata vice Oceanus exaestuans invehi coepit et retro flumen urgere: quod prim
coercitum, deinde vehementius pulsum maiore impetu adversum agebatur, quam torrentia praecipiti alveo incurrunt. 10 Ignota vulgo freti natura erat monstraque et irae deum indicia cernere videbantur. Identidem intumescens mare et in campos paulo ante siccos descendere superfusum. 11 Iamque levatis navigiis et tota classe malo attonitit recurrunt. 12 Sed in tumultu festinatio quoque tarda est. Hi contis navigia pellebant, hi, dum remos aptari probabant, consederant: 13 quidam enavigare properantes sed non expectatis,
qui simul esse debebant clauda et inhabilia navigia langide qui simul esse debebant, clauda et inhabilia navigia languide
moliebantur: aliae navium inconsulte ruentes non receperant pariterque et multitudo et paucitas festinantes morabatur. 14 Clamor hinc expectare, hinc ire iubentium dissonaeque voces nusquam idem atque unum tendentium non oculorum modo usum, sed etiam aurium
abstulerant. 15 Ne in gubernatoribus quidem quicquam opis erat, quorum nec exaudiri vox a tumultuantibus poterat nec imperium territis inconpositisque servari. 16 Ergo conlidi inter se naves abstergerique invicem remi et alii aliorum navigia urgere coeperunt.
Crederes non unius exercitus classem vei, sed duorum navale initum esse certamen. 17 Incutiebantur puppibus prorae, premebantur a sequentibus, qui antecedentes turbaverant: iurgantium ira pervenieb etiam ad manus. 18 lamque aestus totos circa flumen campos quos plerique trepidi omissis navigigis enare properant. 19 Dispersa classis partim in praealta aqua stabat, qua subsederant valles, partim in vado haerebat, utcumque inaequale terrae fastigium occupaverant Reciprocari coepit mare magno tractu aquis in sumet fretum recurrentibus reddebatque terras paulo ante profundo salo mersas. Igitur destituta navigia alia praecipitantur in proras, alia in latera recumbunt. Strati erant campi sarcinis, armis, avulsarum tabularum subsistere audebat, identidem prasentibus graviora, quae

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 were answered by the god that they should not remove him. On the
twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died. This account is most of it twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died. This
word for word as it is written in the diary.
 At the time, nobody had any suspicion of his being poisoned, but upon some information given six years after, they say Olympias put
many to death, and scattered the ashes of Iolaus, then dead, as if he 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 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 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, 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.
Howery 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 no slight evidence of which is, that during the dissensions among th
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.











 ǹv $\delta$ ıávola
Roxana, who was now with child, and upon that account much
honored by the Macedonians, being jealous of Statira, sent for honored by the Macedonians, being jealous of Statira, sent for her by
a counterfeit letter, as if Alexander had been still alive; and when sh
and had her in her power, killed her and her sister, and threw their bodie into a well, which they filled up with earth, not without the advice and help of Perdiccas, who in the time immediately following the
king's death, under cover of the name of Arrhidaeus, whom he carried about him as a sort of guard to his person, exercised the chie authority. Arrhidaeus, who was Philip's son by an obscure woman of
the name of Philinna, was himself of weak intellect, not that he had
sequerentur, expectans. Vix, quae perpetiebantur, videre ipsos credebant, in sicco naufragia, in amni mare. 22 Nec finis malorum: quippe aestum paulo post mare relaturum, quo navigia adlevarentur,
ignari, famem et ultima sibimet ominabantur Beluae quoque ignari, famem et ultima sibimet ominabantur. Beluae quoque
fluctibus destitutae terribiles vagabantur. 23 Iamque nox adp regem quoque desperatio salutis aegritudine adfecerat. Non tamen invictum animum curaa obruunt, quin tota nocte persideret in
speculis equitesque praemiteret speculis equitesque praemitteret ad os amnis, ut, cum mare rursus
exaestuare sensissent, praecederent. 24 Navigia quoque et lacerata refici et eversa fluctibus erigi iubet paratosquue esse et intentos, cum rursus mare terras inundasset. 25 Tota ea nocte inter vigilias
adhortationesque consumpta celeriter et equites ingenti cursu adhortationesque consumpta celeriter et equites ingenti cursu
refugere et secutus est aestus. Oui primo aquis leni tractu subeuntibus coepit levare navigia, mox totis campis inundatis etiam inpulit classem. 26 Plausus militum nauticorumque insperatam
salutem immodico celebrantium gaudio salutem immodico celebrantium gaudio litoribus ripisque resonabat
Unde tantum redisset subito mare Unde tantum redisset subito mare, quo pridie refugisset, quae
esset eiusdem elementi natura, modo discors, modo imperio temporum obnoxia, mirabundi requirebant. 27 Rex cum ex eo, quod accideret, coniectaret post solis ortum statum tempus esse, media nocte, ut aestum occuparet, cum paucis navigis secundo amie
defluxit. Evectusque os eius CCCC stadia processit in mare, voti sui compos: prasidibusque et maris et locorum dis sacrificio facto ad classem redit.

Caput X
1 Hinc
1 Hinc adversum flumen subit classis et altero die adpulsa est haud procul lacu salso, cuius incognita natura plerosque decepit temere ingressos aquam. Quippe scabies corpora invasit et contagium morbi
etiam in alios vulgatum est. Oleum remedio fuit. 2 Leonnato deinde etiam in alios vulgatum est. Oleum remedio fuit. 2 Leonnato deinde
praemisso, ut puteos foderet, quat terrestri itinere ducturus exercitum videbatur - quippe sicca erat regio - ipse cum copiis substitit, vernum tempus expectans. Interim et urbes plerasque cond Nearcho atque Onesicrito nauticae rei peritis imperavit, ut
validissimas navium deducerent in Oceanum progressique, vuto possent, naturam maris noscerent: vel eodem amme vel Euphrate
subire eos posse, cum reverti ad se vellent tuto possent, naturam maris noscerent: vel
subire eos posse, cum reverti ad se vellent.
4 Iamque mitigata hieme et navibus, quae inutiles videbantur,
crematis terra ducebat exercitum. 5 Nonis castris in regionem crematis terra ducebat exercitum. 5 Nonis castris in regionem
Arabiton, inde totidem diebus in Cedrosiorum perventum est. Liber hic populus concilio habito dedidit se nec quiccuaam deditis praeter
commatus imperatum est. 6 Quinto hinc die venit ad fume commeatus imperatum est. 6 Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen:
Arabum incolae appellant. Regio deserta et aquarum inops excinit Arabum incolae appellant. Regio deserta et aquarum inops excipit.
Quam emensus in Oritas transit: ibi maiorem exercitus partem Quam emensus in Oritas transit: ibi maiorem exercitus pa
Hephaestioni tradidit, levem armaturam cum Ptolemaeo
Leonnatoque partitus est. 7 Tria simul agmina populabantur Indos magnaeque praedae actae sunt: maritimos Polemaeus, ceteros ipse
rex et ab alia parte Leonnatus urebant. In hac quoque regione urbem ${ }_{8}$ condidit deductique sunt in eam Arachosii.
8 Hinc pervenit ad maritimos Indos. Desisertam vastamque regionem late tenent ac ne cum finitimis quidem ullo commercii iure miscentur. 9 Ipsa solitudo natura quoque immitia efferavit ingenia:
prominent ungues numquam recisi, comae hirsutae et intonsae sunt. 10 Tuguria conchis et ceteris purgamentis maris instruunt. Ferarum pellibus tecti piscibus sole duratis et maiorum quoque beluarum, Macedones primo inopiam, deinde ad ultimum famem sentire coeperunt, radices palmarum - namque sola ea arbor gignitur ubique rimantes. 12 Sed, cum haec quoque alimenta defecerant, iumenta caedere adgressi ne equis quidem abstinebant: et cum
deessent, quae sarcinas veherent, spolia de hostibus, propter qua ultima Orientis peragraverant, cremabant incendio. 13 Famem deind pestilentia secuta est, quippe insalubrium ciborum novi suci, ad hoc itineris labor et aegritudo animi vulgaverant morbos et nec manere
sine clade nec progredi poterant: manentes fames, progressos acrior pestilentia urgebat. 14 Ergo strati erant campi paene pluribus semivivis quam cadaveribus. Ac ne levius quidem aegri sequi
poterant
quipe agmen poterant: quippe agmen raptim agebatur tantum singulis ad spem
salutis ipsos praeciperent. 15 Igitur qui defecerant notos ignotosque, ut his childhood, he had showed a happy and promising character
nough. But a diseased habit of body caused by dry Olympias gave him, had ruined, not only his health, but his understanding.

