ARRIAN
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**Anabasis of Alexander**—

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PREFATORY NOTE

The text of this edition is that of Dübner, ed. Didot; and this in turn is that of the Parisian MS. usually noted as B, but by Dübner as A. B, Codex Parisinus gr. 1753, fifteenth century, is, with C (Constantinopolitanus, fifteenth century), almost certainly directly derived from a copy of A, first hand; and since the lacuna of VII. 12. 7 represents a loss of an exact page of A, Roos is no doubt correct in regarding A as the archetypal text. A, Codex Vindobonensis, twelfth or early thirteenth century, was corrected later, and the text of A² is represented by k, the "Florentine best codex" of Gronow, also used by Dübner, to whom the agreement of B and k is paramount. A has gaps, owing to loss or damage of pages; and the "second group" of MSS. have in common a large number of smaller lacunae; so that B and C, with k (from A²), alone are without lacunae (save for the common lacuna of Book VII).

For the Indica, A with B give the best text. Arrian's attempt at Herodotean dialect is creditable, but not without errors.

The task, therefore, of an editor of the Anabasis is comparatively easy; but this does not mean that ordinary critical methods can be omitted. There are two directions, in especial, in which editors have moved. On the one hand there is a natural tendency to "atticize" Arrian. His tenses are not always
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according to rule; he uses the imperfect of completed action; his prepositions are sometimes strange; he even uses κατὰ for "up-stream";¹ he seems to misplace τε and γε, and δέ does not always correspond to its μέν. Krüger and Sintenis have done much to put him right; but such correction is based on the idea that the Greeks always used their best tools. Then again, Arrian, desiring clearness, repeats himself much and unnecessarily, and this leads to a crop of "similar endings," from which either confusion has resulted (see I. 12 ad init.) or omissions, usually small, have been freely suspected. A similar suspicion arises from his rather unusual use of τε and μέν.² My own view is on the whole against the proposed insertions, and wholly against the atticing tendencies, of editors. B, C and k are, as has been seen, free from the many lacunae of the "second group" of MSS., and we can hardly be wrong, in default of A, in adopting a consensus of A² (= k) BL (Laurentian, fifteenth century, which according to Roos is the best representative of the "second class" of MSS.). I have naturally made much use of the apparatus of Roos, ed. Teubner maior, 1907; but I do not record suggestions which, while interesting enough, appear (on Roos' own estimate of the MSS.) unnecessary, nor varieties of proper names except where there is difference of persons (e.g. IV. 19. 2 and IV. 21. 1, 22. 1), nor, as a rule, the evidence of Suidas and Eustathius, nor the variants found in the Pòlforcetica' (Sieges of Tyre and Gaza, from II. 15 and 25). Again, while precision in word-forms is important, yet where one cannot dogmatize (e.g. as to ἦπειθη and ἦπειθη, I. 21. 4) and the translation is

¹ [I. 1. 3. ² See e.g. I. 7. 2.
not affected, I have not deserted the MSS. Thus Arrian’s pluperfects form a constant bone of contention for those who desire to contend, but neither Cobet nor Lobeck can assure us further than that Arrian ought to have written this and that; again even inscriptions seem erroneous at least in one proper name, Πολυσίφαρχος (II. 12. 2), and certain ascriptions of parentage, and even historical and geographical notes, appear to contain errors of Arrian, and not of the copyists, who, however, mistake now and then numerical symbols (see II. 27. 3).

Those who desire a full critical apparatus will turn to Roos, to whom due acknowledgment is here made. There is no lack there of sound and often brilliant suggestions (including those of Polak), but since emendation belongs rather to a text which is impossible or difficult to translate as it stands, than to a text which may merely lack finish or precision, the Anabasis of Arrian hardly seems a good subject for this attractive art.

I have confined my own suggestions to a single passage of I. 1. 6.

**Editions, Translations, etc.**

Apart from Gronow’s edition, we have for the Anabasis, Abicht, 1875 and 1889, Kräger, 1835, Sintenis, 1867, Roos, ed. Teubner maior, 1907; there is a school edition of Books I and II by H. W. Auden (Blackwood), 1902, otherwise a paucity of school editions of so interesting an authority. Chin-nock’s (E. J.) translation of Anabasis and Indica, with useful notes, is out of print. The Indica has appeared in the excellent Paris series (text and translation; Association G. Budé).
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Considerable portions of Anabasis and Indica appear, in good translations, in the five volumes which make up J. W. McCrindle's History of Ancient India. See also the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI (W. W. Tarn), and the Cambridge History of India; also Pelham in English Hist. Review, Oct. 1896. Arrian does not attract scholars to any extent in the learned periodicals or year-books; recent volumes of Bursian's Year-Book have some short notes. The Journal of Hellenic Studies within recent years has interesting notes (W. W. Tarn, vol. xlviii. (ii.), L. R. Taylor, xlvii. (i.) and xlviii. (i.), "Daimon of the Persian King"; A. D. Nock, xlviii. (i.), "Ruler Cult," on the question of "prostration" (proskynesis) before Alexander. This act naturally provokes controversy, but we may doubt whether even Alexander himself was quite clear what it did, or might, connote). Arrian's general trustworthiness comes in for a good deal of discussion in these articles.

ARRIAN (FLAVIUS ARRIANUS)

The facts of Arrian's life are simple. He was a Greek, born at Nicomedia about A.D. 96, and his floriit therefore falls in the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Hadrian appointed him Governor of Cappadocia (131 to 137), and as he saw some military service, he writes as an expert. This post was a most unusual honour for a Greek. He was Archon at Athens in 147, and died probably about 180. As a pupil of Epictetus he wrote up lecture notes or memorabilia, and is an important authority for his master's teaching.

His value as a historian of Alexander depends (as
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W. W. Tarn points out in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI.) on the rather insoluble question, how far official history is accurate history. For Arrian makes no secret of his adherence to two main authorities, Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus. Of the former, he naïvely remarks that, as a king, he was not likely to falsify; moreover, that, writing after Alexander’s death, he would not stand to gain anything by flattery. This view does more credit to Arrian’s regard for royalty than to his critical sense. Ptolemaeus might have a good deal to gain after Alexander’s death by glorifying his own part in the expedition. Mahaffy (Greek Life and Thought, p. 205) speaks of “Ptolemy’s account . . . in which no doubt he gave no carping or incomplete story of his own achievements”; and in a footnote on the same page adds “Ptolemy (Soter) has had curious fates as an author. While Arrian praises his Memoirs of Alexander as the soberest and most veracious book, his name was afterwards prefixed to the fables ascribed to Callisthenes, and there is extant (C. Müller’s *Praefatio in Pseudo-Callisthenem*, p. xxvii) an epigram on his ignorance and deceit from a mediaeval reader.”

Let us, however, put aside any suspicions that Ptolemaeus was one of the jackals who sought his titbits of glory from the leavings of the lion’s feast, and let us discount mediaeval epigrams; the question still arises, if Ptolemaeus wrote what would be counted accurate official history of Alexander’s marches and victories, is such official history likely to be accurate from our present-day standpoint? And Arrian clearly regards Ptolemaeus as his chief authority.

Readers will have opportunity of forming their own
views on this question, as they will also be able to read Arrian's own little self-revelations and the expressions of his own opinions. It is to his credit that where he feels it to be his duty he does not fear to criticize severely Alexander himself. Though he was something of a military expert, and describes the customary manoeuvres of Alexander clearly enough, he becomes rather obscure where anything unusual occurs. Ordinarily he is a readable and rather dull historian, but—in common with other ancient historians—he sometimes uses two or more authorities without making a very successful blend.

That he soberly eschews, for the most part, the romantic elements in Alexander's career, gives him an especial value in view of the regrettably inadequate documentation of one of the greatest of all military exploits.

*Alexander's Troops, Tactics, and Arrian's Terminology.*

Alexander's tactics were, fortunately, of the simplest kind, though most effective, especially against "native" troops. His centre was the "phalanx," his right was his best and heaviest cavalry, his left was other cavalry, and outside the right wing, and possibly the left, were archers and other light troops. The exact employment of the whole force varied with the ground, but on normal ground, and Alexander could usually choose his positions, the left wing at first merely held firm, and the centre was a solid pivot for the right wing, which charged down upon the "shield-side" of the enemy's troops and often even drove them on to the pikes of the phalanx in the centre and the thrusting spears of
the cavalry on the left. The “phalanx” in the centre occupied and diverted the enemy, but would not usually advance far unless the customary swing from the right was somehow impeded, or became irregular.

Arrian’s accounts of Alexander’s tactics and descriptions of his troops are not, however, particularly clear, nor indeed does he use the same terms always in the same way. His usual technical terms, working downward, are στρατός, στρατόπεδον, and φάλαγξ, which should mean a part of the army, namely, that part of the infantry which was armed with long spears, but sometimes seems to be used for the army itself; the subdivisions of the φάλαγξ are τάξεως, a word also used sometimes technically, sometimes not. These τάξεως were probably enrolled on a territorial basis. The word ἔταιροι is especially troublesome. Often it apparently has no special significance; it is used, as in the compound just quoted, as we use “territorials,” i.e. troops acquainted with one another, comrades, members of the same district. But some of these troops (who were indeed practically the whole of the true-born Macedonian forces) were attached to Alexander’s person as part of his bodyguard. Whether Arrian means us to understand “Companions (of Alexander)” when he so uses the word is not certain; but he uses ἔταιροι as a sort of title, just as he does ἔταιροι or παιδείς βασιλικοί, “Squires of the King,” or perhaps “Sons of (Macedonian) nobles.” Besides the ἔταιροι proper, whether πεζόταιροι or ἄσπεταίροι, there were πελάται, a general term for light-armed troops (that is, troops with light defensive protection), and certain auxiliary troops denoted by their specific titles, but also ξένοι or mercenaries,
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namely, Thessalians, Boeotians, and others, notably the Agrianes, who were capital mountaineers and skirmishers.

Now we come to a large force, partly of ἵπποςμισταῖ, who formed Alexander’s guards, and his actual body-guard. Probably nearest to him were the “squires,” who formed his staff. Next would come any specially selected φίλακες, and next (also, in the wider sense, ἵπποι) the σωματοφίλακες, called τὸ ἁγγίμα τὸ βασιλικόν, and probably the same as the ἀργυράσπιδες. But this quite large force of “bodyguards” and “guards” was not merely a protection for their courageous and even rash leader, but rather formed a special body of shock troops, easily and swiftly manoeuvred, and ready for any sudden forced march or hazardous assault.

The manoeuvring of the army is expressed thus. A phalanx is always rectangular, if not always a square. A diagram gives the technical terms;
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The phalanx was not the rigid body it is often represented to be by historians. It could be elongated as shown above (the word is πλαγία) to an oblong, that is, a column in line, or narrowed (δροθή), when an enemy front was to be pierced.

When, however, flank attacks were expected the phalanx would be thrown into a long line (as at Gaugamela); the centre might be advanced; it was then two-fronted (right and left incline); or occasionally the line would be concave, not convex, if the phalanx was itself outflanking an enemy. Sometimes the phalanx was in wedge or arrow-head formation, ξυμβολος, but not, we must remember, a closed wedge. The closest possible order was συναποιμός, "shield locked with shield."

Dr. Hogarth (Philip and Alexander) has a valuable passage on the Macedonian army, modifying certain views of his earlier pamphlet.

Aeneas Tacticus (and others), translated in this Library, will give some help, but must be used with caution. They do not exactly represent our period.

A Geographical Note.

Alexander’s routes are for the most part easy to follow in any serious atlas. It is not always so easy to see why he chose his routes.

Great interest has been recently aroused by Sir Aurel Stein’s publication (in The Geographical Journal for November and December, 1927, and in his work On Alexander’s Track to the Indus, Macmillan, 1929) of his discovery of the site of Aornos, which he places on the ridge of Pir-s’ar, situated in the bend of the Indus, westward of its course, that is, on the right
bank, due north of Gunangar and east by north of Chakdara.

The ridge fits Arrian's description well, save that (to a mere reader, who has not seen it) it would not appear capable of supporting the population which Arrian ascribes to it.

But a graver question is whether Arrian's description is necessarily precise. The diversion so far up the Indus appears unnecessary; and one may be rather inclined to suspect that Alexander went northward feeling his way for some valley or pass which he did not discover; was held up by some militant tribe, which manned its Acropolis, and took a good deal longer to "smoke out" than Alexander had expected. He returns southward, and his literary followers have to excuse both the diversion and the check by inventing particular reasons why Alexander should have desired to storm this particular rock.

Perhaps all we can say is that, of Arrian is precise, Sir Aurel Stein is almost certainly accurate in his choice of the site.
Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγου καὶ Ἄριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ὁ σα μὲν ταῦτα ἀμφω περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλάππου ἔνεγραψαν, ταῦτα ἐγὼ ὡς πάντῃ ἁληθῆ ἀναγράφω, ὅσα δὲ οὐ ταῦτα, τούτων τὰ πιστότερα ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα καὶ ἀμα ἄξιαφηγητότερα ἐπιλεξάμενος. Ἀλλοι μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ύπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄνεγραψαν, οὐδὲ ἔστων ύπὲρ ὅτου πλείονες ἢ ἄξιομφωνότεροι ἐστὶ ἄλλοις: ἄλλ’ ἐμοὶ Πτολεμαῖος τε καὶ Ἄριστόβουλος πιστότεροι ἔδοξαν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν, ὁ μὲν ὅτι συνεστάτευσε βασιλεὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Ἄριστόβουλος. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἐνυπερτρα- τεύσαν ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ὤντι αἰσχρότερον ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ νεύσασθαι ἦν. ἀμφω δὲ, ὅτι τετελευτηκότος ἢ ἄλλη Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔναγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ ὁ μεσθὸς τοῦ ἄλλος τι ἢ ὡς συνενέχθη ἔναγράψαν ἀπήν. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἃ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλων ἔναγγελλάμενα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἄξιαφηγητά τέ μοι ἔδοξε καὶ οὐ πάντῃ ἀπίστα, ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄνεγραψα.
ARRIANN

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK I

[PREFACE.

Wherever Ptolemy son of Lagus and Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have agreed in their histories of Alexander son of Philip, I record their story as quite accurate; where they disagree I have chosen what I feel to be more likely and also better worth the narrating. Others have given various accounts of Alexander, in fact there is no one over whom historians have been more numerous and less harmonious. My own view is that Ptolemy and Aristobulus are more trustworthy narrators, for Aristobulus took the field with King Alexander; Ptolemy not only did the same, but, as he was a king himself, falsehood would have been more shameful to him than to anyone else. Besides, since Alexander was dead when they both wrote their histories, there lay on them neither any constraint nor any hope of gain in writing other than plain fact. Parts, however, of the records of others, such as appeared to me worthy of narration and not wholly untrustworthy, I have included as so much tradition about Alexander. Should anyone be sur-
'Όστις δὲ θαυμάσεται ἀνθ' ὅτου ἕτερ τοσοῦτο συγγραφεύει καὶ ἐμοὶ ἕτερ νοῦν ἤλθεν ἢδε ἡ συγγραφή, τά τ' ἐκείνων πάντα τις ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ τοὺς τοῖς ἡμετέρους ἐντυχών οὕτω θαυμαζέτω.

1. Δέχεται δὴ 'Φιλίππων τελευτήσαι ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Πυθοδήμου 'Αθηνησί παραλαβόντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν 'Αλέξανδρον, παῖδα ὅντα 'Φιλίππου, ἐς Πελοπόννησον παρελθεῖν εἶναι δὲ τὸτε ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν, ἔτη. 'Αλέξανδρον. Ἔνταῦθα ξυναγαγόντα τοὺς 'Ἐλλήνας ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πελοπόννησος ἦσαν, αἵτειν παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας στρατιᾶς, ἤμυνα 'Φιλίππος ἤδη ἐδοσαν καὶ αἰτήσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἑκάστων πλῆν 'Δακεδαιμονίων. 'Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ εἶναι σφισὶ πάτριον ἀκολουθεῖν ἀλλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἀλλων ἐξηγεῖσθαι. Νεωτέρισα δὲ ἅττα καὶ τὸν 'Αθηναίων τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ 'Αθηναίους γε τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ 'Αλέξανδρον ἐκπλαγέντας καὶ πλέον ἐτί τῶν 'Φιλίππων δοθέντων 'Αλέξανδρῳ εἰς τιμὴν ξυναγορήσαι. Ἐπανελθόντα δὲ ἐς 'Μακεδονίαν ἐν παρασκευή εἶναι τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἁσίαν στόλου.

2. "Αμα δὲ τῷ ἡρί ἐλαιύνειν ἐπὶ 'Θράκης, ἐς Τριβαλλοὺς καὶ Ἰλλυριούς, ὅτι τε νεωτερίσειν ἐπόθετο Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, καὶ ἀμα ὀμόρευσαν ὅταν σὺκ ἐδόκει υπολείπεσθαι ὅτι μὴ πάντη ταπεινωθέντας οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ὅσιες στελλόμενοι. Ἐρμηθέντα δὴ ἐξ Ἀμβροσίας ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς 'Θράκην τῇ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὁμομοιοῦν καλουμένων 'Θράκων, 'Φιλίππους πόλιν ἐν
prised, when there is such abundance of writers, that it should have occurred to me also to compose this history, I beg him to reserve his surprise till he has first surveyed their work and made the acquaintance of mine.

I. The death of Philip is placed in the archonship of Pythodemus at Athens; Alexander, then about twenty, succeeded, being Philip’s son, and came into the Peloponnesus; so runs the story. There he gathered together the Peloponnesian Greeks and requested from them the leadership of the Persian expedition, which they had already granted to Philip. All agreed except the Lacedaemonians, who replied that their country’s custom did not permit them to follow others; it was theirs to take the lead of others. The Athenians also made some show of violence; but they collapsed at Alexander’s first approach and conceded to him a position even more honourable than had been given to Philip. Alexander then returned to Macedonia and began to get ready for the Asian expedition.

In the spring he went Thracewards, to the Triballi and Illyrians, since he learned that they were restless: moreover, as they marched with his borders, he did not think well to leave them behind him, when going on an expedition so far from home, unless they were thoroughly subdued. Starting from Amphipolis, he invaded Thrace, that is, the territory of the independent Thracians, with Philippi
ἀριστερά ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν Ὄρβηλον τὸ ὄρος. Διαβάζει δὲ τὸν Νέσσον ποταμὸν λέγουσιν ὅτι
6 δεκατάιος ἀφίκετο ἐπί τὸ ὄρος τὸν Ἀλμον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ τῆς
ἀνόδου τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν τε ἐμπόρων ἅπλοι ὀπλισμένοι καὶ οἱ Ὁρῖκες οἱ αὐτόνομοι, παρε-
σκευασμένοι εἴργειν τοῦ πρόσω κατείληφότες τὴν ἀκραίαν τοῦ Ἀλμον τὸν στόλον, παρ’ ὅν ἦν τῷ
7 στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος. Ξυναγαγόντες δὲ ἀμάξας καὶ προβαλόμενοι πρὸ σφῶν ἀμα μὲν
χάρακι ἐχρόντω ταῖς ἀμάξασις εἰς τὸ ἀπομάχησθαι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, εἰ βιάζοντο, ἀμα δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχον
ἐπαφθαίνειν ἀνιόνσιν ἡ ἀποτομώτατον τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ τὴν φάλαιγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τὰς ἀμάξας.
Γνώμην δὲ πεποίητο ὅτι ὅσον πυκνοτέρα τῇ
φάλαιγι καταφέρομενα συμμιξίσουσιν αἱ ἀμαξαί,
τοσοῦτοι μᾶλλον τι διασκεδάσουσιν αὐτήν βία
ἐμπεσοῦσι.
8 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ Βουλῇ γίγνεται ὅπως ἄσφα-
λεστατα ὑπερβάλλῃ τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐπειδή ἐδοκεῖ
διακινδυνευτεά (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἄλλη τὴν πάροδον),
παραγγέλλει τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ὅποτε καταφέρωντο
κατὰ τοῦ ὀρθίου αἱ ἀμάξας, ὅσος μὲν ὁδὸς
πλατεία ὁδὸς παρέχῃ λῦσαι τὴν τάξιν, τοῦτος
δὲ διαχωρίσαι, ὅσο δὲ αὐτῶν ἑκπεσεῖν τὰς ἀμάξας:
9 ὅσοι δὲ περικαταλαμβάνοντο, ξυνεύσαντας,
τοὺς δὲ καὶ πεσόντας εἰς ἔκτη συγκλείσαι εἰς
ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἀσπίδας, τοῦ κατ’ αὐτῶν φερομένας
τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τῇ ὑμη κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ὑπερπη-

1 ἐμπόρων (Codd.) may be correct, since the “carts”
below suggest an armed caravan. ὑμῖρων Krüger, but ἐνορίων
is rather nearer.
and Mount Orbelus on his left. Then—so the historians tell us—he crossed the river Nessus and in ten days reached Mount Haemus, where there met him in the defile of the approach to the mountain many of the merchants in arms and the independent Thracians; they had occupied the height of Haemus, and were all ready to bar the progress of the expedition, which must needs pass the height. Collecting carts, and throwing them in advance, they proposed to use the carts as a stockade from which to put up a defence, if they were pressed; but it was also part of their strategy to launch the carts at the Macedonian phalanx as the troops mounted the slope just where the mountain was most sheer. Their idea was that the closer the phalanx when the descending carts charged it, the more their violent descent would scatter it.

Alexander, however, consulted how he could most safely cross the ridge; and since he saw that the risk must be run, for there was no way round, he sent orders to his men-at-arms that at whatsoever time the carts swooped down the slope upon them, those who, being on level ground, could break formation, were to part to right and left, leaving an avenue for the carts; those who should be caught in the narrows were to form close together; and some actually falling to the ground were to link their shields closely together so that the carts coming at them and (as was to be hoped) bounding over them by their gathered impetus should pass
δόσας ἀβλαβῶς ἐπελθεῖν. Καὶ οὕτω ξυνέβη ὅπως παρῆνότε τε Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ έκασσεν.
10 Οἱ μὲν γὰρ διέσχον τὴν φάλαγγα, αἱ δ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐπικυλλιοθεῖσαι ὀλγά ἐξβλαγεν ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀμάξαις. Εὐθα δὴ οἱ Μακεδόνες θαρσῆσαντες ὅτι ἄβλαβεῖς αὐτοὺς, ἂς μάλιστα ἐδεδίεσαν, αἱ ἀμάξαι ἐγένοντο, σὺν
11 βοη ἐς τοὺς Ῡράκας ἐνέβαλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τοξότας μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸ τῆς ἀλλῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ ταύτῃ εὐπρομάτα ἡν, ἔθειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐκτοξεύετε ἐς τοὺς Ῡράκας ὅτη προσφέροντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τοὺς υπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας κατὰ
12 τὸ εὐώνυμον ἤγεν. Εὐθα δὴ οἱ τοξόται βάλλοντες τοὺς προεκθέοντας τῶν Ῡρακῶν ἀλέστελλον καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ προσμίξασα ὧν χάλεπως ἔξωσέν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀνθρώπων ψελοὺς καὶ κακώς ὀπλισμένους βαρβάρους, ὡστε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἐπάγοντα οὐκέτι ἐδέχατο, ἀλλὰ ρήγαντες ὡς ἐκάστοις προφύρει τὰ ὀπλα κατὰ τοῦ ὅρους
13 ἐφυγον. Καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, χῶντες δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ὀλγοι ἐλήφθησαν δ’ ὀκύτητα καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐμπειρίαν, γύναικες δὲ ὡς οὐκεὶν ἐξελείναντο αὐτῶς ἐάλωσαν πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ παιδάρια καὶ ἡ λεία πᾶσα ἔαλο.

Π. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαιν ὁπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Ἀυσάνια καὶ Φιλώτα παραδοῦς διατίθεσθαι· αὐτός δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ὑπερβαλὼν προῆς διὰ τοῦ Αἴμου ἐς Τριθαλλοὺς, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸν Δύνινον ποταμὸν ἀπέχει δὲ οὕτως ἀπὸ τοῦ
through without doing harm. And thus it happened, according to Alexander's orders and anticipation. The one lot parted their phalanx, and the carts sliding over the shields of the others did little harm; not one man perished beneath the carts. The Macedonians now took heart of grace, finding that those most dreaded chariots proved harmless, and raising their cheer charged the Thracians. Alexander sent for the archers from the right wing to the front of the other phalanx—this being the more convenient side—to shoot thence at the Thracians whenever they attacked. He himself took the shock-troops, the Foot Guards, and the Agrianes, and led them to the left, where the archers by their volleys held up any advances of the Thracians, and the phalanx had no grave difficulty, coming to close quarters, in driving from their position the lightly clad and ill-armed highlanders; who, in fact, did not await Alexander leading on his men from the left, but casting away their arms helter-skelter fled down the mountain-side. Fifteen hundred perished; few were captured alive, by reason of their speed and their local knowledge; the women, however, who had followed them were all taken, with the children, and all their impedimenta.

II. Alexander sent the booty to the rear, to the cities on the coast, appointing Lysanias and Philotas to deal with it; then himself crossing the ridge he marched through Haemus to the Triballians, and so arrived at the River Lyginus; as you approach
'Ιστρον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Αἴμον ἱόντες σταθμοὺς τρεῖς.  
2 Σύμρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν βασιλεύς, ἐκ πολλοῦ πυθανόμενος τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου τῶν στόλων, γυναικας μὲν καὶ παῖδας τῶν Τριβαλλῶν προπεμψαν ἐπὶ τῶν 'Ιστρον, διαβαίνειν κελεύσας τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς νῆσον τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ 'Ιστρῷ. Πεύκη ὤνομα τῇ νῆσῳ ἔστεν. Ἐσ ταῦτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον καὶ οἱ Ὁράκες οἱ πρόσχοροι τοῖς Τριβαλλοῖς προσάγοντος Ἀλέξανδρου συμπεφευγότες ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύμρος ἐς ταῦτην ξυμπεφεύγει ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀμφί αὐτοῦ τὸ δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἐφυγεν ὅπλως ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐνθενεπὶ τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὀρμήθη Ἀλέξανδρος.

4 Ὡς δὲ ἐμαθεν αὐτῶν τῇ ὁρμῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑποπτρέψας τὸ ἐμπαλίν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τριβαλλοὺς ἤγε, καὶ καταλαμβάνει καταστρατεύσεων ἡδη. Καὶ οἱ μὲν, καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῷ νάπει τῷ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν παρετάσσοντο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ μὲν φαλαγγῇ ἐς βιθός ἑκτάξας ἐπῆγε, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ καὶ τοὺς σφενδονώτας προεκθέοντας ἐκέλευσεν ἑκτοξεύειν τε καὶ σφενδονῶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, εἰ πως προκάλεσται αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ ψιλὰ ἐκ τοῦ νάπους.

5 Οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγένοντο, παιόμενοι ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ὅπως ἐς χείρας ἐμμίκειαν γυμνοὶς οὐσὶ τοῖς τοξόταις. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προῆγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς νάπης ἐξω, Φιλωταῖοι μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀνωθεν Μακεδονίας ἕπεας προσέταξεν ἐμβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, ὑπὲρ μάλιστα προὐκεχορῆκεσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ. Ἡρακλεῖδην δὲ καὶ Σώπολοι τοὺς ἐκ Βοττιαίας τε καὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἕπεας κατὰ τὸ
Haemus, it is three days' march from the Ister. Syrmus, King of the Triballians, learning some time before of Alexander's march, sent on the women and children to the Ister, ordering them to cross to an island in the river called Peuce. To this island the Thracians who are neighbours to the Triballians had fled on Alexander's approach, and Syrmus and his suite also; but the mass of the Triballians fled back to the river whence Alexander had started out the day before.

Hearing of their move, Alexander turned back to attack the Triballians, and found them already encamping. They, caught as they were, formed line near the glen by the river; but Alexander in person, throwing his phalanx into deep formation, led it against them, ordering the bowmen and slingers to skirmish ahead and discharge their arrows and stones upon the tribesmen, to see if he could entice them into the open from the glen. They, when in range, receiving these volleys, rushed forward upon the bowmen to come to grips with them, being unarmed as bowmen are. But Alexander having brought them out of the glen ordered Philotas to take the cavalry of upper Macedonia and charge their right wing, where they had advanced farthest in their outward rush. Heracleides and Sopolis he ordered to lead the cavalry from Bottiacae
6 ευώνυμον κέρας ἐπάγειν ἔταξε. Τῇ δὲ φάλαγγα
tῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῇ ἁλλῇ ἱππον πρὸ τῆς
φάλαγγος παραστέανας κατὰ μέσους ἐπῆγε. Καὶ
ἔστε μὲν ἀκροβολισμὸς παρ’ ἐκατέρων ἦν, οἱ
Τριβαλλοὶ οὐ μεῖον εἰχον ὡς δὲ ἡ τε φάλαγξ
πυκνῇ ἐνεβαλλέν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένοις, καὶ οἱ
ἱππεῖς οὐκ ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτη, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς τοῖς
ἱπποῖς ἀθοῦντες ἁλλὰ καὶ ἁλλὰ προσέπιπτον,
tότε δὴ ἐτράπησαν διὰ τοῦ νάπους ἐς τὸν πο-
7 ταμὸν. Καὶ ἀποθυνήσκοντι μὲν τρισχλίου ἐν
tῇ φυγῇ, ξώντες δὲ ὀλύγοι καὶ τοῦτων ἐλήφθη-
σαν, ὅτι ὑλὴ τε δασεῖα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦν
καὶ νὺξ ἐπιγενομένη τῇ ἀκρίβειαν τῆς διάσεως
ἀφελέτο τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Αὐτῶν δὲ Μακε-
δόνων τελευτήσαι λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ἱππέας μὲν
ἐνδέκα, πεζοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα.

III. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης τριταῖος ἀφικνεῖται
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰστρον, ποτα-
μῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μέγιστον ὄντα καὶ
πλειστήν γῆν ἐπερχόμενον καὶ ἔθνη μαχιμώτατα
ἀπείργοντα, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ Κελτικά, ὅθεν γε καὶ
αἱ πηγαὶ αὐτῷ ἀνίσχουσι, ὁν τελευταίους

2 Κουάνδος καὶ Μαρκομάνους· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυρο-
ματῶν μοίραν, Ἰάζυγας· ἐπὶ δὲ Γέτας τοὺς
ἀπαθανατίζοντας· ἐπὶ δὲ Σαυρομάτας τοὺς πολ-
λαύς· ἐπὶ δὲ Σκύθας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολας, ὲνα
ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ πέντε στόματα ἐς τὸν Ἐυβείουν

3 πόντον. Ἑνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει αὐτῷ ἥκοισας
ναύς μακρὰς ἐκ Βυζαντίου διὰ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ
Εὐβείουν κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν. Ταύτας ἐμπλήρας
tοξοτῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, τῇ νῆσῳ ἐπέπλευ ἔνα
οἱ Τριβαλλοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Θρᾴκες ξυμπεφευγότες
12
and Amphipolis against the left wing. The foot phalanx, and the remaining cavalry, which he deployed in advance of the phalanx, he led against the centre. While the battle was still at long range, the Triballians held firm, but when the phalanx in close formation charged them stoutly and the cavalry, no longer shooting, but actually thrusting them with their horses, fell on them here, there and everywhere, the enemy turned and rushed through the glen to the river. Three thousand perished in the flight, but only a few were caught alive, owing to the density of the wood which lay in front of the river, and because nightfall prevented the Macedonians from any thorough pursuit. Of the Macedonians, according to Ptolemy, eleven cavalry-men and about forty foot-soldiers perished.

III. Three days after the battle Alexander reached the Ister, the greatest river of Europe, draining the greatest tract of country and acting as a barrier to very warlike tribes, Celts for the most part—its springs rising in Celtic territory; the farthest of these peoples are the Quadi and Marcomanni; then it passes the Iazuges, a branch of the Sauromatae; the Getae, who call themselves immortals; the bulk of the Sauromatae; and the Scythians as far as the outlets, where through five mouths it runs into the Black Sea. There Alexander finds at the mouth of the river warships come to join him from Byzantium through the Black Sea. These he manned with archers and men-at-arms and sailed against the island where the Triballians and Thracians
καὶ ἐπειράτο βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν.

4. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπήγαγον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὅποιος ἢ νῆς προσπέπτει· αἱ δὲ ὅλην αἱ ἦν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς νῆσου τὰ πολλὰ ἀπότομα ἐς προσβολήν, καὶ τὸ ῥέμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ παρ' αὐτήν, οἷα δὴ ἦσαν στενὸν συγκεκλείσμένοι, ὥσ' καὶ ἄπορον προσφέρεσθαι.

5. Ἕνα δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄπαγαγὼν τὰς ναῦς ἐγὼν διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Γέτας τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰστρον φικισμένους, ὅτι τε συνειλεγμένους ἐόρα πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ὁχθῇ τοῦ Ἰστρον, ὡς εἰρήκοτας, εἰ διαβαίνοι (ὁ σαν γαρ ἢπεῖς μὲν ἐς τετρακείσμιον, πεζοὶ δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων), καὶ ἀμα πόδος ἐλαβεν αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἑκείνα τοῦ.

6. Ἰστρον ἐλθεῖν. Τῶν μὲν δὲ νεῶν ἐπέβη αὐτῶς τὰς δὲ διφθέρας υφ' αἰσ ἐσκήνουν τῆς κάρφης πληρώσας, καὶ ὅσα μονόξυλα πλοία ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξαναγαγὼν (ὕν δὲ καὶ τούτων εὐπορία πολλῇ, ὅτι τούτων χρῶνται οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐφ' ἀλίεια τῇ ἕκ τοῦ Ἰστρον, καὶ εἶπεν παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀνα τῶν ποταμῶν στέλλοντο, καὶ ηστεύοντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοί) τούτα ὡς πλεῖστα ἐξαναγαγὼν διεβίβαζεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῆς στρατιάς ὅσους διηνατον ἢν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ. Καὶ γίγνονται οἱ διαβάντες ἀμα Ἀλέξανδρος ἢπεῖς μὲν ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς τετρακείσμιον.

IV. Διέβαλον δὲ τῆς υγκτος ἢ λῃστός ἢν στούν βασιλεὴν καὶ ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἐλαθον προσσχόντες τῇ ὁχθῇ. Ἡπο δὲ τῆς ἑω Ἀλέξανδρος διά τοῦ λῃστος ἢγε, παραγγέλλας τοῖς πεζοῖς, πλαγίας

1 ὅπη Α, text Κ; cf. v. 17. 4. 2 ἡ add. Krüger.
had taken refuge, and endeavoured to force a landing. The tribesmen, however, kept swooping down to the river-side wherever the ships touched land; these were few in number, and carrying only a small body of troops; the island was for the most part steep for landing; and the current past the island, as was natural in the narrows, was swift and difficult to contend with.

Thereupon Alexander withdrew his troops and decided to cross the Ister to attack the Getae who were settled on the farther side, both because he saw a large force of them gathered on the bank, to repel him, should he cross—there were about four thousand mounted men, and more than ten thousand on foot—and also because he had been seized with a desire to land on the farther side. He himself embarked in the fleet; the leather tent covers he had filled with the hay, and gathering all the available boats, cut from single trees, from the countryside (there were plenty, for the river-side dwellers use them for fishing, for up-river expeditions among themselves, and even more for thieving), he ferried across on these as much of his force as was possible. About fifteen hundred cavalry and four thousand foot-soldiers crossed with him.

IV. The crossing was made at night where there was a deep cornfield, and this concealed them the more, as they kept close to the bank. About dawn, Alexander led the troops through the field, ordering
ταῖς σαρίσσασις ἐπικλέουντας τὸν σῖτον οὕτως προάγειν ἐστὶν οὐκ ἑργάσιμα. Οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς, ἐστε μὲν διὰ τοῦ ληθοῦ προῆς ἡ φάλαγξ, ἐφείστουν· ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἑργασίμων ἑξῆλθαν, τὴν μὲν ἵππον ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον κέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος παρῆγαγε, τὴν φάλαγγα δὲ ἐν πλαισίῳ Νικά-νορα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν. Καὶ οἱ Γέται οὔτε τὴν πρώτην ἐμβολήν τῶν ἰππέων ἐδέξαντο· παράδοξος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τόλμα ἐφάνη τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου, ὅτι εὐμαρώς οὕτω τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ποταμῶν διεβεβηκεν ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ τὸν Ἱστρόν, οὐ γεφυρώσασ τὸν πόρον, φοβηρά δὲ καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ ἐγκλείσεις, βιαία δὲ ἡ τῶν ἰππέων ἐμβολή. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐσὶ τὴν πόλιν καταφεύγουσιν, ἢ δὴ ἀπείχειν αὐτοῖς ὅσον παρασάγγην τοῦ Ἱστροῦ· ὡς δὲ ἐπάγοντα εἴδον σπουδὴ Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν, ὡς μὴ κυκλῳδεῖσσει πη τι οἱ πεζοὶ ἐνεδρευσάντων τῶν Γετῶν, τοὺς ἰππέας δὲ κατὰ μέτωπον, λείπουσιν αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Γέται κακῶς τετειχισμένην, ἀναλαβόντες τῶν παιδαρίων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰπποὺς δοσας φέρειν οἱ ἰπποὶ ἡδύναντο· ἢν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ ὀρμὴ ὡς πορρω-5 τῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐστὶν ἑρμήμα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν λαμβάνει καὶ τὴν λείαν ἑπάσαν ὅσην οἱ Γέται ὑπελίποντο. Καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν Μελεάγρον καὶ Φιλίππον ἐπαναγαγεῖν δίδωσιν αὐτὸς δὲ κατασκάφας τὴν πόλιν θύει τε ἐπὶ τῇ ὀχθῆ τοῦ Ἱστροῦ Διὸ Σωτηρὶ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἱστρῷ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπορος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπανάγαει αὐτὴς ἡμέρας σώος σύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.
the infantry to smooth down the corn with their spears, held obliquely, and so lead the way to untilled ground. As long as the phalanx was marching through the corn the cavalry followed; but when they emerged from the tilled land, Alexander in person took off the cavalry to the right wing, ordering Nicanor to lead off the phalanx in oblong formation. The Getae did not sustain even the first charge of the cavalry; for Alexander’s bold stroke came as a great shock to them, in that he so easily crossed the Ister, greatest of rivers, in one night without so much as bridging the stream; the solidity of the phalanx was terrifying, and the onslaught of the cavalry violent. First the enemy took refuge in the city, about a parasang away from the Ister; then, seeing Alexander bring up his phalanx along the river, that the infantry might not be caught by any ambush of the Getae, with the cavalry on the front, the enemy deserted in turn their city, which was feebly fortified, taking up on their cruppers as many of the women and children as the horses could carry; and then marched as far as possible away from the river towards the desert. Alexander captured the city and whatever plunder the Getae had left behind. This plunder he ordered Meleager and Philip to take to the base; he razed the city and sacrificed on the bank of the Ister to Zeus the Preserver and Heracles and Ister himself, for permitting the passage. Then in daylight he took all his force safe and sound back to the camp.

1 On open ground the various units formed squares, and the whole phalanx moved κατὰ κέρας, in rectangular shape, broader than it was deep. See Introductory Note.
'Ενταῦθα ἄφικοντο πρέσβεις ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσα αὐτόνομα ἔθνη προσοκεῖ τῷ Ἰστρῳ, καὶ παρὰ Σύρμου τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν βασιλέως· καὶ παρὰ Κελτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰούνω κόλπῳ φικισμένων ἡκον· μεγάλοι οἱ Κελτοὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ μέγα ἐπὶ σφῖς φρονοῦντες· φιλίας δὲ πάντες τῆς Ἀλέξανδρου ἐφεί·

μενοι ἦκεν ἐφασαν. Καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδωκε πίστεις Ἀλεξάνδρος καὶ ἐλαβε· τοὺς Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ ἤρετο ὅ τι μάλιστα δεδιττεται αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, ἐπήσας ὅτι μέγα ὤνομα τὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ προσωτέρω ἦκει, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων δεδείναι φήσουσι· τῷ δὲ παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα ἕννεβη τῶν Κελτῶν ἡ ἀπόκρισις·

οία γὰρ πόρρω τε φικισμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρος καὶ χωρία δύσπορα οἰκοῦντες, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ὅς ἄλλα τὴν ὀρμὴν ὅρῳντες, ἐφασαν δεδείναι μὴ ποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι. Καὶ τούτους φίλους τε ὁνομάζας καὶ ξυμμάχους ποιησάμενος ὁπόσω ἀπεπεμψε, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπῶν ὧτι ἅλαξονες Κελτοί εἰσιν.

V. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀγριάνων καὶ Παιόνων προοχώρει. Ἐνθα δὴ ἄγγελοι ἄφικοντο αὐτῷ Κλείτον τε τῶν Βαρδύλεως ἀφεστάναι ἄγγελλοντες καὶ Γλαυκίαν προσκεκχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ τὸν Ταυλαντίων βασιλέα· οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αὐταριάτας ἐπιθήσεθαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐξήγγελλον· ὅ τι δὲ ἐνεκα κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐδόκει ἀναζευγνύει.

2 Δάγγαρος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀγριάνων βασιλέας ἐτὶ μὲν καὶ Φιλίππου ζώντος ἀσπαζόμενος Ἀλέξανδρον δῆλος ἦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπρέσβευσε παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, τότε δὲ παρῆν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ὅσους
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At this juncture came commissioners to Alexander from the other self-governing tribes along the Ister and from Syrmus, King of the Triballi; others from the Celts settled on the Ionian gulf. The Celts were tall and haughty; but all professed desire for Alexander’s friendship, and he gave to all, and received from all, proper assurances. Of the Celts he enquired what, of mortal things, they most dreaded, hoping that his own great name had reached as far as the Celts and farther, and that they would confess that they dreaded him beyond all else. Their answer, however, proved unexpected to him, for, living as they did in difficult country far from Alexander, and seeing that his invasion was really directed elsewhere, they said that their greatest dread was lest the sky should fall upon them. He declared them his friends, made alliance, and sent them home, casually remarking, “What braggarts these Celts are!”

V. He then went towards the Agrianes and the Paeones. There a message reached him that Cleitus son of Bardylis was in revolt, and that Glauclus, king of the Taulantians, had joined him. The messengers also told him that the Autariates were going to attack him on his march. For these reasons it was thought well to move off as soon as possible. Langaros, king of the Agrianes, was known to have shown regard for Alexander even in Philip’s lifetime; he had also been on an embassy to him personally; on the present occasion he was in attendance on Alexander with his bodyguard, the
ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

te kalllóstous kai eúploótátous ἀμφ' αὐτῶν
3 ἔλεγε· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Αὐταριατῶν

πυθανόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, οὕτως εἰς τοὺς ὅποιοι

εἶν, οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθαι Αὐταριατάς·

εἰναι γὰρ ἀπολεμωτάτους τῶν ταῦτα·

καὶ αὐτῶς ἐμβαλείν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ὥς

ἀμφὶ τὰ σφέτερα μᾶλλον τι ἔχοιεν. Καὶ κε

λεύσαντος Ἀλέξανδρον ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτοὺς· καὶ

ἐμβαλὼν ἤγε καὶ ἔφερε τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

4 Αὐταριατάς μὲν ἐν δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰ αὐτῶν εἶχον.

Δάγγαρος δὲ τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἐτιμήθη μεγάλως πρὸς

Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ δώρα ἔλαβεν ὡςα μέγιστα

παρὰ βασιλεί τῷ Μακεδόνων νομίζεται· καὶ

τὴν ἀδελφήν τὴν Ἀλέξανδρον Κύναν καὶ ταῦτην

ἀμολογήσας δώσειν αὐτῷ ἐς Πέλλαν ἀφικομένῳ

Ἀλέξανδρος.

5 Ἀλλὰ Δάγγαρος μὲν ἔπανελθὼν ὦκαὶ ὅσῳ

ἔτελεύτησεν Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ἐργονα

ποταμὸν πορεύομενος ἐς Πήλιον πόλιν ἐστέλλ

λετο. Ταῦτην γὰρ κατειλήφη ὁ Κλείτος. ὥς

ὀχυρωτάτην τῆς χώρας· καὶ πρὸς ταῦτην ὦς

ήκεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καταστρατοπεδέυσας πρὸς τῷ

Ἐστραβίῳ ποταμῷ, τῇ ὑπερεῖδα ἐγνώκει προσ-

βάλλειν τῷ τείχει. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κλείτον
ta kýklo tῆs pólews ὦρη, ὑπερδέξια τε ὅντα

kai dasëa, kateixon, ὡς pántothe eπiτίδεσθαι
tois Makedósion, eî tî póleî prôsbálloiein;

Plaukías de aútô o tōn Taulántion basileús

7 oúto parîn. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν δὴ τῇ póleî

pמוסθεν oi de polèmoin sφagiasámenei páidaïs

treis kal kóras ìsaas tôn àrîthmôn kal krious

mèlanaîs treiîs, òρμητο metîn òs dèzômeîn eîs

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finest and best-armed troops he had; and when he learnt that Alexander was enquiring who and in what numbers these Autariates were, he told Alexander that he need not trouble about them, they were the least warlike of the tribesmen in those parts; he would himself invade their country, so that they might rather be occupied with their own affairs. Alexander agreed, and he invaded them, devastating their country.

Thus the Autariates were busy with their own matters, Langaros receiving high honour from Alexander, and also what were considered at the court of Macedon the highest gifts. Alexander besides promised to wed his sister Cyna to him, when he came to Pella.

Langaros, however, after reaching home, sickened and died. Alexander, marching along the river Erigon, made for Pelium; this city Cleitus had taken, as being the strongest in the country. When Alexander reached it, he camped by the river Eordaicus and decided to assault next day. Cleitus' forces, however, held the heights surrounding the city, which were commanding and also thickly wooded, so that they could attack the Macedonians, if they made the assault, from all sides, Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, not yet being present. Alexander proceeded to the assault; on which the enemy sacrificed three boys and three girls and three black rams, and then made a rush to intercept
χείρας τοὺς Μακεδόνας· ὁμοῦ δὲ γενομένων ἐξέλυσων καίτοι καρτερὰ ὄντα τὰ κατειλημμένα πρὸς σφῶν χωρία, ὡςτε καὶ τὰ σφάγια αὐτῶν κατελήφθη ἐτὶ κείμενα.

8. Ταύτη μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατακλείσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἑγώκει περιτεχνικῷ ἀποκλείσαι αὐτοὺς· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ παρῆν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Γλαυκίας ὁ τῶν Ταυλαντίων βασιλεὺς. "Ἐνθά δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀπέγρω ἐλεύν ἅν ξυν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει, πολλῶν μὲν ἡς αὐτὴν καὶ μαχίμων ξυμπεριενώντων, πολλῶν δὲ ἅμα τῷ Γλαυκίᾳ προσκείσαμένων, εἰ αὐτῶ τῷ τείχει προσμάχων, Φιλῶταν δὲ ἀναλαβόντα τῶν ἰππεῶν ὅσοις ἔστι προφυλακτὴν καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγия τὰ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς ἐπισιτισμὸν ἐπεμπεν. Καὶ οἶ Γλαυκίας μαθὼν τὴν ὁρμήν τῶν ἁμφὶ Φιλῶταν ἑξελείτει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰ κύκλῳ ὅρη τοῦ πεδίου, ὃς οἶς ξὺν Φιλῶτα ἐπισιτισμεῖσθαι ἐμελλον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπηγγέλθη αὐτῷ ὅτι κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ τε ἰππεῖς καὶ τὰ ὑποξύγια, εἰ νῦς αὐτοὺς καταλῆψεται, αὐτῶς μὲν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξῶτας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ ἰππέας ἐς τετρακοσίους ἐβοήθει σπουδῇ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατεύμα πρὸς τῇ πόλει ἀπέλυσε, ὡς μὴ ἀποχωρήσατο παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμόντες τοῖς ἁμφὶ Γλαυκίαν ἱννυμέζειαν. "Ἐνθά δὴ Γλαυκίας προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον αἰσθόμενος ἐκλείπει τὰ ὅρη· οἱ δὲ ξὺν Φιλῶτα ἀσφαλῶς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. Ἐδόκουν δὲ ἐτὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν δυσ-
the Macedonian right wing; but when the Greeks
drew near, they deserted the strong positions they
had occupied, and the newly sacrificed victims were
found still lying there.

On this day Alexander shut them up in their city
and camped by the wall, intending to hem them in by
a circumvallation; but next day Glaucias, king of the
Taulantians, appeared with a large force. There-
upon Alexander gave up the idea of taking the city
with such forces as he had; a good many bold
warriors had ensconced themselves therein, and
Glaucias' strong force would fall upon him, should
he assault the wall. He sent Philotas, therefore,
with so many horsemen as he needed as a screen,
and all the baggage animals from the camp, to
forage. Glaucias getting wind of this move of
Philotas swooped down on his troops, and captured
the heights which encircled the plain whence Philotas'
troops proposed to obtain their forage. Alexander,
however, when it was reported to him that both the
cavalry and the baggage animals were in grave
danger, should night overtake them, took his body-
guard and archers and the Agrianes and four hundred
horsemen and made at full speed to the rescue; the
rest of the army he left near the city lest—if the
whole force had withdrawn—the enemy in the city
might have sallied out and joined forces with Glaucias.
Glaucias, on seeing Alexander's approach, deserted
the heights, and Philotas and his convoy got safe
back to the camp. Even so Cleitus and Glaucias
χωρία ἀπειληφέναι οἱ ἄμφι τῶν Κλείτων καὶ Γλαυ-κίαν· τά τε γὰρ ὅρη τά υπερδέξια κατείχον πολλοῖς μὲν ἵππεύσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφεν- 
δουνήταις, καὶ ὅπλιταις δὲ οὐκ ὀλύγοις, καὶ οἱ ἐν 
τῇ πόλει κατειλημμένοι προσκείσθησαί ἀπαλ-
λαττομένοι ἐμελλοῦν· τὰ τε χωρία δὲ ὅν ἡ 
πάροδος ἢ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ στενὰ καὶ ὑλόδη ἐφαίνετο, τῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπειργόμενα, 
τῇ δὲ ὄρος ὑπερύψηλον ἢν καὶ κρημνοὶ πρὸς τοῦ 
ὄρους, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ἀσπίδων ἢν τῷ 
στρατεύματι ἡ πάροδος ἐγένετο.

VI. "Ἐνθά δὴ ἐκτάσσει τὸν στρατὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐκκοστὸ τὸ βάθος τῆς 
φάλαγγας. Ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν δια-
κοσίους ἵππεας ἔπεταξας παρῆγγελλε συγγή ἔχειν,

2 τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὅξεος δεχομένους. Καὶ τὰ 
μὲν πρῶτα ἐσήμηνεν ὅρθα ἀνατείναι τὰ δόρατα 
τοὺς ὅπλιτας, ἔπειτα ἀπὸ ἐξυπηρετοῦ ἀποτείκου 
εὶς προβολήν, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸ δεξίον ἐγκλίναι 
τῶν δοράτων τὴν σύγκλεισιν, αὐθενὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ 
ἀριστερά. Καὶ αὐθενὶς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἢς τε 
πρόσω ὅξεος ἐκίνησε καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα ἀλλοτε 

3 ἄλλῃ παρῆγγευε. Καὶ οὔτω πολλὰς τάξεις τάξας 
τε καὶ μετασχήμασεν ἐν ὀλύμφῳ χρόνῳ, κατὰ τὸ ἐνο-
νυμον οἰον ἐμβολον ποιήσας τῆς φάλαγγας ἐπῆγεν 
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Οἱ δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἑδαύμαζον 
τὴν τε ὀξύτητα ὀρώντες καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν 
δραμένων· τότε δὲ προσάγοντας ἢδη τοὺς ἄμφι 
Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἔδεξαντο, ἀλλὰ λείτουσι τοὺς 

4 πρῶτους λόφους. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπαλαλάξας ἐκέλευσε 
τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τοῖς δόρασι δουμῆσαι πρὸς 
τὰς ἀσπίδας· οἱ δὲ Ταυλάντιοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκπλα-

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with their troops appeared to have caught Alexander in a disadvantageous position; for they held the commanding heights with a good many horsemen, javelin-men, and slingers, and a fair number of men-at-arms, and the city forces were ready to attack Alexander as he drew off, while the ground through which Alexander must pass seemed narrow and marshy, bounded on the one side by the river, and on the other side was a lofty mountain and hill-crests towards the mountain, so that the army could only pass through four abreast.

VI. Alexander under the circumstances extended the front of his phalanx so as to give a depth of 120 files. On either wing he posted 200 horsemen, bidding them keep silent; a command they obeyed smartly; the men-at-arms he ordered first to raise their spears upright, and then, on the word, to lower them for a charge, inclining first to the right their serried points, then to the left; the phalanx itself he moved smartly forward, and then wheeled it here and there on either wing. Thus he displayed and manoeuvred various formations in a brief time, and then making a spearhead from his phalanx on the left he led it to the attack. The enemy, already bewildered both at the smartness and the discipline of these manoeuvres, did not await the approach of the Greeks, but deserted the first row of hills. Alexander bade the Macedonians raise their cheer and clang their spears upon their shields; and the
ARRIAN

γέντες πρὸς τὴς βοῆς ὡς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανηγαγοῦσαν σπουδὴ τοῦ στρατὸν.

6 Ἁλέξανδρος δὲ λόφου τινὰς κατέχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, παρὰ δὲν αὐτῷ ἢ πάροδος ἐγκυμοσύνης, παρηγγείλει τοῖς σωματοφύλαξι καὶ τοῖς ἁμφ’ αὐτῶν ἔταιροις, ἀναλαβόντας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναβάινειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱπποὺς καὶ ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν γῆλοφον. ἔκεισε δὲ ἐλθόντας, εἰ ὑπομένοιεν οἱ κατειληφότες τὸ χωρίον, τοὺς ἡμῖν οὐσας καταπηδῆσαι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱππών καὶ ἀναμχθεῖν τοῖς ἴππους τοῖς ἵππους μάχεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ πολεμοῦν τῇ ὁρμῇ τοῦ Ἁλέξανδρου ἰδόντες λείπουσιν τὸν γῆλοφον καὶ παρεκκλίνουσιν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τῶν ὀρῶν. ἔνθα δὴ καταλαβὼν Ἁλέξανδρος τὸν γῆλοφον σὺν τοῖς ἔταιροις τοὺς τῇ Ἀγριάνας μεταπέμπεται καὶ τοὺς τοξότας, δύναται ὡς δισχίλιος. τοὺς δὲ ύπαιπηστάς διαβάινειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους τὰς τάξεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅποτε δὲ διαβάινεις τύχοις, ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα ἐκτάσσεσθαι, ὡς πυκνὴν εὐθὺς διαβάντων φαινεσθαι τὴν φάλαγγαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν προφυλακῇ ὅν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου ἀφεώρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων τῇ ὁρμῇ.

7 Οἱ δὲ, ὅρωντες διαβάινοντας τὴν δύναμιν, κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἀντηπῆσαν, ὡς τοῖς μετὰ Ἁλέξανδρον ἐπιθυμοῦσιν τελευτᾷς ἀποχωροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ πελαξόντων ἡδη αὐτὸς ἐκθέει σὺν τοῖς ἁμφ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὡς διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιούσα, ἐπηλάξειν οἱ δὲ πολεμοὶ πάντων ἐπὶ σφαῖς ἐλαυνοῦντες ἐγκλίναντες ἐφεύγουν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπήγειρεν Ἁλέξανδρος τοὺς τῇ Ἀγριάνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ὑδρομοὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Καὶ πρῶτος μὲν αὐτὸς φθάσας διαβάινει τοῖς τελευ-
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, I. 6. 4–8

Taulantians, even more astounded at the noise, hastily withdrew to the city.

Alexander saw some few of the enemy holding one of the hills, by which his passage lay, and ordered his bodyguards and his squires to take their shields, mount, and charge the hill; on reaching it, supposing those who held it should stand their ground, half were to dismount and, mingling with the cavalry, fight on foot. The enemy, observing this dash of Alexander’s, deserted the hill and inclined towards either of the mountains. Alexander then captured the hill with his squires, sent for the Agrianes and the archers, to the number of two thousand; the guards he ordered to cross the river, and, following them, the columns of the Macedonian troops. As soon as they should be across they were to extend to the left,¹ so that the phalanx might appear solid the moment they had crossed. He, with the advance guard, kept an eye from the hill on the enemy’s movement. They, seeing the force crossing, charged down the hill with the idea of attacking Alexander’s bodyguard as they withdrew last. He, as they now approached, makes a sally with his troops, and the phalanx coming to the attack through the river raised its battle-cry; under this combined onslaught they broke and fled, whereupon Alexander brought up the Agrianes and the archers at the double in the direction of the river. He himself got over first,

¹ Literally, shield-wards, that is, to the left hand, as “spear-wards” was to the right hand.
ταίοις δὲ ὃς εἶδεν ἐπικειμένους τοὺς πολέμους, ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐξακοντίζειν ὡς πορρωτάτω ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ὁσα ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βελη ἐξακοντίζεται καὶ τοὺς τοξότας δὲ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκτοξεύειν ἐπεσβάντας καὶ τούτους. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄμφι τὸν Γλαυκίαν ἐίσοι βέλους παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμων· οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπέρασαν τὸν ποταμὸν, ὡστε οὐδεὶς ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει αὐτῶν.

9 ῆρῃ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμεράς καταμαθῶν Ἀλέξανδρος κακῶς αὐλίζομένους τοὺς ἄμφι Κλεῖτον καὶ Γλαυκίαν, καὶ οὔτε φυλακάς ἐν τῇ τάξει αὐτοῖς φυλαττομένας οὔτε χάρακα ἡ τάφρον προβεβλημένους, οἰα δὴ ξύν φῶβο ἀπηλλαχθαι οἰομένων Ἀλέξανδρου, ἐς μῆκος δὲ οὐκ ὕφελμον ἀποτεταγμένην αὐτοῖς τὴν τάξιν, ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐτὶ λαθὼν διαβαίνει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τοὺς τε ὑπαιτιστὰς ἀμα οἱ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου καὶ Κοῖνου τάξιν. Καὶ προστέτακτο μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν· ὃς δὲ καίρον εἶδεν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν, οὐ προσμείνας ὀμοῦ γενέσθαι πάντας, ἔφηκε τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας· οἱ δὲ ἀπροσδόκητοι τε ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ φάλαγγι κατὰ κέρας, ἦπερ ἀσθενεστάτοις αὐτοῖς καρτερωτάτη τῇ ἑμβολῇ προσμιέκειν ἐμελλὼν, τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναίς κατέκτειν, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας εὐμαρῶς αἰροῦντες, ὡστε πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐγκατελήφθησαν καὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει ἀτάκτῳ καὶ φοβερᾷ γενομένῃ οὐκ ὀλγυοὶ δὲ καὶ ξώντες ἐλήφθησαν. Ἠγένετο δὲ ἡ
but seeing the enemy pressing on the hindmost, he set up his engines on the bank and ordered every kind of missile to be discharged from them at utmost range; what is more, he commanded the archers, in mid-river, to shoot volleys thence, they too having breasted the stream. Glaucias' troops did not venture within range; the Macedonians meanwhile crossed the river safely and lost not a man in the withdrawal.

Three days later Alexander learned that Cleitus and Glaucias' troops were carelessly bivouacked, no sentries set in due order, no palisade, no trench—for they thought that Alexander had retreated in panic—and their line unduly elongated; he crossed the river under cover of night with the guards, the Agrianes, the archers, and the troops of Perdicas and Coenus. He had left orders for the rest of the army to follow, but seeing the time opportune for attack, he did not await the concentration, but sent on all the archers and the Agrianes; they made a surprise attack, and in column, a formation in which they were likely to make the strongest onslaught on the enemy just where he was weakest; they slew several as they slept, easily seized the fugitives, so that many were caught and killed there and then, and many also in their panic-stricken and headlong flight; a good number were taken alive. Alexander's
διώξεις τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μέχρι πρὸς τὰ δρῆ τῶν Ταυλαντίων: ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἀπέφυγον αὐτῶν, γυμνοὶ τῶν ὄπλων διεσώθησαν. Κλείτος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὸ πρῶτον καταφυγόν, ἐμπρήσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπηλλάγη παρὰ Γλαυκίαν ἐς Ταυλαν-
τίους.

VII. Ἕν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς τῶν ἐκ Θηβῶν φευγόντων νῦκτωρ ἐς τὰς Θῆβας παρελ-
θόντες, ἐπαγομένων τινῶν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Ἀμύνταν μὲν καὶ Τιμόλαον τῶν τὴν ᾿Καδμείαν ἐχόντων οὐδὲν ὑποτήσαντας πολέμοιον
2 ἐξω τῆς ᾿Καδμείας ἀπέκτειναν ξυλλαβόντες· ὡς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρελθόντες ἐπήραν τοὺς ᾿Θηβαίους ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ ᾿Αλέξανδρου, ἐλευθερίαν τε προῖσχομενοι, παλαιᾶ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ ὡς ποτὲ ἀπαλ-
λαγήναι. Πιθανότεροι δὲ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἑφαί-
νοντο, τεθηκέναι ᾿Αλέξανδρον ἑγχυριζόμενοι ἐν
3 ᾿Ηλλυρίῳ καὶ γὰρ καὶ πολὺς ὁ λόγος οὗτος καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐφοίτα, ὧτι τε χρόνον ἀπῆρ οὐκ ὄλιγον καὶ ὧτι οὔδεμια ἀγγελία παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀφίκτο, ὡστε, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτῳ ὑπεκτείνουσα κυνικότητά τα ὅντα τὰ μάλιστα καθ’ ᾿Ηδονήν σφισιν εἰκαζον.

4 Πιθανόντος δὲ ᾿Αλέξανδρον τὰ τῶν ᾿Θηβαίων οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει ἀμελητεῖα εἶναι, τὴν τε τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων πόλιν δὴ ὑποψίας ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν ᾿Θηβαίων τὸ τόλμημα οὐ φαίλουν ποιοῦ-
μένῳ, εἰ Δακεδαμοῖοι τε πᾶλιν ἡ ὅτας γνώ-

1 Krüger adds, with probability, καὶ παρρήσιαν.
company pursued to the mountains of the Taulantians; those who did escape, only escaped by jettison of their arms. Cleitus, who at first took to the city, set fire to it and fled to Glaucias among the Taulantians.

VI. Meanwhile some of the fugitives from Thebes slipped into Thebês by night—certain persons inviting them with a view to a rising—seized from the city Amyntas and Timolaus from among the force occupying the Cadmeia (having no suspicion of hostile movement outside) and slew them. Then appearing in the Assembly they incited the Thebans to rebel against Alexander, holding out the lures of freedom [and liberty of speech]—time-honoured and attractive titles—and the shaking off—at long last—of Macedon’s heavy yoke. They won additional adherence from the populace by stoutly affirming that Alexander had died in Illyria: this was common talk, and from various sources; he had been long away and no word had come from him, so that, in ignorance of hard fact, they conjectured (as so often happens) what they most desired.

Alexander hearing of what occurred at Thebes took things seriously; for he had long had his suspicions about Athens, and was much concerned about the Theban attempt, should the infection of revolt spread to the Lacedaemonians (already rebels at heart) and other Peloponnesians, to say nothing
συνεπιλήψονται τοῦ νεωτερίσμοῦ τοῖς Ὄηβαιοις.

5 Ἄγων δὴ παρὰ τὴν Ἑσραίλαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐλιμιῶτιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τῆς Στυμφαίας καὶ Παρανάλας ἀκρα, ἐβδομαίος ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πελλίναν τῆς Ὀξεταλίας. Ἐνθεν δὲ ὁμοθέτως ἐκτη ὑμέρα ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὴν Βουωτίαν, ὡστε οὐ πρόσθεν οἱ Ὄηβαιοι ἐμαθοὺς εἰσὶν Πυλῶν παρεπηλυθότα αὐτῶν, πρὶν ἐν Ὀχχηστῷ γενέσθαι.

6 ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάση. Καὶ τότε δὲ οἱ πράξαντες τὴν ἀπόστασιν στρατευμα ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντιπάτρου ἀφίγχαι ἐφασκοῦν, αὐτῶν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τεθνάναι δισχυρίζοντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οὕτος αὐτὸς προσάγει Ἀλέξανδρος χαλεπῶς ἐλξοῦν ἀλλον γὰρ τινα ἤκειν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀερώπον.

7 Ὅ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξ Ὀχχηστῳ ἀρας τῇ υστεραίᾳ προσῆγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ὄηβαιον κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἰολάου τέμενος· οὐ δὴ καὶ ἕστρατοπέδευσεν, ἐνδιδοὺς ἔτε τοῖς Ὄηβαιοις τριβήν, εἰ μεταγνώτες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακώς ἐγνωσμένοις.

8 προσβεύσαντο παρ’ αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐδέσαν ἐνδόσιμον τι παρασχεῖν ἐς ἐξύμβασιν, ὡστ’ ἐκθέοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ τῷ ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν οὐκ ὅλγοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἡκροβολίζοντο ἐς τὰς προφυλακάς, καὶ τινας καὶ

9 ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκτέμπει τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν, ὡστ’ αὐτῶν ἀναστείλαι τὴν ἐκδρομήν καὶ οὕτω οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνέστηλαν, ἦδη τῷ στρατόπεδῳ αὐτῷ προσφερομένους. Τῇ δὲ υστεραίᾳ ἀναλβῶν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν καὶ περιελθὼν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς φερούσας ἔπ’ Ἑλευθεράς τε καὶ
of the Aetolians, themselves also unreliable. He
marches, therefore, along Eordaea and Elimiotis,
past the heights of Stymphaea and Paravaea, and
on the seventh day reaches Pelinna in Thessaly.
Thence in six days he entered Boeotia, so that the
Thebans did not learn of his passage of the Gates
until his arrival, with all his force, at Onchestus.
Thereupon those who had brought about the revolt
said that a force of Antipater had come from Macedon,
and confidently affirmed Alexander’s death, getting
annoyed at any who reported Alexander’s actual
presence at the head of his men: it was, said they,
another Alexander, son of Aeropus.

Alexander leaving Onchestus next day reached
Thebes, near the enclosure of Iolaus; there he
encamped, giving the Thebans a period of grace, in
case they should repent and send an embassy to
him. They were far from showing any humility
that might lead to an agreement; nay, the horse-
men and several light troops sallied out towards the
camp and discharged long-range volleys at the
outposts, even killing a few of the Macedonians.
Alexander sent out some of his light troops and
archers to hold up their sally; they easily checked
the Thebans, who by now were actually approaching
the camp. Next day Alexander moved his whole
force and came round to the gates leading to Eleu-
ἈΡΙΑΝ

τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὖδὲ τότε προσέμιξε τοὺς τείχεσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Καδμείας, ὡστ' ἐγγὺς εἶναι ὀφελέειαν τῶν Μακεδόνων τοῖς τῇ τῆς Καδμείαν ἔχουσιν. Οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Καδμείαν διπλῶ χάρακι ἐφρούρουν ἀποτείχισαντες, ὥσπερ έξωθέν τινα τοὺς ἐγκατειλημμένους δύνασθαι ἐπωφελεῖν, μήπερ αὐτοὺς ἐκθέοιτας βλάπτειν τι σφᾶς, ὅποτε τοῖς ἔξω πολεμίοις προσφέροιτο. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ (ἐτὶ γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαίοις διὰ φίλιας ἐλθέαν μᾶλλον τῇ διὰ κινδύνου θήβελε) διέτριβε πρὸς τῇ Καδμεία

κατεστρατοπεδευκός. Ἐνθα δὴ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα ἐστὶ τὸ κοινὸν γυνώσκοντες ἐξελθεῖν ὀρμητον παρ' 'Αλέξανδρον καὶ εὑρέσθαι συγγνώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀποστάσεως οἱ φυγάδες δὲ καὶ ὅσοι τοὺς φυγάδας ἐπικεκλημένοι ἦσαν, οὐδένος φιλανθρώπου τυχεῖν ἀν παρ' 'Αλεξάνδρου ἄξιοιντες, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ βοιωταρχοῦντες ἐστίν οἱ αὐτῶν, παντάπασιν ἐνήγαγον τῷ πλήθος ἐστὶν τῶν πόλεων. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδ' ὃς τῇ πόλει προσέβαλεν.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγου ὅτι Περδίκκας, προτεταγμένος τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου σὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τὰξει καὶ τοῦ χάρακος τῶν πολεμίων οὐ πολὺ ἄφεστηκός, οὐ προσμείναις παρ' 'Αλεξάνδρου τὸ ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐξώθημα, αὐτὸς πρῶτος προσέμιξε τῷ χάρακι καὶ διασπασάς αὐτὸν ἔνεβαλεν εἰς τῶν Θηβαίων τὴν προφυλακὴν. Τούτῳ δὲ ἐπόμενος Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους, ὅτι καὶ ξυνταγμένος τῷ Περδίκκα ἦν, ἐπήγαγε καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ὡς εἰδέ τῶν Περδίκκαν προεξήλθοντα εἶσον τῷ χάρακος.
therae and Attica, and yet even then did not assault the walls, but pitched camp not far from the Cadmeia, so that support was close at hand for the Macedonians who held the Cadmeia. For the Thebans were investing the Cadmeia, having built a double stockade, so that no one from without could help those invested within, nor they sally out and harm the Thebans when in touch with their enemies without. But Alexander—for he still hoped to be friend, not foe, to Thebes—waited, encamped near the citadel. Then the more public-spirited citizens of Thebes were anxious to go forth to Alexander and win pardon for the Theban people as a whole for their revolt; but the exiles and those who had called them in would not condescend to receive any kindness from Alexander, especially as some of them were officers of the Confederacy of Boeotia; they therefore sought in all ways to urge their countrymen to war. Yet even so Alexander did not attack.

VIII. Ptolemy son of Lagus, however, says that Perdiccas, who was officer in charge of the camp guard with his own detachment and lay not far from the enemy palisade, did not await Alexander’s signal for battle, but himself first attacked the palisade and tearing it asunder broke in upon the Theban advance guard. Amyntass son of Andromenes followed, being brigaded with Perdiccas, and led on his detachment so soon as he saw Perdiccas advanced within the palisade. Then Alexander,
Ταύτα δὲ ιδοὺν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μὴ μόνοι ἀποληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν Ὁθβαίων κινδυνεύσειαν, ἐπήγγε τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξοτας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγρανάιας ἐκδραμεῖν ἐσήμηνεν εἰςώ τοῦ χάρακος, τὰ δὲ ἀγήματα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἐτὶ ἔξω κατεῖχεν. Ἐνθα δὲ Περδίκκας μὲν τὸν δευτέρου χάρακος εἰσὶν παρελθεῖν βιαζόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν βληθεὶς πίπτει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀποκομίζεται κακῶς ἔχων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ χαλεπῶς διεσώθη ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος τοὺς μέντοι Θβαίοις ἐς τὴν κοιλην ὀδὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον φέρονται οἱ ἀμα αὐτῷ εἰσπεσόντες ὅμοι τοῖς παρ᾿ Ἀλεξανδρῷ τοξόταις συνέκλεισαν.