1 januari 1789 De levens van doorluchtige Grieken en Romeinen onderling vergeleeken door PLUTARCHUS HET LEVEN VAN ALEXANDER Dezen last gegeeven hebbende om aan PARMENIO over te brenge wapenen reeds aelmgetrokken in de Te Tent, bestaande in eener wan Siciliaansch maakzel omgeeven van eenen Gordel, en daar over
een gedubbeld linnen Wapenkeed
ent een gedubbeld linnen Wapenkleed, uit den buit behaald in den Slag
by Issus. Zyn Helm was van yeer, gemaakt van THFOPHLUS, die by Issus. Zyn Helm was van yzer, gemaakt van THEOPHILUS, die
denzelven zo fraai bewerkt had, dat hy glinsterde, als of het zuiver Zilver ware geweest. Aan dezen Helm was vastgemaakt een Ringkraag, insgelyks van yzer, doch hier en daar met Gesteenten
bezez. Zyn Zward was van eene weergoloon bezet. Zyn Zward was van eene weergalooze getemperdheid en
byzonder ligt. Het was aan hem geschonken door den Koning der byzonder ligt. Hot was aan hem geschonken door den Koning
Citieiers. Hy droeg dit, om om dat hy doorgaans in gevechten gewoon was een Zwaard te gebruiken. De Draagband, waar aan dit Zward hing, was prachtiger van werk, dan zyn overig Wapentuig,
zynde het werk van HELICON den Ouden n en eene vereeringe van de Burgerschap der Rhodiers, 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 bezi Was met het rangschikken van de Phalanx, of het een of ander te
verbeteren, of bevelen te geeven, of de Gelederen ter bezichtiging door te ryden, een ander Paard, om dat hy den Bucephalus, die reed jaarig begon te worden, wilde spaaren. Dan zo dra was men niet
gereed om aan het werk te gaan, of dit Paard wierd gehaald bet gereed om aan het werk te gaan, of dit Paard wierd gehaald, het w
zo ras niet door hem was beklommen, of hy gaf het teken tot den aanval.
Hoe toch, zeide hy, zal iemand in eigenen persoon de moeite neemen om zyn Paard te bezorgen, of zyne Lanss, of Helm te polysten, die afkeerig is om aan zyn eigen lief Lichaam Hynne handen te slaan?" - "Weet Gylieden niet, zeide hy, dat de hooftzaak om te overwinnen daarin voor Uwlieden bestaat, dat Gy niet dat zelffer
doet, dat zy doen, die door U overwoonnen worden?" Voorts doet, dat zy doen, die door $U$ overwonnen worden?" Voorts
beyverde hy zich, om deze reden, noch zo veel te meer in alle werkzaamheden, zo van Krygstochten, zls dee Jeacht, waarom illtrent hy geenerlei vermoeienissen of gevaaren ontzag. Hier van daan was he ook, dat zeker Spartaansch Afgevaardigde, die er by tegenwoordig
was, toen hy eenen grooten Leeuw ter nedervelde, hem toeriep: was, toen hy eenen grooten Leeuw ter nedervelde, hem toeriep:
Waarly, ALEXANDER, Gy hebt met dien Leeuw zeer dapper "Waarlyk, ALEXANDER, Gy hebt met dien Leeuw zeer dapper eene 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 r LEOCHARES.
(k) Van dit Geschenk van CRATERUS, in den Tempel elphi gewyd, vindt men onder de werken van YSIPPUS gewag by plinius h. N. XXXIV, 7. Van
EECHARES spreekt dezelfde PLINIUS, L. XXXIV, 8 . en
adlevarentur, orabant: sed nec iumenta erant, quibus excipi possent, et miles vix arma portabat imminentisque et ipsis facies mali ante oculos erat. Ergo saepius revocatit ne respicere quidem suos
sustinebant misericordia in formidinem versa. 16 Uli relicti testes et sacra communia regisque inplorabant opem: cumque frustra surdas aures fatigarent, in rabiem desperatione versa parem suo exitum similesque ipsis amicos et contubernales precabantur. 17 Re dolore simul ac pudore anxius, quia causa tantae cladis ipse esset, ad
Phrataphernen, Parthyaeorum satrapen, misit, qui iuberent camelis cocta cibaria adferri, aliosque finitimarum regionum praefectos certiores necessitatis suae fecit. 18 Nec cessatum est ab his. Itaque fame dumtaxat vindicatus exercitus tandem in Cedrosiae fines perducitur. V nnium rerum copia fertilis regio est. in qua stativa
habuit, ut vexatos milites quiete firmaret. 19 Hic Leonnati litteras accepit, conflixisse ipsum cum VIII milibus peditum et CCCC equitibus Oritarum prospero eventu. A Cratero quoque nuntius venit oppressos a se in vinculis esse. 20 Praeposito igitur regioni Sibyrtio - namque Menon, prafectus eius, nuper interierat morbo - in Carmaniam ipse processit. 21 Aspastes erat satrapes gentis, suspectus res novare voluisse, cum in India rex est. 22 Quem
occurrentem dissimulata ira comiter adlocutus, dum exploraret, qua decartentem dissimulata ira comiter adlocutus, dum exploraret, qu imperatum erat, equorum, iumentorumque iugalium vim ingentem omni, quae sub imperio erat, regione misissent, quibus deerant
impedimenta, restituit: 23 arma quoque ad pristinum refecta sunt cultum, quippe haud procul a Perside aberant non pacata modo, sed etiam opulentia. 24 Igitur, ut supra dictum est, aemulatus Patris Liberi non gloriam solum, quam ex illis gentibus deportaverat, sed
etiam famam, sive illud triumphus fuit ab eo primun instiuts sive bacchantium lusus, statuit imitari, animo super humanum fastigium elato. 25 Vicos, per quos iter erat, floribus coronisque sterni iubet, liminibus aedium crateras vino repletas et alia eximiae magnitudinis vasa disponi, vehicula deinde constrata, ut plures capere milites
possent in tabernaculorum modum ornari alia candidis velis a veste pretiosa. 26 Primi ibant amici et cohors regia variis redimita floribus coronisque - alibi tibicinum cantus, alibi lyrae sonus audiebatur - item vehiculis pro copia cuiusque adornatis
comissabundus exercitus, armis, quae maxime decora erant, circumpendentibus. Ipsum convivasque currus vehebat crateris aureis eiusdemque materiae ingentibus poculis praegravis. 27 Hoc modo per dies VII bacchabundum agmen incessit, parata praeda, si viri modo et sobrii, VII dierum crapula graves in suo triumpho capere potuerunt. 28 Sed fortuna, quae rebus famam pretiumque constituit, hoc quoque militiae probrum vertit in gloriam. Et praesen aetas et posteritas deinde mirata est, per gentes nondum satis domitas
incessisse temulentos, barbaris, quod temeritas erat, fiduciam esse credentibus. 29 Hunc apparatum carnifex sequebatur: quippe satrapes Aspastes, de quo ante dictum est, interfici iussus est: 30 http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Curtius/10*.ht $\frac{\mathrm{ml}}{\text { Liber } \mathrm{X}}$
Isdem fere diebus Cleander et Sitalces et cum Agathone Heracon superveniunt, qui Parmenionem iussu regis occiderant. 2 V milia peditum cum equitibus mille, sed et accusatores eos e provincia, cui conpensare poterant caedis perquam gratae regi ministerio. 3 Quippe cum omnia profana spoliassent, ne sacris quidem abstinuerant virginesque et principes feminarum stupra perpessae corporum libido barbaris fecerat. 5 Inter omnes tamen eminebat Cleandrif fucor qui nobilem virginem constupratam servo suo pelicem dederat. 6 Plerique amicorum Alexandri non tam criminum, quae palan
obiciebantur atrocitatem quam memoriam occisi per illos obiciebantur, atrocitatem quam memoriam occisi per illos
Parmenionis, intuebantur, laeti recidisse iram in irae ministros nec ullam potentiam
abundare, inopem equorum esse: singulos eos conpererant ab iis, qui
ex continenti traicere auderent, singulis talentis emi. 12 Plenum esse
ex continentit traicere auderent, singulis talentis emi. 12 Plenum esse
beluarum mare: aestu secundo eas ferri magnarum navium corpora
aequantes, truci cantu deterritas sequi classem, cum magno aequoris
astuantes, truci cantu deterritas sequi classem, cum magno ael
strepitu velut demersa navigia subisse aquas. 13 Cetera incolis
strepitit velut demersa navigia subise aquas.