4 Καὶ ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναχωροῦσιν, ἐποντὸ τοῖς Θβαίοις. ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ἄθις σὺν βοὴ τῶν Θβαίων, φυγὴ τῶν Μακεδονῶν γίγνεται καὶ Ἐφερβῶτας τε ὁ Κρής πίπτει ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατέφυγον πρὸς τὸ ἄγημα τὸ τῶν Μακεδονῶν καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς βασιλικοὺς. Καὶ τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ φεῦγοντας κατιδών, τοὺς Θβαίους δὲ λειλυκότας ἐν τῇ διώξει τὴν ταξίν, ἐμβάλλει εἰς αὐτοὺς συντεταγμένη τῇ φάλαγγι οἱ δὲ ὅθονις τοὺς Ὁθβαίους εἰςω τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τοῖς Ἡθβαίους ἐς τοσόνδε φοβερὰ ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίγνετο, ὡστε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ὅθοομεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐφθησαν συγκλείσαι τὰς πύλας ἀλλὰ συνεισπίπτοντες γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἰςω τοῦ τείχους ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδονῶν ἐγγύς φευγόντων εἰχόντο, ἀτε καὶ τῶν τείχῶν διὰ τὰς προφυλακὰς τὰς πολλὰς ἔρημων ὄντων. Καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν

36
seeing this, so that they might not be stranded and
so at the mercy of the Thebans, brought up the rest
of the army. The archers and the Agrianes he
ordered to make a diversion inside the palisade; but
he still retained his shock troops and his guard
outside. Then Perdiccas, trying to force his way
into the second palisade, was wounded and lay
where he fell; he was borne off, in sorry plight, to
the camp and only with difficulty was healed of his
wound. His men, joining Alexander’s archers,
hemmed the Thebans in the sunken road leading
down by the Heracleum; while the Thebans retreated
towards the Heracleum, the Macedonians followed;
but then the Thebans turned to bay with a shout,
and the Macedonians to flight. There fell Eury-
botas the Cretan, commander of the archers, and
about seventy of his men; the rest took refuge with
the Macedonian picked troops, and with the royal
guards. In the meanwhile Alexander, seeing his
troops fugitives, and the Thebans in loosened order
in the pursuit, charged them with phalanx in battle
formation. The Thebans were pushed inside the
gates, their flight became so far a panic that while
being thrust through the gates into the city they
could not shut the gates in time. So there actually
passed in with them within the wall such of the
Macedonians as were pressing on the fugitives; the
walls being now undefended on account of the large
number of advanced posts. Those from this side
Καθόμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον σὺν τοῖς κατέχοισι τὴν Καθομέαν ἐξεβαινοῦν ἐς τὴν ἀλλήν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, ἐχόμενα ἢδη πρὸς τῶν συνεισπεσόντων τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὑπερβάντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο.

7 Καὶ ὁλύνοι μὲν τινὰ χρόνον ἔμειναν οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν Θηβαίων κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον· ὡς δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἐπιφανώμενος προσέκειντο, οἱ μὲν ἰππεῖς τῶν Θηβαίων διεκπεσόντες1 διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐξέπτυσαν, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ ὡς ἔκαστοι προῦχώρει ἐσόζοντο. ἔνθα δὴ ὄργῃ οὐχ οὕτως τι οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς τε καὶ Πλαταίες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Βοιωτοὶ οὐδὲ ἀμυνομένους ἐν τοῖς Θηβαίοις οὐδὲν κόσμῳ ἐκτεινοῦν, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπεισπεσόταν, οὗς δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀλκῆν τετραμβένουσι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἱερῶς ἰκετεύοντας, οὕτε γυναικῶν οὕτε παῖδων φειδόμενου.

IX. Καὶ πάθος τοῦτο Ἑλληνικὸν μεγέθει τε τῆς ἀλούσης πόλεως καὶ ὀξύτητι τοῦ ἔργου, οὐχ ἢκιστὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ ἐς τε τοὺς παθόντας καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας, οὐ μείον τι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μετασχόντας τοῦ ἔργου ἐξέπληξε. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίους ἐκνευχέθεντα, εἴ καὶ πλῆθει τῶν ἀπολομένων οὐ μείονα τὴν ἐμφοράν τῇ πόλει ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πόρρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας διαφθαρήματι αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατόν, καὶ τὸν πολὺν

1 Roos suggests with plausibility διεκπασάντες; but the repetition—πεσόντες . . . ἐπιτον is not foreign to Arrian's style.
passed into the Cadmeia along the Amphium, with the holders of the Cadmeia, and passed into the city proper; those by the walls, already held by the troops that had poured in together with the fugitives, passed over the walls and rushed to the marketplace. For a while the Theban armed forces stood their ground by the Amphium, but as the Macedonians pressed upon them from all sides, and Alexander appeared, now here, now there, the Theban cavalry, pushing their way through the city, streamed out upon the plain; with the infantry it was sauvé qui peut. And then, in hot blood, it was not so much the Macedonians as Phocians and Plataeans and the other Boeotians who slaughtered broadcast the unresisting Thebans; some in their houses, breaking a way into them; some showing fight; others even suppliant in the temples—and sparing neither woman nor child.

IX. This disaster of Greeks, both by the size of the captured city, and by the sharpness of the action—and not least by the general unexpectedness of the event, both to victors and victims—caused as much horror to the other Greeks as to those who had a hand in it. The Sicilian disaster of the Athenians, if in number of the slain it brought a similar disaster upon the city, yet, since their army was destroyed far from home—and that, too, an army rather of
ομοίαν παρέσχε. Καὶ τὸ ἐν Αἰγός ποταμοῖς 

3 αὕθες Ἀθηναίων πταῖσμα ναυτικόν τε ἦν καὶ ἡ 

πόλις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τῶν μακρῶν τείχῶν 

καθαρίσει καὶ νεῶν τῶν πολλῶν παραδόσει καὶ 

στερήσει τῆς ἁρχῆς ἐς ταπεινώτητα ἀφικομένην, 

τὸ τε σχῆμα τὸ πάτριον ὅμως ἐφύλαξε καὶ τὴν 

dύναμιν οὐ διὰ μακροῦ τὴν πάλαι ἄνελαβε, 

ὡς τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη ἔκτειχίσαι καὶ τῆς 

βαλάσσης αὕθες ἐπικρατήσαι καὶ τοὺς τὸτε 

φοβεροὺς σφισὶ Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον 

ἐλθόντας ἀφάνισαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ 

μέρει ἐκ τῶν ἑσχάτων κινδύνων διασώσασθαι.

4 Δακεδαιμονίων τε αὐτὸ τοῖς Λευκτρα καὶ 

Μαντίνειαις πταῖσμα τῷ παραλόγῳ μᾶλλον τι 

τῆς ἐξυμφορᾶς ἢ τῷ πληθεὶ τῶν γε ἀπολομένων 

τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἐξέπληξεν ἢ τε ἦν Ἕπα-

μεινώνδα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων γευμένη 

προσβολή πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ 

ἀνθέω τῆς ὀψεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἄκρυβει τῶν 

κινδύνων αὐτοὺς ταῖς Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς 

ἐξυμμετασχόντας αὐτοῖς τῶν τότε πραγμάτων.

5 ἐφόβησεν. Ἡ δὲ δὴ Πλαταιῶν ἄλωσις τῆς 

πόλεως τῇ σμικρότητι τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων,
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, I. 9. 2–5

allies than of citizens—and their city being left to them, so that they held out some time in the war against Sparta, their allies, and Persia—even this, I say, gave no such sense of calamity to the sufferers, and did not strike the Greeks generally with such horror and amazement at the catastrophe. Or, again, the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami was at sea, and the city reduced indeed to humility by the destruction of its long walls, the surrender of most of its ships, and loss of its sovereignty, yet retained its former shape, and soon recovered its former strength; built, in fact, once more its long walls, won again its sea-power, and actually saved in some measure from severe danger those very Lacedaemonians, then so terrible, who had come so near to destroying Athens. The defeat of the Lacedaemonians themselves at Leuctra and Mantinea came as a great shock to them rather by the unexpectedness of the disaster than by the number of the slain. The onslaught of Epameinondas with his Boeotians and Arcadians upon Sparta scared the Spartans and their allies rather by the strangeness of such a sight than the gravity of the danger. The capture, again, of Plataea, was not a very serious affair because
ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν διαπεφύγεσαν πάλαι ἐσ τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐ μέγα πάθημα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ Μῆλου καὶ Σκιώνης ἀλωσις, νησιωτικά τε πολισματα ἴν καὶ τοῖς δράσασιν αἰσχύνην μᾶλλον τι προσέβαλεν ἦ ἐς τὸ ξύμπαν Ἑλληνικοῦ μέγαν τὸν παράλογον παρέσχε.

6 Θηβαῖοις δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀποστάσεως οἶεα καὶ ξύν οὔδειλ ὀμοσμῷ γενόμενα, καὶ ἡ ἀλωσις δι’ ὀλίγον τε καὶ οὐ ξὺν πόνῳ τῶν ἔλοντων ξυνε-νεχθείς, καὶ ὁ φῶνος πολύς, οἷα δὴ ἐξ ὀμοφύλον τε καὶ παλαιάς ἀπεθεῖαις ἐπεζύντων, καὶ ὁ τῆς πόλεως παντελῶς ἀνδραποδισμός, δυνάμει τε καὶ δοξῇ ἐς τὰ πολέμια τῶν τότε προεχόσης ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἐς μῆνιν τὴν Ἰ

7 ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἀνηνεχθῆ, ὡς τῆς τε ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ προσοδίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ μακρὸν ταῦτην δίκην ἐκτίσαντας Θηβαίους, καὶ τῆς Πλαταιέως ἐν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς καταλήψεως καὶ τοῦ παντελοῦς ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῆς τῶν παραδόντων σφής αὐτῶν Δακεδαιμονίους οὖν Ἑλληνικῆς γενομένης διὰ Θηβαίους σφαγῆς, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐν ὕστο ὁ ᾗ Ἑλληνες παραταξάμενοι Μῆδοις ἀπόσαντο τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν κίνδυνον, καὶ ὅτι Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὶ τῇ ψήφῳ ἀπώλευον, ὅτε ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως γνώμη προετέθη ἐν τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίων ἔμμ-

8 μάχοις ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμφορᾶς πολλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ἐπισημηναί ἐλέγετο, ἀ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτικὰ ἡμελῆθη, ὕστερον δὲ ἡ μνήμη αὐτὰ ἐς λογισμὸν τοῦ ἐκπάλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυνενεχθεῖσι προσήμαται ἀνήνεγκε.

9 Τοῖς δὲ μετασχούσι τοῦ ἔργου ἔμμαχοι, οἷς 42
of the small number of those captured in the city—the greater number having fled long before to Athens. Finally, the capture of Melos and Scione, which were merely island fortresses, rather brought shame to the captors than any great shock to the Greeks in general.

With Thebes, on the other hand, the hastiness of the revolt, her want of reasoned policy, her sudden capture, with so little trouble to the victors, the massacre, such as arises from kindred tribes wreaking ancient vengeance, the complete enslavement of the city, then one of the first in Greece in power and military prestige, were quite naturally set down to divine wrath: Thebes, men said, had thus paid the price, at length, of her betrayal of the Greek cause in the Persian wars, of her seizure of Plataea during the truce, of her complete enslavement of the Plataeans, of the massacre—the work of Thebes, not of Greece—of men who had surrendered not to Thebes but to Sparta, of the devastation of the Plataean countryside, on which the Greeks, ranged shoulder to shoulder against Persia, had repelled the common danger of Greece; and last, of the vote cast for the destruction of Athens when the suggestion was put before the allies of Sparta that the Athenians should be sold into slavery. People said that the coming disaster cast its shadow before, in many divine warnings, neglected then, but the memory thereof later made people realize that there had long been prognostications, now confirmed by the event.

The allies who took part in the attack, to whom
doi kai eptetrephein 'Alexeandros ta kata tas 
Othaiais diatheinai, tihn men Kadmeian froura
katexhein edoxe, tihn pollin de kataskayai eis
edafos, kai tihn xwran kataneimai tois xum-
machous osa mhi ierai autheis paibas de kai gyn-
aikas kai osoi upelleipontos Othaiais, plhn tou
ierewn te kai iereidwn kai osoi xenoi Filippou
'Alexeandrou ou osoi proxeinov Makedonon evge-
nontos, anapodisai. Kai tihn Pindarou de tou
poitou oikian kai toous apoyonous tou Pindarou
leghousin oti diefylazex 'Alexeandros aidoi tih
Pindarou. 'Epi toutois 'Orhoemovn te kai
Plataidas anastighai te kai teixisa i xiymaious
eggnavan.

X. 'Eis de toous allonous 'Ellinas os edyggeibh

tou Othaiais to padoi, 'Arkeides men, osoi
bohtiosontes Othaiois atop tis oikeias ormhe-
asan, thnaton katexephsantos tou eparrantos
sfoas es tihn botheian. 'Hleioi de toous fygadas
sfown katekexanto, oti epistheidoi 'Alexeandros

2 hasan. Aitwloi de presbeias sfown kата ethi
pemphasantes xynigmhymes tucih edeontos, oti kai
autoi ti proo ta parata tou Othaiais apage-
gelhenta enoeterasan. 'Atheaios de, masontrio

tou megalon agomenov osi hkon tines tou
Othaiais ez autou tou erghou, ta men masontria
ekplagenthes ezelipton, ek de tou agron eskevan-

3 gwnou eis tihn pollin. 'O deymos de ez ekklhisaan
suneidhous Dmadoi grafantos deka presbeis
ek panto tou 'Atheaios eplezamenes perfiei
parata 'Alexeandrou oystinas epistheistoton
'Alexeandros eglwswskou, oti te sou ez 'Illu-
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, I. 9. 9-10. 3

Alexander had entrusted the final settlement, decided to garrison the Cadmeia, but to raze the city even with the ground, and to apportion its territory among the allies, save the sacred spots, and to enslave women and children, and any Theban survivors, save any who had friendship with Philip or Alexander, or any who had been patrons of Macedonians. The house of Pindar, and any of his descendants, Alexander saved—so it is related—from reverence for Pindar. Besides this, the allies determined to rebuild and fortify Orchomenus and Plataea.

X. When the fate of Thebes was notified to the other Greeks, the Arcadians who had left home to help Thebes condemned to death those who had persuaded them to take this step. The Eleans received their own fugitives, being on good terms with Alexander. The Aetolians sent embassies, tribe by tribe, and begged forgiveness, on the ground that they had revolted only because of the news brought from Thebes. The Athenians were celebrating their great mysteries when refugees came from Thebes, hot foot from the assault; in consternation they abandoned the mysteries and began to get in their stuff from the country into the city. The people came into assembly, and on the motion of Demades chose ten ambassadors from the whole body of citizens—men known to be on the most friendly terms with Alexander—and sent them to him bearing the city’s rather unseasonable con-
ρίδων καὶ Τριβαλλῶν ἐπανήλθε χαίρειν τὸν δήμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἐν κατφή ἀπαγγελόντας, καὶ διὸ Ὁησιάους τὸν νεωτερισμοῦ ἐτιμωρήσατο. Ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλανθρώπως πρὸς τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιστολὴν δὲ γράψας πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἐξήτη τοὺς ἅμφι Δημοσθένην καὶ Διο-κόρογον καὶ Ἰππείδην δὲ ἐξήτη καὶ Πολύνεκτον καὶ Χάρητα καὶ Χαρίδημον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Διότιμον καὶ Μοιροκλέα. τούτους γὰρ αἰτίας εἶναι τὴς τε ἐν Χαιρωνέας ξυμφόρας τῇ πόλει γενομένης καὶ τῶν ὑστερον ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλίππου τελευτῆ πλημμεληθέντων ἐς τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς Φιλίππου καὶ Ὁησιαίους δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέφαυνεν αἰτίους οὖ μειὼν ἡ τοὺς αὐτῶν Ὁησιαίων νεωτερίσαντας. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρας οὐκ ἐξέδοσαν, πρεσβεύονται δὲ αὐθάς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρου, ἀφεῖναι δεόμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς ἐξαιτηθέοις καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκε, τυχὸν μὲν αἴδοι τῆς πόλεως, τυχὸν δὲ σπουδὴ τοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν στόλου, οὐκ ἐθέλων οὔδέν ὑποτον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησίου ὑπολείπεσθαι. Χαρίδημον μὲν τοὺς, μόνον τῶν ἐξαιτηθέντων τε καὶ οὐ δοθέντων, φεύγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ φεύγει Χαρίδημος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου.

XI. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὸ τε Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν ὑστεραν τὴν ἀπ᾽ Ἀρχελάου ἐτι καθεστῶσαν ἔθυσε καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα ἐν Ἀιγαῖας διεῆκε τὰ Ὀλυμπία: οἴ δὲ καὶ ταῖς Μοῦσαις λέγουσιν ὅτι ἄγωνα 2 ἐποίησε. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγέλλεται τῷ Ὀρφεῶς τοῦ Οἰάγρου τοῦ Ὀρκός ἀγάλμα τὸ ἐν Πιερίδι ἱδρύσαι ἵνανεξῶς καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἐπεθείαζον.
gratulations on his safe return from the Illyrians and Triballians, and on his punishment of the Theban revolt. Alexander replied for the most part in friendly tone to the embassy, but wrote a letter to the city demanding the adherents of Demosthenes and Lycurgus, as well as Hypereides, Polyeuctas, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotimus, and Moerocles: these he held responsible for the disaster of Chaeronea and wrongs later committed, at Philip’s death, against himself and Philip. He also showed them to be guilty of the Theban rebellion not less than the Theban rebels themselves. The Athenians did not give up these men, but sent a second embassy to Alexander, begging him to relax his wrath towards those whom he had demanded. Alexander did so—whether from regard for Athens, or because he was anxious to get on with his Asian expedition and loath to leave anything behind in Greece which he could not trust. Charidemus alone, however, of those men whom he had demanded, but not received, he ordered to be exiled; and he took refuge in Asia at the court of King Dareius.

XI. When all this had been set in order Alexander returned to Macedonia, where he sacrificed the traditional sacrifice (established by Archelaus) to Olympian Zeus and kept the Olympian games at Aegae: others add that he held games in honour of the Muses. Meanwhile, word comes that the statue of Orpheus, son of Oeagrus the Thracian, in Pieria, had sweated continuously; the seers
τῶν μάντεων. Ἄριστανδρος δὲ, ἀνήρ Τελμοσσεύς, μάντις, θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρου δηλούσθαι γὰρ ὅτι ποιηταῖς ἐπὶ τὲ καὶ μελῶν καὶ ὁσοὶ ἀμφὶ φόδην ἔχουσι πολὺς πόνος ἔσται ποιεῖν τε καὶ ἄδειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔργα.

3 Ἄμα δὲ τὸ ᾦρι ἄρχομεν ἐξελαύνει ἐφ᾽ Ἐλληστόντου, τὰ μὲν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀγων πεζοὺς μὲν σὺν ψυλῶς τε καὶ τοξόταις οὖ πολλῶ πλείους τῶν τρισμυρίων, ἔπειν δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους. Ἡν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Κερκινίτῃν ὡς ἐπ᾽ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολάς. Διαβάς δὲ τὸν Στρυμόνα παρῆμευσε τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος τὴν ὄς ἐπ᾽ Ἀβδηρα καὶ Μαρώνειαν, πόλεις Ἐλληνίδας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ φικισμένας. Ἐνθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐβρόν ποταμοῦ ἀφικόμενος, διαβαίνει καὶ τὸν Ἐβρόν εὐπετῶς. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Παιτικῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μέλανα

5 ποταμὸν ἔρχεται. Διαβάς δὲ καὶ τὸν Μέλανα ἐς Σηστόν ἀφικνεῖται ἐν εἰκοσι ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοθεν ἐξορμήσεως. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐλαιούντα θύει Πρωτεσιλάρῳ ἐπὶ τὸ τάφῳ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου, ὅτι καὶ Πρωτεσιλάος πρῶτος ἔδοκεν ἐκβήναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἀμα Ἀγαμέμνονι ἐς Ἰλιον στρατευσάντων καὶ ὁ νοῦς τῆς θυσίας ἦν ἐπιτυχέστεραν οἱ γενέσθαι ἢ Πρωτεσιλάῳ τὴν ἀπόβασιν.

6 Παραμενών μὲν δὴ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν ἔπον διαβιβάσαι ἐτάχθη ἐκ Σηστοῦ ἐς Ἀβυδον καὶ διέβησαι ἐν τριήρεσι μὲν ἐκατόν.
interpreted this variously, but Aristandrus of Telmissae bade Alexander be of good cheer; it was signified, he said, that to makers of epics and choric songs and writers of odes there would be much toil to poetize and sing of Alexander and his exploits.

In early spring Alexander marches to the Hellespont, leaving Macedonian and Greek affairs in charge of Antipatros. He led off, of infantry, with light troops and archers, not much above thirty thousand, of cavalry over five thousand. His route was past Lake Cercinitis in the direction of Amphipolis and the delta of the river Strymon. He crossed the Strymon and passed Mount Pangeon, working towards Abdera and Maroneia, Greek cities settled on the sea. Thence he reached the Hebrus and crossed it with ease; thence through Paetike he reached the Black River, crossed it, and reached Sestus after twenty days’ marching in all from home. Arriving at Elaeon he sacrificed to Protesilaus at Protesilaus’ tomb, since he was thought to be the first Greek of those who went with Agamemnon to Troy to disembark on Asian soil. The intention of the sacrifice was that the setting foot on Asian soil might be more prosperous to Alexander than to Protesilaus.

Parmenio was appointed to see to the ferrying over from Sestus to Abydos of the greater part of the infantry and the cavalry; they crossed in a
καὶ ἔξηκοντα, πλοῖοι δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοῖς στρογγύλοις. Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἔξε Ἑλαιώνυτος ἐς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα κατάραν ὁ πλείων λόγος κατέχει, καὶ αὐτὸν τε κυβερνῶντα τὴν στρατηγίδα ναῦν διαβάλλειν, καὶ ἔπειδὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου ἐγένετο, σφάζαντα ταῦρον τῷ Ποσειδώνι καὶ Νηρησίσι σπένδειν ἐκ χρυσῆς 7 φιάλης ἐς τὸν πόρον. Δέγουσι δὲ καὶ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νεῶς σὺν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς ἐκβήναι αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν τῆς Ἀσίαν, καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι, ὅθεν τε ἐστάλη ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ ὅπων ἔξεβη τῆς Ἀσίας, Δίδυς ἀποβατηρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλείου· ἄνελθόντα δὲ ἐς Ἰλιον τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾶ θύσαι τῇ Ἰλιάδι, καὶ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν νεῶν, καὶ καθελεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῶν ἱερῶν τινα ὀπλῶν ἐτί ἐκ τοῦ Τρωίκου ἔργου 8 σωζόμενα. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν ὅτι οἱ ὑπασπισταῖ ταὐτικῷ ἐφεροῦν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰς μάχας. Θύσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Πράμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Δίδυς τοῦ Ἑρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μὴν γὰρ Πριὰμον παρατύμμουν τῷ Νεοπτολέμῳ γένει, δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν καθίκειν.

Χ.Π. Ἀνιόντα δ’ αὐτὸν ἐς Ἰλιον Μενοῖτιός τε ὁ κυβερνήτης χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐστεφάνωσε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον Χάρης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐκ Σιγείου ἔλθον καὶ τίνες καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ μὲν Ἐλληνες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώροι. Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τοῦ Πατρόκλου τὸν τάφον ἐστεφάνωσεν· οἱ δὲ,

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1 A reads 'οί δὲ . . . ἐστεφάνωσεν Ἡφαιστίωνα δὲ . . . ἐστεφάνωσεν, transposed by Ellendt. The transposition does not heal the passage which has become corrupted by homoeoteleuta.
hundred and sixty triremes and in a good number of cargo boats. Most authorities say that Alexander sailed from Elaeon to the Achaean harbour, and steered the admiral's ship himself, sacrificing, when in the midst of the strait, a bull to Poseidon, and pouring into the sea a drink offering from a golden bowl to the goddesses of the sea. Further, legend says that he disembarked first on Asian soil, armed cap-à-pie, and set up altars both where he started from Europe and where he landed in Asia to Zeus of Safe Landings, Athena, and Heracles. Then he ascended to Ilium, and sacrificed to Athena of Ilium, dedicated his full armour, laying it up in the temple, and took down in its place some of the dedicated arms yet remaining from the Trojan war; these, it is said, his bodyguard bore before him into battle. Then he sacrificed also to Priam at the altar of Zeus of Enclosures—so runs the legend—praying Priam not to be wroth with the race of Neoptolemus, of which he himself was a scion.

XII. When Alexander reached Ilium Menoetius the navigator crowned him with a golden wreath and so did Chares, the Athenian, arriving from Segeium with others, Greeks or natives of the place; then Hephaestion, they say, placed a wreath on Patroclus' tomb; and Alexander likewise on Achilles'
οτι κατ των 'Αχιλλέως [άρα] τάφον ἑστεφάνωσε· καὶ εὐδαιμονίσεων ἄρα, ὡς ὁ λόγος, Ἀλεξάνδρος Ἀχιλλέα, ὅτι Ὁμήρου κήρυκος ἐσ τήν ἔπειτα μνήμην ἔτυχε. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐχ ἦκεστα τοῦτο ἔνεκα εὐδαιμονιστέος Ἀχιλλεύς, ὅτι αὐτῷ γε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὗ κατὰ τὴν ἀλλήν ἐπιτυχίαν, τὸ χωρίον τούτῳ ἐκλυτές ἐξειβῇ οὐδὲ ἐξηνέχθη ἐσ ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἐπαξίωσ· οὐτ’ οἷν καταλογάδην οὔτε τις ἐν μέτρῳ ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδέ ἐν μέλει ᾦσθη Ἀλεξάνδρος, ἐν τῷ Ιέρων τε καὶ Γέλων καὶ Θήρων καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι οὔδεν τι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπεοικότεσ, ὡστε πολὺ μείον γιγνώσκεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤ τα φαντάτα τῶν πάλαι ἔργων. ὅποτε καὶ ἡ τῶν μυρίων σὺν Κύρῳ ἄνδος ἐπὶ χαλεά Αρταξέρξην καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχου τε καὶ τῶν ἁμα αὐτῷ ἄλοντων παθήματα καὶ ἡ κατά-βασις αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, ἦν Ἐνοφόν ἀυτοὺς κατήγαγε, πολὺ τι ἐπιφανέστερα ἐσ ἀνθρώπους Ἐνοφόντος ἔνεκα ἔστιν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρος τε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα. Καίτοι Ἀλεξάνδρος οὔτε ξύν ἀλλ' ἐστράτευσεν, οὔτε φεύγων μέγαν βασι-λέα τοὺς τῇ καθόδῳ τῇ ἐπὶ θὰλασσαν ἐμποδῶν γιγνομένους ἐκράτησεν· ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἄλλος εἰς ἀνήρ τοσαύτα ἡ τηλικαύτα ἔργα κατὰ πλῆθος ἡ μέγεθος ἐν Ἑλλησσιν ἡ βαρβάρους ἀπεδείξατο. Ὅψεθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὀρμηθήναι φημι ἐσ τῆν ἑκομείαν, οὐκ ἀπαξίσσας ἐμαυτοῦ φανερὰ καταστήσειν ἐσ ἀνθρώπους τὰ Ἀλεξάν-δρου ἔργα. Ὅστε δὲ ὑν ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ γιγνώσκα, τὸ μὲν ονόμα οὔδεν δέομαι ἀναγράψαι, οὔδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀγνωστον ἐσ ἀνθρώπους ἐστίν,
tomb; Alexander—as is related—accounting Achilles happy in that he had a Homer to be the herald of his after-fame. Alexander might well count Achilles happy on this score, since, fortunate as Alexander was in other ways, there was a great gap left here, and Alexander’s exploits were never worthily bruited abroad; no one did so in narrative prose, no one sang of him in verse; nay, not even in choral lyric was Alexander chanted as were Hiero, Gelo, Thero, and many others, men not of Alexander’s stature; whence Alexander’s exploits are far less known than the minor deeds of past ages. Why, the Anabasis of the Ten Thousand with Cyrus against Artaxerxes, the sufferings of Clearchus and those captured with him, their descent to the sea, led by Xenophon, are, thanks to Xenophon, far better known to the world than Alexander and Alexander’s exploits. Yet Alexander did not merely take the field with someone else; he did not run away from the Great King and only conquer those who tried to stop the seaward march; no one man gave proof of so many or such wondrous deeds, whether in number or greatness, among Greeks and Orientals alike. That, I declare, is why I have set forth to write this history, not judging myself unworthy to blazon before mankind the deeds of Alexander. This at least—whoever I am—I know in my favour; I need not write my name—it is not unknown among
οὐδὲ πατρίδα ἦτις μοι ἐστιν οὐδὲ γένος τὸ ἐμόν, οὐδὲ εἰ δὴ τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ ἔμαυτοῦ ἡρξά· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον ἀναγράφω, ὅτι ἐμοὶ πατρὶς τε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀρχαὶ οὐδὲ οἱ λόγοι εἰσὶ τε καὶ ἀπὸ νέου ἔτι ἐγένοντο. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀπαξίῳ ἔμαυτον τῶν πρῶτων ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῇ Ἐλλάδι, εὔπερ οὐν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς.

6 'Εξ 'Ιλίου δὲ ἐς 'Αρίσβην ἦκεν, οὗ πάσα η δύναμις αὐτῷ διαβεβηκυῖα τῶν Ἐλλησπόντου ἐστρατοπεδεύκει, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς Περκώτην τῇ δὲ Ἀλλή Λάμψακον παραμείψας πρὸς τῷ Πρακτίῳ ποταμῷ ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, δὲ βέων ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν Ἰδαίων ἐκδίδοι ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν μεταξύ τοῦ Ἐλλησπόντου τε καὶ τοῦ Εὔξεινου πόντου. "Ενθεν δὲ ἐς Ἕρμωτον ἄφικεν, Κολώνας.

7 πόλιν παραμείψας. Σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπέμποντο πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· καὶ τούτων ἡγεμῶν ἦν Ἡσίοντας ὁ 'Ἀρραβαίος, ἔχων τῶν τε ἑταίρων τὴν ἑλήν τὴν ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας, ἡς Ἡλίκης ἡν Ἡσιάκρατος ὁ Σάθωνος, καὶ τῶν προδρόμων καλούμενων ἑλῆς τέσσαρας· κατὰ δὲ τὴν πάροδον Πρίατον πόλιν ἐνδοθείσαν πρὸς τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων τοὺς παραληψομένους ἀπέστειλε σὺν Πανηγόρῳ τῷ Δυκαγόρῳ, ἐν τῶν ἑταίρων.

8 Περσῶν δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἦσαν ὁ Ἀρσάμης καὶ ὁ Ῥεομίθρης καὶ Πετίδης καὶ Νιφάτης καὶ ξὺν τούτοις Ἐκείδατης ὁ Δυνίας καὶ Ἡσίας στράτας καὶ ὁ Ἀραίτης ὁ τῆς πρὸς Ἐλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας ὑπαρχός. Οὕτω δὲ πρὸς Ζελεία τῇ πόλει κατεστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν ξὺν τῇ ἑπταφῇ τε τῇ βαρβαρικῇ καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησοῖς τοῖς μυσθοφόροις. Βουλευομένοι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν
men—nor my country nor my family nor any office I may have held among my own folk; this I do set on paper, that this history is, and was from my boyhood, my country, family, and offices. That is why I do not shrink from setting myself alongside of the masters of Greek speech, since my subject was first among the masters of Greek warfare.

From Ilium Alexander came to Arisbe, where his whole force, after crossing the Hellespont, had encamped; next day to Percote; the next, he passed Lampsacus and camped by the river Practius, which flowing from Mount Ida runs into the sea that lies between the Hellespont and the Euxine Sea. Thence he came to Hermotos, passing by Colonae. He sent scouts ahead of the army; Amyntas, son of Arrabaeus, led them, with the territorial squadron from Apollonia, whose squadron-leader was Socrates son of Sathon, with four squadrons of the advanced scouts, as they were called. On his passage the city Priapus was surrendered to him by the citizens, and he sent a party to take it over under Paregorus son of Lycagorus, one of the territorials.

The Persian commanders were Arsames, Rheomithres, Petines, Niphates, and with them Spithridates the satrap of Lydia and Ionia and Arsites the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia. They had already encamped by the city of Zeleia with the Persian cavalry and the mercenary Greeks. When they held a council of war, Alexander’s crossing
παρόντων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος διαβεβηκὼς ἡγεμέλητο, Μέμνων ο Ἀρδίδος παρῆνει μὴ διὰ κινδύνου ἵναι πρὸς τούς Μακεδόνας, τῷ τε πεζῷ πολὺ περιόντας σφῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου παρόντος, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀπόντος Δαρείου προϊόντας δὲ τὸν τε χιλιόν ἀφανίζειν καταπατοῦντας τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸν ἐμπιτράναι, μηδὲ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν φειδομένους· οὐ γὰρ μενεῖν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἀρσίτην δὲ λέγεται εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν Περσῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περίδοι μίαν οἰκίαν ἐμπραθείσαν τῶν ὑπὸ οἱ τεταγμένων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας Ἀρσίτη προσθέσθαι, διὰ καὶ ὑποπτὸν τι αὐτοῖς ἦν ἐς τὸν Μέμνωνα, τριβάς ἐμποιεῖν ἐκόντα τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς ἐκ βασιλείως τιμῆς ἔνεκα.

XIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος προὐχόρει ἐπὶ τὸν Γρανικὸν ποταμόν ἐπιτεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατῷ, δυσλήν μὲν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξας, τοὺς δὲ ἴππεας κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἀγῶν, τὰ σκευασμάτα δὲ κατόπιν ἐπιτάξας ἐπεσθήθαι τοὺς δὲ προκατασκεψαμένους τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἤγεν αὐτῷ Ἡγέλοχος, ἴππεας μὲν ἐχὼν τοὺς σαμιδοσαφῶς, τῶν δὲ ψευδῶν ἐς πεντακόσιον.

2 Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τε οὕ πολὺ ἀπείχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γρανικοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σκοπῶν σπουδὴ ἔλαυνοντες ἀπῆγγελλον ἐπὶ τῷ Γρανικῷ πέραν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐφεστάναι τεταγμένους ὡς ἐς μάχην. Ἐνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν συνετάτην ὡς μαχουμένους. Παρεμείων δὲ προσελθὼν λέγει Ἀλέξανδρῳ τάδε·

3 “Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, βασιλεῦ, ἀγαθῶν εἶναι ἐν τῷ
having been reported, Memnon of Rhodes advised them to run no risk of war with the Macedonians, who were far their superiors in infantry, especially with Alexander actually on the spot, while Dareius was far away from them; they had far best advance, destroying the fodder, by trampling it with their cavalry, and burning the growing crops, not sparing even their cities. For Alexander would not then stay in the country for want of provisions. Arsites, however, is reported to have said in the Persian Council that he would not suffer one house belonging to his men to be burned: the Persians supported Arsites, having suspicions of Memnon, thinking that he was delaying warlike operations for the sake of the office he held from the king.