crediderant, inter quae: rubrum mare non a colore undarum, ut
cresiderant, inter quaee rubrum mare non a colore undarum, ut
pleriquee crederent, 14 sed ab Erythro rege appellari, esse haud procu
a continenti insulam palmis frequentibus consitam et in medio fere
a conore columnam eminere, Erythrir regis monumentum, litteris
gentis eius scriptam. 15 Adiciebant navigia, quae lixa
mercatoresque vexissent, famam auri secutis gubernatoribus in
insulam esse transmissa nec deinde ab iis postea visa. 16 Rex
cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus rursus eos terram legere iubet,
donec ad Euphratis os adpellerent classem, inde adverso amne
Babylona subituros. 17 Ipse animo infinita conplexus statuerat, omni
ad orientem maritima regione perdomita, ex Syria petere Africam,
ad orientem maritima regione perdomita, ex Syria petere Africam,
Carthaginini infensus, inde Numidiae solitudinibus peragratis cursum
Carthagini infensus, inde Numidiae solitudidinusus peragratis cl
Gadis dirigere, - ibi namque columnas Herculis esse fama
vulgaverat, - 18 Hispanias deinde, quas Hiberiam Graeci a flumine
lpes Italiaeque oram, unde in
Epirum brevis cursus est. 19 Igitur Mesopotamiae praetoribus
imperavit, materia in Libano monte caesa devectaque ad urbem
Syriae Thapsacum sepptingentarum carinas devectaque ad urbem
Syriae Thapsacum septingentarum carinas navium ponere: septirem
omnes esse deducique Babylona. Cypriorum regibus imperatum ut
aes stuppamque et vela praeberent. 20 Haec agenti Pori et Taxilis
aes stuppamquue et vela prabeerent. 20 Haec agenti Pori et Taxilis
regum litterae traduntur, Abisaren morbo, Philippum, praefectum
insius
ipsius, ex vulnere interisse oppressosque, qui vulnerassent eum. 21
Igitur Philippo substituit Eudaemonem: dux erat Thracum. Abisaris
regnum filio eius attribuit.
regnum filio eius attribuit.
22 Ventum est deinde Parsagada: Persica est gens, cuius satrapes Orsines erat, nobilitate ac divitiis inter omnes barbaros eminens. 23 Genus ducebat a Cyro, quondam rege Persarum: opes et a maioribus regi cum omnis eius daturus, occurrit. Equorum domiti greges sequebantur currusque argento et auro adornati, pretiosa supellex et nobiles gemmae, aurei magni ponderis vasa vestesque purpureae et signati argentit alentum
III milia. 25 Ceterum tausa mortis fuit. Nan cum omnes amicos regis donis super ipsorum vota coluisset, Bagoae spadoni, qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi, nullum
honorem habuit: 26 admonitusque a quibusdam, perquam Alexandro honorem habuit: 26 admonitusque a quibuscam, perquam Alexand
cordi esse, respondit, amicos regis, non scorta se colere nec moris esse Persis, mares ducere, qui stupro effeminarentur. 27 His auditis spado potentiam flagitio et dedecore quaesitam in caput nobilissimi et insontis exercuit. Namque gentis eiusdem levisimos falsis
criminibus adstruxit monitos, tum demum ea deferre, cum ips criminibus adstruxit monitos, tum demum ea deferre, cum ipse
iussisset. 28 Interim quotiens sine arbitris erat, credulas regis aures inplebat dissimulans causams irae, quou gravior criminantis auctoritas esset. 29 Nondum suspectus erat Orsines, iam tamen vil
enim in secreto agebatur, latentis periculi ignarus, et inportunissumum scortum ne in stupro quicem et dedecoris patientia fraudis oblitum, quotiens amorem regis in se accenderat, Orsinen modo avaritiae, interdum etiam defectionis arguebat. 30 Iam matura erant in perniciem innocentis mendacia et fatum, cuius inevitabilis
sors est, adpetebat. Forte enim sepulcrum Cyri Alexander iusit aperiri, in quo erat conditum eius corpus, cui dare volebat inferias. 31 Auro argentoque repletum esse crediderat - quippe ita fama
Persae vulgaverant - sed praeter clipeum eius putrem et arcus duos Scythicos et acinacem nihil repperit. 32 Ceterum corona aurea 'in Asia olim regnasse feminas, hoc vero novum est regnare castratum!' 38 Hic fuit exitus nobilissimi Persarum nec insontis modo, sed eximiae quoque benignitatis in regem. 39 Eodem tempore
Phradates regnum adfectasse suspectus occiditur. Coeperat rex esse praeceps ad reprasentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda: 40 scilicet res secundae valent commutare naturam et raro quisquam erga bona sua satis cautus est. Idem enim paulo ante Lyncestem
Alexandrum delatum a duobus indicibus damnare non sustinuerat, 41 humiliores quoque reos contra suam voluntatem, quia ceteris humiliores quoquer reos contra suam voluntatem, quia ceteris
videbantur insontes, passus absolvi, hostibus victis regna reddiderat aut auxerat: 42 ad ultimum ita ab semetipso degeneravit, ut invictus quondam adversus aliis adimeret vitam.
43 Isdem fere diebus litteras [a Coeno] accepit de rebus in Europa et Asia gestis, dum ipse Indiam subigit. 44 Zopyrio, Thraciae praepositis, cum expeditionem in Getas faceret, tempestatibus
procellisque subito coortis cum toto exercitu oppressus erat. 45 Qua cognita clade Seuthes Odrysas, populares suos, ad defectione conpulerat. Amissa propemodum Thracia ne Graecia quidem tumultibus inconcussa mansit. Nam Alexander punita satraparum
quorundam insolentia, quam, dum in extremo orbe Indorum armis attinetur, per summa scelera atque flagitia in provinciales exercuerant, ceterorum metum intenderat: quin in paribus delictis idem admissorum praemium expectantes in mercennariorum militum
fidem confugiebant illorum manibus, si ad supplicium poscerentur salutem suam tutaturi, aut pecunia, quanta poterat, coacta fugam inibant. Ea re cognita litterae ad omnes Asiae praetores missae sunt, quibus inspectis e vestigio omnes peregrinos milites, qui stipen
sub ipsis facerent, dimittere iubebantur Erat inter eos Harplus sub ipsis facerent, dimittere iubebantur. Erat inter eos Harpalus,
quem Alexander, quod ob ipsius amicitiam olim a Philippo eiectus solum vertisset, inter fidissimos habebat et post Mazaei mortem solum verisset, inter fidissinos habebat et post Mazaer mas
satrapea Babyloniae donaverat thesaurorumque custodiae praefecerat. Is igitur cum fiduciam, quam in propensissima regis
gratia habere poterat, magnitudine flagitiorum consumpsisset quinque talentorum milia ex gaza regia rapit conductaque sex miliun mercennariorum manu in Europam evadit. Iampridem enim luxu et libidinibus in praeceps tractus desperataque apud regem veni
adversus iram ipsius in alienis opibus subsidium circumspice coeperat et Athenienses, quorum non contemnendam potentiam et apud ceteros Graecos auctoritatem, tum occultum in Macedonas odium norat, sedulo coluerat. Itaque spem suis faciebat Atheniense adventu suo cognito copiisque et pecuniis, quas adduceret, cora inspectis protinus arma consiliaque sociaturos esse. Nam apud
populum imperitum et mobilem per homines improbos et avarital populum imperitum et mobilem per homines improbos et
venales omnia se muneribus consecuturum existimabat.

Caput II
Hgitur XXX navibus Sunium transmittunt - promunturium Atticae terrae - unde portum urbis petere decreverant. 2 His cognitis rex Harpalo Atheniensibusque iuxta infestus classem parari litterae redduntur, Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas ac pecuni literae redduntur, Harpalum intrasse quidem Athenas ac pecunia
conciliasse sibi principum animos, mox concilio plebis habito iussur urbe excedere ad Graecos milites pervenisse, quibus interceptum
trucidatum a quodam Thibrone per insidias. 4 His laetus in Europam traiciendi consilium omisit, sed exules praeter eos, qui civili quoque, quae extarent, restituere damnatis. 6 Soii Anenieu
sui modo, sed etiam publici vindices, colluvionem ordinum hominumque aegre ferebant, non regio imperio, sed legibu moribusque patriis regi adsueti. 7 Prohibuere igitur exules finibus omnia potius toleraturi, q,
etiam exilii, admitterent.