XIII. Meanwhile, Alexander was advancing to the river Granicus with his force all ready for battle, having doubled his phalanx of the men-at-arms, with the cavalry on the wings, and ordering the transport to follow behind the scouts and reconnoitring parties which Hegelochus led, with the lancers, and five hundred light troops. Alexander was not far from the river Granicus, when the scouts, riding in at full speed, reported that the Persians were arrayed for battle on the farther side of the Granicus. Alexander then formed battle order; and Parmenio came forward and said:

"My view, sir, is that we should encamp at once
παρόντι καταστρατοπεδεύσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ὄχθῃ ὡς ἔχομεν. Τοὺς γὰρ πολέμιους οὐ δοκῶ τολμήσειν πολὺ τῶν πεζῶν λειτουρμένους πλησίον ἡμῶν αὐλισθῆναι, καὶ ταύτη παρέξειν ἔσθεν εὔπετῶς τῷ στρατῷ διαβάλειν τὸν πόρον· ὑποφθάσομεν γὰρ αὐτὸι περάσαντες πρὶν ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τὰξιν καθίστασθαι. Νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀκινδύνως μοι δοκοῦμεν ἐπιχειρήσειν τῷ ἐργῷ, ὅτι οὐχ οἶον τε ἐν μετώπῳ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀγείν τῶν στρατῶν. Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὅρᾶται βαθεά, αἱ δὲ ὅψιν αὐτοῖς ὅρας ὅτι ὑπερύψηλοι καὶ κρημνώδεις εἰσίν αἱ αὐτῶν ἀτάκτως τε οὐν καὶ κατὰ κέρας, ἦσαν ἀσθενεστάτων, ἐκβαινουσιν ἐπικείσονται εἰς φάλαγγα ξυντεταγμένοι τὸν πολέμιον οἱ ἱππεῖς· καὶ τὸ πρῶτον σφάλμα ἐς ταῖς παρόντα χαλεπῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου κρίσιν σφαλερόν.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, "Ταῦτα μὲν, ἐφή, ὁ Παρμενίων, γυνώσκων αἰσχύνομαι δὲ, εἰ τὸν μὲν Ἐλλήσποντον διέβην εὐπετῶς, τοῦτο δὲ, σμικρὸν ἱστώμα (οὕτω τῷ ὁνόματι τὸν Γρανικὸν ἐκφαινόμεθα), εἴρξει ἡμᾶς τοῦ μη οὐ διαβῆναι ὅσον ἔχομεν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὕτε πρὸς Μακεδόνων τῆς δόξης οὕτε πρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἐξύπτετο ποιοῦμαι· ἀναθαρρήσειν δὲ δοκῶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἔξωκάρπους Μακεδόνιν ὄντας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔξιον τοῦ σφῶν δεός ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπαθον." 

7 XIV. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Παρμενίωνα μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας πέμπει ἡγησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξίῳ παρῆγεν. Προετάχθησαν δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ Φιλώτας ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἔχον τοὺς
on the river bank, as we are; the enemy, I believe, being outnumbered in infantry, will not dare to bivouac near us; and hence we can easily cross at dawn; and we shall be across before they get into order. As things are, I feel that we should run great risk in taking action, since we cannot take an army across a river on a wide front, for one can see that there are many deep parts of the river; its banks, as you see, are very high, sometimes like cliffs. As we emerge in disorder and in deployed order, the weakest of formations, the enemy cavalry in good solid order will charge: the first disaster would be grievous at the present, and most harmful for the general result of the war.”

Alexander, however, replied: “This I know, Parmenio, but I should feel ashamed if after our crossing so easily the Hellespont, this petty stream (so disrespectfully did he speak of the Granicus) shall hinder us from crossing, just as we are. This I consider unworthy either of the prestige of the Macedonians or of my own swift dealing with danger; I believe the Persians would pluck up courage, thinking themselves as good fighters as the Macedonians, since up to the present they have not experienced anything to cause them alarm.”

XIV. So spake Alexander; and at once sent off Parmenio to lead the left wing; he himself passed along to the right. As commander of the right he had already appointed Philotas son of Parmenio,
ARRIAN

'ἐταίρους τοὺς ἱππεάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς. Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀρραβαίν τοὺς τε σαρισσοφόρους ἱππεὰς ἔχουν Φιλώτα ἐπετάχθη καὶ τοὺς Παίνανας καὶ τὴν ἐλην τὴν
2 Σωκράτους. Ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ τῶν ἑταίρων, ὡς ἡγεῖτο Νικάνωρ ὁ Παρμενίωνος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ Περδίκκικος τοῦ Ὀρὸντος φάλαγγα. ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κοίνος τοῦ Πολυμοκράτους. ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Κρατέρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀνδρομένους. ἐπὶ δὲ ὃν
3 Φιλίππος ὁ Ἀμύντου ἡρχε. Τοῦ δὲ εὐωνύμου πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἱππεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, ὡς ἡγεῖτο Κάλας ὁ Ἀρπάλων. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ εὐμμαχοὶ ἱππεῖς, ὡς ἡρχε Φιλίππος ὁ Μενελάων. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Ὄρακες, ὡς ἡρχεν Ἀγάθων. ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων πεζοὶ ἡ τε Κρατέρου φάλαγγα καὶ ἡ Μελεάγρου καὶ ἡ Φιλίππου ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς ξυμπάσης τάξεως.
4 Περσῶν δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἠσαν ἐς δισμυρίους, ἔνοι δὲ πεζοὶ μυθοφόροι οἴγον ἀποδέοντες δισμυρίων ἔταχθησαν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἱπποὺ παρατεώναιτο ποταμῷ κατὰ τὴν ὀχθήν ἐπὶ φάλαγγα μακρῶν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς κατόπιν τῶν ἱππέων καὶ γὰρ ὑπερδέξατο ἡ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν ὀχθὴν χωρία. Ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτὸν καθεόρων (δῆλος γὰρ ἢν τῶν τε ὀπλῶν τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῶν ἁμύντου τῆς συν ἐκπλήξει θεραπεῖα) κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον σφόν ἐπέχοντα, ταύτην πυκνὰς ἐπέταξαν τῇ ὀχθῆς τὰς θλίς τῶν ἱππῶν.
5 Χρόνων μὲν δὴ ἁμβούταρα τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπὶ ἅκρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφεστώτες ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλουν ὅκνεῖν ἡσυχίαν ἠγον καὶ συγῇ ἡν πολλή ἃφθ
with the territorial cavalry, the archers, and the Agrianes, javelin-men. To Philotas was attached Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, with the lancers, the Paeonians, and Socrates' squadron. Next to them were marshalled the territorial guards, led by Nicanor son of Parmenio; beside these was the phalanx of Perdiccas son of Orontes; also that of Coenus son of Polemocrates; and those of Craterus son of Alexander, Amyntas son of Andromenes, and the troops under Philip son of Amyntas. On the left wing came first the Thessalian cavalry, commanded by Cales son of Harpalus; next the allied cavalry, under Philip son of Menelaus, then the Thracians, under Agetho; on their right were the infantry, the phalanx of Craterus, of Meleager, of Philip, up to the centre of the whole force.

The Persians had about 20,000 cavalry, and little short of the same number of infantry, foreign mercenaries. Their disposition was, the cavalry drawn up parallel to the river, and thus making an extended phalanx; the infantry behind them; the land above the bank was high and commanding. Where they perceived Alexander himself—you could not mistake him, from the splendour of his equipment and the obsequious attendance of his suite—opposite their left wing, they massed here on the bank their cavalry squadrons.

For some time the two forces, on the river's brink, dreading to precipitate the event, remained at ease,
οί γὰρ Πέρσαι προσέμενον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὅποτε ἐσβήσονται ἐς τὸν πόρον, ὡς ἐπικεισό-μενοι ἐκβαίνουσιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἄπτον καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ αὐτῶν ἐγκελεστάμενος ἐπεσθαί τε καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν προδρόμους ἱππέας καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Παίονας προεμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντα 'Αμύνταν τὸν Ἀρραβαίον καὶ τῶν πεζῶν μιὰν τάξιν, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὴν Σωκράτους ἱλὴν Πολεμαίον τὸν Φιλίππου ἄγοντα, ἢ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ ἱππικοῦ παυτὸς ἔχουσα ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἠμέρᾳ: αὐτὸς δὲ ἄγων τὸ δεξίον κέρας ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων τε καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλῷ ἀλαλάζουσας ἐμβαίνει ἐς τὸν πόρον, λοξῆν ἀεὶ παρατεῖνων τὴν τάξιν ἢ παρεῖλκε τὸ ἰέμα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἐκβαίνοντι αὐτῷ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ κέρας προστίποτειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀνυστὸν τῇ φάλαγγι προσμίξῃ αὐτοῖς.

XV. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ἢ πρότοι οἱ ἀμφὶ 'Αμύνταν καὶ Σωκράτην προσέσχον τῇ ὁχθῇ, ταύτῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνωθεν ἐβαλλον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁχθῆς ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσακοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ χθαμαλότερα αὐτῆς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ ὅδωρ 2 καταβαίνοντες. Καὶ ἢν τῶν τε ἱππέων ἰδιομός, τῶν μὲν ἐκβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῶν δὲ εἰργεῖν τὴν ἐκβασίν, καὶ παλτῶν ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Πέρσῶν πολλῇ ἀφεσὶς, οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ξὺν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐμάχοντο. Ἀλλὰ τὸ τε πλῆθει πολὺ ἐπαττούμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐκακοπάθουν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξ ἀβεβαιοῦ τε καὶ ἀμα κάτωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμμυνόμενοι, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τῆς ὁχθῆς, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ
and in deep silence. The Persians awaited the Macedonians, to fall on them emerging from the river, so soon as they should attempt the crossing; but Alexander flung himself on to his horse, and calling on his suite to follow and show themselves brave men and true, he advanced his first line of scouts and the Paeonians into the stream, under command of Amyntas son of Arrabaeus, and also one file of the infantry; before these he sends Socrates' squadron, Ptolemy son of Philip commanding; this was on the list as leading cavalry squadron for that day; then he himself leading the right wing—bugles sounding, and the battle cry going up to the God of Battles—boldly takes to the stream, inclining his troops obliquely to the current, so that the Persians should not fall on him in extended front, but that he himself might attack them, as far as might be, in close order.

XV. The Persians, at the point where their vanguard, under Amyntas and Socrates, held the river bank, shot their volleys from above, some hurling their javelins from their commanding position a little removed from the bank, others on the more level ground, or even advancing down to the stream. There was a great scrimmage of the cavalry, the Greeks trying to land, the Persians to stop them; great showers of Persian javelins; much thrusting of Macedonian spears. But the Macedonians, much outnumbered, came off badly in the first onslaught; they were insecure, and below, the enemy on a strong position above; besides, the flower of the Persian
τὸ κράτιστον τῆς Περσικῆς ὑπον ταύτη ἐπετε- 
tακτο, οἳ τε Μέμωνοι παιδεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μέμων
3 μετὰ τοῦτων ἐκκυνδύνευε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν
Μακεδόνων ἔμμειξαντες τοῖς Πέρσαις κατεκόπη-
σαν πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀνδρεῖς ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, ὅσοι γε
μὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πελάξαντα ἀπέκλιναν αὐτῶν.
Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἦδη πλησίον ἦν, ἀμα οἱ ἄγων
τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιόν, καὶ ἐμβάλλει ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας
πρῶτος ἵνα τὸ πᾶν στήφος τῆς ὑπον καὶ αὐτὸι
οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν· καὶ
4 περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνυεστήκει μάχη καρτερά· καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ ἄλλας ἐπὶ ἄλλας τῶν τάξεων τοῖς Μακε-
δοσὶ διέβαινον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἦδη. Καὶ ἦν μὲν
ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπον ἡ μάχη, πεζομαχία δὲ μᾶλλον τι
ἐφόκει. Ἐνυεχόμενοι γὰρ ἵπποι τε ὑπον καὶ
ἀνδραῖς ἀνδράσιν ἡγουότοντο, οἱ μὲν ἕξωσαν εἰς
ἀπαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀχθῆς καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον βιάσασθαι
5 τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ Μακεδόνες, οἳ δὲ εἰρηκαὶ τε
αὐτῶν τὴν ἐκβασιν, οἱ Πέρσαι, καὶ ἐς τὸν ποτα-
μὸν αὐθεὶς ἀπώσασθαι. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπελευκ-
κτον ἦδη οἱ σὺν Ἀλέξανδρῳ τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ ρόμη
καὶ ἐμπειρία καὶ ὅτι χυστοῖς κρανεῖνοι πρὸς
παλτὰ ἐμάχοντο.
6 Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐνυτρίβεται τὸ δόρυ
ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· ὁ δὲ Ἄρετιν ἦτεν δόρυ ἔστερον, ἀνα-
βολέα τῶν βασιλικῶν τῷ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ πονοῦ- 
μενο ςυντετριμμένον τὸ δόρυ ἦν, ὅ δὲ τῷ ἡμίσει
κεκλασμένον τοῦ δόφατος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐμάχετο,
καὶ τούτῳ δείξας Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἄλλον αἰτεῖν
ἐκέλευε. Δημάρατος δὲ, ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος, τῶν
ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ἔταρχων, διδώσων αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτοῦ
7 δόρυ. Καὶ δὲ ἀναλαβόν καὶ ἰδὼν Μιθριδάτην
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cavalry was posted at the landing, Memnon's sons and Memnon himself bearing the brunt along with them. The first of the Macedonians came into conflict with the Persians and were cut down, after prodigies of valour, all to a man, save those who fell back on Alexander as he approached. For he was already near, leading on the right wing, and he charged the Persians, himself the first to attack, just where was the press of cavalry and where the Persian commanders were posted. A fierce fight raged about him; and meanwhile the Macedonians, line after line, kept crossing, a task now not so difficult. It was a cavalry struggle, though on infantry lines; horse pressed against horse, man against man, wrestling one with another, Greeks trying to push, once for all, the Persians from the bank and force them on to the level ground, the Persians trying to bar their landing and hurl them back into the river. Already, however, Alexander and his guards were getting the best of it, not only through their forcefulness and their discipline, but because they were fighting with stout cornel-wood lances against short javelins.

In the mêlée Alexander's lance was broken; he called on Aretis, one of the royal aides, for another; but Aretis had also broken his lance, and was hard pressed, though putting up a brave fight with the half of his broken weapon. Showing this to Alexander he cried out to him to call upon another aide, but Demaratus, of Corinth, one of Alexander's squires, gave him his own lance. Alexander grasping it and seeing Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius,
τὸν Δαρείου γαμβρὸν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων προϊπεύοντα καὶ ἐπάγοντα ἀμα. οἱ ὀσπερ ἐμβολον τῶν ἰππέων, ἐξελαύνει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πᾶσας ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν δόρατοι καταβάλλει τῶν Μιθριδάτην. Ἔν δὲ τούτῳ Ροισάκης μὲν ἐπελαύνει τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ παίει τὸν Μιθριδάτην τῇ κοπίδι, καὶ τοῦ μὲν κράνους τῇ ἀπέθανος, τῇ πληγήν δὲ ἔσχε τὸ κράνος. Καὶ καταβάλλει καὶ τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος παίσας τῷ ξυστῷ διὰ τοῦ θυράκος ἐς τὸ στέρνον. Σπιθριδάτης δὲ ἀνετέ- τατο μὲν ἦδη ἐπ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ὅπισθεν τήν κοπίδα, ὑποφθάσας δὲ αὐτὸν Κλεῖτος ὁ Δρωπίδου παίει κατὰ τὸν ὄμοι καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὸν ὄμοι τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ἐν τῇ κοπίδι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεκβαίνοντες αἰε τῶν ἰππέων ὅσοις προὐχώρει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεγήμυντο τοῖς ἄμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον.

ΧΩ. Καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι παιόμενοι τε πανταχόθεν ἤδη ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ ἰπποὶ τοῖς ξυστοῖς καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἰππέων ἐξωθούμενοι, πολλά δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ψυλῶν ἀναμεμημένων τοῖς ἰππεύμι βλαπτόμενοι, ἐγκλίνουσι ταῦτῃ πρότον ἢ ’Αλέξανδρος προεκινδύνευεν. Ὡμοὶ δὲ τὸ μέσου ἐνεδεδέκει αὐτοῖς, παρερήγυντο δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τῆς ἰπποῦ, καὶ ἦν δὴ φυγή καρπερά. 2 Τῶν μὲν δὴ ἰππέων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπέθανον ἐς χιλίους. Οὕ γὰρ πολλὴ ἢ δίωξις ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἐξετράτη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισοθοφόρους; ὅν τὸ στῆφος ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτάχθη, ἐκπλήξει μᾶλλον τι τοῦ παραλόγου ἢ λογισμὸβεβαιο ἔμενε. Καὶ τούτοις τῆν τε φάλαγγα 66
riding far ahead of the line and leading on a body of horse, formed in wedge shape, charges forth in advance of his men, thrusts his lance into Mithridates’ face and hurls him to the ground. But Rhoesaces rode at Alexander, and smote him on the head with his cleaver; he sheared off part of the helmet, but still the helmet parried the blow. Alexander hurled him also to the ground, piercing with his lance through the cuirass into his breast. Spithridates had already raised his scimitar to cut down Alexander, but Cleitus son of Dropides, smartly slipping in, drove at Spithridates’ shoulder with his cleaver and shore it off; and now those of the cavalry who had made good their way on the river bank kept coming up and joining the little band round Alexander.

XVI. The Persians were now being roughly handled from all quarters; they and their horses being struck in the face with lances; they were driven in front of the cavalry, and were much inconvenienced by the light troops, who became confused with the cavalry; and so they began to give way, first at the very point where Alexander was bearing the brunt of the affray. But when their centre began to sag, then the cavalry wings also were pierced, and they turned to flight in earnest. Upwards of a thousand Persian horsemen perished; for there was not much pursuit, since Alexander turned against the foreign mercenary troops. The mass of these stood their ground, rather rooted to the spot by the unexpected catastrophe than from serious resolution. Bringing his phalanx to bear on them and bidding the cavalry
ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας πάντη προσπεσεῖν κελεύσας, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ οἶλιγου κατακόπτει αὐτοὺς, ὥστε διέφυγε μὲν οὖδεὶς, ὡτι μὴ διέλαβε τις ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἔξωγρήθησαν δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισκυ-3 λίους. 'Ἐπεσον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἠγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν Νιφάτης τε καὶ Πετίνης καὶ Σπιθριδάτης ὁ Δυνίας σατράπης, καὶ ὁ τῶν. Καππαδόκων ὅπαρχοι Μιθροβουζάνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ τοῦ Δαρείου γαμβρὸς καὶ Ἀρβουτάλης ὁ Δαρείου τοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς καὶ Φαρνάκης ὁ ἀδελφὸς οὗτος τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς), καὶ ὁ τῶν ξένων ἠγεμόνων Ὄμαρης. Ἀρσίτης δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης φεύγει ἐς Φρυγίαν, ἔκει δὲ ἀποθνήσκει αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ὁ λόγος, ὅτι αὐτὸς· ἐδοκεὶ Πέρσαις γενεσθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ τότε πταίσματος.

4 Μακεδόνων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἔταρχων ἁμφὶ τοὺς εἰκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ ἀπέθανον καὶ τούτων χαλκαὶ εἰκόνες ἐν Δίῳ ἔστασιν, Ἀλέξανδρος κελεύσαντος Δύσιππου ποιῆσαι, ὃς σαρ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μόνος προκριθεὶς ἐποίει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἔξηκοντα, τεξοί 5 δὲ ἐσ τοὺς τριάκοντα. Καὶ τούτων τῇ ύστεραιᾳ ἔθαψεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξι τοὺς ὑπλοὺς τε καὶ ἄλλω κόσμῳ γονεύει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτέλειαν ἐδωκε καὶ ὁσαι ἄλλαι ἢ τῷ σώματι λειτουργεῖ ή κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις ἔκαστων εἰσφοραὶ. Καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων δὲ πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν, ἐπεθέκων τε αὐτὸς ἐκάστους καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἰδὼν καὶ ὅποις τις ἐτρώθη ἔρομενος καὶ ὁ τι πράττων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀλαζο-6 νευσάσθαι οἱ παρασχῶν. 'Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἠγεμόνας ἔθαψεν· ἔθαψε δὲ καὶ τοὺς μισθο-68
fall on them from all quarters, he hemmed them in and soon massacred them; not one escaped—unless perhaps a few slipped through among the dead—and some two thousand were taken prisoners. Of Persian commanders there fell Niphates, Petines, Spithridates, satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes the Cappadocian commandant, Mithridates, son-in-law of Dareius, Arbupales son of Dareius, son of Artaxerxes, and Pharnaces, brother of Dareius' queen, and Omares, commander of the foreign troops. Arsites fled from the battle into Phrygia and there, it is said, died by his own hand, because the blame of the Persian failure seemed to lie at his door.

Of the Macedonians, among the territorial troops, about twenty-five fell in the first shock. Brazen statues of them have been set up at Dium; Alexander gave the order to Lysippus, who out of a crowd of competitors had cast the statue of Alexander himself. Of the rest of the cavalry more than sixty perished, and about thirty infantry. All these Alexander buried next day with their arms and other accoutrements; to their parents and children he gave remission of local taxes and of all other personal services and property taxes. He showed much concern about the wounded, visiting each, examining their wounds, asking how they were received, and encouraging each to recount, and even boast of, his exploits. He buried also the Persian commanders
Ἀρριάνος Ἐλληνας, οὗ ἦν τοὺς πολεμίους στρατευόντες ἀπέθανον ὡσούς δὲ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβε, τούτους δὲ πέσας ἐν πέδαις ἐσε Μακεδονίαν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐργάζεσθαι, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δόξαντα τοὺς "Ἐλληνες." Ἐλληνες ὄντες ἐναυτία τῇ Ἐλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμάχοντο.

7 Ἀποστέμπεται δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας τριακοσίας πανοπλίας Περσικᾶς ἀνάθημα εἶναι τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν πόλει· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιγραφὴν ἐκέλευσε τόδε: Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου καὶ οἳ "Ἐλληνες πλήθυ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντων.

XVII. Καταστήσας δὲ Κάλαν σατραπεύειν ἦς Ἀρσιτῆς ἤρχε καὶ τοὺς φόρους τους αὐτοὺς ἀποφέρειν τάξασα οὐσσαπερ Δαρείῳ ἔφερον, ὡσοὶ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων κατόρθες ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἐνεχείριζον σφᾶς, τούτους μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους ἐκέλευε. Ζελείτας δὲ ἄφηκε τῆς αἰτίας, ὅτι πρὸς βιαν ἔγων συστρατεύσαι τοῖς βαρβάροις: Δασκύλιον δὲ παραληψόμενον Παρμενίωνα ἐκπέμπει καὶ παραλαμβάνει Δασκύλιον Παρμενίων ἐκλιπάντων τῶν φρουρῶν.

3 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σάρδεων προύχωρεῖ· καὶ ἀπέχουντος αὐτοῦ ὡσον ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους Σάρδεως, ἦκον παρ' αὐτὸν Μιθρίδης τε ὁ φρούραρχος τῆς ἀκρόπολεος τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι καὶ Σάρδιανῶν οἱ δυνατῶτατοι, ἐνδιδόντες οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν, δὲ δὲ

4 Μιθρίδης τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ "Ερμω ποταμῷ ἀπέχει δὲ ὁ "Ερμος ἀπὸ Σάρδεων σταδίους ὡσον εἴκοσιν ὁ Αμύντας δὲ τὸν Ἀνδρομένου τὴν ἄκραν παραληψόμενον ἐκπέμπει ἐς 70
and the mercenary Greeks who fell in the ranks of
the foe; such as he captured, he handcuffed and sent
to Macedonia to hard labour, because they had
violated Greek public opinion by fighting with
Orientals against Greeks. He sent to Athens three
hundred Persian panoplies as an offering to Athena
of Athens; he had this inscription attached:
Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, save Lacedaemonians, these spoils from the Persians in Asia.

XVII. Alexander then made Calas satrap of the
satrapy which Arsites had held, ordering the inhabi-
tants to pay the same taxes as they used to pay to
Dareius; such of the natives as came down from
the hills and gave themselves up he bade return to
their homes. The city Zeleia he exempted from
blame, knowing that they had been impressed to
fight with the Persians. He sent Parmenio also to
take over Dascylion, and this he duly did—the
guards having evacuated the place.

Then Alexander marched towards Sardes; and
when he was still about seventy stades away there
came to him Mithrines, commander of the Acropolis
guard, and with him the chief citizens of Sardes;
these gave up the city, and Mithrines the fortress
and the treasure. Alexander himself camped on
the Hermus river; this river runs about twenty
stades from Sardes; but he sent Amyntas, son of
Andromenes, to Sardes to take over the fortress;
Σάρδεις· καὶ Μιθρίην μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄμα ὁ ἤγε, Σαρδιανοῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦς ἄλλους Δυνός τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς πάλαι Δυνὸν χρησθαί ἔδωκε καὶ ἐξευθέρους εἶναι ἀφήκεν. 'Ανήλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἀκραν, ἵνα τὸ φρούριον ἦν τῶν Περσῶν· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὅχυρον τὸ χωρίον· ὑπερύψηλον τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀπότομον πάντη καὶ τριπλῆς τείχει πεφραγμένον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπι τῇ ἀκρα ναόν τε οἰκοδομήσαι Δίως 'Ολυμπίων ἐπενεῖ καὶ βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. Σκοπούντει δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀκρας ὅπερ ἐπιτηδειοτάτον χωρίον, ὥρα ἔτους ἐξαιρής χειμῶν ἐπιγίγνεται καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ, καὶ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐραίων πίπτει οὐ τὰ τῶν Δυνῶν βασίλεια. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ ἔδωκεν ἐκ θεοῦ σημανθήναι ἵνα χρὴ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τῷ Δίῳ τοῖς νεόν, καὶ οὔτως ἐκελεύσε. Κατέλυπε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀκρας τῆς Σάρδεων ἐπιμελητῆν Παυσανίαν τῶν ἠταίρων τῶν δὲ φόρων τῆς συντάξεως τε καὶ ἀποφορᾶς Νικίαν. 'Ασανδρὸν δὲ τῶν Φιλῶτα Δυνίας καὶ τῆς ἀλλης τῆς Σπιθριδατοῦ ἀρχῆς, δους αὐτῷ ἱππείας τε καὶ ψείλους ὅσοι ἰκανοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐδοκοῦν.

8 Κάλαν δὲ καὶ 'Αλέξανδρον τῶν Ἀερόποτον ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Μέμνονος ἐκπέμπει, ἀγοντας τοὺς τῇ Πελοποννησίως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξωμάχων τοὺς πολλῶς πλὴν Ἀργείων· οὔτοι δὲ ἐν Σάρδεσι κατελείφθησαν τὴν ἀκραν φυλάττειν.

9 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁς τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰππομαχίας ἐξηγιγέλθη, οὐ τῇ τῆς 'Εφεσον φρουρούντες μισθοφόροι ὀχυροτε φεύγουσι, δύο τριήρεις τῶν 'Εφεσίων λαβόντες, καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς 'Αμύντας ὁ Ἀντιόχου, ὑς ἔφυγεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας 'Αλέξανδρον, παθῶν μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου, δυσνοίᾳ δὲ
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Mithrines he took with him, with the honours of his rank; but the Sardians and the other Lydians he permitted to follow the old Lydian customs, and sent them away free. Alexander himself ascended to the fortress, where was the Persian garrison; he formed no mean opinion of the strength of the position, which was very high, sheer, and fortified all round with a triple wall. Alexander was minded to build a temple on the height to Olympian Zeus, and to set up an altar near it. But as he was surveying the height for the best place, suddenly (it was summer-time) there brake a storm, with heavy crashes of thunder, and violent rain, just over the palace of the Lydian kings; from this Alexander supposed that here was a divine intimation where he must build the temple to Zeus, and so he gave orders accordingly. He left as commandant of the fortress Pausanias, a territorial officer; Nicias became overseer of the taxes, contributions, and tribute, and Asandrus, son of Philotas, governor of Lydia and the rest of Spithridates’ district; and to him he gave cavalry and light troops sufficient for present needs. Calas and Alexander son of Aeropus he sent to Memnon’s country, with the Peloponnesians and the greater part of the allies except the Argives; they were left in Sardes to garrison the fortress.

Meanwhile, when the news of the cavalry engagement came through, the mercenary troops garrisoning Ephesus fled, with two Ephesian triremes, and along with them Amyntas son of Antiochus who had run away from Macedon to avoid Alexander; not that Alexander had done him any harm, but from a
τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαξιώσας τὴν παθεῖν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι. Τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα ἐστὶν Ἐφεσον ἀφικόμενος τοὺς τῇ φυγάδας ὅσοι δὴ αὐτὸν ἔξεπεσον τῆς πόλεως κατηγαγε, καὶ τὴν ὀλγαρχίαν καταλύσας δημοκρατίαν κατέστησε τοὺς δὲ φόρους ὅσους τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέφερεν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ξυντελείων ἐκέλευσεν. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὥς ἀφρεδῆ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλγών φόβος, τοὺς τῇ Μέμνωνα ἐπαγαγομένους καὶ τοὺς τῷ ἱερῷ συλήσαντας τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοὺς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Φιλίππου τὴν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καταβαλόντας καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνορύξαντας τῶν Ἡροπύθου τοῦ ἔλευθερώσαντος τὴν πόλιν, ὄρμησαν ἀποκτείναι. Καὶ Σύρφακα μὲν καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Πελάγοντα καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Σύρφακος παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους διεκώλυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος προσωτέρω ἐπιζητεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσαι, γινοῦσι δὲ ὅμοιοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ ξύν δίκη τινάς, τοὺς μὲν καὶ ἔχθραν, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ ἀρπαγῆς χρημάτων ἀποκτείνει, ἐγνωρίθην αὐτῷ, ὁ δῆμος. Καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ ἄλλῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πραξθεῖσιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ τότε ἐυνόκιμεν.

ΧVIII. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ Μαγνησίας τε καὶ Τράλλεων παρ’ αὐτὸν ἦκον ἐνδιδόντες τὰς πόλεις· καὶ δὲ πέμπει Παρμενίων, δοῦσ αὐτῷ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντάκοσίους πεζοὺς τῶν ἐξων καὶ Μακεδόνας παραπλησίους, ἵππεας δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐς διακοσίους. Ἀλκίμαχον δὲ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰολίδας τε πόλεις ξὺν δυνάμει οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐξέπεμψε καὶ ὅσαι Ἰωνικαὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, I. 17. 9-18. 1

general dislike towards Alexander and a disinclination to undergo any disagreeable discomfort at his hands. Alexander reached Ephesus on the fourth day, brought back any exiles who had been turned out of the city on his account, and breaking up the oligarchy restored the democracy; he also bade them contribute to the Temple of Artemis such taxes as they had been paying to the Persians. So the Ephesian people, being now relieved from fear of the oligarchs, promptly put to death all those who had called in Memon, those who had ransacked the Temple of Artemis, and those who had thrown down the statue of Philip in the Temple and had dug up in the market-place the tomb of Heropythes the liberator of the city. Syrphax, his son Pelagon, and the children of the brothers of Syrphax they drew forth from the temple and stoned; but Alexander prevented further inquisition or punishment, knowing that once permission was given the people would put to death, together with the guilty, certain others, some from hatred, and some for plunder of their goods. Seldom did Alexander win greater popularity than he did by his treatment of Ephesus.

XVIII. About this time came representatives of Magnesia and Tralles to Alexander to hand over their cities; so he sent Parmenio with 2500 allied infantry and as many Macedonians, and 200 territorial horse. He sent also Alkimachus son of Agathocles, with an equal force, to the Aeolian cities and to any Ionian towns still subject to Persia.
Στὴ δ’ υστεραλὴ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε πεζῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τοὺς Ῥάκες ὑπέει, καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων τὴν τὰς βασιλικὴν ἴλην καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τρεῖς ἄλλας ἐπὶ Μιλήτου ἔστειλεν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔξω καλουμένην πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἠλάβεν ἐκλιποῦσης τῆς φυλακῆς ἐνταύθα δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύσας ἔγνω ἀποτελέσας τὴν εἰσών πόλιν. Ἡγησίστρατος γὰρ, ὡς ἡ δορυφόρα ἡ Μιλησίων ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπετέρατο, πρόσθεν γράμματα παρ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεμπεν ἑνδιδοὺς τὴν Μιλήτου τὸτε δὲ ἀναθαρρήσας ἐπὶ τὸ Περσῶν στρατῷ οὐ μακρὰν ὄντες, διασώζειν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπενεί καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Νικάνωρ δὲ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ναυτικὸν ἄγων ὑποθάναι τοὺς Πέρσας τριῶν ἡμέραις πρότερος καταπλεύσας ἡ τοὺς Πέρσας Μιλήτων προσχείν, καὶ ὡρμῶσιν ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ τῇ Λάδῃ, κεῖται δὲ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τῇ Μιλήτῳ. Αἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν νῆσες ὑστερήσασι, ἐπειδὴ ἐμαθοὺν οἱ ναύαρχοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα τὴν ἐν τῇ Λάδῃ προκαταγωγῇ, πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ τῷ ὄρει ὁρμῆσθαι. Τῇ γὰρ Λάδῃ τῇ νῆσῳ προκατελήφθη Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐ τῶν νεῶν μόνον τῇ ἐγκαθορμίσει, ἀλλὰ

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1 δὲ τὸ Codices. Krüger deletes τὸ.
He ordered the oligarchies everywhere to be broken up, democracies to be established, each to have their own laws and to continue paying the same taxes as they had paid to the Persians. Alexander himself remained in Ephesus and sacrificed to Artemis and held a great procession with his troops armed cap-à-pie in full battle order.

Next day he took the remainder of the infantry and the archers and the Agrianes, with the Thracian horse, and the royal squadron of territorial cavalry, and three squadrons besides, and marched against Miletus. He captured in his stride what they called the Outer City—for the garrison had retired—and camping there he decided to invest the Inner City. For Hegesistratus, commandant, under Dareius, of the Milesian garrison, had anticipated matters by sending a letter to Alexander surrendering the city; but then, taking heart again, because the Persian force was no distance away, schemed to save the city for Persia. Nicanor, however, bringing up the Greek fleet, reached Miletus three days ahead of the Persians, and anchored at the island of Lade with 160 ships. Lade is over against Miletus. The Persian fleet were too late, and when their commanders learnt of Nicanor’s arrival already at Lade, they anchored under Mount Mycale. For Alexander had by seizing Lade forestalled them, not only by anchoring his fleet there, but also by transporting
καὶ τοὺς Ὀράκας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζένων ἐς τετρα-
κισχιλίους διαβεβάσας ἐς αὐτὴν. Ὑσαν δὲ τῶν
βαρβάρων αἱ νῆς ἀμφὶ τὰς τετρακοσίας.