8 Alexander senioribus militum in patriam remissis XIII mili peditum et II milia equitum, quae in Asia retineret, eligi iussit existimans, modico exercitu continere posse Asiam, quia pluribus nec res novare cupientibus. 9 Ceterum priusquam se cerneret, quos erat retenturus, edixit, ut omnes milites aes alienum profiterentus Grave plerique esse conpererat et, quamquam insorum luxu contractum erat, dissolvere tamen ipse decreverat. 10 Ini temptari
ipsos rati, quo facilius ab integris sumptuosos discerenet, prolatando aliquantum extraxerant temporis. Et rex satis gnarus, professioni aeris pudorem, non contumaciam obstare, mensas totis castris pon iussit e X mila a entum proferri. 11 Tum demum cum fide facta professio est. Nec amplius ex tanta pecunia quam C et XXX talentan
superfuere. Adeo ille exercitus tot divitissimarum gentium victor superfucre. Adeo ilhe exercius tot divissimarum genium victor
plus tamen victoriae quam praedae deportavit ex Asia. 12 Ceterum ut
cognitum est ali ios remitti domos alios retineri, perpetuam eum regni cognitum est alios remitti domos, alios retineri, perpetuam eum
sedem in Asia habiturum rati, vecordes et disciplinae militaris immemores seditiosis vocibus castra conplent regemque feroci quam alias adorti omnes simul missionem postulare coeperunt deformia ora cicatricibus canitiemquue capitum ostentantes. 13 Nec
aut praefectorum castigatione aut verecundia regis deteriti aut praefectorum castigatione aut tumultuoso clamore et militari violentia volentem lequis detiti palam professi, nusquam inde nisi in patriam vestigium esse moturos. 14 Tandem silentio facto, magis quia motum esse credebant, quam quia ipsi moveri poterant, quidnam acturus esset,
expectabant. 15 Ille, 'Quid haec,' inquit, 'repens consternatio et tam procax atque effusa licentia denuntiat?' Eloqui metuo. Palam certe rupistis imperium et precario rex sum, cui non adloquendi, non noscendi monendique aut intuendi vos ius reliquistis. 16 Equidem cum alios dimittere in patriam, alios mecum paulo post deportare
statuerim, tam illos adclamantes video, qui abituri sunt, quam hos cum quibus praemissos subsequi statui. 17 Quid hoc est rei? dispari in causa idem omnium clamor est! Pervelim scire, utrum qui discedunt an qui retinentur de me querantur.' 18 Crederes uno or
omnes sustulisse clamorem: ita pariter ex tota contione responsu omnes sustulisse clamorem: ita aritier ex tota contione responsum
est, omnes queri. 19 Tum ille, 'Non hercule' inquit, 'potest fieri, ut adducar querendi simul omnibus hanc causam esse, quam ostenditis, in qua maior pars exercitus non est, utpote cum plures dimiserim,
quam retenturus sum. 20 Subest nimirum altius malum, quod omnes avertit a me. Quando enim regem universus deseruit exercitus? Ne servi quidem uno grege profugiunt dominos, sed est quidam in illis pudor a ceteris destitutos relinquendi. 21 Verum ego tam furi
consternationis oblitus remedia insanabilibus conor adhibere. Omnem hercule spem, quam ex vobis conceperam, damno nec ut cum militibus meis - iam enim esse desistis - sed ut cum ingratissimis operis agere decrevi. 22 Secundis rebus, quae
circumfluunt vos, insanire coepistis obliti status eius quem beneficio exuistis meo, digni hercule, qui in eodem consenescatis, quoniam facilius est vobis adversam quam secundam regere fortunam. 23 En tandem, Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt. Modo sub Philipp
seminudis amicula ex purpura sordent, aurum et argentum oculi ferr non possunt: lignea enim vasa desiderant et ex cratibus scuta rubiginemque gladiorum. 24 Hoc cultu nitentes vos accepi et $D$ talenta aeris alieni, cum omnis regia supellex haud amplius quam LX
talentorum esset. Ecce meorum operum fundamenta! quibus tamen -absit invidia - imperium maximae terrarum partis inposui. 25 Asiaene pertassum est, quae vos gloria rerum gestarum dis pares
fecit? In Europam ire properatis rege deserto, cum pluribus vestru fecit? In Europam ire properatis rege deserto, cum pluribus vestrum praeda. 26 Nec pudet profundo ventre devictarum gentium spolia
(as)
circumferentes reverti velle ad liberos coniugesque, quibus pauci praemia victoriae potestis ostendere: nam ceterorum, dum etiam spe vestrae obviam istis, arma quoque pignori sunt. 27 Bonis vero
militibus cariturus sum, pelicum suarum concubinis, quibus ho milititius cariturus sum, pelicum suarum concubinis, quibus
solum ex tantis opibus superest, in quod inpenditur. Proinde fugientibus me pateant limites: facessite hinc ocius, ego cum Persis abeuntium terga tutabor. Neminem teneo: liberate oculos meos, ingratissimi cives. 28 Laeti vos excipient parentes liberique sine
vestro rege redeuntes, obviam ibunt desertoribus transfugisque! 29 Triumphabo mehercule de fuga vestra et, ubicumque ero, expetam poenas hos, cum quibus me relinquitis, colendo praeferendo vobis. lam autem scietis, et quantum sine rege valeat exercitus et quid opis
in me uno sit.' 30 Desiluit deinde frendens de tribunali et in medium in me uno sit. ${ }^{\text {armatorum }}$ agesiliuit deinde frendens de tribunali et is imme oblocuti erant, singulos manu corripuit nec ausos repugnare XIII

Caput III
1 Quis crederet saevam paulo ante contionem obtorpuisse subito quam ceteros, sive nominis, 3 quod gentes, quae sunt sub regibus inter deos colunt, sive propria ipsius veneratio, sive fiducia tanta exercentis imperium conterruit eos: 4 singulare certe edide pommil texemplum adeoque non sunt accensi supplicio commisin sum sume cognossent, ut nihil cum postero die prohibiti aditu regis essent Asiaticis modo militibu admissis, lugubrem totis castris edidere clamorem, denuntiantes raret ina ad omnia, quae agitasset, animi peregrinorum militum contionem
advocari iubet Macedonibus intra castra cohibitis et, cum frequentes coissent, adhibito interprete talem orationem habuit: 7 ' Cum ex Europa traicerem in Asiam, multas nobiles gentes, magnam vim hominum imperio meo me additurum esse sperabam. 8 Nec deceptu sum, quod de his credidi famae. Sed ad illa hoc quoque accessit, quod video fortes viros et erga reges suos pietatis invictae. 9 Luxu
omnia fluere credideram et nimia felicitate mergi in voluptates. At hercules munia militiae hoc namimerum corporumgue robare aesu inpigre toleratis et cum fortes viri sitis, non fortitudinem magis quam fidem colitis. 10 Hoc ego nunc primum profiteor, sed olim scio. Itaque et dilectum e vobis iuniorum habuit et vos meorum militum corpori immiscui. Idem tedits, eadem arma sunt vobis. Obsequium vero et patientia imperii longe prastantior est quam
ceteris. 11 Ergo ipse Oxyartis Persae filiam mecum matrimonio iunxi, non dedignatus ex captiva liberos tollere. 12 Mox deinde, cum stirpem generis mei latius propagare cuperem, uxorem Darei filiam duxi proximisque amicorum auctor fui ex captivis generandi liberos,
ut hoc sacro foedere omne discrimen victi et victoris excluderem. 13 Proinde genitos esse vos mihi, non adscitos milites credite. Asiae et Europae unum atque idem regnum est. Macedonum vobis arma do, inveteravi peregrinam novitatem. Et cives mei estis et milites. 14 Omnia eundem ducunt colorem: nec Persis Macedonum morem adumbrare nec Macedonibus Persas imitari indeco.