6 Παρμενίων μὲν δὴ καὶ δὲς παρήνει Ἀλέξανδρῳ
ναυμαχεῖν, τά τε ἅλλα κρατήσειν τῷ ναυτικῷ
τούς Ἐλλήνας ἐπιλέξων καὶ τι καὶ θείον ἀνέπειθεν
αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἁπέδοι αὐθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ
κατὰ πρῶμαν τῶν Ἀλέξανδρου νεῶν. Καὶ γὰρ
δὴ νικήσαντας μὲν μεγάλα ὁφεληθήσεσθαι ἐς
τὰ ἄλλα, νικηθέντες δὲ σὺ παρὰ μέγα ἐσεθαί τὸ
πταίσμα· καὶ δὲ γὰρ θαλασσοκρατεῖν τὸν
Πέρσας. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἔφη ἐπιβίβασθαι ἔθελεν

7 τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ κυνήγου μετέχειν. Ἀλέξ-
ανδρὸς δὲ τῇ τε γυνώμη ἀμαρτάνειν ἔφη Παρμε-
νίωνα καὶ τοῦ σημείου τῇ οὐ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς
ζυμβλήσειν ὁλίγας τε γὰρ ναυσὶ πρὸς πολλῷ
πλείους ἦν οὐδὲν λογισμῷ ναυμαχήσειν καὶ
οὐ μεμελετηκότι τῷ σφῶν ναυτικῷ πρὸς ἡσκή-
μένου1 τὸ τῶν Κυπρίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων τῆν
τε ἐμπειρίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἐν
ἀβεβαιῷ χωρίῳ2 οὐκ ἔθελεν παραδοῦναι τοῖς
βαρβάροις· καὶ ἤττηθείς τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐ μικρὰν
τὴν βλάβην ἐσεθαί ἐς τοῦ πολέμου τῆν πρώτην
δόξαν, τά τε ἅλλα καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας νεωτερεῖν
πρὸς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πταίσματος τὴν ἕξαγγελίαν

8 ἔπαρθεντάς. Ταῦτα μὲν τῷ λογισμῷ ξυνιθεῖς
οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ ἀπέφαυνε ναυμαχεῖν τῷ θείον δὲ
αὐτὸς ἄλλη ἐξηγείσθαι· εἶναι μὲν γὰρ πρὸς
αὐτοῦ τὸν ἁετὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπὶ γῆς καθήμενος

1 ἡ σημείωσις Codices; Roos ὕποσκημένων.
2 Krüger deletes χωρίς.
thither the Thracians and about 4000 of the other mercenaries. The Persian fleet was of about 400 sail.

Parmenio, notwithstanding, urged Alexander to attack, both because he expected the Greeks to win, and because of an omen; there had been seen an eagle perching on the shore astern of Alexander’s vessels. If they won, he argued, it would be a great help to the expedition generally; a defeat would not be very serious; for even as things were the Persians held the supremacy at sea. He said that he was willing to embark himself and share all perils. Alexander, however, said that Parmenio’s judgment was at fault; his interpretation of the omen not less so; it would be lunacy to fight a much greater fleet with an inferior one, and face the trained crews of the Cyprians and Phoenicians with his own, who had not yet completed their nautical exercises. He would not risk sacrificing the skill and courage of his Macedonians on so uncertain an element to the Persians; should they lose the engagement it would be a serious blow to their former warlike prestige, with the Greeks also ready to blaze into revolt at the first whisper of a naval defeat. Arguing thus he made clear that it was no time to fight; and declared that he interpreted the omen differently; for the eagle was indeed on his own side; but, since
ἐφαίνετο, δοκεῖν οἱ μᾶλλον τι σημαίνειν ὅτι ἐκ γῆς κρατήσει τοῦ Περσῶν ναυτικοῦ.

XIX. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Γλαύκιππος, ἀνὴρ τῶν δοκίμων ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ἐκπεμφθεὶς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τε καὶ τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων, οἷς μᾶλλον τι ἐπετέραπτο ἡ πόλις, τά τε τείχη ἐφὶ ἐθέλειν τοὺς Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς λιμένας παρέχειν κοινοὺς Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ Πέρσαις· καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπὶ τούτους λύειν ἴξιον.

2 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Γλαύκιππῳ μὲν προστάσσει ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πόλιν καὶ Μιλησίους ἐπαγγέλλειν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμένοις ἐσθῆν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιστήσας τῷ τείχῃ μηχανάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν καταβαλὼν δὲ ὁλίγου τῶν τεῖχῶν, τὰ δὲ κατασέλας ἐπὶ πολὺ προσῆγε τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπιβηθομένους ἢ κατερήμπτο ἢ ἑσσαύλευτο τὸ τείχος, ἐφομαρτούντων καὶ μόνων οὐ θεωμένων τῶν Περσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης πολιορκουμένως τοὺς φίλους σφῶν καὶ ἐμμάχοντο.

3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Νικάνορα ἀπὸ τῆς Λάδης τὴν ὀρμήν τῶν ἔνν Ἀλέξανδρῳ κατιδόντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐπέπλεον τῶν Μιλησίων, παρὰ γῆν τὴν εἴρεσιν ποιούμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἦπερ τὸ στενώτατον ἢ ἀντιπρόφορον βύζην τὰς τρῆρις ὀρμίσαντες ἀποκεκλείσαν τῷ μὲν Περσικῷ ναυτικῷ τὸν λιμένα, τοῖς Μιλησίοις δὲ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν ὑφέλειαν.

4 Ἐνθα οἱ Μιλησίοι τε καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι, πανταχόθεν ἢ ἔγειρος κατερημένους σφᾶς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ύπτιῶν ἐς ηὐσίδα τινα ἄνωνυμον, τῇ πόλει ἐπικειμένην, διενήχοντο, οἱ δὲ 80
it was seen sitting on the land, it meant (he thought) that he would beat the Persian fleet from the land.

XIX. Meanwhile, Glaucippus, one of the notables of Miletus, was sent to Alexander by the people and the mercenaries, to whose care the city was chiefly entrusted, and declared that the citizens were prepared to open their walls and harbours to Alexander and the Persians in common; and he demanded on these stipulations that he should raise the siege. Alexander, however, bade Glaucippus to be gone with all speed to the city and tell the citizens to be ready to fight at dawn. He personally saw to engines being set against the walls, and, partly by bombarding the wall at close quarters, and partly by battering it over a great distance, he brought up his force to be ready to rush in wherever the wall was breached or shaken. The Persians from Mycale were close by, and almost beheld their friends and allies under siege.

But now Nicanor's fleet from Lade sighted Alexander's attack, and sailed into the harbour of Miletus, rowing along the coast, and, jamming their triremes, bows seaward, at the narrowest part of the entrance had bottled up the harbour against the Persian fleet, and cut off Persian help for Miletus. Thereon the Milesians and the mercenaries, hard pressed on all sides by the Macedonians, some threw themselves into the sea and using their shields as coracles paddled over to a little nameless island
ές κελήτια ἐμβάινοντες καὶ ἐπειγόμενοι ὑποφθάσαι τάς τρήρεις τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐγκατελήφθησαν ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος πρὸς τῶν τριήρων· οἳ δὲ πόλλοι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει ἄπωλλυντο.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ἔχομένης ἡδὴ τῆς πόλεως, ἔπι τούς ἐς τὴν νῆσον καταπεφυγότας ἐπέπλευε αὐτός, κλίμακας φέρειν ἐπὶ τὰς πρώρας τῶν τριήρων κελεύσας, ὡς κατὰ τὰ ἀπότομα τῆς νῆσου, καθάπερ πρὸς τείχος, ἐκ τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν ποιησόμενος. Ὁς δὲ διακινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας τούς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ἑώρα, οἰκτος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι γενναῖοι τε καὶ πιστοὶ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, καὶ σπένδεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ τάδε ὡς αὐτῷ ἤστρατευεῖν ἦσαν δὲ οὕτωι μισθοφόροι Ἔλληνες ἐς τριακοσίους αὐτοὺς δὲ Μιλησίους, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσον, ἀφῆκε καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἰναι ἔδωκεν.

7 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ τῆς Μυκάλης ὄρμωμεν ταῖς μὲν ἡμέραις ἐπέπλεον τῷ Ἐλληνικῷ ναυτικῷ, προκαλέσασθαι εἰς ναυμαχίαν ἐπιζουτες, τὰς δὲ νύκτας πρὸς τῇ Μυκάλῃ οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἀρμίζοντο, ὅτι ὑδρεύοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου πτομαῖοι τῶν ἐκβολῶν διὰ μακροῦ ἡναγακάζοντο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ τῶν λιμένα ἑφύλαττε τῶν Μιλησίων, ὡς μὴ βιάσσαντο οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἐςπλοῦν. Ἐκπέμπει δὲ ἐς τὴν Μυκάλην Φιλώταν, ἀγοντα τοὺς τε ἵππες καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις τρεῖς, παραγγείλας εἴργειν τῆς ἀποβάσεως τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. Οἱ δὲ, ὕδατός τε σπάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ πολιορκουμένοι ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἐς Σάμον ἀπέπλευσαν· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἐπισιτισάμενοι αὐθίς ἐπέπλεον τῇ
near the city, others got into pinnaces and hurrying to get in front of the Macedonian triremes were caught by them at the harbour entrance; but the greater number perished in the city itself.

Alexander, the city being now in hand, sailed off against those who had fled to the islet, ordering ladders to be brought to the bows of the triremes so as to disembark from the ships on the cliffs of the islands as if on a city wall. But seeing that those on the island were going to fight to the death, he felt compassion for them, as noble and loyal soldiers, and made terms with them that they should join his forces; there were about 300 of these Greek mercenaries. The Milesians themselves, save such as fell at the final assault, he dismissed with their freedom.

The Persians using Mycale as a base by daytime used to sail towards the Greek navy, hoping to provoke an engagement; but at night they did not ride in comfort at Mycale, because they were obliged to get water from the mouths of the Maeander, some way off. Alexander with his fleet guarded the harbour of Miletus, that the Persians might not force the entrance, but he sent Philotas to Mycale with the cavalry and three columns of infantry, bidding him hinder the Persians from disembarking. So they, from want of water and other things, were as good as besieged in their ships, and sailed off to Samos; provisioning there, they made for Miletus
9 Μιλήτω. Καλ τάς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν μετεώρῳ παρέταξαν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκαλέσαιRefs to 'τὸ πέλαγος τοὺς Μακεδόνας' πέντε δὲ αὐτῶν εἰσέπλευσαν εἰς τὸν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Δάδης νῆσου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου λιμένα, ἐλπίζοντες κενὰς καταλήψεις θαί τὰς 'Αλέξανδρον ναῦς, ὅτι τους ναύσας ἀποσκεδάσσηθαι τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φυγανισμῷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ξυγκομιδῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς προνομᾶς ταττομένους, πεπυσμένους ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ μέρος μὲν τι ἅπνη τῶν ναυτῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ξυμπληρῶσας 'Αλέξανδρος δέκα ναύς, ὡς προσπλεύσας τὰς πέντε τῶν Περσῶν κατεῖδε, πέμπει ἐπὶ αὐτὰς κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἐμβάλλεις ἀντιπρόφορος καλεύσας. Οἱ δὲ εἰς ταῖς πέντε ναυσὶ τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς παρ’ ἐπισθα ἀναγομένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, ὑποστρέψαντες ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔφευγον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἱασσέως ναῦς ἄλισκεναι αὐτοῖς ἀνδρᾶσιν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, οὔ ταχυναυτοῦσα, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἐφθα- σαν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὰς οἰκείας τριήρεις. Όúτω μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλευσαν ἄπρακτοι εἴκ Μιλήτου οἱ Πέρσαι.

XX. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ καταλύσαι ἔγγον το ναυτικὸν χρημάτων τε ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπορίᾳ καὶ ἀμα σφῆς ἀξιόμαχον ὄρὸν το αὐτοῦ ναυτικὸν τῷ Περσικῷ, οὐκοῦν οὐδ’ ἐθέλων μέρει τῷ τῆς στρατιᾶς κινδυνεύειν. Ἀλλὰς τε ἐπενοεῖ, κατέχων ἦδη τῷ πεζῷ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτι οὔτε ναυτικοῦ ἐτί δέοιτο, τάς τε παραλίους πόλεις λαβὼν καταλύσει τὸ Περσῶν ναυτικόν, οὔτε ὄποθεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας συμπληρώσουσιν οὔτε ὅπῃ τῆς Ἀσίας.
again. The mass of their vessels they drew up in line out at sea opposite the harbour, hoping to provoke the Macedonians to action in the open; but five ships slipped into the harbour between Lade and the camp, hoping to capture Alexander's ships unmanned, having learned that the crews had for the most part scattered, some to fuel, some to convoy stores, and some detailed for foraging. There was indeed a certain number away from the ships; but Alexander manned ten ships with the available hands, and when he sighted the five Persian ships bearing down, sent these to meet them at full speed with orders to ram. The crews of the five Persian ships, seeing the Macedonians making for them (the last thing they expected), doubled back, while still at safe distance, and joined the main fleet. One ship (manned by Iassians) was captured with its crew in the retreat, being a slow sailer; the other four got safe to their own triremes. Thus the Persians left Miletus with nothing done.

XX. Alexander now decided to disband his navy, both from want of money at the time and also perceiving that his fleet could not face an action with the Persian navy; he had no intention to risk disaster with even a portion of his armament. Further, he reflected that as he now held Asia with his land troops, he no longer needed a navy, and that by capturing the Persian coast bases he would break up their fleet, since they would have nowhere to make up their crews from; and, in fact, no seaport
προσέξουσιν ἔχουσας. Καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ταύτης
συνέβαλλεν ὅτε ἐσήμηνεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς ἡγῆς
κρατήσεως τῶν νεῶν.
2 Ταύτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐστέλ-
λετο, ὅτι ἐν Ἁλικαρνασσῷ συνεστηκέναι οὐ
φαύλην δύναμιν τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ ξένων
ἐξηγγέλλετο. Ὅσαί δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεως Μιλήτου
τε καὶ Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ, ταύτας εἰς ἐφόδου λαβὼν
καταστρατοπεδεύει πρὸς Ἁλικαρνασσῷ, ἀπέχουν
τῆς πόλεως ἐς πέντε μάλιστα στάδια, ὡς ἐπὶ
3 χρονίῳ πολιορκία. "Ἡ τε γὰρ φύσις τοῦ χωρίου
ὀχυρῶν ἔποιει αὐτὸ καὶ ὅτι τι ἐνδεῖν ὡς πρὸς
ἀσφάλειαν ἐφαίνετο, ξύμπαντα ταύτα Μέμνων
τε αὐτὸς παρὼν, ἥδη ἀποδεδειγμένος πρὸς Δαρείου
τῆς τε κάτω Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς
ἡγεμόνος, ἐκ πολλῶν παρεσκευάκει, καὶ στρατιῶται
πολλοὶ μὲν ξένοι μισθοφόροι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκατε-
λείφθησαν, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Περσῶν αὐτῶν· αἰτε
τε τρεῖρες ἐφώρμουν τῷ λιμένι, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
ναυτῶν πολλῆς ἀφέλειαν γύνεσθαι ἐς τὰ ἔργα.
4 Τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ προσάγοντος Ἁλεξ-
άνδρου τῷ τείχει κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ Μύλασα φεροῦσας
πύλας, ἐκδρομὴ τε γύρωται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
καὶ ἄκροβολισμός· καὶ τούτους οὐ χαλεπῶς
ἀνεστειλάν τε οἱ παρ᾽ Ἁλεξάνδρου ἀντεκδρα-
μόντες καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατέκλεισαν.
5 Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὡστερον ἡμέραις Ἁλεξάνδρου
ἀναλαβῶν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν
ἐταίρων ἱππῶν καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου τε καὶ Περδίκκου
καὶ Μελεάγρου τάξιν τὴν πεζικήν, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ-
τοις τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀργιᾶντας, περιήλθε
1 ἐφώρμουν Α2 and other MSS. B read ἐφώρμηστο.
in Asia. Thus he took the eagle to mean that he should conquer the ships from dry land.

When he had settled this he marched towards Caria, having had reports that a considerable force of Persians and mercenaries had assembled at Halicarnassus. Such cities as lie between Miletus and Halicarnassus he captured on the march, and then encamped against Halicarnassus, at five stades distance, settling down for a long siege. For the position of the place made it very strong, and if anything was needed to strengthen it, Memnon had personally seen to this long ago; from the moment he was marked out by Dareius for command of all lower Asia and of the whole fleet; a large force of mercenaries had been left in the city, with many Persians also; the triremes guarded the harbour, so that the sailors too lent much assistance.

On the first day it fell out that as Alexander was approaching the wall near the gates leading to Mylasa there was a sally from the city and volleys at safe distance; this attack Alexander's troops had no difficulty in driving back by a counter sally, and also safely shut up the attacking party in their walls again.

A few days later Alexander led off his guards, the territorial cavalry, and the infantry battalion of Amyntas, Perdiccas, and Meleager, with the archers and the Agrianes, and went round the city to the
τῆς πόλεως τὸ πρὸς Μύνδου μέρος, τὸ τείχος κατοψόμενος, εἰ ταύτῃ ἐπιμαχώτερον τυγχάνει ὅν ἐσ τῆν προσβολὴν καὶ ἀμα εἰ τὴν Μύνδου ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δύνατο λαθῶν κατασχεῖν· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ οὐ σμικρὰν τὴν ὀφέλειαν ἐσ τὴν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ πολιορκίαν τὴν Μύνδου οἰκεῖαν γενομένην καὶ τι καὶ ἐνεδίδοτο αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν 6 Μυνδίων, εἰ λάθοι νυκτὸς προσελθῶν. Ἀυτὸς μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ ἧνυγκείμενα ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας προσήλθε τῷ τείχει· ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνεδίδοτο ἀπὸ τῶν ένδυον, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ αἱ κλίμακες αὐτῷ οὐ παρῆσαν, οί δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολιορκίαν σταλέντει, ἀλλὰ ως ἐπὶ προδοσία ἐνεδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως, προσήγαγε καὶ ὡς τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν θάλαγγα, 7 ὑπορυττεῖν κελεύσας τὸ τείχος. Καὶ ἔνα γε πῦργον κατέβαλον οἱ Μακεδόνες· οὐ μέντοι ἐγώνωσὲ γε τὸ τείχος πεσῶν· καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀμα εὐρόστως ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ κατὰ θάλασσαν πολλοὶ ἤδη παραβεβηκτήκοτες ἀπορον ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν αὐτοσχέδιον τε καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατάληψιν τῆς Μύνδου. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἐπανέρχεται Ἀλεξάνδρος οὐδὲν πράξας ὅπως ἐνεκα ὁρμήθη, καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ αὕτης προσεῖχε. 8 Καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν τάφρον, ἢ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρόμυκτο αὐτοῖς, πλάτος μὲν τριάκοντα μάλιστα πῆχεων, βάθος δὲ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἔχωνυν, τοῦ βαδίαν εἰναι τὴν προσαγωγὴν τῶν τε πῦργων, ἀφ' ὃν ἐμελλε τοὺς ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τοῦ τείχους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηχανῶν, αἷς κατασείειν ἐπενόει τὸ τείχος. Καὶ ἢ τε τάφρος αὐτῷ ἐχώσθη οὐ
side that lay Myndus-ward; his idea was to reconnoitre the wall in case it should prove more open to an assault there, and also to see if perhaps he could capture Myndus by a sudden raid. The capture of Myndus, he thought, would be a great help to a siege of Halicarnassus. A proposal of surrender had been received from Myndus, provided he could arrive there by night. He therefore approached Myndus about midnight, as agreed; but there was no sign of surrender; his engines and ladders he had left behind—naturally enough, since he had not come to besiege, but to receive a treacherous surrender of the city. None the less he brought up the Macedonian phalanx with orders to sap the wall. One tower they did throw down; yet in its fall it did not strip the wall; the defenders stoutly resisted, and numerous troops by this time had sailed up from Halicarnassus and prevented Alexander from rushing the capture of Myndus. So Alexander retreated with this project a failure, and he kept once more to the siege of Halicarnassus.

First he filled level the moat which they had dug before the city, about 30 cubits broad and 15 deep; this was to facilitate the approach of the towers, from which he intended to bombard by volleys of missiles the defenders of the wall, as also of the other engines intended to batter the walls. The ditch was
9 χαλεπῶς καὶ οἱ πῦργοι προσήγουντο ἥδη. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ νυκτὸς ἐκδραμόντες, ὡς ἐμπρήσαι τοὺς τε πῦργους καὶ ὅσαι ἀλλαὶ μηχαναὶ προσηγμέναι ἦν οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ προσάγεσθαι ἦσαν, ὕπο τῶν φυλακῶν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ ὅσοι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐξεγερθέντες παρεβοηθήσαν οὐ χαλεπῶς κατεκλείσθησαν ἐς τὰ τείχη αὐθίς.

10 Καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε ἐς ἐξομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ Νεόπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀρραβαῖος, τοῦ Ἀμίντου ἀδελφός, τῶν παρὰ Δαρείου αὐτομολησάντων. Τῶν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιωτῶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐς ἐκκαίδεκα, τραυματία πετ ἐγένοντο ἐς τριακοσίων, ὅτι ἐν νυκτὶ γενομένης τῆς ἐκδρομῆς ἀφυλακτότεροι ἐς τὸ τιτρώσκεσθαι ἦσαν.

XXI. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ύστερον δύο τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀπλίται ἐκ τῆς Περδίκκου τάξεως, ξυσκηνοῦντες τε καὶ ἄμα ξυμπιένουτες, αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐκάτερος ἐπὶ μέγα τῷ λόγῳ ἤγεν. Ἐνθα δὴ φιλοτιμία τε ἐσπίπτει αὐτοῖς, καὶ τι καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὑπεθέρμανεν, ὡστε ὁπλισάμενοι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ σφῶν προσβάλλουσι τῷ τείχῃ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν τὴν πρὸς Μύλασα μᾶλλον τετραμμένην, ὡς ἐπίδειξιν τῆς σφῶν ῥώμης μᾶλλον τι ἡ πρὸς πολεμίους μετὰ κινδύνου τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιησόμενοι.

2 Καὶ τούτους κατεδόντες τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως δύο τε ὄντας καὶ οὐ ξύν λογισμὸ προσφερομένους τῷ τείχῃ ἐπεκθέουσιν. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐγγύς πελάσαντας ἀπέκτειναν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας ἥκροβολίζοντο, πλεονεκτούμενοι τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι, ὡς ἐξ ύπερδεξίων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ τε καὶ ὁ
filled up without difficulty and the towers soon were brought up. The Halicarnassians, however, made a night sally, to burn the towers and the other engines which had been brought up, or were in position shortly so to be. But the attackers were easily enclosed again in their city walls by the Macedonian guards and others who, waking up in the course of the action, rushed to their help. The city lost 170 men, including Neoptolemus son of Arrabaeus, brother of Amyntas, one of those who had deserted to Dareius: of Alexander's troops there fell about sixteen, but three hundred were wounded, since—the sally being at night—they were less protected against wounds.

XXI. Not many days after, two Macedonian men-at-arms of Perdiccas' battalion, bivouacked together and drinking together, were each exalting his own prowess and deeds: rivalry arose, assisted by the heating fumes of wine; so they armed themselves and attacked the wall by the height which looks Mylasa way; their idea being to exhibit their strength rather than to force a perilous encounter with the enemy. Some in the city sighted the rash pair approaching the wall, and made a dash out upon them, slaying both these two men, who were close up, and showering volleys on the more distant troops, confident in their number and in the difficulty of the ground, since the Halicarnassians had the advantage of height for their charge and
3 ἀκροβολοσμὸς ἐγίνετο. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀντεκθέουσι τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τοῦ Περδίκκου στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλκαρνασσοῦ ἄλλοι καὶ ξυμπλήττει μάχη καρτερὰ πρὸς τῷ τείχει. Καὶ κατακλείονται αὖθις πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων εἰσω τῶν πυλῶν οἱ ἐπεκδραμόντες. Παρ' ὅλον δὲ ἦλθε καὶ ἄλωναι ἥ πόλεις. Τά τε γὰρ τείχη ἐν τῷ τότε οὐκ ἐν ἀκριβεῖ φυλακῇ ἦν καὶ δύο πύργοι καὶ μεσοπύργιον ἡς ἐδαφος καταπέπτωκότα οὐχ ἡ χαλέπη ἄν τῷ στρατεύματι, εἰ ἀπαντεῖς προσήγαντο τοῦ ἑγγος, τῇ ἐσ τὸ τείχος πάροδον παρέσχε. Καὶ ὁ τρίτος πύργος κατασεσσευμένος οὐδὲ οὕτως χαλεπῶς ἀν ἥρειφθη ύπορυσσόμενος· ἀλλὰ ἔβησαν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπτωκότος τείχους ἐσωθεὶν πλάνων μηνοείδες ἀντοικοδομησάμενοι οὐ γιὰς, ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας. 5 Καὶ τούτῳ ἐπῆγε τῇ υστεραιὰ τὰς μηχανὰς Ἀλέξανδρος· καὶ ἐκδρομὴ αὖθις γίνεται τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς μηχανὰς. Καὶ μέρος μέν τι τῶν πλησίων τοῦ τείχους γέρρων καὶ ἐνὸς τῶν πύργων τῶν ξυλίων κατεκαθήθη, τά δὲ ἄλλα διεφύλαξαν οἱ περὶ Φιλώταν τι καὶ Ἐλλάνικου, οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὐτῶν ἐπετετραπτοῦ· ὡς δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεφάνη ἐν τῇ ἐκδρομῇ, τάς τε δάδας ὡς ἔχουσι ἐκβεβοθήκεσαν ἀφέντες καὶ τά ὅπλα οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἔψαντες εἰσώ τοῦ τείχους ἐφευγοῦν. 6 Καίτοι τά γε πρῶτα τῇ φύσει τε τοῦ χωρίου, ὑπερδεξίου δυντος, ἐπεκράτον καὶ οὐ κατὰ μετωπων μόνον ἄκροβολίζοντο ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τοὺς μηχανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πύργων, οἰ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐρημμένου τείχους αὐτοὶ ὑπολειμμένοι ἐκ πλαγίου τε καὶ μόνον οὐ κατὰ
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their volleys. On this more of Perdiccas’ men hurried up, and others from the city too, and a stiff fight raged about the wall. Once more the Macedonians drove the sallying force back into the city, and indeed the City was not far from being captured. For the walls were not then carefully guarded, and as two towers and one intervening curtain had fallen, the approach to the wall had become easy for the army, had they all attacked together. The third tower, moreover, had been badly shaken, and if undermined would easily have been brought down, but the besieged had smartly built out opposite the breach from within a crescent-shaped brick wall, and as they had plenty of builders, they did so with ease.

Alexander next day brought up his engines against this wall; promptly a sally was made to burn them. Part of the fence of mantlets near the walls and one of the wooden towers were burnt; the rest was saved by Philotas and Hellanicus and their men, who were entrusted with the care of them. But when Alexander also appeared in the assault, they threw away the torches with which they had rushed out, and most cast away their arms and made within the wall. Yet at first, from the position, which was commanding, the besieged had the best of it, and did not only volley straight ahead along their line at the advance guard of the engines, but also from the towers left standing on either side of the breach, which enabled them to volley on the flanks,
νότου παρείχον ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐς τοὺς τῷ ἀντφωκοδομημένῳ τείχει προσάγοντας.

XXII. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ὑπέρειν ἡμέραις ἐπά-
γοντος αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρον τὰς μηχανὰς τῷ πλαν-
θίνῳ τῷ ἐντὸς τείχει καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφηστηκότος τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐκδρομῇ γίνεται πανδημεῖ κὲ τῆς πόλεως τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐρημιμένου τείχους, ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀλέ-
ξανδρός ἐπετέτακτο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον,
ἡ οὐδὲ πάνω τι προσδεχομένοι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν
2 ἦν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν δάδας τε ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐνεβαλ-
λον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἐξάγει τε φλόγα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα προκαλέσασθαι τῶν δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρο
αὐτῶν τε ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐρρωμένως καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων λίθων τε μεγά-
λων ἀφιμένων καὶ βελῶν ἱξακοντιζομένων, οὐ
χαλεπῶς ἀπεστράφησαν τε καὶ ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν
3 πόλιν. Καὶ φόνος ταῦτῃ οὔκ ὁλίγος ἐγένετο, ὅσο
πλείονες τε καὶ ξὺν μείζονι τῇ τόλμῃ ἐξέδραμον.
Οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἄειδας ἐλθόντες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν
ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ τείχει τῷ καταπετω-
κότε, στενωτέρας τε ἡ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν
τῆς παρόδου οὕσις καὶ τῶν κατερημιμένων του
τείχους χαλεπῆς τὴν ὑπέρβασιν αὐτοῖς παρε-
χόντων.

4 Τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ Τρίπυλον ἐκδραμοῦσιν ἀπῆρτα
Πτολεμαῖος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ ὁ Βασιλικός, τὴν τε
Ἀδδαίου καὶ Τιμάνδρου ἁμα ὁ τάξιν ἁγιῶν καὶ
ἔστιν οὗς τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ οὕτως οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ χαλεπῶς
5 ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ἐννέβη δὲ καὶ
tούτοις ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει κατὰ στενῆς γέφυραν
tὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τάφρου πεποιημένην φεύγουσι τὴν τε
γέφυραν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πλῆθους ἕνωτρεῖσαι καὶ πολ
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and almost at the rear, of those who approached the new-built wall.

XXII. A few days afterwards Alexander again brought up his engines to the inner brick wall, taking charge of operations himself, and there was a sally in full force; some of the enemy attacked near the breach, where Alexander was, others at the triple gate, the last place the Macedonians looked for a sally. Some flung torches at the siege engines, and anything else which might light a flame and spread it to the utmost; but Alexander’s immediate supports counter-attacked vigorously; large stones were hurled by the engines from the towers, bullets were showered in volleys, and the besieged were fairly easily repulsed and fled back to the city. They suffered a good deal of loss, proportionate to the number of the attackers and the boldness of their sally. Some fell in hand-to-hand fight with the Macedonians, others about the fallen wall, the passage being too narrow to admit such a number and the fallen parts of the wall making it difficult to pass over them.

As for those who sallied by the triple gate, Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard of Alexander, met them, bringing up the battalions of Addaeus and Timander, and some of the light troops; these too fairly easily drove back the sallying party. This also suffered in the retreat over a narrow bridge thrown over the moat; the bridge gave way under their
λόγος αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεσόντας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ σφόν καταπατηθέντας διαφθαρῆτι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ 6 ἀνωθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων βαλλομένους. 'Ο πλείστος δὲ φόνος περὶ ταῖς πύλαις αὐταῖς ἐυνέβη, ὦτι ἡ ἐξυγκλείσεις τῶν πυλῶν φοβερά τε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ γενομένη, δεισάντων μὴ συνεισπέσοιεν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἔχομενοι αὐτῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φίλων τῆς εἰσόδου ἀπέκλεισεν, οὕς πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῖς τείχεσιν οἱ 7 Μακεδόνες διεθείραν. Καὶ παρ' ὅλιγον ἦκεν ἀλῶναι ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνεκαλέσατο τὸ στράτευμα, ἐτε διασώσασθαι θέλειν τὴν Ἀλικαρνασσόν, εἰ τὶ φίλοιον ἐνδοθείη ἐκ τῶν Ἀλικαρνασσέων. Ἀπεθανοῦν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἐξὶν Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἅμφι τοὺς τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ἐν τούτοις Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ σωματοφύλαξ καὶ Κλέαρχος ὁ τοξάρχης καὶ Ἀδδαίος χιλιάρχης, οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακεδόνων.

XXIII. Ἔνθεα δὴ ἐξυπνεότοις οἱ γεγειμόνες τῶν Περσῶν, Ὄροντοβάτης τε καὶ Μέμνων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων γνώντες σφᾶς τε οὐ δυναμένως ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχειν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ τείχους τὸ μὲν τι καταπεπτωκός ἡδὴ ὁρώντες, τὸ δὲ κατασεισμένον, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς τοὺς μὲν διεθηραμένους, τους δὲ 2· καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τετράσθαι ἀπομάχοντος ὀντα, ταῦτα ἐν χρόνῳ λαβόντες ἅμφι δευτέραν φυλακήν τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν τε ξύλων πύργον δι' ἄυτοι ἀντρικοδόμησαν ταῖς μηχαναῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπρασί καὶ τὰς 3 στοὰς ἐν αἷς τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς ἀπέκειτο. Ἐνέβαλ· 80 lον δὲ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις πυρ ταῖς πλησίων τοῦ
numbers, many fell into the moat, some were trampled by their comrades, some the Macedonians shot down from above. The greatest slaughter was round about the gates themselves; for the gates were shut prematurely in panic, the defenders fearing lest the Macedonians, pressing hard upon the fugitives, might enter also; thus many friends were shut out, to be destroyed by their foes close to the walls. The city indeed came near to capture, had not Alexander sounded the retreat, desirous even now of saving Halicarnassus if the citizens would surrender without further hostility. About a thousand of these perished, of Alexander’s forces about forty; among these were Ptolemaeus, captain of the bodyguard, Clearchus, in charge of the archers, Addaeus, a captain of thousand, and other Macedonians of repute.

XXIII. On this the leaders of the Persians, Orontobates and Memnon, met and decided that as things were they could not long hold out against the siege, with part of the wall gone, as they saw, and part badly shaken, many soldiers lost in the sallies, many disabled by wounds. Reviewing all this, about the second watch of the night they burned the wooden tower which they had built to oppose the enemy engines, and also their armouries. They fired as well all houses near the walls, others caught
τείχους· τῶν δὲ καὶ προσῆψατο ἡ φλοξ ἀπὸ τε τῶν στοίχων καὶ τοῦ πύργου πολλή ἐπενεχθεῖσα καὶ τό καὶ τοῦ ἀνέμου ταύτη ἐπιφέροντος· αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀρκόνυσον ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλμακίδα ἄκραν οὕτω καλουμένην.

4 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη ταύτα ἐκ τινῶν αὐτομολυσάντων ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ τὸ πῦρ πολὺ καθέωρα αὐτός, καὶ διὸ ἀμφὶ μέσας που νῦκτας ἦν τὸ γυμνόμενον, ὁ δὲ καὶ δός ἐξάγων τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ἐμπιπτάντας τὴν πόλιν ἐκτενὲς, ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καταλαμβάνοντο τῶν Ἀλικαρνασσῶν, τούτους δὲ σώζειν παρῆγγειλεν.

5 Ἡδὴ τε ἐως ὑπέφαινε καὶ κατιδών τὰς ἄκρας ὑπὸ τὴν Πέρσαν καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι κατειλήφθεσαν, ταύτας μὲν ἀπέγυμνω πολιορκεῖν, τριβὴν τε ἐπινόου ὡς ὁ λύγης ἐσεβάθαι οἱ ἄμφω ἀυτὰς τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων καὶ οὗ παρὰ μέγα εἶναι ἐξελόντι οἱ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη πᾶσαν. Ὁμιλεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τὰς μὲν μηχανὰς ἐς Τράλλας ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τεταγμένους· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατασκάψας, αὐτὴς τε ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπτόν ξένους μὲν πεζῶς τρισχίλλους, ἰππεῖς δὲ ἐς διακοσίους καὶ Πτολεμαίον ἱγμενῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐστέλλετο.

6 Ὁ τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπεῖαν ἔταξεν Ὁσίῳ, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἐκατόμμων, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰδρείως, διὸ καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς ἄνω κατὰ νόμον τῶν Καρῶν ἴσως. Καὶ ὅ μὲν Ἰδρείως τελευτῶν ταύτη ἐπέτρεψε τὰ πράγματα, νεομισμένον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐτι ἀπὸ Σεμεράμεως καὶ γυναῖκας ἄρχειν.
fire from the armouries and the tower, where it burned furiously, the wind wafting it in this direction; as for themselves, part retreated to the citadel on the island, part into the height called Salmakis. As soon as this news was reported to Alexander from some who had deserted after the disaster, and as he himself saw the fire spreading, though it took place about midnight, none the less he called up his Macedonians and put to the sword any incendiaries caught in the act, while advising that any citizens found in the houses should be saved.