iuris esse debent
Hac oratione habita Persis corporis sui custodiam credidit, Persas satellites, Persas apparitores fecitis Per quos cum Macedones, qui huic seditioni occasionem dedissents, vincti idd supplicia traherentur, unum

Caput IV
Caput IV
que, inquit, 'animo tuo etiam per supplicia et quidem externi moris obsequeris? Milites tui, cives tui, incognita causa iudicas, saltem ministros supplicii muta ' A. Sico mortem meruiss iudicas, saltem ministros suppliciii muta.' 2 Amico animo, si veri
patiens fuisset, admonebatur, sed in rabiem ira pervenerat. Itaque rursus - nam parumper, quibus imperatum erat, dubitaverant mergi in amnem, sicut vincti erant, iussit. 3 Nec hoc quidem
supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum du supplicium seditionem militum movit. Namque copiarum duce pristina noxa iudicaret esse contactos, iuberet interfici: offerre se Non se deprecari, quin suppliciis sontium expiarentur, quae per
contumaciam deliquissent. Regis iracundiam sibi morte tristioren esse. Cumque dies noctesque ante regiam persistentes miserabili clamore habituque paenitentiam suam adprobarent, biduum tamen adversus humillimas suorum preces iracundia regis duravit. Te
die victus constantia supplicum processit incusataque leniter die victus constantia supplicum processit incusataque leniter
exercitus immodestia non sine multis utrimque lacrimis in gratiam se cum ipsis redire pro fessus est. Digna tamen res visa est, quaa maioribus hostiis expiaretur. Itaque sacrificio magnifice perpetrato Macedonum simul Persarumque primores invitavit ad epulas. Nove
milia eo convivio excepisse proditum est memoriae eosque omnes invitante rege ex eadem cratera libavisse, Graecis barbarisque vatibus tum alia fausta vota praeeuntibus, tum inprimis ut utriusque imperii in idem corpus coalitis societas perpetua foret. Maturata
deinde est missio et infirmissimus quisque exauctorati. Amicoru quoque seniorum quibusdam commeatum dedit. Ex quis Clitus, cognomento Albus, Gorgiasque et Polydamas et Antigenes fu Abeuntibus non modo praeteritit temporis stipendia cum fide persolvit, verum etiam talentum adiecit in singulos milites viatici
nomine. Filios ex Asiaticis uxoribus susceptos - ad decem mili nomine. Filios ex Asiaticis uxoribus susceptos - ad decem milia
fuisse traduntur - apud se relinqui iussit, ne in Macedoniam cum parentibus transgressi et coniugibus liberisque prioribus permixti
familias singulorum contentionibus et discordiis inplerent sibi curr fore pollicitus, ut patrio more instituti militiae artes edocerentur. Ita supra decem veteranorum milia dimissa sunt additusque est Craterus qui eos deduceret, ex praecipuis regis amicis. Cui si quid humanitus accidisset, Polyperconti parere iussi sunt. Litteris etiam ad
Antipatrum scriptis honorem emeritis haberi praecepit, ut quot ludi atque certamina ederentur, in primis ordinibus coronati spectarent utque fato functorum liberi inpuberes in paterna stipendia
succederent Craterum Macedoniae continentibu imperio praeesse placuit, Antipatrum cum supplemento iuniorum Macedonum ad regem pergere. Verebatur enim, ne per discordian praefecti cum Olympiade gravis aliqua clades acciperetur. Nam multas ad Alexandrum epistolas mater, multas Antipater miserat
vicissimque inter se criminabantur quae ad dedecus aut detrimentu regiae maiestatis pertinerent. Postquam enim rumor occisi regis temere vulgatus in Macedoniam penetravit, mater eius sororque Cleopatra tumpluatae fleent et hec qidem paternum regnun Olympias Epirum invaserat.
Interea rex, ut imminuti exercitus detrimenta sarciret optimu quemque Persarum in Macedonicos ordines adlegit: mille etiam praestantissimos segregavit ad corporis custodiam: aliam hastatorum manum, haud pauciores decem milibus, circa regium tabernaculum
excubias agere iussit. Haec agenti Peucestes supervenit cum viginti sagittariorum funditorumque milibus, quos ex sua provincia coegerat. His per exercitum distributis profectus est Susis et Tigride amne transmisso quippe Caras castra metatus est: inde quadriduo per
Sittacenen ductis copiis Sambana processit ubi per septem dies quietum agmen tenuit. Tridui deinde itinere emenso Celonas
 argumentum originis peculiari sermone ex Graecis plerumque
vocibus constante: ceterum ob commerciorum necessitatem vocibus constante: ceterum ob commerciorum necessititem
finitimorum barbarorum lingua utebantur. Inde Bagistanen ingressus est, regionem opulentam et abundantem arborum amoeno et fecundo foetu ceterisque ad vitae non
delectationem pertinentibu
Perventum deinde est in Mediae campos, ubi maximi equorum Preges pascebantur. Nisaeos appellant, magnitudine et specie insignes. Supra quinnuaginta milia ibi reperta, cum Alexander eo transiret, a comititusus illus adnotatum est: Olim triplo plures
sed inter bellorum turbas maximam eorum partem praedones sed inter bellorum turbas maximam eorum partem praedones
abegisse. Ad triginta dies ibi substitit rex. Eo Atropates Mediae satrapa centum barbaras mulieres adduxit equitandi peritas peltisque e securibus amatas: unde duidam crediderutt Amazonum ex ye
reliquias fuisse. Septimis deinde castris Ecbatana attigit, Mediae festosque dies laxavit animum, ut mox in novorum operum curan
atque ministeria validior intenderetur. Sed ista volventem, velut iniecta manu, fatum alio traxit vitamque carissimo amicorum eius iniecta manu, fatum alio traxit vitamque carissimo amicorum eius
neque multo post ipsi quoque regi extorsit. Pueros in stadio certants sperabat, cum nuntiatur deficere Hephaestionem, qui morbo ex crapula contracto septimum iam diem aegrotabat. Exterritus amici periculo statim consurgit et ad hospitium illius celeriter pergit: neque tamnium, quae in vita pertulerat, adversorum occupasset. Iuctusissimum reg accidisse certum habetur eumque magnitudine doloris in lacrimas et lamen victum animi de gradu deiectiargum Sed ea quidem varie traduntur: illud inter omnes constat, ut quam
decentissimas exequias ei duceret, noluisse Ecbatanis sepeliri, sed Babylonem, quo ipse concessurus erat, a Perdicca deferri curasse ibique funus inaudito antehac exemplo duodecim talentum milibu locavisse. Per universum certe imperium lugeri eum iussit: et n
memoria eius in exercitu exolesceret, equitibus, quis praefuerat nullum praefecit ducem, sed Hephaestionis alam appellari voluit et, quae ille signa instituisset, ea non immutari. Funebria certamin ludosque, quales numquam editit fuissent, meditatus tria artificum
milia coegit: qui non multo post in ipsius exequiis certasse feruntur. milia coegit: quu non multo post in ipsius exequuis certasse feruntur.