Dawn was breaking; and observing the heights which the Persians and the mercenaries had seized, he decided not to besiege these, considering that it would mean much delay round about them, owing to the nature of the ground, and no great advantage now he had captured the whole city. He buried, therefore, those who had fallen during the night, and ordered the troops detailed for the purpose to withdraw the siege engines to Tralles. Then he razed to the ground the city and left a garrison for the destroyed city and for all Caria, and he despatched three thousand mercenary foot, two hundred horse, under Ptolemaeus, to Phrygia. As satrap of entire Caria he appointed Ada, daughter of Hecatomnus, wife of Hidrieus, who according to Carian custom was both brother and husband. Hidrieus on his death had handed over affairs to her; from Semiramis down, the Asians had been used to women rulers.
Ἀνδρῶν. Πιξώδαρος δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκβάλλει τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ κατείχε τὰ πράγματα. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Πιξώδαρον, Ὄροντοβάτης τὴν Καρῶν ἄρχην ἐκ βασιλέως πεμφθεὶς εἶχε, γαμβρὸς δὲν Πιξώδαρον. Ἄδα δὲ Ἀλινδα μὸνον κατείχε, χωρίον τῆς Καρίας ἐν τοῖς ὁχυρώτατοι, καὶ ἐσβαλόντι Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐς Καρίαν ἠπήντα, τὰ τε Ἀλινδα ἐνδιδούσα καὶ παῖδα οἱ τιθεμένη Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ τε Ἀλινδα αὐτὴ ἐπέτρεψε καὶ τὸ ὅνομα τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀπηκένεσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀλικαρνασσὸν τε ἐξεῖλε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Καρίας ἑπεκράτησεν, αὐτὴ ἀρχειν ἀπάσης ἐδωκε.

XXIV. Τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐστίν οἱ συνεστρατευμένοι Ἀλέξανδρος ἦσαν νεωτί πρὸ τῆς στρατείας γεγαμηκότες· καὶ τούτων ἐγών οὐκ ἀμελητέα εἶναι οἱ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ’ ἐκπέμπει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκ Καρίας διαχειμάσοντας ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἀμα ταῖς γυναιξί, ἐπιτάξας αὐτοῖς Πτολεμαίον τοῦ Σελεύκου, ἕνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Κοῖνον τοῦ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρον τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν νεογάμων ἦσαν, προστάξας, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ τοῦ ἐπανίσθη καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν ἐκπεμφθέντας ἐπανάγωσε, καταλέξαι ἱππεὰς τε καὶ πεζοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅσους πλείστος. Καὶ τὸ ἕργον τῶν, εἰπέρ τινι ἄλλῳ, εὐδοκίμησε παρὰ Μακεδόνιον Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ Κλέανδρον τῶν Πολεμοκράτων ἐπὶ ξυλλογῇ στρατιῶτῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον.

3 Παρμενίωνα δὲ πέμπει ἐπὶ Σάρδεων, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἐναρρων ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς Θεταλοὺς
Pixodarus, however, turned her out of her position and assumed the throne himself. On his death Orontobates, as envoy from the king and brother-in-law of Pixodarus, took over. Ada meanwhile held Alinda only, a very strong fortress of Caria; and when Alexander entered Caria she went to meet him, surrendering Alinda and adopting Alexander as her son. Alexander gave Alinda back to her in charge, and did not reject the adoptive title, and on the capture of Halicarnassus and the rest of Caria, put her in command of the whole.

XXIV. Some of the Macedonians serving under Alexander had been recently married before taking the field; Alexander thought he ought not to neglect these men, but sent them off from Caria to spend the winter with their wives in Macedonia, putting in charge of them Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, one of the royal bodyguard, and attaching to him, of the officers, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus, being themselves bridegrooms. He directed them, when they should return and bring back their convoy, to collect horse and foot from the country, as many as they could. Alexander gained as much popularity by this act among the Macedonians as by any other. He sent also Cleander son of Polemocrates to collect troops from the Peloponnese.

Parmenio he sent to Sardes, giving him a squadron of the territorial cavalry, the Thessalian cavalry,
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ιπτέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυμάχους καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἄγειν καὶ κελεύει προϊέναι ἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Δυκίας τε καὶ Παμφυλίας ἔδω, ὡς τῆς παραλίου κρατήσας ἀχρείον καταστήσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ ναυτικόν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν παρόδῳ Ὁπαρνα, χωρίον ὄχυρον, φυλακὴν ἔχουν ἔξους μισθοφόρους, ἐξ ἑφόδου ἐλαβεν οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἔνει ὑπόστονδοι ἐξῆλθον. Ἐπείτα ἐισβάλον ἐς Δυκίαν Τελμισσέας μὲν ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο· περάσας δὲ τῶν Ξάνθων ποταμῶν Πίναρα καὶ Ξάνθων τὴν πόλιν καὶ Πάταρα ἐνδοθέντα ἐλαβε καὶ ἄλλα ἐλάττων πολύσματα ἐς τριάκοντα.

5 Ταῦτα καταπράξας ἐν ἀκμῇ ἢδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ἂς τὴν Μιλνάδα καλουμένην χώραν εἰσβάλλει, ἢ ἔστι μὲν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας, ξυνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Δυκίαν τότε, οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένου. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Φασηλίτων πρέσβεις ἤκον περὶ φιλίας τε καὶ χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ στεφανῶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπικερκυρεύμενοι ἐπρέσβευοι Δυκίων τῶν κάτω

6 οἱ πολλοὶ. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Φασηλίτας τε καὶ Δυκίων παραδόνται τὰς πόλεις τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο στελλομένους ἐκέλευσε· καὶ παρεδόθησαν ἔξυμπασαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁλίγῃ ὑστερον ἐς τὴν Φασηλίδα παραγενόμενος συνεξαιρεῖ αὐτοῖς φρούριον ὄχυρον, ἐπιτετείχισμενον τῇ χώρᾳ πρὸς Πισιδῶν, ὅθεν ὀρμώμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι πολλὰ ἐξβλάπτον τῶν Φασηλίτων τοὺς τὴν γην ἐργαζομένους.

XXV. Ἐτὶ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Φασηλίδα ὄντι ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Ἀερόποτον ἐπιβουλεῦει, τά τε ἄλλα τῶν ἐταίρων ὅντα καὶ
the other allies and the chariots; he bade him proceed from Sardes to Phrygia; but he himself went towards Lycia and Pamphylia, so that, now he held the coast, he might render useless the enemy’s navy. First then on his route he took in his stride Hypanna, a strong place, with a mercenary garrison; but the mercenaries, receiving terms, marched out of the citadel. Then entering Lycia he took over, by surrender, the Telmisseans; crossing the Xanthus, he received Pinara and Xanthus city and Patara in submission, and thirty smaller strongholds.

When he had completed all this, in the height of winter, as it now was, he attacked the Milyan territory, as it is called; it belongs to Greater Phrygia, but was reckoned then as part of Lycia, according to the king’s orders. There envoys from Phaselis come to offer friendly relations and to crown Alexander with a gold crown; taking the lead from them the greater part of Lower Lycia also sent envoys. Alexander bade both the envoys of Phaselis and the Lycians to hand over their cities to those whom he despatched to take them over; and they were all duly handed over. He came soon after to Phaselis, and took, in conjunction with these, a strong outpost, built to threaten this district by Pisidians, and from which the natives often did much injury to those of Phaselis who were tilling the ground.

XXV. While Alexander was still busied about Phaselis, he received news that his namesake, son of Aeropus, was meditating treachery—one of the “Companions,” \(^1\) and at the moment commanding

\(^1\) See Introductory Note.
ἐν τῷ τοτε Θεσσαλῶν τῆς ἱπποῦ ἀρχοντα. Ἡν μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὗτος ἀδελφὸς Ἡρομένους 
τε καὶ Ἀρραβαλὰ τῶν ξυνεπιλαβόντων τῆς 
2 σφαγῆς τῆς Φιλίππων· καὶ τότε αὐτίαν σχόντα 
αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις τε 
ἀφίκετο τῶν φίλων παρ’ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ Φιλίππος 
ἐπελεύησε, καὶ τὸν θώρακα συνενδύσα συνηκο- 
λούθησεν αὐτῶ εἰς τὰ βασιλεία· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ 
ἐν τιμῇ ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν ἐχε, στρατηγὸν τε ἐπὶ 
Θράκης στείλας, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κάλας ὁ τῶν 
Θεσσαλῶν ἰππαρχὸς ἐπὶ σατραπεῖα ἐξεπέμφθη, 
αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξεν ἀρχεῖν τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς ἱπποῦ. 
Τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμονῆς ἐξηγηγέλθη ὡδε.

3 Δαρείως, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμύντος αὐτομολήσας παρ’ 
αὐτῶν λόγους τε τινας καὶ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ 
Ἀλέξανδρου τούτου ἐκόμισε, καταπέμπει ἐπὶ 
θάλασσαν Σισίνην, ἀνδρα. Πέρσην τῶν ἀμφ’ 
αὐτῶν πιστῶν, πρόφασιν μὲν παρὰ Ἁτιζῆν, τὸν 
Φρυγίας σατράπην, τῇ δὲ ἄληθείᾳ τῷ Ἀλεξάν- 
δρῳ τούτῳ συνεσόμενον καὶ πίστεις δώσοντα, 
εἰ ἀποκτείνει βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον, αὐτὸν βα- 
σιλέα καταστήσει τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ χρυσίῳ 
τάλαντα πρὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιδιόρθεῖν χίλια.

4 Ὡ δὲ Σισίνης ἀλοῦς πρὸς Παρμενίωνος λέγει 
πρὸς Παρμενίωνα ὃν ἔνεκα ἀπεστάλη· καὶ τοῦ- 
τον [ἀυτίκα] ἐν φυλακῇ πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ’ 
Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ πυθάνεται ταυτὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ 
Ἀλέξανδρος. Συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους βουλὴν 
προὔτιθη· ὅ τι χρῆ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γνώναι.

5 Καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐταίροις μὴν πάλαι εὐ βε- 
βουλεύσθαι τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἀνδρὶ οὐ 
πιστῷ ἐπιτρέψας, νῦν τε χρῆναι αὐτὸν κατὰ 
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the Thracian cavalry. This Alexander was brother to Heromenes and Arrabaeus, who had a part in the murder of Philip. Though he had incurred blame Alexander let him off for the nonce, since he had been among the first of his friends to rally to him on Philip's death, and had put on his cuirass and accompanied Alexander into the palace; later Alexander had even held him in a post of honour near his person, and had sent him to command in Thrace, and when Calas, commander of the Thracian cavalry, had been transferred to a satrapy, Alexander appointed him commander of the Thracian horse. The story of the plot was reported as follows.

Dareius, when Amyntas deserted to him bringing overtures and a letter from this lesser Alexander, sent Sisines, a trusty Persian from his suite, to the coast. The pretext was that he was to visit Atizues, satrap of Phrygia, but in fact he was to meet this Alexander and give him certain assurances, if he would assassinate Alexander the King, that the Persian king would give him the throne of Macedonia and a thousand gold talents to boot. Sisines fell into Parmenio's hands, and revealed to him the cause of his mission; and Parmenio sent him under escort to Alexander, who heard from him the same story. So he called together his friends, and held a council to see what should be decided about the traitor. The Companions held that Alexander had originally done unwisely in giving over the best of the cavalry to an untrustworthy officer, and that
τάχος ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὶν καὶ ἐπιτιθειό-
terov γενόμενον τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ξύν αὐτῶς τι
νεωτερίσαι. Καὶ τι καὶ θείον ἐφόβευ αὐτοὺς.
'Ετι γὰρ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ (Ἄλεξανδροῦ)
Ἄλικαρμασσόν ἀναπταύσθαι μὲν ἐν μεσημβρία,
χελιδόνα δὲ περιπέτεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς
tρύζουσαν1 μεγάλα καὶ τῆς εὐνής ἄλλη καὶ
ἄλλη καθίζειν, θορυβωδέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὸ εἴωθος
ἐδουσαν. Τὸν δὲ υπὸ καμάτου ἐγερθῆναι μὲν
ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπνου, ἐνοχλοῦμεν δὲ
πρὸς τῆς φωνῆς τῆς χειρός οὐ βαρέως ἀποσβῆσαι
tὴν χελιδόνα: τὴν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἁρὰ δεῖσαι ἀπο-
φυγεῖν πληγεῖσαν, ὡστε ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς
tοῦ Ἀλέξανδροῦ καθημένην μὴ πρόσθεν ἀνεῖναι,
πρὶν παντελῶς ἐξεγερθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ φαίλον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῆς
χελιδόνος ἀνεκοίνωσεν Ἀριστάνδρῳ τῷ Τελμισσεί,
μάντει. Ἀριστάνδρος δὲ ἐπιβουλής μὲν ἐκ τοῦ
τῶν φίλων σημαίνεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰπτεῖν, σημαίνε-
σθαι δὲ καὶ ὧτι καταφανὴς ἦσται τὴν γὰρ
χελιδόνα σύντροφόν τε εἶναι ὄρνιθα καὶ εὐνῶν
ἀνθρώποις καὶ λάλον μᾶλλον ἢ ἄλλην ὄρνιθα.
9 Ταῦτα τε ὅνω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέρσου ἔνθεσις
πέμπει ὡς Παρμενίων τῷ Ἀμφοτέρῳ τὸν Ἀλ-
έξανδρον μὲν παίδα, ἀδελφόν δὲ Κρατέρον καὶ
ξυμπέμπει αὐτῷ τῶν Περγαίων τινὰς τὴν ὄδον
ηγησομένους. Καὶ ὁ Ἀμφοτέρος στολὴν ἐνδὸς
ἐπιχώριοι, ὡς μὴ γυνώριος εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὄδον,
λανθάνει ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Παρμενίων: καὶ
γράμματα μὲν οὐ κορίζει παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὔ
γὰρ ἔδοξε γράφειν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς τοιοῦτο τ ἕστο
1 τρίζουσαν more accurate. Lucian, Tim. 21.
he should now get rid of him as soon as possible, before he got too familiar with the Thracians and headed some revolt. They also were troubled by an omen; for while Alexander was still besieging Halicarnassus and was taking his midday rest, a swallow circled over his head chattering noisily, and perched here and there on his bed; its note showed more alarm than the usual swallows’ twittering. Alexander, from weariness, could not be awakened, but troubled by the twittering he gently brushed away the swallow; but the bird would not fly off when touched, rather it perched on Alexander’s very head and kept on till Alexander fully awoke. Alexander, taking the incident seriously, reported it to Aristander of Telmissus, the seer; he replied that it meant treachery of some friend; but also the meaning was that this should come to light. For the swallow is a domestic bird, friendly to man, and a greater chatterer than any other bird.

Putting this together with the Persian’s story, he sent to Parmenio Amphoterus son of Alexander, brother of Craterus, and at the same time some Pergaean guides. Amphoterus wore a native dress, so as not to be recognized on the journey; and so came safe to Parmenio. He brought no letter from King Alexander; it was thought unwise to commit anything to writing in a matter of this sort; but he
έμφανες· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ γλώσσης οἱ ἐπιτεταλμένα ἐξῆγγειλε. Καὶ οὕτω ξυλλαμβάνεται ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὕτος καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ᾦν.

XXVI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀρας ἐκ Φασηλίδος, μέρος μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς διὰ τῶν ὅρων πέμπει ἐπὶ Πέργης, ἡ ὁδοπεποίηκεσαν αὐτῷ οἱ Θράκες χαλεπὴν ἄλλως καὶ μακρὰν οὕσαν τὴν πάροδον· αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἦγε τοὺς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῶν. Ἐστε δὲ ταύτη ἡ ὀδὸς οὐκ ἄλλως ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀπ᾽ ἀρκτοῦ ἀνέμων πνεόντων· εἰ δὲ νότοι κατέχοιεν, ἀπόρως ἔχει 2 διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ὀδοιπορεῖν. Τότε δὲ ἐκ νότων σκληρῶν βορέαι ἐπιπτεύσαντες, οὐκ ἁνευ τοῦ θείου, ὡς αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐξηγοῦντο, εὐμαρηγεῖ καὶ ταχείαν τὴν πάροδον παρέσχον. Ἐκ Πέργης δὲ ὡς προῆλθε, ἐντυχεῖ διονοσίων αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πρέσβεις Ἀσπενδῶν αὐτοκράτορες, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνδιόντες, φρούραν δὲ μὴ εἰσάγειν 3 δεῖμενοι. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς φρουρᾶς πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον ὅσα ἥξιον, πεντήκοντα δὲ τάλαντα κελεύει τῇ στρατιᾷ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἐς μισθὸν καὶ τοὺς ἴππους οὓς δασμὸν βασιλεὺς ἔτρεφον. Οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοὺς ἴππους παραδῶσεις εὐνοθλεύοι ἀπῆλθον.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Σίδης ἀρας· Ἐστι δὲ οἱ Σιδηταῖ Κυμαῖοι ἐκ Κύμης τῆς Αἰσθέλοδος· καὶ οὖντος ἐχεῖσαν ὑπὲρ σφῶν τὸν τὸν λόγον, ὡς κατηράν τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οἱ πρῶτοι ἐκ Κύμης σταλέντες καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκισμῶ ἐξῆκησαν, αὐτίκα τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν ἐξελάθοντο, εὐθὲς δὲ βάρβαρον φωνὴν ἔσεσαν, οὕτε τῶν

1 βορρέαι Α; βορραὶ Suidas.
gave a verbal message as directed. Thus Alexander was arrested and kept under guard.

XXVI. Leaving Phaselis, Alexander sent part of his force through the mountain passes towards Perga, where the Thracians had made him a road, the round journey being difficult and long. He himself led his immediate followers along the coast, a route practicable only with north winds blowing; south winds make the passage along the shore impossible. There had been heavy southerlies, but a north wind had set in—this by divine interposition, as Alexander and his staff interpreted it—and made the passage easy and swift. As he went on from Perga there met him on the way plenipotentiaries from Aspendus surrendering the city, but begging it might not be garrisoned. This point they won; but Alexander exacted from them fifty talents for the army as pay and all such horses as they bred as tribute to the King of Persia. They agreed to hand over both, and so departed.

Alexander now went towards Side, whose inhabitants are Cymaeans from Aeolian Cyme; they give this account of themselves, that as soon as they reached that land, the first to leave Cyme, sailing thither to colonize, they forgot their native tongue and talked a foreign language straight away, and
προσχώρων βαρβάρων, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαν σφῶν οὕτω πρόσθεν οὕσαν τὴν φωνήν καὶ ἔκτοτε οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους προσχώρους Σίδηται ἐβαρβάριζων.

5 Καταλιπτῶν δὲ φιοὺραν ἐν [τῇ] Σίδη, προῆι ἐπὶ Σύλλιον, χωρίον ὁχυρὸν καὶ φιοὺραν ἐχον ξένων μισθοφόρων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων βαρβάρων. Ἀλλ’ οὔτε τὸ Σύλλιον εξ ἐφόδου αὐτοσχεδίου ἡδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ἐπεὶ τε ἡγγεῖθη αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς Ἀσπενδίους ὅτι οὐδέν τῶν ἕγχοκειμένων πράξαι ἐδέλοειν, οὔτε τοὺς ἵππους παραδοῦναι τοὺς πεμφθέοσιν οὔτε ἀπαριθμῆσαι τὰ χρήματα, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅτι ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὰς τε πύλας ἀποκεκλείκασι τοῖς παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρου, καὶ ταῦτα ἐμπειροκότα ἴην ἑπισκεῦαζονσι, ταῦτα πυθόμενος ἐπὶ Ἀσπενδοῦ ἀνεξεύγυνεν.

XXVII. Ὅκισται δὲ τῆς Ἀσπενδοῦ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀκρα ὁχυρὰ καὶ ἀποτόμω, καὶ παρ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν ο Εὐρυμέδων ποταμός ἰεὶς ἀντωνὶς καὶ περὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐν τῷ χαμαλῷ οὐκ ὀλίγαις ὀικήσεις καὶ τείχοις περιβεβλητοι 2 αὐταῖς οὐ μέγα. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος εὐθὺς, ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἔγνωσαν, ἐκλείπουσιν ὁσοὶ ἐπόκοιν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ὅσας ἐν τῷ χαμαλῷ φικισμένας οὐκ ἐδόκουν διαφυλάξαι ἂν δύνασθαι αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ἔμφειγονσι. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὅς ἀφίκετο ἐν τῇ δυνάμει, εἰς τού ἐρήμου τείχους παρέλθων κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ταῖς καταλελειμμέναις 3 πρὸς τῶν Ἀσπενδίων. Οἱ δὲ Ἀσπενδίωι ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν τε Ἀλέξανδρον παρ’ ἑλπίδα ἥκοντα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν κύκλῳ σφῶν πάντη, 110
that not the Persian of the natives there, but their own idiom, in fact, a new dialect; henceforward the citizens of Side had been so many foreigners, contrary to the ways of their neighbours. Alexander left a guard at Side and went on to Syllium, a fortified place with a garrison of mercenaries and also of the natives of those parts. But he could not take Syllium in his stride, and, besides, it was reported on his march that the Aspendians were not minded to fulfil their obligations—neither to hand over the horses to the party sent to fetch them, nor to pay the money; nay, they had got their stuff in from the fields, had shut their gates upon Alexander’s envoys, and were repairing weak places in their walls. Learning this, Alexander marched towards Aspendus.

XXVII. This city is built, for the most part, on a strong height, sheer, looking over the River Eurymedon. Round this height, on the flat, they had a number of dwellings and a small wall built round these. This wall, so soon as they were aware of Alexander’s approach, the inhabitants deserted, and also the houses built on the level such as they thought it not possible to safeguard; they all took refuge on the height. Alexander, arriving with full force, entered within the deserted wall and camped in the empty houses. But the citizens as soon as they saw Alexander himself arrived—just what they had not looked for—and his army all round them, sent
πέμψαντες πρέσβεις ἐδέωντο ἐφ’ οἴσπερ τὸ πρῶτον ξυμβῆναι. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ τε χωρίον ὄχυρον Ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς [ὡς] οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνιον πολυρκίαι παρεσκευασμένοι, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐδὲ ὦς ξυνέβη πρὸς αὐτούς· ὁμήρους δὲ δοῦναι σφῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἐκέλευσε καὶ τοὺς ὕππους οὕς πρόσθεν ὁμολόγησαν καὶ ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἀντὶ τῶν πεντήκοντα, καὶ πείθεσθαι τῷ σατράπῃ τῷ ὑπ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ταχθέντι καὶ φόρους ἀποφέρειν ὁσα ἐτή Μακεδόνας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας διακριθῆναι, ἧν τῶν προσχώρων οὕσαν βία κατέχειν ἐν αὐτία ἦσαν.

5 Ὁς δὲ πάντα οἱ ἐπεχώρησαν, ἀνέξευξεν ἐς Πέργην, κάκειθεν ἐς Φρυγίαν ὁμήρον· ἤν δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ πορεία παρὰ Τελμισσόν τὸ πόλιν. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι οὕτως τὸ μὲν γένος Πισίδαι εἰσὶ βάρβαροι, χωρίον δὲ οἰκούσιν ὑπερύψηλον καὶ πάντη ἀπότομον· καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὴν πόλιν

6 χαλεπῇ. Καθήκει γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὅρος ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀποπαύεται· ἀντίπορον δὲ αὐτῷ ὅρος ἀλλὰ ἐστὶν οὐ μεῖον ἀπότομον. Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὅρη ὀσπερ πύλαις ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, καὶ ἐστὶν ὀλίγης φυλακῆ κατέχοντας τὰ ὅρη ταῦτα ἀπορον ποιεῖν τὴν πάροδον. Καὶ τὸτε οἱ Τελμισσεῖς πανδημεῖ ἐκβεβοηθηκότες ἀμφότερα τὰ ὅρη κατεῖχον.

7 Ταῦτα δὴ ἴδων Ἀλέξανδρος στρατοπεδεύεισθαι αὐτοῦ ὅπως εἰσχῦν ἐκέλευε τοὺς Μακεδόνας, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ μενοῦσι πανδημεῖ οἱ Τελμισσεῖς αὐλῖζο-μένους σφᾶς ἴδοντες, ἀλλ’ ἀποχωρήσουσιν ἐς τὴν

1 Coins give Termessus, and Sintenis corrects to Τερ-μησσός, but the error is possibly Arrian’s (so Roos).
envoys and begged to be allowed to surrender on the old terms. Alexander, seeing that the position was strong, and being himself not ready for a long siege, yet refused the original terms. He demanded their most influential men as hostages, and that they should hand over the horses they had previously promised and a hundred talents in place of fifty; that they should give obedience to the satrap appointed by him, and pay yearly tribute to Macedon; an enquiry to be held, moreover, about the territory of their neighbours which they were accused of having taken by violence and now retaining.

All now satisfactorily arranged, Alexander moved to Perga and thence began his march to Phrygia, which led past Telmissus. The Telmissians are Pisidians in origin, uncivilized, and inhabit a very lofty position, precipitous all round; the road past the city is an awkward one. A height runs from the city up to the road, and there ends; but opposite is a height equally abrupt. These heights make natural gates on the road, and a small guard can cut off all approach by holding them. The Telmissians, on this occasion came out in full force and occupied both heights. Alexander, seeing this, bade the Macedonians camp where they were, knowing that the Telmissians, seeing them bivouacking, would not
πόλιν, πλησίον οὖσαν, οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσον φυλακὴν καταλιπόντες ἔπι τοῖς ὅρεσι. Καὶ ξυνέβη ὅπως εἰκάζειν1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπῆλθον, 8 αἱ φυλακαὶ δὲ ἐγκατέμειναι. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους εὕθυς ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τάξεις καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὅσοι κοινοὶ φότεροι, ἐπῆγαγεν. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔμειναν βαλλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ἐλιπον τὸ χωρίον· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος υπερβαλὼν τὰ στενὰ πρὸς τῇ πόλει κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

XXVIII. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀφικοῦνται παρ’ αὐτὸν Σελγέων πρέσβεις. Οἱ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτῷ Πισίδαι βάρβαροι καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκούσι καὶ μάχιμοι εἰσίν· οἱ δὲ πολέμων τοὺς Τελμισσείων ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτυγχανον, ὑπὲρ φιλίας πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τεπρεσβευμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις σπένδεται Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πιστοὶ τοῖς ἐς ἀπαντὰ ἐχορήγατο. Τὴν Τελμισσον δὲ ἀπέγνω ἔλειν ἀν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ Σαγαλασσοῦ ἐστέλλετο. Ἡν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ οὐ μικρὰ πόλις. Πισίδαι καὶ ταύτην φύσιν, καὶ ἔδοκον πάντων Πισίδων μαχιμῶν ὄντων αὐτοὶ εἶναι οἱ μαχιμώτατοι· καὶ τότε τὸν λόφον τὸν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος οὐ μεῖον τοῦ τείχους χυμὸς ἐστὶ ἀπομάχεσθαι ἢ, κατειληφότες προσέμενον.

3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων τάπτει ὅδε. Ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετέτακτο, τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς εἰχέν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς πεζεταίρους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ εὐόνυμον παρατείνας, ὡς ἐκάστοις

1 Sintenis εἰκάζει, but here as elsewhere Arrian does not observe Attic precision.
wait there in force, but would, for the most part, drift away to the city close by, leaving on the heights only a guard. His guess proved right; most of them moved off, the guards remained. At once bringing up against them the archers, the javelin battalions, and the lighter-clad men-at-arms, he led them against the enemy, who at the first volleys gave ground, leaving the position, on which Alexander passed the narrow passage and encamped near the city.

XXVIII. At this point arrived envoys from the Selgians, who are also native Pisidians with a large city, a warlike people; they had been for some time at enmity with the Telmissians and so had sent an embassy to Alexander to ask for his friendship. Alexander granted their wish, and found them wholly trustworthy allies. He concluded that a siege of Telmissus would be a long one, and so moved on to Sagalassus, also a fairly large city, inhabited by Pisidians, the most warlike of this warlike tribe; they then occupied the hill in front of the city which was as strong for defensive operations as the wall itself, and held their ground. Alexander therefore thus deployed the Macedonian phalanx; on the right wing, his own post, he had the bodyguard, and in touch with them the territorial foot, right up to
τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡ ὑγεμονία τῆς τάξεως ἐν τῇ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ἦν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐνύμῳ ἐπέταξεν ὑγεμόνα 'Αμύνταν τὸν 'Αρραβαίον. Προστάξθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρως οἱ τε τοξόται καὶ οἱ Ἀγριάνες, τοῦ δὲ εὐνύμου οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Ὁρᾶκες, ὃν ἢγεῖτο Σιτάλκης· οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτῶν οὐκ ὄφελιμοι ἐν τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ ἦσαν. Τοὺς Πισίδας δὲ καὶ Τελμεσσεῖς προσβεβηκότες συνετάξαντο.

5 Ἡδὴ δὲ οἱ ἄμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον προσβεβηκότες τῷ ὀρεί ὑπὲρ κατείχον οἱ Πισίδαι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἀποτομώτατον τῆς ἀνόδου ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι λόχοις κατὰ κέρας ἐκάτερον, ἢ σφίσει μὲν εὐπροσδότατον ἦν, τοὺς πολεμίους δὲ χαλεπωτάτη ἡ πρόσβασις. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, οἰα δὴ οὔτε ἄκριβῶς ὀπλισμένους καὶ πρῶτους πελάσαντας, ἐπρεπέναιτο, οἱ δὲ Ἀγριάνες ἔμειναν. Ἐγγύς γὰρ ἡδὴ καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσῆγε καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφαίνετο. Ὡς δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, γυμνοὶ τε ἡ πρὸς ἡ βάρβαροι ὄντες ὀπλίταις προσεφέροντο καὶ πάντῃ κατατιτρωσκόμενοι ἐπιτοπυνομένοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγκλίνουσι.

6 Καὶ ἀπέδανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους· κούφοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ἐμπεῖροι τῶν χωρίων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχώρουν· καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες δίᾳ βαρύτητα τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ ἀπειρία τῶν ὀδῶν

7 οὐθαραλέοι ἐς τὸ διώκειν ἦσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐχόμενοι τῶν φευγόντων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν αἴρει κατὰ κράτος. Τῶν δὲ ἔχυν αὐτῷ Κλέανδρος τε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν ἀποθυμῆσκεν· καὶ τῶν

1 After pentakosious. Krüger and Roos mark a lacuna, supplying δὲ οἶνος ἐλήφθησαν (R.).
the left wing, all under the battalion officers in the order of precedence for the day. On the left he placed Amyntas son of Arrabaeus in command. Then in advance on the right wing were posted the archers and the Agrianes, on the left the Thracian javelin-men, under Sitalces; for the cavalry were of no use to him in this narrow space. Along with the Pisidians were ranged Telmissians who had come to help.

Already Alexander’s immediate troops had thrown themselves on the height held by the Pisidians, and were now at the most steep part of the ascent; whereon the Pisidians attacked in ambuscades on either wing, where they could best approach, and the Macedonians were most hampered. They drove back the archers, being lightly armed and in the advanced line; but the Agrianes held firm. For the Macedonian phalanx was coming up, and Alexander himself was visible at its head. The battle becoming hand-to-hand, the unarmed natives, charging hoplites were wounded, and falling on all sides, at length gave way. Some five hundred perished. Being light and knowing the country they got away easily; the Macedonians, from weight of armour and want of local knowledge had little heart for the pursuit. Alexander, however, kept on the heels of the fugitives and stormed the city, losing Cleandrus, the commander of the archers, and
αλλων ἄμφι τοὺς εἶκοσι. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πισίδας ἤγετε καὶ τὰ μὲν τινά τῶν φρουρίων βίᾳ ἔξειλε, τὰ δὲ ὀμολογία προσηγάγετο.

XXIX. Ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἦτο ἐπὶ Φρυγίας παρὰ τὴν λίμνην ὑ ὄνομα Ἀσκανία, ἐν ἡ ἄλες πήγανταί αὐτόματοι, καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, οὐδὲθαλάσσηςτιἐπὶτοῦφδέονταικαὶἀφικνεῖταιἐςΚελαινᾶςπεμπταῖος. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς ἀκρα ἦν πάντη ἀπότομος, καὶ ταύτην φυλακὴ κατείχεν ἐκ τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Φρυγίας, Κάρης μὲν χίλιου, Ἐλληνες δὲ μισθοφόροι ἑκατόν. Καὶ οὗτοι προσβευόνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, εἰ μὴ ἀφίκοιτο σφιτε βοήθεια ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἡ ξυνέκειτο, φράσαντες τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅτι παραδώσουσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ἔδοξε ταύτα Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὥφελιμότερα ἡ πολιορκεῖν ἀπορον πάντῃ προσφέρεσθαι τὴν ἀκραν.

3 Πρὸς μὲν δὴ ταῖς Κελαιναῖς φυλακὴν καταλέπτει στρατιώτας ἐς χίλιους καὶ πεντακοσίους. Μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ σατράπην ἀποδείξας Φρυγίας Ἀντίγονον τὸν Φιλίππου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀντ' ἐκείνου στρατηγὸν Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου ἑπιτάξας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Γορδίου ἐστήλλετο. Καὶ Παρμενίων ἐπέστειλεν, ἄγωντα ἀμα οἱ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείσε ἀπαντῶν καὶ 4 ἀπήντα ἕξιν τῇ δυνάμει Παρμενίων. Καὶ οἱ νεόγαμοι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας σταλέντες εἰς Γορδίον ἦκον καὶ ἔξων αὐτοῖς ἀλλή στρατιὰ καταλεγθεῖσα, ἤν ἦγε Πτολεμαίος τε ὁ Σελεύκου καὶ Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ Νεοπτολέμου, πεζοὶ μὲν Μακεδόνες τρισχίλιοι, 118
some twenty others. Then he attacked the remaining Pisidians, capturing many of their forts and receiving the surrender of others.

XXIX. Thence he passed into Phrygia by Lake Ascania, where salt gathers naturally, and is used by the inhabitants, who thus need no sea salt; in five days he reached Celaenae, where is a steep acropolis, held by a garrison under the satrap of Phrygia, a thousand Carians and a hundred Greek mercenaries. They sent envoys to Alexander, offering—in case help did not come to them on a day previously appointed—this date they specified—to surrender the position. Thus Alexander thought better than a siege of this unassailable position. So he left 1500 troops as a guard over Celaenae. Then he waited there ten days and appointed Antigonus son of Philip satrap, and in his place as commander of the allies Balacrus son of Amyntas: then he set out towards Gordium, ordering Parmenio to meet him there with his force, and so he did. The recently married Macedonians who had gone to Macedonia also made their rendezvous at Gordium, and with them a freshly levied army, led by Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus, Coenus son of Polemocrates and Meleager son of Neoptolemus; there were 3000 Macedonian
ϊππείς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίουσ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππείς
dιακόσιοι, Ἡλείων δὲ ἕκατον καὶ πεντήκοντα,
ὁν ἦγεῖτο Ἀλκίας ὁ Ἡλείος.