Nec amici tam effuso adfectu ad conciliandam eius gratiam segniter usi certatitm repperere, per quae memoria defunctic clarior
honoratior cue fieret
honoratiorque fieret. Igitur Eumenes, cum se ob simultatem cum
Hephaestione regis indignationem contraxisse sensisset, multis auctor fuit seque et arma sua Hephaestioni consecrandi pecuniasque ad cohonestandum funus large contulitit Hoc exemplum imitati sunt ceteri: eoque mox processit adsentationum inpudentia, ut regi
maerore et desiderio defuncti insanienti persuasum tandem fuer deum esse Hephaestionem. Quo quidem tempore ex copiarum ducibus Agathocles Samius ad extremum periculi venit, quod illits tumulum praeteriens inlacrimasse visus esset. Ac nisi Perdiccas venant ibi Hephaestionem adparuisse ipsumque Hephaestionem deierasset, ex ipso se cognovisse,
Agathoclem non ut mortuum et vanae divinitatis titulis frustra Agahoclem non ut mortuum et vanae divinitatis titulus frustra
ornatum flevisse, verum ob memoriam pristinae sodalitatis lacrima meritu pietatis in amicum graves poenas innoxio capite pependisset. Ceterum ut paulisper a luctu avocaret animum, in Cossaeorum gentem expeditionem suscepit. Iuga Mediae vicina Cossaei tenent, asperum et acre genus et praedando vitam tolerare solitum. Ab his Persarum reges annuo tributo pacem redimere consueverant, ne in
subiecta decurrentes infestam latrociniis regionem facerent. Nam vim temptantes Persas facile reppulerant, asperitate locorum defensi, in quae se recipiebant, quotiens armis superabantur. Iidem muneribu quotannis placabantur, ut regi Ecbatanis, ubi aestiva solebat agere, er ea loca transitus esset. Hos igitu Alexander bipartito agmine adgressus intra quadraginta dies perdomuit. Nam ab ipso rege et Ptolemaeo, qui partem exercitus ducebat, saepe caesi, ut captivos suos reciperent, permisere se
victori. Ille validas urbes opportunis locis extrui iussit ne abduc exercitu fera gens oboedientiam exueret. Motis inde castris, militem expeditione recenti fessum reficeret, lento agmine cum Nearchus occurritit quem per Oceanum et Euphratis ostia
Babylonem praemiserat: orabataue, ne fatalem sibi urbem vellet ingredi. Conpertum et sibi ex Chaldaeis, qui multis iam praedictionum eventibus artis suae certitudinem abunde motus dimissis in urbem amicorum plerisque alia via praeter Babylonem ducit ac ducentis inde stadiis stativa locat. Sed ab Anaxarcho philosopho edoctus contemptis Chaldaeorum monitis, quorum disciplinam inanem aut supervacuam arbitrabatur, urbem
intrat. Legationes eo ex universo ferme orbe confluxerant. Quibus per complures dies studiose auditis deinceps ad Hephaestionis exequias adiecit animum. Quae summo omnium studio ita celebrata sunt, ut nullius ad id tempus regis feralia magnitudine sumptuum apparatusque celebritate non nicerint. Post haec cupido incessit regi
per Pallacopam amnem ad Arabum confinia navigandi: quo delatus, Owd Babylonem non ingressus tantum esset incolumis, verum etian excessisset. At vero revertenti per paludes, quas Euphrates in Pallacopam effusus efficit, foedum omen oblatum est. Quippe rami fluctus. Cum deinde alia super alia prodigiosa et minacia nuntiarentur, procurandis eis Greco simul barbaroque ritu continua sacra facta sunt. Neque tamen expiari praeterquam morte regis potuere. Qui cum Nearchum excepisset convivio iamque cubit iturus esset, Medii Larissaei obnixis precibus dedit, ut ad eum coepit. Ingravescens deinde morbus adeo omnes vires intra sextum diem exhausit, ut ne vocis quidem potestas esset. Interea milites sollicitudine desiderioque eius anxii, quamquam obtestantib ducibus, ne valitudinem regis o
conspectum eius admitterentur.
Caput V
1 Intuentibus lacrimae obortae praebuere speciem iam non regem, sed funus eius visentis exercitus. 2 Maeror tamen circumstantium
lectum eminebat: quos ut rex adspexit, 'Invenietis,' inquit, 'cum lecum eminebat: quos ut rex adspexit, 'Invenietis.' inquit, 'cum
excessero, dignum talibus viris regem?' 3 Incredibile dictu audituque in eodem habitu corporis in quem se conposuerat, cum admissurus milites esset, durasse, donec a toto exercitu illud ultimum
persalutatus est: dimissoque vulgo velut omni vitae debito liberatus fatigata membra reiecit. 4 Propiusque adire iussis amicis - nam et vox deficere iam coeperat - detractum anulum digito Perdiccae
tradidit adiectis mandatis, ut corpus suum ad Hammonem ferri tradidit adiectis mandatis, ut corpus suum ad Hammonem ferri
iuberent. 5 Quaerentibusque his, cui relinqueret regnum, respo qui esset optimus: ceterum providere iam se, ob id certamen magno funebres ludos parari sibi. 6 Rursus Perdicca interrogante, quando essent. Suprema haec vox fuit regis et paulo poste extinguitur. 7 Ac primo ploratu lamentisque et planctibus tota regia personabat mox velut in vasta solitudine omnia tristi silentio muta torpebant, ad cogitationes, quid deinde futurum esset, dolore converso. 8 N
pueri custodiae corporis eius adsueti nec doloris magnitudinem capere nec se ipsos intra vestibulum regiae tenere potuerunt: vagique et furentibus similes tantam urbem luctu ac maerore conpleverant nullis questibus omissis, quos in tali casu dolor suggerit. 9 Ergo qui extra regiam adstiterant, Macedones pariter barbarique, concurrunt
nec poterant victi a victoribus in commun dolore discerni. Perse iustissimum ac mitisssimum dominum, Macedones optimum ac fortissimum regem invocantes certamen quoddam maeroris edebant. 10 Nec maestorum solum, sed etiam indignantium voces exaudiebantur, tam viridem et in
deum ereptum esse rebus humanis. Vigor eius et vultus educentis in proelium milites, obsidentis urbes, evadentis in muros, fortes viros pro contione donantis occurrebant
oculis. 11 Tum Macedones divinos honores negasse ei paenitebat impiosque et ingratos fuisse se confitebantur, quod aures eius debita appellatione fraudassent. Et cum diu nunc in veneratione, nunc in desiderio regis haesissent, in ipsos versa miseratio est. 12 Macedoni profecti ultra Euphraten in mediis hostibus novum imperium aspernantibus destitutos se esse cernebant, sine certo regis herede:
[sine herede regni] publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum. 13 Bella [sine herede regni] publicas vires ad se quemque tracturum. 13 Bella de regno Asiae, sed de rege insis mentibus augurabantur: iterum, non de regno Asiae, sed de rege ipsis sanguinem esse fundendum, novis
vulneribus veteres rumpendas cicatrices: 14 senes, debiles, modo petita missione a iusto rege, nunc morituros pro potentia forsitan satellitis alicuius ignobilis. 15 Has cogitationes volventibus nox
supervenit terroremque auxit. Milites in armis vigilabant: Babylonii supervenit terrores culmine sui quisque tecti
alius e muris alius certiora visuri. 16 Nec quisquam lumina audebat accendere. Et quia oculorum cessabat usus, fremitus vocesque auribus captabant plerumque vano metu territi per obscuras semitas, alius alii
occursantes, invicem suspecti ac solliciti ferebantur 17 Perse comi suo more detonsis in lugubri veste cum coniugibus ac liberis non ut ipsis, digniorem fuisse confitebantur. 18 Nec muris urbis luctus continebatur, sed proximam regionem ab ea, deinde magnam partem
Asiae cis Euphraten mali fama pervaserat. 19 Ad Darei quoque matrem celeriter perlata est. Abscisse ergo veste, qua induta erat, lugubrem sumpsit laceratisque crinibus humi corpus abiecit. 20 , Adsidebat ei altera
nupserat , lugens nupserat, llugens propriasque causas doloris in communi maestitia
retractabat. 21 Sed omnium suorum mala Sisigambis una capiebat. retractabat. 21 Sed omnium suorum mala Sisisambis una capieba,
Illa suam, illa neptium vicem flebat. Recens dolor etiam praeterita revocaverat. Crederes modo amissum Dareum et pariter miserae duorum filiorum exequias esse ducendas. 22 Flebat simul mortuos
vivosque. Quem enim puellarum acturum esse curam? quem alium futurum Alexandrum? iterum esse se captas, iterum excidisse regno. Qui mortuo Dareo ipsas tueretur, repperisse, qui post Alexandrum respiceret, utique non reperturas. 23 Subibati inter haec animum,
LXXX fratres suos eodem die ab 0 cho saevissimo adiectumque stragi tot filiorum patrem: e septem liberis, quos genuisset ipsa, unum superesse: ipsum. Dareum floruisse paulisper, crudelius posset extingui. 24 Ad ultimum dolori succubuit obvolutoque capite accidentes genibus suis neptem nepotemque
aversata cibo pariter abstinuit et luce. 25 Quinto, postquam mori
 in eam iustitiaeque in omnes captivos documentum est mors huius, quae cum sustinuisset post Dareum vivere, Alexandro esse superstes
erubuit. 26 Et hercule iuste aestimantibus regem liquet, bona naturae eius fuisse, vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis. 27 Vis incredibilis animi, laboris patientia propemodum nimia, fortitudo non inter reges modo excellens, sed inter illos quoque, quorum haec sola virtus fuit, 28
liberalitas saepe maiora tribuentis, quam a dis petuntur, clementia in devictos - tot regna aut reddita, quibus ea dempserat bello, aut don data -: 29 mortis, cuius metus ceteros exanimat, perpetua contemptio, gloriae laudisque ut iusto maior cupido, ita in iuvene et
in tantis nec admiranda rebus: 30 iam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat, Philippum ultus era, 31 iam in omnes fere amicos benignitas, erga milites benivolentia, consilium par magnitudini animi et, quantam vix poterat aetas eius
capere, sollertia: 32 iam modus immodicarum cupiditatum, Veneris intra naturale desiderium usus nec ulla nisi ex permisso voluptas ingentes profecto dotes erant. 33 Illa fortunae: dis aequare se et
caelestes honores accersere et talia suadentibus oraculis credere et dedignantibus venerari ipsum vehementius quam par esset irasci, in gentium mores, quos ante victoriam spreverat. 34 lam iracundia . 2 . 1 dos ante victoriam spreverat. 34 lam iracunc potuisset. 35 Fatendum est tamen, cum plurimum virtutit debuerit potuisset. 35 Fatendum est tamen, cum plurimum virtuti debuerit,
plus debuisse fortunae, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate plus debuisse fortunae, quam solus onnium mortalium in potestate
habuit. Quotiens illum a morte revocavit! quotiens temere in pericul vectum perpetua felicitate protexit! 36 V itae quoque finem eun illi quem gloriae statuit. Expectavere eum fata, dum Oriente perdomito adititque Oceano, quidquid mortalitas capiebat, inpleret.
37 Huic regi ducique successor quaerebatur. Sed maior moles erat, quam ut unus subire eam posset: itaque nomen quoque eius et fama rerum in totum propemodum orbem reges ac regna diffudi clarissimique sunt habiti, qui etiam minimae parti tantae fortunae ${ }^{\text {adhaeserunt }}$
Caput VI
1 Ceterum Babylone - inde enim devertit oratio - corporis eius custodes in regiam principes amicorum ducesque copiarum advocavere. Secuta est militum turba cupientium scire, in quem
Alexandri fortuna esset transitura. 2 Multi duces frequentia militum exclusi regiam intrare non poterant, cum praeco exceptis, qui exclusi regiam intrare non poterant, cum praeco exceptis, qui
nominatim citarentur, adire prohiberet. 3 Sed precarium spernebatur imperium. Ac primum eiulatus ingens ploratusque renovatus est, deinde futuri expectatio inhibitits lacrimis silentium fecit. 4 Tunc Perdicca regia sella in conspectum volgi data, in qua diadema rege in eadem sede posuit: quorum adspectu rursus obortae omnibus clades huic, qua adfecti sumus, par ab iratis dis excogitari potest,
tamen magnitudinem rerum, quas egit intuentibus credere licet, tantum virum deos adcommodasse rebus humanis, quarum sorte conpleta cito repeterent eum suaa stirpi. 7 Proinde quoniam nihil
aliud ex eo superest aliud ex eo superest, quam quod semper ab immortalitate seducitur,
corpori nominique quam primum iusta solvamus, haud obliti, in qua corpori nominique quam primum iusta solvamus, haud oblitit, in qua
urbe, inter quos simus, quali praside ac rege spoliati. 8 Tractandum est, commilitones, cogitandumquue, ut victoriam partam inter hos, de quibus parta est, obtinere possimus. Capite opus est: hocine uno an pluribus, in vestra potestate est. Illud scire debetis, militarem sine
ducem turbam corpus esse sine spiritu. Sextus mensis est, ex quo Roxane praegnans est. Optamus, ut marem enitatur. 9 Huius regnum dis adprobantibus futurum, quandoque adoleverit. Interim a quibus
regi velitis, destinate.' Haec Perdicca. 10 Tum Nearchus, Alexandri regi velitis, destinate.' Haec Perdicca. 10 Tum Nearchus, Alexandri
modo sanguinem ac stirpem regiae maiestati convenire, neminem ait posse mirari: 11 ceterum expectari nondum ortum regem et, qui iam sit, praeteriri, nec animis Macedonum convenire nec tenori rerum. Esse e Barsine filium regis: huic diadema dandum. 12 Nulli
oratio. Itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes obstrepere oratio. Itaque suo more hastis scuta quatientes obstrepere
perseverabant, iamque prope ad seditionem pervenerant Nearcho pervicacius tuente sententiam. Tum Ptolemaeus, 'Digna prorsus est suboles,' inquit, 'quae Macedonum imperet genti, Roxanes vel Barsinae filius, cuius nomen quoque Europam dicere pigebit, maiore ex parte captivi. 14 Est, cur Persas vicerimus, ut stirpi eorum serviamus, quod iusti illi reges Dareus et Xerxes tot milium
agminibus tantisque classibus nequiquam petiverunt. 15 Mea agminibus tantisque classibus nequiquam petiverunt. 15 Mea
sententia haec est, ut sede Alexandri in regia posita, qui consilis eius sententia haec est, ut sede Alexandri in regia posita, qui consiliis eius
adibebantur, coeant, quotiens in commune consulto opus fuerit, eoque, quod maior pars eorum decreverit, stetur: duces praefectique copiarum his pareant.' Ptolemaeo quidam, pauciores Perdiccae adsentiebantur. 16 Tum Aristonus orsus est dicere, Alexandr
consultum, cui relinqueret regnum, voluisse optimum deligi. Iudicatum autem ab ipso optimum Perdiccam, cui anulum tradidisset 17 Neque enim unum eum adsedisse morienti, sed circumferentem oculos ex turba amicorum delegisse, cui traderet. Placere igitur, censeret. Itaque universi procedere in medium Perdiccam et regis anulum tollere iubebant. Haerebant inter cupiditatem pudoremque e quo modestius quod expectabat appeteret, pervicacius oblaturos esse credebat. 19 Itaque cunctatus diuque, quid ageret, incertus ad ultimum tamen recessit et post cos, qui sederant proximi, constitit. 2 At Meleager, unus e ducibus, confirmato animo, quem Perdiccae cunctatio erexerat, 'Nec di sierint,' inquit, 'ut Alexandri fortuna tantique regni fastigium in istos humeros ruat: homines certe non
ferent. Nihili dico de nobilioribus quam hic est, sed de viris tantum, quibus invitis nihil perpeti necesse est. 21 Nec vero interest, Roxanes filium, quandoque genitus erit, an Perdiccam regem habeatis, cum cie regnum occupaturus sit. Itaque nemo ei rex placet, nisi qui nondum natus est, e in tanta omnium festinatione no
iusta modo, sed etiam necessaria exactos menses solus expectat et iam divinat marem esse conceptum. 22 Quem vos dubitetis paratum esse vel subdere? Si medius fidius dexander hunc nobis regem pro se reliquisset, id solum ex iis, quae imperasset, non faciendum esse censerem. 23 Quin igitur ad diripiendos thesauros discurritis? harum enim oppidum regiarum utique populus est heres.'. 24 Haec elocutus
per medios armatos erupit et, qui abeunti viam dederant, ipsum ad per medios armatos erupit et, qui ab

Caput VII
${ }^{\text {Capat }}$ Iamque armatorum circa Meleagrum frequens globus erat seditionem ac discordiam versa contione, cum quidam plerisque Macedonum ignotus ex infima plebe, 2 'Quid opus est,' inquit, 'armis civilique bello habentibus regem, quem quaeritis? Arrhidaeus Philippo genitus, Alexandri paulo ante regis frater, sacrorum
caerimoniarumque consors modo nunc solus heres, raeteritu caerimoniarumque consors modo, nunc solus heres, prateritur a
vobis. Quo suo merito? quidve fecit, cur etiam gentium communi iure fraudetur? Si Alexandro similem quaeritis, numquam reperietis, Pithon plenus lacrimarum orditur dicere,'nunc vel maxime miserabilem esse Alexandrum, quit tam bonorum civium militumque
fructuet praesentia fraudatus esset: nomen enim memoriamque regis
sit tantum suit tantum intuentes ad cetera caligare eos', haud ambigue in
ivenem, cui regnum destinabatur, intendens probra. 5 Quae iuvenem, cui regnum destinabatur, intendens probra. 5 Quae
obiecerat, magis ipsi odium, quam Arrhidaeo conternt obiecerat, magis isti dodum, quam Arriidaeo contempum atuluerunt
quippe dum miserentur, etiam favere coeperunt. 6 Igitur non alium regem se quam eum, qui ad hanc spem genitus esset, passuros
pertinaci adclamatione declarant vocarique Arrhidaum iubent. pertinaci adclamatione declarant vocarique Arrhidaeum iubent. 7
Quem Meleager infestus invisusque Perdiccae strenue perducit Quem Meleager infestus invisusque Perdicae strenue perd
regiam et milites Philippum consalutatum regem appellant. regiam et milites Philippum consalutatum regem appellant.