5 Ὅτι δὲ Γόρδιον ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Φρυγίας τῆς ἐφ’
Ελλησπόντου, κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Σαγγαρίῳ
ποταμῷ τοῦ δὲ Σαγγαρίῳ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐκ
Φρυγίας εἰσίν· αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἱηρακῶν τῶν
Βιθυνῶν χώρας ἐξῆγεν εἰς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν πόντον.
Ἑνταῦθα καὶ Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία παρ’ Ἀλέξαν-
δρον ἠφίκετο, δεόμενοι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφείναι
σφισι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὗ ἐπὶ Θρακίκῳ ποταμῷ
ἐλήφθησαν Ἀθηναίων ἔστρατον ὑπὸ τῶν
Πέρσας καὶ τότε ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἐν τοῖς διοχι-
λίοις δεδεμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπρακτοὶ.

6 ἐν τῷ τότε ἄπηλθον. Οὐ γὰρ ἔδοκεν ἄσφαλες
ἐναῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐτής συνεστῶτος τού πρὸς τὸν
Πέρσην πολέμου, ἀνείναι τι τοῦ φόβου τοῦς
"Ελλησίων ὅσοι ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι στρατεύεσθαι
ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐκ ἀπηξίωσαν ἀλλ’
ἀποκρίνεται, ἐπειδὰν τὰ παρόντα καλῶς γένηται,
tότε ἦκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν προσβευομένους.
foot, 300 horse, 200 Thessalian horse, 150 Eleians under Alcias the Elean.

Gordium, you must know, is in Hellespontine Phrygia, on the river Sangarius, the springs of which are in Phrygia; it runs through Bithynian Thrace into the Euxine. There also an embassy arrived from Athens begging Alexander to release to them Athenian prisoners captured on the Granicus fighting on the Persian side and now under arrest in Macedonia with the 2000 captives. Their request was not, however, granted, and so they departed. Alexander did not think it wise, with the Persian war still in progress, to relax any terrors for the Greeks who had actually fought with foreigners against Greece; but he answered that when things proved satisfactory they were to approach him again on the same subject.
BOOK II
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΤΕΡΠΟΝ

Ι. 'Εκ δὲ τούτου Μέμνων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμόν ἐκ βασιλέως Δαρείου καθεστηκὼς καὶ τῆς παραλίου ξυμπάσης, ὡς ἐς Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἀποστρέψων τὸν πόλεμον, Χίον μὲν λαμβάνει προδοσία ἐνδοθεῖσαν ἐνθὲν δὲ ἐπὶ Δέσβου πλεύσας, ὡς οὐ προσέχον αὐτῷ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι, τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Δέσβου 2 προσηγάγετο. Ταῦτας δὲ παραστησάμενος καὶ προσοχῶν τῇ Μιτυλήνῃ, τὴν μὲν πόλιν χάρακι διπλῷ ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν ἀπετείχεσε, στρατόπεδα δὲ πέντε ἑποικοδομησάμενος τῆς γῆς ἐκράτει οὐ χαλεπῶς. Καὶ μέρος μὲν τι τῶν νεῶν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσε, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἅγκαν τῆς Δέσβου τὸ Σίγριον, ἢν ἡ προσβολὴ μάλιστα ἐστὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τε Χίον καὶ Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Μαλεάς ὅλκασιν, ἀποστείλας τὸν παράπλου ἐν φυλακῇ εἰχέν, ὡς μὴ τινα ὀφελεῖν κατὰ θάλασσαν γίγνεσθαι τοῖς Μιτυληναῖοις. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸς μὲν νόσῳ τελευτᾷ, καὶ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ τότε ἐβλαφε τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα. Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Ἀρταβαζός, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τελευτῶν ὁ Μέμνων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν ἔστε Δαρείον τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γνῶναι, ἀδελφιδῷ αὐτοῦ δυντι, οὕτω τῇ πολυρράχῳ χωκ ἀρρώστως προσέ-4 κειντο. Καὶ οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι τῆς τε γῆς εἰργό-
BOOK II

I. It was after the above events that Memnon, appointed by Dareius commander-in-chief of the navy and of all the coast-line, with the idea of diverting the war into Macedonia and Greece, captured Chios, delivered over by treachery; thence he sailed to Lesbos, and though Mitylene did not come over to him, he became master of the remaining cities of Lesbos. Disposing of these, he put in at Mitylene, and fenced off the city by a double stockade from sea to sea; then he built five strategic camps and had no trouble in holding the country. Part of his fleet guarded the Mitylenean harbour; other ships he despatched to the promontory of Lesbos, Sigrium, where cargo vessels from Chios and Geraistus and Malea usually put in, and so he patrolled the coast, to prevent help from coming to Mitylene by sea. While thus engaged he fell ill and died; the severest blow during this period to the hopes of Persia. Autophradates, however, and Pharnabazus son of Artabazus, to whom, being his nephew, with his dying breath Memnon handed over his command, till Dareius should take further measures, carried on the blockade vigorously. Mitylene thus barred
μενοι καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πολλαῖς ναυσίν ἑφορμούσαι φρουροῦμενοι, πέμψαντες παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν ξένους τοὺς παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρον σφίσι κατὰ συμμαχίαν ἤκοντας ἀπελθεῖν, Μιτυληναίους δὲ καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον σφίσι γενομένας στήλας, ξυμμάχους δὲ εἰναι Δαρείου κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρείου, τοὺς φυγάδας δὲ αὐτῶν κατίención ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεωι τῶν τότε ὅντων ὤπε 5 ἔφυγον. Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἡ ξύμβασις τοῖς Μιτυληναίοις πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας ξυνέβη. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Αὐτοφραδάτης, ὃς παρῆλθον ἀπαξ εἰσώ τῆς πόλεως, φρουράν τε ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσῆγαγον καὶ φρούραρχον ἐπὶ αὐτῇ Δυκομῆδῃν Ῥόδιον, καὶ τύραννον ἐγκατέστησαν τῇ πόλει Διογένην, ἑνά τῶν φυγάδων. Χρήματα τε εἰσέπραξαν τοὺς Μιτυληναίους τὰ μὲν βία ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιβαλόντες.

II. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι Φαρνάβαζος μὲν ἔπλει ἐπὶ Λυκίας ἅγων τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας νῆσους. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καταπέμπει Δαρεῖος Θυμώνδαν τὸν Μέντορος, αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν ξένους παρὰ Φαρναβάζου παραληψόμενον καὶ ἀνάξοντα παρὰ βασιλέα, Φαρναβάζῳ δὲ ἔροῦντα ἄρχειν ὅσων 2 Μέμνων ἥρχε. Καὶ παραδοὺς τούτοις ξένους Φαρναβάζος ἔπλει παρ’ Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. Ὅσε τὸ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, δέκα μὲν ναῦς

1 Δαρείου Ellendt omits; the error is possibly Arrian's. So also in II. 2 below.
from the landward side and watched on the seaward side by a flotilla of blockading ships sent to Pharnabazus, and undertook that the mercenaries whom Alexander had despatched to fight for them should be sent about their business, that the Mityleneans should remove the pillars on which were inscribed their agreement with Alexander, and become allies of Dareius on the basis of the peace of Antalcidas with King Dareius, and that the exiles should return into possession of half the property held at the time of their exile. Such were the terms of the Mitylenean agreement with the Persians. Pharnabazus, however, and Autophradases, once within the city, brought in a garrison and set Lycomedes of Rhodes in command of it, and made Diogenes, one of the exiles, tyrant over the city: they also exacted a fine from Mitylene, taking part from the rich citizens by force, and the rest by a general tax.

II. When they had made these dispositions, Pharnabazus sailed towards Lycia with the mercenaries, Autophradases to the other islands. At this time Dareius sent Thymondas son of Mentor to take over the mercenaries from Pharnabazus and lead them to Dareius, and to instruct Pharnabazus to take over Memnon's command. Pharnabazus duly handed over the mercenaries to Thymondas, and sailed to join the fleet and Autophradases. On rejoining they sent ten ships to the Cyclades under
στέλλοισιν ἔπι τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους Δατάμην ἄνδρα Πέρσην ἄγοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ναυσίν ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ Τενέδου ἐπλευσαν· κατακομμοσθέντες δὲ τῆς Τενέδου ἐς τὸν Βόρειον καλούμενον Λιμένα πέμπουσιν παρὰ τοὺς Τενεδίους καὶ κελεύουσι τὰς στῆλας τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας γενομένας σφίσι, ταῦτας μὲν καθελεῖν, πρὸς Δάρειον δὲ ἄγειν τὴν εἰρήνην ἢν ἐπὶ
3 Ἀνταλκίδου Δαρείῳ συνέδεντο. Τενεδίους δὲ τὰ μὲν τῆς εὐνοιας ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τε καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἐπολείμαλλον· ἐν δὲ τῷ παροῦντι ἀπορον ἄλλως ἐδόκει ὅτι μὴ προσχωρήσων τοῖς Πέρσαις σώζεσθαι ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ Ἡγελόχω, ὅτι προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ Ἀλέξανδρου αὐθεὶς ἡμαργαγεῖν δύναμιν ναυτικὴν, τοσαύτη ἤγημην ἡν ὡς δὲ ὅλῳ προσδοκᾶν ἐσεθαι ἄν σφισι παρ’ αὐτοῦ τινὰ ὀφέλειαν. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ ἅμφι Φαρνάβαζος τοὺς Τενεδίους φόβῳ μάλλον ἢ ἔθελοντας παρεστήσαντο.
4 Ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἀνδρονίκου ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἡμαργαγεῖν δέ Εὐθοῖας τε καὶ Πελοποννήσου ναῦς μακρᾶς, ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τεταγμένος, ὡς εἰναι τινα ταῖς τε νῆσοις φυλακὴν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ἐλλάδε, εἰ, καθάπερ ἠξηγοῦμεντο, ἐπυπλέουμεν οἱ βάρβαροι πυθόμενος δὲ Δατάμην περὶ Σίφων όρμεῖν δέκα ναυσίν, αὐτὸς ἤχουν πεντακάθεκα νυκτὸς ἀνάγχεται ἐπὶ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ
5 Ἐυρίπωρ καὶ προσσχῶν ἔσθεν Κύθνῳ τῇ νῆσῳ τῆς μὲν ἠμέραν αὐτοῦ αὐλίζεται, ὡς σαφέστερόν τε διαπνυθεῖσα τὰ περὶ τῶν δέκα νεῦν καὶ ἄμα ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτερον προσπεσείν τοῖς Φοίνιξιν· ὡς δὲ ἐμαθεὶς σαφῶς τὸν Δατάμην ἔγν ταῖς
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Datames, a Persian, while they proceeded with a hundred sail to Tenedos. They reached the “north harbour” of Tenedos and sent to the city and ordered the destruction of the inscribed pillars of the agreement made by Tenedos with Alexander and the Greeks, and the observance of the Peace of Antalcidas made with Dareius. The whole inclination of Tenedos was towards Alexander and the Greeks; but at the moment there seemed no other hope of safety save in accepting the Persian terms, since Hegelochus, who had orders from Alexander again to assemble a fleet, had not raised a sufficient force to expect from him any speedy help. It was in this way rather by terrorism than by their will that Pharnabazus received the surrender of the island of Tenedos.

Meanwhile Proteas son of Andronicus had collected from Euboea and the Peloponnese certain ships of the line, as ordered by Antipatros, so as to be a naval guard to the islands and the mainland of Greece, supposing—as reports suggested—that the Persians should descend upon it. But learning that Datames was anchored near Siphnos with ten ships he put to sea with fifteen sail by night towards Chalcis on the Euripus. Then at dawn putting in at the island of Cythnus, he lay there during the day-time, to get surer intelligence about the ten ships, and also to swoop down on the Phoenicians at night, which would scare them the more. Finding for certain that Datames was anchored at Siphnos,
ναυσίν ἐν Σίφνῳ ὀρμοῦντα, ἐπιπλεύσας ἐτίνυκτος ὑπ’ αὐτήν τὴν ἔω καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιπεσοῦν ὁκτὼ μὲν ναῦς αὐτῶς ἀνδράσιν ἔλαβε·
Δατάμης δὲ μετὰ δυοῖν τριηρῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσμέχει τῶν ἄμα Πρωτέα νεὼν ὑπεκφυγὼν ἀπεσώθη πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικόν.

III. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐς Γόρδιον παρῆλθε, πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἀνελθόντα ἐς τὴν ἀκραν, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἂν τὰ Γόρδιον καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Μίδου, τὴν ἀμάξαν ἰδεῖν τοῦ Γόρδιον καὶ τοῦ ἄγνοον τῆς ἀμάξης τῶν δεσμῶν.

2 Δόγος δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐκείνης παρὰ τοῖς προσχόροις πολὺς κατείχε, Γόρδιον εἶναι τῶν πάλαι Φρυγῶν ἄνδρα πένητα καὶ ὀλύγην εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ξεύγη βοῶν δύω· καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀροτριάν, τῷ δὲ ἀμαξεύειν τὸν Γόρδιον.

3 Καὶ ποτε ἀρούντος αὐτοῦ ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἄγγον ἀετὸν καὶ ἐπιμεῖναι ἐστε ἐπὶ βουλτόν καθῆμενον τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα τῇ οὐσὶ λέναι κοινώσοντα ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου παρὰ τοὺς Τελμισσέας τοὺς μάντεις εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσέας σοφοὺς τὰ θεία ἐξηγεῖσθαι, καὶ σφισὶν ἀπὸ γένους δεδόσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναιξί καὶ παισὶ τὴν

4 μαντείαν. Προσάγοντα δὲ καμὴ τινὶ τῶν Τελ-

μισσέων ἐντυχεῖν παρθένῳ ὑδρευομένη, καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃν εἰσεῖν ὅπως οἱ τοῦ ἀετοῦ ἔσχε τὴν δὲ (εἶναι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους) θύειν κελεύσαι τῷ Δίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπανελθόντα εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν. Καὶ δειχθῆναι γὰρ αὐτῆς Γόρδιον, τὴν θυσίαν ἐξυπνησισμένην οἰ αὐτὴν ἐξηγήσασθαι, θύσαι τε ὅπως ἐκείνη ὑπετίθετο τὸν Γόρδιον καὶ ἐξηγενέσθαι ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῇ παιδί καὶ 130
he sailed to the attack, night though it was, attacking just at dawn when the enemy expected nothing, and capturing eight ships with their crews; Datames with two triremes fled unobserved at the first charge of Proteas' ships and safely joined the rest of the fleet.

III. Alexander, then, reached Gordium, and was seized with an ardent desire to ascend to the acropolis, where was the palace of Gordius and his son Midas, and to look at Gordius' wagon and the knot of the chariot's yoke. There was a widespread tradition about this chariot around the countryside; Gordius, they said, was a poor man of the Phrygians of old, who tilled a scanty parcel of earth and had but two yoke of oxen: with one he ploughed, with the other he drove his wagon. Once, as he was ploughing, an eagle settled on the yoke and stayed, perched there, till it was time to loose the oxen; Gordius was astonished at the portent, and went off to consult the Telmissian prophets, who were skilled in the interpretation of prodigies, inheriting—women and children too—the prophetic gift. Approaching a Telmissian village, he met a girl drawing water and told her the story of the eagle; she, being also of the prophetic line, bade him return to the spot and sacrifice to Zeus the King. So then Gordius begged her to come along with him and assist in the sacrifice; and at the spot duly sacrificed as she directed,
5 γενέσθαι αυτῶν παίδα Μίδαν ὄνομα. Ἡδὲ τε ἀνδρὰ εἶναι τὸν Μίδαν καὶ δοῦν καὶ γενναῖον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ στάσει πιέζεσθαι ἐν σφίσι τοὺς Φρύγας, καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς χρησμὸν ὅτι ἀμαξὰ ἁξεῖ αὐτοῖς βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι οὗτος αὐτοῖς καταπαύσει τὴν στάσιν. Ἐτεὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων βουλευμένοι ἐλθεῖν τὸν Μίδαν ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἐπιστῆναι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῆ 6 ἀμάξῃ. Τοὺς δὲ ἐμβαλλόντας τὸ μαντεῖον τούτον ἐκείνον γρώναι ὅντα ὅντινα ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔφραξεν ὅτι ἁξεὶ ἡ ἀμάξῃ καὶ καταστῆσαι μὲν αὐτοῖς βασιλέα τὸν Μίδαν, Μίδαν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν στάσιν καταπαύσαι, καὶ τὴν ἀμαξαν τοῦ πατρός ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἀναθεῖναι χαριστήρια τῷ Διῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἁετοῦ πομῆ. Πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις καὶ τόδε περὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐμυθεύτο, ὅστις λύσει τοῦ ἐγγοῦ τῆς ἀμάξης τῶν ἀσμοῦν, 7 τούτον χρῆναι ἄρξαι τῆς Ἁσίας. Ἡν δὲ ὁ ἀσμὸς ἐκ φλοιοῦ κρανέας, καὶ τούτον οὐτε τέλος οὔτε ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχεν ἐξευρεῖν λύσιν τοῦ ἀσμοῦ, ἀλλοτρὶ δὲ περιδεῖν οὐκ ἠθελε, μὴ τινὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς κίνησιν ἐργάστηκα, οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι παῖσας τῷ ξίφει διέκοψε τῶν ἀσμῶν καὶ λελύσθαι ἐφθ' Ἀριστοβουλὸς δὲ λέγει ἐξελόντα τὸν ἐστορὰ τοῦ ρυμοῦ, ὃς ἦν τύλος διαβεβλημένος διὰ τοῦ ρυμοῦ διαμπάξ, συνέχων τῶν ἀσμῶν, ἐξελκύσαι ἐξὼ τοῦ ρυμοῦ τῷ Ἕγγον. 8 ὁπως μὲν δὴ ἐπράξη τὰ ἀμφὶ τῶν ἀσμῶν τούτω Ἀλέξανδρῳ, οὐκ ἦκο ἰσχυρίσασθαι. Ἀπηλλάγη δ' οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ λογίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λύσει 132
married the girl, and had a son called Midas. Midas was already a grown man, handsome and noble, when the Phrygians were in trouble with civil war; they received an oracle that a chariot would bring them a king and he would stop the war. True enough, while they were discussing this, there arrived Midas, with his parents, and drove, chariot and all, into the assembly. The Phrygians, interpreting the oracle, decided that he was the man whom the gods had told them would come in a chariot; they thereupon made him king, and he put an end to the civil war. The chariot of his father he set up in the acropolis as a thank-offering to Zeus the King for sending the eagle. Over and above this there was a story about the wagon, that anyone who should untie the knot of the yoke should be lord of Asia. This knot was of cornel bark, and you could see neither beginning nor end of it. Alexander, unable to find how to untie the knot, and not brooking to leave it tied, lest this might cause some disturbance in the vulgar, smote it with his sword, cut the knot, and exclaimed, "I have loosed it!"—so at least say some, but Aristobulus puts it that he took out the pole pin, a dowel driven right through the pole; holding the knot together, and so removed the yoke from the pole. I do not attempt to be precise how Alexander actually dealt with this knot. Anyway, he and his suite left the wagon with the impression that the oracle about the loosed knot had
τού δεσμοῦ συμβεβηκότος. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης βρονταῖ τε καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπεσήμηναν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως ἔθυε τῇ υστεραῖᾳ Ἄλεξανδρὸς τοῖς φήναις θεοῦς τὰ τε σημεῖα καὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὴν λύσιν.

IV. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ υστεραῖᾳ ἔπε' Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς ἐστέλλετο· κάκει αὐτῷ πρεσβεία ἀφικνεῖται Παφλαγόνων, τὸ τε ἔθνος ἐνδιδούντων καὶ ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἔμβαινοντων· ἐς δὲ τὴν χώραν 2 σὺν τῇ δυνάμει μὴ ἐσβάλειν ἐδέουντο. Τούτως μὲν δὴ προστάσσει Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπακούειν Κάλα τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς Φρυγίας. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐλάσας ἔμπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς" Αλνος ποταμοῦ προσηγάγετο καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ τὸν "Αλνον πολλῆν. Καταστήσας δὲ Καππαδόκων Σαβίκταν σατράπην, αὐτὸς προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς 3 Κιλικίας. Καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρον τοῦ ἔως Ἐνοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, ὡς κατεχομένας τὰς πύλας φυλακαῖς ἰσχυραῖς εἶδε, Παρμενίωνα μὲν αὐτὸν καταλείπει σὺν ταῖς τάξεσι τῶν πεζῶν ὡσι βαρύτερον ὀπλισμένοι ἦσαν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπαστὶστὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας, προῆγε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ὡς οὐ προσδεχομένοις 4 τοῖς φύλαξι ἐπιπεθεῖν. Καὶ προσάγων μὲν οὐκ ἐλαθεν, ἐς ἵσον δὲ αὐτῷ κατέστη ἡ τόλμα. Οἱ γὰρ φυλακὲς αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσάγοντα, λιπότες τὴν φυλακὴν ὑχοντο φεύγοντες. Τῇ δὲ υστεραίᾳ ἄμα τῇ ἔως ἔων τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ ὑπερβαλῶν τὰς πύλας κατέβαινεν 5 ἐς τὴν Κιλικίαν. Καὶ ἔνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Ἄρσαμης ὁτι πρόσθεν μὲν ἐπενόει διασώζειν

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been duly fulfilled. It is certain that there were that night thunderings and lightnings, which indicated this; so Alexander in thanksgiving offered sacrifice next day to whatever gods had sent the signs and certified the undoing of the knot.

IV. Next day Alexander set forward towards Ancyra of Galatia; there an embassy of Paphlagonians met him, giving submission of their tribe and agreeing to terms; they begged him not to enter their country in force. Alexander instructed them to take orders from Calas, satrap of Phrygia. He himself marched to Cappadocia, received surrender of all this country this side of the River Halys and a good deal of the far side. He made Sabiktas satrap of Cappadocia and pushed on to the Cilician gates. When he reached the camp of Cyrus, who had been with Xenophon, and saw the Gates strongly held, he left Parmenio there with heavier-armed foot battalions, while he himself, about the first watch, took the bodyguard, archers and Agrianes, and marched by night to the Gates, meaning to take the guards unawares. But his march was observed; none the less, the enterprise succeeded; for the guards, finding that he was leading in person, left their posts and fled. Next day at dawn he passed the Gates with his full force and descended into Cilicia. There it was reported to him that Arsames, who had all along been anxious
πέρσαις τήν Ταρσίν, οίς δὲ υπερβεβληκότα ἲδη τὰς πύλας ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐκλιπεῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχει τήν πόλιν· δεδεῖναι οὖν τοὺς Ταρσεῖας μὴ ἐφ’ ἀρπαγήν τραπεῖς οὐτώ τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τῆς Ταρσοῦ ποιῆσαι. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας δρόμῳ ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ταρσοῦ τοὺς τε ἵππεας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν ὅσοι κουφώτατοι, ὡστε ὁ Ἀρσάμης μαθῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀρμήν σπουδὴ φεύγει ἐκ τῆς Ταρσοῦ παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείον, οὐδὲν βλάψει τὴν πόλιν.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβούλῳ λέκται, ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐνόσησεν· οἳ δὲ εἰς τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν λέγουσι βίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμήσαντα τοῦ οὐδὲν, ἱδροῦντα καὶ καύματι ἐχόμενον. Ὅ δὲ Κύδνος ἐπεὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως, οἷς ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου δρόμου τῶν πηγῶν οἱ ἀνισχυρόι καὶ διὰ χώρου καθαροῦ δέων, ψυχρός τε ἔστι καὶ τὸ υδωρ καθάρος. Σπασμὸ τε οὖν ἔχεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ θέρμαις ἰσχυραῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ ξυνεχεῖ. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἱατροὺς οὓς ἔγεισαί εἰναι βιώσιμον, Φίλιππον δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶν, ἱατρὸν, ξυνόντα Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ τὰ τε ἀμφὶ ἱατρικὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πιστεύομεν καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀδόκιμον ἐν τῷ στρατῷ ὤντα, καθῆραι ἔθελεν Ἀλέξανδρον φαρμάκον καὶ τὸν κελεύειν καθῆραι. Τὸν μὲν δὲ παρασκεύαζεν τὴν κύλικα ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρῳ δοθήναι ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Παρμενίωνος φυλάξασθαι Φίλιππον ἀκούειν γὰρ διεφθάρθαι ὑπὸ Δαρείον χρήμασιν, ὡστε φαρμάκῳ ἀποκτεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον. Τὸν δὲ, ἀναγινώσκει τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα, αὐτὸν μὲν λαβεῖν τὴν κύλικα ἐν ἧν τῷ φάρμακῳ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δὲ τῷ Φίλιππῳ δοῦναι ἀναγινώσκειν.
to save Tarsus for the Persians, learning that he had passed the Gates, was minded to desert the city; so the Tarsians were afraid he would plunder the city before deserting it. Learning this, Alexander brought up at full speed the cavalry and the lighter mobile troops, so that Arsames learning of his onrush fled to King Dareius without harming the city.

Here Alexander fell ill from fatigue; so at least Aristobulus says; others relate that he dived into the River Cydnus and had a swim, anxious for the bathe since he was forworn with sweat and heat. The Cydnus runs right through the city, and as its springs are in Mount Taurus, and it runs through open country, it is cold and clear. Alexander therefore caught a cramp, and suffered from violent fever and insomnia. All his physicians gave him up save Philip, an Acarnanian doctor, who attended him, very much trusted in medical matters, and, moreover, a brave man in the field; he proposed a strong purge; and Alexander bade him administer it. He made up the draught therefore; at the moment a note was given Alexander from Parmenio, "Beware Philip! I learn that Dareius has bribed him to murder you." Alexander read the letter, held it in his hand, took the glass with the draught, and gave the note to Philip to read. At one and the
10 Καὶ ὁμοῦ τὸν τῇ Ἀλέξανδρον πίνειν καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Παρ-
μενίωνος. Φίλιππον δὲ εὐθὺς ἐνδηλον γενέσθαι ὅτι καλῶς οἱ ἔχει τὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ-
πλαγῇναι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτε μόνον παρακαλέσαι Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα οἱ πείθεσθαι ὅσα ἔπαγγέλλοιτο· σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ πειθόμενον. Καὶ τὸν μὲν καθαρήναι τε καὶ 
βαίσαι αὐτῷ τὸ νόσημα, Φίλιππος δὲ ἐπεδείξει ὅτι πιστὸς ἦστιν αὐτῷ φίλος, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ 
τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις αὐτῶν ἦστιν τοῖς φίλοις βέβαιος 
eis τὸ ἀνύποπτον τυγχάνει δυνατόν καὶ πρὸς τὸ 
apoθανεῖν ἐρρομένος.

5. Ἔκ δὲ τούτου Παρμενίωνα μὲν πέμπτε ἐπὶ 
tὰς ἄλλας πύλας, αἱ δὲ ὄριζοντες τὴν Κλίκων 
tε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώραν, προκαταλαβέατε καὶ 
φυλάσσειν τὴν παροικίαν, δοὺς αὐτὸ τῶν τὲ 
ἐξωμάχων τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας τοὺς 
μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς Θράκας, ὅν Σιτάλκης 
ήγειτο, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὅτι τοὺς Θεσσαλούς.

2 Αὐτῶν δὲ ύστερος ἅρα ἐκ Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρῶτῃ 
ἐς Ὄχλοιον πόλιν ἄφικενεται. Ταῦτην δὲ 
Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσυρίων λόγος· καὶ 
τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίωις τῶν τειχῶν 
dήλη ἔστι μεγάλη τῆς πόλεως κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ 
3 μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως. Καὶ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ 
Σαρδαναπάλου ἔγγυς ὧν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἀγχά-
λου καὶ αὐτῶς ἐφειστήκει ἐπὶ αὐτῷ Σαρδανα-
πάλος συμβεβληκός τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ὡς 
μάλιστα ἐς κρότον συμβάλλονται, καὶ 
ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο αὐτῷ Ἀσσυρία γράμ-
ματα· οἱ μὲν Ἀσσυρίωι καὶ μέτρον ἐφασκον

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same moment Alexander drank the dose and Philip read Parmenio's note. At once Philip made clear that all was well with his prescription; he showed no guilty conscience at the letter, but bade Alexander follow out his remaining instructions; obedience would mean recovery. The purge worked and eased the illness; and Alexander gave proof to Philip that he was his firm friend, as also to his suite generally that he trusted and did not suspect his friends; and he showed also his bravery in face of death.

V. Next he sent Parmenio to the other Gates which divide the Cilician and Assyrian territories, to seize and occupy the pass, giving him the allied infantry, the Greek mercenaries, and the Thracians under Sitalces, with the Thessalian horse. Later on, he left Tarsus, and in one day reached Anchialus, founded, as legend says, by Sardanapalus the Assyrian. The circumference and the foundations of the walls show that the city was, when founded, a large one, and grew to great power. Sardanapalus' tomb was near the walls of Anchialus; over it stood Sardanapalus himself, his hands joined as if to clap, and an epitaph was inscribed in the Assyrian script; the Assyrians said that it was in
4 ἐπείναι τῷ ἐπυγράμματι, ὥς δὲ νοῦς ἦν αὐτῷ ὠν ἔφραζε τὰ ἔπη, ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ἀνακου- 
δαράξου παῖς Ἀγχιάλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ 
μᾶς ἐδείματο. Σὺ δὲ, ὃ ἔξενε, ἔσθει καὶ πίνε καὶ 
παῖζε, ὡς τὰλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτῳ ἀξίᾳ· 
τὸν ψόφον αἰνεσόμενον ὁνεπ-ἀι χεῖρες ἐπὶ τῷ κρότῳ ποιοῦσι· καὶ τὸ πάλτο ραδιουργότε- 
ρον ἐγγεγράφθαι ἐφασαν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὀνόματι.
5 Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου ἐς Σόλονος ἀφίκετο· καὶ 
φρουρὰν ἐπήγαγεν ἐς Σόλονος καὶ ἐπέβαλεν 
αὐτοῖς τάλαντα διακόσια ἀργυρίου χρυσίαν, ὅτι 
πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας μᾶλλον τι τῶν νοῶν εἴχον.
6 Ἐνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τῶν Μακε-
δόνων τρεῖς τάξεις, τοὺς τοξότας δὲ πάντας καὶ 
τοὺς Ἀγριάνας ἔξελαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ ὅρη κατέ-
χοντας Κῦλκας. Καὶ ἐν ἐπὶ ταῖς πάσαις 
ἡμέραις τοὺς μὲν βία ἔξελὼν, τοὺς δὲ ὀμολογία 
παραστησάμενος, ἐπανήκεν ἐς τοὺς Σόλονος.
7 Καὶ ἔνταύθα μανθάνει Πτολεμαίον καὶ Ἀσβανδροῦ 
ὁ τὸ ἐκράτησαν Ὁροντοβάτου τοῦ Πέρσου, ὃς τὴν 
te ἀκραν τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ ἐφύλασε καὶ 
Μῦνδου καὶ Καύνου καὶ Θήραν καὶ Καλλίπολιν 
κατείχε· προσήκτο δὲ καὶ Κῶ καὶ Τριώπτου. 
Τούτων ἡττήθατο ἔγραφον μάχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ 
ἀποθανεῖ μὲν τῶν ἄμφ’ αὐτῶν πεζοὺς ἐς 
ἐπτακοσίους καὶ ἱππέας ἐς πεντῆκοντα, ἀλώναι
8 δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττος τῶν χελών. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν 
Σόλονοι θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπίῳ καὶ πομπεύ-
σας αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιά πᾶσα, καὶ λαμ-
πάδα ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ἀγώνα διαθεῖς γυμνικὸν 
καὶ μουσικὸν Σολεύσι μὲν δημοκρατεῖσθαι ἔδωκεν· 
αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναζεύξας ἐς Ταρσὸν τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας
verse. In any case the general meaning was: "Sardanapalus son of Anakyndaraxes built Anchialus and Tarsus in one day;¹ do thou, stranger, eat and drink and be merry, since other human things are not worth this"—the idea being the hand-clap; and (it was said) the word "be merry" had a less delicate original in the Assyrian.

From Anchialus he reached Soli; he took a guard into Soli, and fined them two hundred silver talents, because they were still inclined towards Persia. Thence he took three battalions of the Macedonian infantry, all the archers, and the Agrianes, and marched upon the Cilicians who held the heights. In seven days—no more—he partly drove them out, partly received surrenders, and returned to Soli. There he learnt that Ptolemaeus and Asandros had conquered Orontobates the Persian, who was guarding the citadel of Halicarnassus and held Myndus, Cannus, Thera, and Callipolis, and had won over also Cos and Triopium. The message was that they had beaten him in a pitched battle with a loss of 700 of his foot and 50 cavalry, and at least 1000 prisoners. At Soli Alexander sacrificed to Asclepius, and held a review of his whole army, with a torch relay race and athletic and literary competitions. Soli he allowed to continue democratic. He then proceeded to Tarsus and sent the cavalry to Philotas, to take

¹ See Aristobulus ap. Strabo, p. 672; Athenaeus xii. p. 529. Arrian here seems to follow Ptolemaeus.
ἀπέστειλε Φιλώτα δοὺς ἀγείν διὰ τοῦ Ἀλησίου
9 πεδίον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πύραμον, αὐτὸς δὲ
σὺν τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῇ ἐλῃ τῇ βασιλικῇ ἐς
Μαγαρσὸν ἤκε καὶ τῇ 'Αθηνᾶ τῇ Μαγαρσίδι
ἐβυσσεν. 'Ενθεν δὲ ἐς Μαλλὸν ἄφικετο καὶ
'Αμφιλόχω ὡς ἦροι ἐνήγισε καὶ στασιάζοντας
καταλαβῶν τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῖς κατέπαυσε καὶ
touς φόρους οὕς βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ ἀπέφερον ἀνήκεν,
ὁτι 'Αγγείων μὲν Μαλλώται ἀποκοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς
dὲ ἄπτ' 'Αργοὺς τῶν 'Ηρακλείδων εἶναι ἡξίου.

VI. 'Ετι δὲ ἐν Μαλλῷ ὑμῖν αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται
Δαρείον ἐν Σώχοις ξύν τῇ πάση δυνάμει στρατο-
πεδεῖν. 'Ο δὲ χώρος οὗτος ἔστι μὲν τῆς
'Ασσυρίας γῆς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν
'Ασσυρίων ἐς δύο μάλιστα σταθμοὺς. 'Ενθα
dὴ ἐξουσιασθοῦν τους ἐταίρους φράξει αὐτοὺς τὰ
ἐξηγησόμενα ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς
tῆς Δαρείου. Οἱ δὲ αὐτόθεν ὡς εἰθὺν ἀγείν ἐκέ-
λευν. 'Ο δὲ τότε μὲν ἐπαυνώεσαν αὐτοὺς διέβασε τὸν
ξύλλογον, τῇ δὲ υστεραίᾳ προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρείον
tε καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. Δευτεράδιος δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν
tὰς πύλας ἐστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς Μυριάνδρῳ πόλει καὶ
tῆς νυκτὸς χειμῶν ἐπιγύνεται σκληρὸς καὶ
ὑδρῷ τε ἐξ ὀρέαν καὶ πνεύμα βίαιον τούτο
catέσχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

3 Δαρείος δὲ τέως μὲν ξῦν τῇ στρατιᾷ διέτριβεν,
ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς 'Ασσυρίας γῆς πεδίον πάντη
ἀναπέπταμένον καὶ τῷ τε πλήθει τῆς στρατιᾶς
ἐπιτήδειον καὶ ἐνυππάσασθαι τῇ ἱππῷ ξύμφορον.
Καὶ τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον ἐξυνεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ μὴ
ἀπολιπέτειν 1 'Αμύντας ὁ τοῦ 'Αντιόχου, ὁ παρ'

1 Text B. Α1 απολιπέτειν which though less exact may well
be original.

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them to the River Pyramus through the Aleian plain. Then he, with the infantry and the royal squadron, went to Magarsus and sacrificed to Athenæ of Magarsus. Thence he came to Mallus and made due offerings to Amphilochus, as a hero; he found the Mallians in civil commotion and put a stop to it; he remitted the tribute paid to Dareius, since Mallus was a colony of Argos, and he himself claimed descent from the Argive Heracleidae.