8 Ceterum haec vulgi erat vox, principum alia sententia. Equibus
Pith Pithon consilium Perdiccae exequi coepit tutoresque destinat filio ex Roxane futuro Perdiccam et Leonnatum, stirpe regia genitos. 9
Adiecit, ut in Europa Craterus et Antipater res administra siurandum a singulis exactum, futuros in potestatem reent. Tum Alexandro. 10 Meleager - haud iniuria metu supplicii territus cum suis secesserat-rursus Philippum trahens secum inrupit regian
clamitans, suffragari spei publicae de novo rege pawlo robur aetatis: experirentur modo stirpem Philippi et filium ac fratren regum duorum: sibimet ipsis potissimum crederent. 11 Nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos duratura libertate luxuriat. 12 Pauci Perdiccae modo electo, plur Philippo, quem spreverant, imperium dabant. Nec velle nec nolle quicquam diu poterant paenitebatque modo consilii, modo paenitentias ipsius. Ad ultimum tamen in stirpem regiam inclinavere
studiis. 13 Cesserat ex contione Arrhidaeus, principum conterritus, et abeunte illo conticuerat magis quam elanguerat
militraris favor Itaque evecocatus conterritus, , tabeunte illo conticuerat magis quam elangueraa
militaris favor. Itaque revocatus vestem fratris eam ipsam, quae in sella posita fuerat, induitur. 14 Et Meleager thorace sumpto capit
arma, novi regis satelles. Sequitur phalanx hastis clipeos quatien expletura se sanguine illorum, qui adfectaverant nihil ad ipso pertinens regnum. 15 In eadem domo familiaque imperii vire remansuras esse gaudebant: hereditarium imperium stirpem regiam quemquam id capere nisi genitum, ut regnaret. 16 Igitur Perdicca quemquam id capere nisi genitum, ut regnaret. 11 İitur Perdicca
territus conclave, in que Alexandri corpus iacebat, obserari iubet. DC cum ipso erant spectatee virtutis, Ptolemaeus quoque se adiunxerat puerorumque regia cohors. 17 Ceterum haud difficulter a tot milibus
armatorum claustra perfracta sunt. Et rex quoque inruperat stipatus satellitum turba, quorum princeps Meleager erat. 18 Iratusque satelifum turba, quorum princeps Meleager erat. 18 riatusque
Perdicca hos, qui Alexandri corpus tueri vellent, sevocat: sed, qui inruperant, eminus tela in ipsum iaciebant. Multisque vulneratis
tandem seniores demptis galeis, quo facilius nosci possent, prec eos, qui cum Perdicca erant, coepere, ut absisterent bello regique et pluribus cederent. 19 Primus Perdicca arma deposuit ceterique idem fecere. Meleagro deinde suadente, ne a corpore Alexandri discederent, insidiis locum quaeri rati, diversa regiae parte ad
Euphraten fugam intendunt. 20 Equitatus, qui ex nobilissimis Euphraten fugam intendunt. 20 Equitatus, qui ex nobilissimis
iuvenum constabat, Perdiccam et Leoonnatum frequens sequebatur placebatque excedere urbe et tendere in campis. 21 Sed Perdicca ne pedites quidem secuturos ipsum desperabat: itaque, ne abducen
equites abrupisse a cetero exercitu videretur in urbe subsistit.

## Caput VIII

1 At Meleager regem monere non destitit, ius imperii Perdiccae morte sanciendum esse: ni occupetur inpotens animus, re novaturum. 2 Meminisse eum, quid de rege meruisset, neminem adsentiebatur Itaque Melegerer silentium pro imperio habuits quam regis nomine, qui Perdicam accerserent: iisdem mandatum, ut regis nomine, qui Perdiccam accerserent: iisdem mandatum, ut
occiderent, si venire dubitare. Perdicca nuntiato satellitum adventu sedecim omnino pueris regiae cohortis comitatus in limine dom suae constitit castigatosque et Meleagri mancipia identidem
appellans sic animi vultusque constantia terruit, ut vix mentis compotes fugerent. 4 Perdicca pueros equos iussit conscendere et
 ut - quasi ignoraret ipse - conquererentur palam, Meleagru aequatum esse Perdiccae. 9 Quorum sermone Meleager ad se relato furens ira Perdiccae, quae conperisset, exponit. Ille velut nova re
exterritus admirari, queri dolentiscue speciem ostentare e e coepit ultimum convenit, ut conprehenderentur tam seditiosae vocis auctores. 10 Agit Meleager gratias amplexusque Perdiccam fidem eius is rationem onprimi mil consilio rationem opprimendi noxios ineunt. Placet exercitum patrio
lustrari et probabilis causa videbatur praeterita discordia. 12 Macedonum reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissae canis viscera ultimo in campo, in quem deduceretur exercitus, ab utraque abicerent parte, intra id spatium armati omnes starent, hinc equites,
illinc phalanx. 13 Itaque eo die, quem huic sacro destinaverant, rex cum equitibus elephantisque constiterat contra pedites, quis cum equitibus eelephantisque constiterat contra pedites, quis Meleager raeerat. 14 Iam equestre agmen movebatur et pedites, subita formidine ob recentem discordiam haud sane pacati quicquan copias: quippe pro equibus planities erat. 15 Ceterum verit temere commilitonum fidem damnarent, substitere praeparatitis dimicandum animis, si quis vim inferret. Iam agmina coibant parvumque intervallum erat, quod aciem utramque divideret. 16 Itaque rex cum una ala obequitare peditibus coepit, discordiae auctores, quos tueri ipse debebat, instinctu Perdiccae ad supplicia deposcens: minabaturque omnes turmas cum elephantis inducturum se in recusantes. 17 Stupebant inproviso malo pedites nec
ipso Meleagro erat aut consilii aut animi. Tutissimum ex prasentibus videbatur expectare potius quam movere fortunam. 18 prasentibus videbautur expectare potius quam movere fortun
Tum Perdicca, ut torpentes et obnoxios vidit, CCC fere, qui Meleagrum erumpentem ex contione, quae prima habita est pos
mortem Alexandri, secuti erant, a ceteris discretos elephantis in conspectu totius exercitus obicit. Omnesque beluarum pedibus obtrit conspectu totius exercitus obicit. Omnesque beluarum peditbus obriri
sunt nec prohibente Philippo nec auctore: 19 adparebatque id modo pro suo vindicaturum, quod adprobasset eventus. Hoc belloru civitium Macedonibus et omen et principium fuit. 20 Meleager sero
intellecta fraude Perdiccae tum quidem, quia ipsius corpori vis non adferebatur, in agmine quietus stetit: 21 at mox damnata spe salutis, cum eius nomine, quem ipse fecerat regem, in perniciem suam abutentes videret inimicos,
religione defensus, occiditur.

Caput X
1 Perdicca perducto in urbem exercitu consilium principum virorum habuit, in quo imperium ita dividid placuit, ut rex quidem summam eius obtineret, satrapes Ptolemaeus Aegypti esset et Africae gentium, Philote Cilice erant. 2 Laomedonti Syria cum Phoenice data est, Philotae Cilicia destinata, Lyciam cum Pamphylia et maiore P1
obtinere iussus Antigonus, in Cariam Cassander, Menander in Lydiam missi. Phrygiam minorem Hellesponto adiunctam Leonnati provinciam esse iusserunt. 3 Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagonia cessit: pracecptum est, ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta
defenderet et bellum cum Ariarathe gereret solus hic detrectab diendereet et bellum cum Ariarathe gereret: solus hic detrectaba
imperium. 4 Pithon Mediam, Lysimachus Thraciam adpositasque imperium. 4 Pithon Mediam, Lysimachus Thraciam adpositasque
Thraciae Ponticas gentes obtinere iussi. Qui Indiae quique Bactris et
Sogdianis ceterique Sogdianis ceterique aut Oceani aut rubri maris accolis praeerant, quibus quisque finibus habuisset imperium, obtinerent decretum
Perdicca ut cum rege esset copisque praeesset, quae regem sequebantur. 5 Credidere quidam testamento Alexandri distributas esse provincias, sed famam eius rei, quamquam ab auctoribus tradita est, vanam fuisse conperimus. 6 Et quidem suas quisque opes divisis imperii partibus prudenter ipsi fundaverant, si umquam adver
inmodicas cupiditates terminus staret: 7 quippe paulo ante res inmodicas cupiditates terminus staret: 7 quippe paulo ante regis
ministris specie imperii alieni procurandi singuli ingentia invaserant regna sublatis certaminum causis, cum et omnes eiusdem gentis erat eo contentos esse, quod obtulerat occasio. quippe sordent prima