VI. Alexander was still at Mallus when a report came that Dareius with his full force was encamped at Sochi, a place in Assyrian territory, two marching days from the Assyrian Gates. Alexander therefore assembled his staff and told them the news of Dareius and his march, on which they urged him to lead straight on. He thereupon thanked them and dismissed the Council; and next day he marched as if to attack Dareius and the Persians. In two days he passed the Gates and camped near Myriandrus, and in the night there came a severe storm, heavy rain, and violent gale, which kept Alexander in his camp.

Dareius meanwhile dallied with his army, since he had selected a plain in the Assyrian land as being open all round, convenient for the multitude of his host, and suitable for the manoeuvres of his horsemen. Amyntas son of Antiochus, a deserter from
Αλέξανδρον αὐτόμολος· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν πρὸς τοῦ πλῆθους τε καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τῶν Πέρσων.

4 Καὶ ἔμεε Δαρείος. Ὡς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πολλὴ μὲν ἐν Ταρσῷ τριβῇ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐγήγετο, οὐκ όλυγὴ δὲ ἐν Σόλουσ, ὥστε ἐθεῦ τε καὶ ἐπόμπευε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀρείνους Κύλικας διέτριψεν ἐξελάσας, τούτο ἐσφηλε Δαρείον τῆς γυνώμης· καὶ αὐτὸς τε ὁτιπερ ἡδιστὸν ἤν δοξασθὲν, ἐς τούτῳ οὐκ ἄκουσώς ὑπῆρξη, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καθ’ ἱδονὴν ξυμόντων τε καὶ ξυνεσομένων ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῖς ἀεὶ βασιλεύσουσιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἐγνω μηκέτι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν.

5 προϊέναι τοῦ πρόσω. ἀλλ’ ὄκνειν γὰρ πυνθανόμενον ὅτι αὐτὸς προσάγων· καταπατήσειν τε τῇ ἐπὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν στρατιὰν ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν αὐτῷ ἐπαίροντες ἐπέλεγον· καίτοι γ’ ἀμυντας ἤξειν τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον ἰσχυρίζετο ὅπου ἄν πῦθηται Δαρείον ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸν προσμένειν.

6 ἐκέλευεν. Ἀλλὰ τὰ χεῖρω μᾶλλον, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ἡδίω ἀκούσαι ἤν, ἐπειδή· καὶ τι καὶ δαιμόνιον τυχὸν ἔγενεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χώρον, οὐ μήτε ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πολλῆς ὁφέλεια αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, μήτε ἐκ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτοῦ τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀκουστῶν τε καὶ τοξευμάτων, μηδὲ τὴν λαμπρότητα αὐτῆς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπι- δειξαι ἡδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρο τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτῶν ἐνμάρως τὴν νίκην παρέδωκεν.

7 Ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἡδὴ καὶ Πέρσας πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν ἀρχὴν, καθάπερ οὖν Μήδου μὲν πρὸς Περσῶν ἀνηρέθησαν, πρὸς Μήδων δὲ ἔτε ἐμπροσθεὶν Ἀσσύριοι.

1 καίτοι γ’ ὅ̃ Sintenis with probability; Arrian is inexact in position of γ’ τε δ’, yet does not usually follow καίτοι by these directly, but with some word interposed.
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, II. 6. 3-7

Alexander, advised him not to leave this country; there was, he said, elbow-room favourable for the numbers and the equipment of the Persians. Dareius then abode where he was. But Alexander having spent much time in Tarsus on account of his illness, and a good deal at Soli, where he sacrificed and held the review, and again spent some days in his raid on the Cilician hillmen, all this delay made Dareius waver in his decisions. Moreover, Dareius' wishes generally coloured his thoughts, and he liked the pleasanter thoughts; and false courtiers, such as will always haunt kings, led him on to decide that Alexander had no wish to proceed further. In fact, they said, he was hesitating on hearing of Dareius' own approach. On all sides they egged him on, telling him that he would trample underfoot the Madeconian force with his cavalry. Amyntas, however, persisted that Alexander would come wherever he found Dareius to be, and bade him remain where he was. But it was the pleasanter, and so the worse, counsels which prevailed; moreover, some evil genius led Dareius into the very position where his cavalry did not much help him, nor indeed his numbers, his store of javelins, and of archery; where he could make no display of the splendour of his army, but made a mere gift of the victory to Alexander and his force. Fate indeed had resolved that Persia should forfeit the sovereignty of Asia to Macedon, as Media had lost it to Persia, and Assyria, even earlier, to Media.
VII. ὁ περβαλῶν δὴ τὸ ὄρος Δαρείος τὸ κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς Ἀμανίκας καλομένας ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰσσὸν προῆ&psilon; καὶ εἰς εὐπορίαν κατά πόλις Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθῶν. Ἡν δὲ Ἰσσόν κατασχών, ὅσοις διὰ νόσου υπολειμμένους αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων κατέβα, τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰκίσκαμεν ἀπεκτείνεν· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν προὐχώρει ἐπὶ τῶν 2 ποταμῶν τὸν Πίναρον. Καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ὃς ἤκουσεν ἐν τῷ ὅπισθεν αὐτοῦ ὄντα [τὸν] Δαρείον, ἐπεὶ οὐ πιστῶς αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ἔφαινε, ἀναβιβάσας ἐς τριακοντόρων τῶν ἑταίρων τινᾶς ἀποπέμπει ὁπίσω ἐπὶ Ἰσσόν, κατασκεφομένους εἰ τὰ ὄντα ἐξαγγέλλονται. Οἱ δὲ, ἀναπλέουσαν τῇ τριακοντόρῳ, ὅτι κολπώδης ἦν ἡ ταύτη θάλασσα, μᾶλλον τι εὐπετῶς κατέμαθον αὐτῶν στρατοπεδεύοντας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐν χερσὶν εἶναι Δαρείον.

3 Ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας στρατηγοὺς τε καὶ ἱλάρχας καὶ τῶν ἔμμαχων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ήδη σφίσι καλὸς κεκυνδυνεμένων καὶ ὅτι πρὸς νεικημένους ὁ ἄγων νεικηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἔσται καὶ ὅτι ὃς ὑπέρ σφῶν στρατηγεῖ ἅμειν, ἐπὶ νῦν Δαρείῳ ἅγαγόν καθεύρει τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς εὐνυχορίας ἐστὶ τὰ στενοπόρα, ἣν σφίσι μὲν ἐξυμμετρῶν τὸ χωρίον ἀναπτύσσει τὴν φάλαγγα, τοῖς δὲ ἀχρείον τὸ πλῆθος ὃτι ἔσται τῇ μάχῃ, οὕτε τὰ σώματα οὕτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλησίοις. Μακεδόνας τε γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ Μήδοις, ἐκ πάνω πολλοῦ τρυφώσων, αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πάλαι ἦδη μετὰ κινδύνων ἀσκομένους, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ δούλους ἀνθρώποις ἔλευθερους, ἐς 146
VII. Dareius, then, crossed the height by the Amanian Gates and marched towards Issus; and he slipped in unperceived behind Alexander. Seizing Issus he grievously mutilated and slew all the invalid Macedonians left behind there whom he captured. Next day he advanced to the River Pinarus. Alexander, hearing that Dareius was in his rear, but not crediting the report, embarked some of the territorials in a thirty-oared ship and sent them back to Issus, to verify the report. Those who sailed in this vessel discovered the more easily the Persians encamping there, since the coast takes the form of a bay, and they reported to Alexander that Dareius was at hand.

He, summoning commanders, squadron leaders, and allied officers, bade them be of good cheer in view of dangers successfully surmounted in the past; besides, the coming battle was to be between themselves, already proved victors, and the Persians, already once vanquished; more than that, heaven itself was a better strategist on their own side, having put it into Dareius' mind to hem his force into the narrow pass, leaving to them the open country behind, so that they had a space of just the size for the deployment of their phalanx, while the Persians would have no benefit from their numbers, since their men and their resolution were no match for those of the Greeks. "We Macedonians," he continued, "are to fight Medes and Persians, nations long steeped in luxury, while we have long been hardened by warlike toils and dangers; and above all it will be a fight of free men against slaves.
κείρας ἥξειν· οὐσὶ τε Ἰλληνες Ἰλλησιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἔχων Δαρείω ἐπὶ μισθὸ καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ πολλῷ κινδυνεύοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἔχων σφίσιν, ύπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἕκοντας ἀμυνομένους. Βαρβάρων τε αὐ Θρᾶκας καὶ Παλονας καὶ Ἰλλυρίους καὶ Ἀγριάνας τοὺς εὑρωστοτάτους τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μαχητάτους πρὸς τὰ ἀποφότατα τε καὶ μαλακῶτα τῆς Ἀσίας γένη ἀντιτάξεθαν ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντιστρατηγεῖν Δαρείω. Ταῦτα μὲν ὅσα ἐπαυξῆσαν τοῦ ἀγώνος ἐπεξῆγε τὰ δὲ ἀθλα ὅτι μεγάλα ἐσται σφίσι τοῦ κινδύνου ἐπεδείκνυνε. Οὐ γὰρ τοὺς σατράπας τοὺς Δαρείου ἐν τῷ τότε κρατήσειν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἱππον τὴν ἐπὶ Γραικῷ ταχθεῖαιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς δισμυρίους ξένους τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν· τε δτυπερ ὄφελος καὶ Μήδων καὶ ὀσα ἄλλα ἔθνη Πέρσαις καὶ Μήδοις ὑπήκοα ἐποικεῖ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ αὐτὸν μέγαν βασιλεὰ παρόντα, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθησεται σφισιν ἐπὶ τῶ ογώνῳ ὅτι μὴ κρατεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξουπάσης καὶ πέρας τοῖς πολλοῖς πόνοις ἐπιθείναι. Ἐπὶ τούτως δὲ τῶν τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἔχων λαμπρότητι ἄγη πεπραγμένων ὑπεμίμνησε καὶ εἰ δὴ τῷ ίδιῳ τι διαπρεπὲς ἐς κάλλος τετολμημένων, ονομαστι ἐκαστον ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνακαλῶν. Καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ὡς ἀνεπαχθεὶστα ἐπεξῆγε. Δέγεται δὲ καὶ Ξενοφόντος καὶ τῶν ἂμα Ξενοφόντι μυρίων ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν, ὡς οὐδέν τι ὦτε κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὐτε κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀξίωσιν σφίσιν ἐπεικότες, οὗτος ἐπιτέων αὐτοῖς παρόντων Θεσσαλῶν, οὐδὲ Βοιωτῶν ἐ 148
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, II. 7. 4-8

And so far as Greek will meet Greek, we shall not be fighting for like causes; those with Dareiues will risk their lives for pay, and poor pay too; our troops will fight as volunteers for Greece. As for our foreign troops, Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Agrianes, the stoutest in Europe, and the most warlike, will be ranged against the feeblest and softest hordes of Asia: nay, further, you have an Alexander engaging in a duel of strategy against a Dareiues.” Thus he drew out their superiority in the coming struggle; he showed that the stakes of their hazard were great too. It was not Dareiues’ satraps of whom they were to be masters now, nor the cavalry that lined the Granicus, nor the twenty thousand foreign troops, but the flower of Medes and Persians and their subject nations in Asia; the Great King was there himself; nothing remained after this final struggle but to lord it over all Asia and set an end to their many heroic labours. Besides, he reminded them of all they had already achieved with brilliant success for their common cause; any noble individual act of bravery he cited, both the deed and the man; with some delicacy he mentioned his own personal risks in previous battles. He alluded, we are told, to Xenophon and his Ten Thousand, far below themselves in number or in repute, with no cavalry, neither Boeotian nor Pelo-
Πελοποννησίων, ονδὲ Μακεδόνων ἡ Ὀρακὼν, ονδὲ ὄση ἄλλη σφισίν ὕππος ἐξυπνεῖται, ονδὲ τοξοτῶν ἡ σφευδονητῶν, ὅτι μὴ Κρητῶν ἡ Ῥοδίων ὀλύγων, καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὑπὸ Ἐνοφῶν-τος αὐτοσχεδιασθέντων, οἱ δὲ βασιλεὰ τῇ πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς Βασυλῶν αὐτῇ ἐτρέψατο καὶ ἔθνη ὅσα ἄλλα κατιόντων εἰς τὸν Εὐξεινον πόντον καθ' ὀδὸν σφισίν ἐπέγενετο νικώντες ἐπήλθον· ὅσα τῇ ἄλλᾳ ἐν τῷ τοὐφῷ πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ἐς παράκλησιν ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐς ἀγαθοῦ ἥγεμόνος παρανεισθαί εἰκός. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν δεξιούμενοι τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπαιροῦντες ἄγειν ἣδη ἐκέλευον.

VIII. 'Ο δὲ τότε μὲν δευτυνποιεῖσθαί παραγγέλλει· προπέμπει δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τῶν τε ἱππεῶν ὀλύγους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν προκατασκεψομένους τὴν ὀδὸν τὴν ὀπίσω· καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν ἦε, ὡς κατα-2 σχέιν αὖθις τὰς πύλας. Ὁς δὲ ἄρμὶ μέσας νῦκτας ἐκράτησεν αὖθις τῶν παρόδων, ἀνέπαυε τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ λοιπὸν τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν, προφυλακάς ἀκριβεῖς καταστησάμενος. 'Τπο δὲ τὴν ἐως κατηκε ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν καὶ ἔως μὲν πάντῃ στενότορα ἦν τὰ χωρία, ἐπὶ κέρως ἤγεν· ὡς δὲ διεχόρρει ἐς πλάτος, ἀνέπτυσσεν αἰὲ τὸ κέρας ἐς φάλαγγα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλην τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάξιν παράγων, τῇ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ 3 τὴν βάλασσαν. Οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὐτῷ τέως μὲν κατόπιν τῶν πεζῶν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Ὁς δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν προῆςαν, συνέτασσεν ἣδη τὴν

1 ἀνέπαυε ὁ Krüger. See on I. 27, § 7.

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ponnesian, neither Macedonian nor Thracian, nor such other horse as they now had; no archers nor slingers, save a few Cretans and Rhodians, and those hastily scraped together by Xenophon when in sore straits. Yet the Ten Thousand turned to flight the Great King himself at the very gates of Babylon, and marched victoriously against the various tribes which barred their way as they descended to the Euxine Sea; of all this he told them, and whatever else, at such a time, in face of dangers, a brave general would by way of encouragement tell brave men. They crowded round and clasped their king’s hand, and cheering him to the echo bade him lead on.

VIII. For the moment, however, Alexander bade his troops take their meal, but he sent on towards the Gates a few horsemen and archers to reconnoitre the road that lay behind them; then he himself at nightfall with his whole force marched off to seize the Gates again. When, about midnight, he held the passes once more, he halted his army for the rest of the night on the crags, having carefully set outposts. Just upon dawn he descended from the Gates along the road; and as long as the narrows lasted he led in column; but when it grew broader he deployed his column into phalanx, bringing up battalion after battalion of men-at-arms, on the right, up to the ridge, on the left, to the sea. The cavalry so far had been ranged behind the infantry; but when they got into open ground, at once he
στρατιὰν ὡς ἐς μάχην, πρῶτος μὲν ἔπὶ τοῦ
dεξιοῦ κέρως πρὸς τῷ ὁρεὶ τῶν πεζῶν τὸ τε
ἀγγῆμα καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς, διὸ ἤγειτο Νικάνωρ
ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἐχομένην δὲ τούτων τὴν Κολώνον
tάξιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως τὴν Περδίκκου. Οὕτωι μὲν
ἐστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ
4 ἀρξαμένῳ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Ἡ ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐνύ-
μου πρῶτη μὲν ἡ Ἀμύντου τάξις ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ
Πτολεμαίου, ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ Μελεάγρου.
Τού δὲ εὐνύμου τοῖς πεζίσι μὲν Κράτερος
ἐπετέκτω ἄρχειν, τοῦ δὲ ἔμπαντος εὐνύμου
Παρμενίων ἤγειτο καὶ παρῆγγελτο αὐτῷ μὴ
ἀπολείπειν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς μὴ κυκλώθειειν ἐκ
τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅτι πάντη ὑπερφαλαγγῆσαι
αὐτῶν διὰ πλῆθος ἤμελλον.

5 Δαρείου δὲ ἔπειδη ἔξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ προσάγων
ἡδη Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐς μάχην, τῶν μὲν ἰππέων
διαβιβάζει πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Πινάρου ἐς
τρισμυρίους μάλιστα τὸν ἄριθμον, καὶ μετὰ
tούτων τῶν ζωλῶν ἐς δισμυρίους, ὅπως τὴν
6 λοιπὴν δύναμιν καθ' ἡσυχίαν συντάξει. Καὶ
πρῶτος μὲν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς
μισθοφόρους ἔταξεν ἐς τρισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν
φάλαγγα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως τῶν
Καρδάκων καλουμένων ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθέν ἐς ἐξα-
κυμνών ὀπλίται δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οὕτως. Τοσοῦ-
tους γὰρ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἀπλῆς ἐδέχετο τὸ χωρίον
7 ἦνα ἐτάσσοντο. 'Επετάξε δὲ καὶ τῷ ὁρεὶ τῷ ἐν
ἀριστερὰς σφῶν κατὰ τὸ Ἀλέξανδρου δεξιὸν ἐς
δισμυρίους καὶ τούτων ἐστὶν οὗ κατὰ νότου
ἐγένοντο τῆς Ἀλέξανδρου στρατιάς. Τὸ γὰρ
ὁρος ἦνα ἐπετάχθησαν πῆ μὲν διεχώρει ἐς βάθος
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drew up his army in battle order; first on the right wing towards the mountain ridge, in front, he placed the picked infantry troops and his bodyguard, under Nicanor son of Parmenio, next to them Coenus' battalion, and then that of Perdicas. These, right to left, stretched to the centre of the men-at-arms. On the left, first came Amyntas' battalion, then Ptolemaeus', and next Meleager's. Craterus was put in command of the infantry on the left, but Parmenio of the entire left wing, under orders not to edge away from the sea, lest the Persians should surround them, since from their great numbers they were likely to overlap the Greeks in extended line.

Dareius for his part, when the approach of Alexander in battle order was reported to him, sent about 30,000 of his cavalry over the River Pinarus and 20,000 light infantry with them, that he might at his leisure deploy the rest. Foremost of his heavier troops he placed the Greek mercenaries, 30,000 of them, facing the Macedonian phalanx; next, on either side, 60,000 of the Kardakes, who were also heavy-armed troops; this was the number which the ground where they stood allowed to be posted in line. He stationed also about 20,000 by the ridge on his left to face Alexander's right; some of these actually got to the rear of Alexander's force, since the mountain ridge where they were posted opened here and there to some depth and

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καὶ κολπώδες τι αὐτοῦ ὄσπερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἐγγύνετο· ἔπειτα ἐς ἐπικαμπήν προίδων τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τεταγμένους κατόπιν τοῦ δεξιοῦ 8 κέρως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐποίει. Τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλήθος αὐτοῦ ψιλῶν τε καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, κατὰ ἔθνη συντεταγμένον ἐς βάθος οὐκ ὑφελμον, ὅπισθεν ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μεσθοφόρων καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος τεταγμένου βαρβαρικοῦ. Ἐλεγετο γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ἡ ἐξὶν Δαρείῳ στρατιὰ μᾶλιστα ἐς ἐξήκοντα μυριάδας μαχίμους εἶναι.

9 Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ, ὡς αὐτῷ πρόσω ἱόντι τὸ χωρίον διέσχεν ὅλγον ἐς πλάτος, παρήγαγε τοὺς ἰππέας, τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καλουμένους καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας. 1 Καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξίῳ κέρα ἀμα ὦ ἐταξίς τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ συμμαχικόν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐόνυμον πέμπτει ὡς Παρμενίων.

10 Δαρείῳ δὲ, ὡς συντεταγμενὴ ἡδῆ ἢν αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, τοὺς ἱππέας οὔστινα πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ δέτε προτετάχει ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ ἢ ἐκταξίς τῆς στρατιᾶς γένοιτο, ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ ἐκνθήματος. Καὶ τούτους τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ δεξίῳ κέρατι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ Παρμενίων ἐταξίς, ὅτι ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἰππάσιμα ἤν· μέρος δὲ τα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐόνυμον πρὸς τὰ δρῆ παρήγαγεν. ᾿Ως δὲ ἀχρείοι ἐνταῦθα διὰ στενώτητα τῶν χωρίων ἑφαίνοντο, καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς παριπτεύοντι ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιοῦ κέρας σφῶν ἐκέλευσεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ Δαρείος τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης τάξεως ἐπείχε, καθάπερ νόμος τοῖς

1 Who were these Makedones if not etairos? Roos suggests Palovar.
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, II. 8. 7-11

had, in fact, bays like the sea; then trending outwards again it brought those posted on the heights to the rear of Alexander's right wing. The general mass of their light and heavy troops arranged by their territories and to an unserviceable depth was behind the Greek mercenaries and the Persian phalanx. Historians put Dareius' fighting force at some 600,000.

Alexander, however, finding the ground opening somewhat as he went forward, brought on his cavalry and the so-called "Comrades," the Thessalians, and the Macedonians. These all he posted with himself on the right wing; any Peloponnesians and other allies he sent to Parmenio on the left.

Dareius, his phalanx once in due order, recalled by signal such cavalry as he had thrown in front of the river to cover his deployment. Most of these he posted over against Parmenio on the right wing, by the sea, because it was rather better ground for cavalry; part, however, he sent to the left, near the hills. But as they proved useless there from want of space he ordered the greater number of them also to ride round to his right wing. Dareius himself held the centre of his whole host, the regular
Περσῶν βασιλεύσι tετάχθαι καὶ τοῦ νοῦ τῆς 
tάξεως ταύτης Ξενοφῶν ὁ τοῦ Γρῦλλου ἀναγέ-
γραφεν.

IX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος κατιδὼν ὠλίγου 
pάσαν τήν τῶν Περσῶν ἱππον μετακεχωρηκυίαν 
ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὡς πρὸς τήν θάλασ-
σαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τοὺς Πελοπονησίους μόνους καὶ 
tους ἄλλους τῶν ἐμμάχων ἱππέας ταύτη τεταγ-
μένους, πέμπει κατὰ τάχος τοὺς Θεσσαλίους 
ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, κελεύσας μὴ πρὸ τοῦ 
μετώπου τῆς πάσης τάξεως παριππεύσαι, τοῦ 
μὴ καταφαινεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι μεταχω-
ροῦντας, ἀλλὰ κατόπιν τῆς φάλαγγας ἄφανὸς 

dиеλθεῖν. Προέταξε δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τὸ 
δεξίον τοὺς προδρόμους, ὃν ἤγειτο Πρωτόμαχος, 
cαὶ τοὺς Παῖονας, ὃν ἤγειτο Ἁριστων τῶν δὲ 
πεζῶν τοὺς τοξότας, ὃν ἤρχεν Ἀντίοχος τοὺς 
dὲ Ἀγριάνας, ὃν ἤρχεν Ἀτταλος, καὶ τῶν 
ἱππέων τινὰς καὶ τῶν τεξτόν ἐς ἐπικαμπὴν 
πρὸς τὸ ὄρος τὸ κατὰ νότον ἔταξεν, ὡστε κατὰ 
tὸ δεξίον αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐς δύο κέρατα 
dιέχουσαν τετάχθαι, τὸ μὲν ὅς πρὸς Δαρείων τε 
cαὶ τοὺς πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς πάντας Πέρσας, 
tὸ δὲ ὅς πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ὅρει κατὰ νότον σφῶν 

tεταγμένους. Τοῦ δὲ εὐώνυμου προετάχθησαν 
tῶν μὲν πεζῶν οἱ τε Κρῆτες τοξόται καὶ οἱ 
Θράκες, ὃν ἤγειτο Σιτάλκης πρὸ τούτων δὲ ἡ 
ἱππὸς ἥ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον. Οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι 
ξένοι πᾶσι ἐπετάχθησαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε πυκνὴ 
αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐφαι-
νετο, πολὺ τε ταύτη ὑπερφαλαγγήσειν οἱ Πέρσαι 
ἐδόκουν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐκέλευσε δύο ἔλας τῶν 
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position for Persian kings; Xenophon son of Gryllus has accurately described the general idea of this arrangement.\footnote{Xen. \textit{Anab.} i. 8. 21.}

IX. Meanwhile Alexander, observing nearly all the Persian cavalry transferred to his left, resting on the sea, while he had only the Peloponnesians and the other allied horse on this side, despatched at full speed the Thessalian cavalry to the left, with orders not to ride in front of the line, so as not to be sighted by the enemy, but to pass quickly at the rear of his phalanx. But he pushed forward the cavalry patrols on his right, under Protonachus, and the Paeonians under Antiochus, the Agrianes under Attalus, some of the cavalry and of the archers, he threw back at an acute angle towards the foothills in his rear, so that on his right wing his line forked into two parts, one facing Dareius and the main body of Persians across the river, the other towards the force posted in his rear in the hills. On the left wing, of the infantry, foremost were the Cretans and Thracians, under Sitalces, with the cavalry of the left wing in advance of these. The foreign mercenaries were distributed among all the troops. But as his line did not seem very solid on his right, and the Persians seemed likely to overlap them considerably there, he ordered from the centre two territorial squadrons and the squadron from
περουδας ο Μενεσθέως, και την Δευγαλαν καλουμένην, ςς ήγειτο Παντόρδανος ο Κλεάνδρου, επὶ 4 το δεξιον αφανως παρελθειν. Και τους τοξώτας δὲ και μέρος των 'Αγριάνων και των 'Ελλήνων μυσθοφόρων έστιν ους κατὰ το δεξιον το αυτου έπι μετώπων παραγαγων εξέτεινεν ύπερ το των Περσών κέρας την φάλαγγα. 'Εσπει γὰρ οἱ υπὲρ του ὄρους τεταγμένοι ούτε κατήσαν, ἐκδρομὴς τε ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τῶν 'Αγριάνων και τῶν τοξώτων ὀλίγων κατὰ πρόσταξιν 'Αλεξάνδρου γενομένης ῥαδίως ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπωρείας ἀνασταλέντες ἐς τὸ ἄκρον ἀνέβυνον, ἔγινο καὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένοις δυνάτος ὄν χρήσασθαι ἐς ἀναπληρωσιν τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐκείνοις δὲ ἱππεας τριακοσίους ἐπιτάξαι ἐξήρκεσεν.

X. Οὔτω δὴ τεταγμένους χρόνον μὲν τυι προῆγεν ἀναπαύον, ὡστε καὶ πάνω ἐδοξε σχολαία γενέσθαι αὐτῷ ἡ πρόσοδος. Τοὺς γὰρ ἱππόποδος, ὡς τὰ πρώτα ἐτάχθησαν, οὐκέτι ἀντιπηγε δαρείος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς ὀχθαῖς, πολλαχὴ μὲν ἀποκρήμνοις οὐσίασ, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅποι καὶ χάρακα παρατείνασ αὐταῖς, ἵνα εὐεφοδότερα ἐφαίνετο, οὔτως ἔμενεν. Καὶ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς δῆλος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ 2 γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. 'Ὄς δὲ ὅμοι ᾦδη ἦν τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἐνταῦθα παριππεύων πάντη Ἀλέξανδρος παρεκάλει ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, οὐ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μόνον τὰ ὄνοματα ξύν τῷ πρέποντι κόσμῳ ἀνακαλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰλάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ τῶν ἔκενων τῶν μυσθοφόρων ὅσοι κατ' ἄξιωσιν ἦ τινα ἀρετὴν γνωριμώτεροι.
Anthemus, whose squadron leader was Peroedes son of Menestheus, and that called the Leugaean, under Pantordanus son of Cleander; the word being passed that they were to transfer unobserved to the right wing. The archers and some of the Agrianes and of the Greek mercenaries he led to the front of his right wing and so extended his line to outflank the Persian wing. For since the troops posted in the hills had not descended—nay, on a raid of the Agrianes and a few archers, at Alexander's order, they had been easily dislodged and had fled to the summit—Alexander understood that he could use those who had been posted to hold them in check to deepen his phalanx. To watch the hill troops he reckoned it enough to tell off three hundred horsemen.

X. His forces thus marshalled, Alexander led them on for some time with halts, so that their advance seemed quite a leisurely affair. For Dareius did not yet lead on the Persians, arrayed as at the first, but remained on the river banks, which were in many places precipitous, in some parts building up a stockade, where they appeared more accessible. It was here that Alexander's staff perceived Dareius to be a man of no spirit. But when the two armies were close, Alexander riding along his front bade them be good men and true, calling aloud the names, with all proper distinctions, not only of the commanders, but even squadron leaders and captains, as well as any of the mercenaries who were conspicuous for rank or for any deed of valour. There
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 Indices καὶ αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν βοὴ ἐγίνετο μὴ διατρίβειν, ἀλλὰ ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους.

3 'Ὁ δὲ ἤγγει ἐν τάξει ἐτι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, καὶ περ ἐν ἀπόπτω ἤδη ἔχων τὴν Δαρείου δύναμιν, βάσην, τοῦ μὴ διασπασθῆναι τι ἐν τῇ ξυντονώτερᾳ πορείᾳ κυμήναν τῆς φάλαγγος ώς δὲ ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγύγνωτο, πρῶτοι δὴ οἱ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένος δρόμῳ ἔς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐνέβαλον, ὡς τῇ τε ἐξυπητὶ τῆς ἐφόδου εκπλήξαι τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τοῦ θάσσου ἐς χείρας ἐλθόντας ὀλύγα πρὸς τῶν τοξοτῶν

4 βλάπτεσθαι. Καὶ ἦνεβη ὅπως εἶκασεν Ἀλέξανδρος εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τρέπονται τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ τῷ ἀριστερῷ κέρα ἐπιτεταγμένοι καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα Ἀλέξανδρος τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ αὐτῶν οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι οἱ ἔνων Δαρείου, ἡ διέσχε τῶν Μακεδόνων ἡ φάλαξ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ

5 δεξιὸν κέρας παραρραγεῖσα, οτι Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν σπουδῆ ἔς τῶν ποταμῶν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης ποιήσας ἔξωθε ήδη τοὺς ταύτῃ τεταγμένους τῶν Περσῶν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῶν Μακεδόνων οὔτε τῇ ἱσθ σπουδῆ ἡγάντω τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολλαχῆς κρημνώδεσι ταῖς ὁχθαῖς ἐντυγχάνοντες τὸ μέτωπον τῆς φάλαγγος οὐ δυνατοὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει διασώσασθαι, ταύτῃ ἐμβάλλοντες οἱ Ἐλληνες τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἡ μάλιστα διεσπασμένην αὐτοῖς τῆν φάλαγγα

6 κατείδου. Καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐνταῦθα καρτερὸν ἦν, τῶν μὲν ἐς τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπώσασθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ τῆς νάκης τοῖς ἢδη φεύγουσι σφῶν ἀνασώσασθαι τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ τῆς τ' Ἀλεξάν-160
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came an answering cry to him from all sides to tarry no longer, but to charge the foe. He continued to lead on in line, at first slowly, though with Dareius' force in full view, desiring that no part of the phalanx should fluctuate in the more rapid advance and so become dispartered; but once within range, first Alexander's suite and himself too, in his post on the right wing, took the river at the double, in order to confound the Persians by the swoop of their attack, and by joining in the mellay the sooner to receive the less harm from the Persian archers. All fell out as Alexander had guessed. For the moment the battle joined, the Persian left gave way; and here Alexander and his immediate following scored a triumphant success. But Dareius' Greek mercenaries, where the Macedonian phalanx showed a gap, having broken away to the right wing—for Alexander had flung into the river in hot haste—had come to blows with the Persians and were already driving them back at this point, while the Macedonian centre did not get to work with like enthusiasm, and finding the banks in many places steep could not keep their front unbroken—the Greeks, I say, at this point charged the Macedonians just where they saw the phalanx most agape. There the action was severe, the Greeks tried to push off the Macedonians into the river and to restore victory to their already retreating wing; but the Macedonians,
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δρον Ἡδη φαινομένης εὐπραγίας μὴ λειφθήναι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς φάλαγγος, ὡς ἀμάχου δὴ
7 ἐσ τὸ τότε διαβεβομένης, μὴ ἀφανίσαι. Καὶ
tε καὶ τοὺς γένεσι τῷ τῷ Ἐλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ
Μακεδονικῷ φιλοτιμίας ἐνέπεσεν ἐς ἀλλήλους.
Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πίπτει Πτολεμαῖος τε ὁ Σελεύκου,
ἂνὴρ ἄγαθος γενόμενος, καὶ ἄλλοι ἔστε ἐἰκοσὶ
μᾶλιστα καὶ ἐκατὸν τῶν οὐκ ἡμελημένων Μακε-
δόνων.

XI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως
tάξεις, τετραμμένους Ἡδῆ τοὺς κατὰ σφάς τῶν
Περσῶν ὁρῶντες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους τε τοὺς
μισθοφόρους τοὺς Δαρείου καὶ τὸ πονούμενον σφῶν
ἐπικάμψαντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπώσαντο
αὐτοὺς, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρερρωγὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ
στρατεύματος ὑπερφαλαγγήσαντες ἐσ τὰ πλάγια
2 ἐμβεβληκότες Ἡδῆ ἐκδότων τοὺς ξένους· καὶ οἱ
ἰππεῖς δὲ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν κατὰ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς
tεταγμένοι οὐκ ἔμειναν ἐντὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν
αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπιδιαβάντες εὐρώστος
ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὰς ἱλιας τῶν Θεσσαλῶν· καὶ ταύτη
ξυνέστη ἱππομαχία καρτερά· οὐδὲ πρόσθεν
ἐνέκλιναν οἱ Πέρσαι, πρὶν Δαρείου τε πεφευγότα
ἡσθοῦντα καὶ πρὶν ἀπορραγήσην σφῶν τοὺς μισθο-
3 φοροὺς συγκοπεύνας ὑπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος. Τότε
δὲ Ἡδῆ λαμπρὰ τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἡ φυγή
ἐγίγνετο· καὶ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν ἱπποί ἐν τῇ
ἀναχωρήσει ἐκακοπάθους, βαρέως ὀπλισμένους
tοὺς ἁμβάτας σφῶν φέροντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς,
kατὰ στενᾶς ὀδοὺς πληθεὶ τε πολλοὶ καὶ πεφοβη-
μένοις συν ἄπαξία ἀποχωροῦντες, οὐ μείον ἀπ'
ἀλλήλων καταπατούμενοι ἡ πρὸς τῆς διώξεως
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seeing Alexander's success assured, did not mean to be a whit behind, nor to suffer any eclipse of their prestige and their proud title of "invincible." There arose also a racial rivalry between Greeks and Macedonians. Here it was that Ptolemaeus son of Seleucus fell, a good man and true, and about a hundred and twenty distinguished Macedonians.

XI. Now the battalions on the right wing, seeing the Persians opposed to them already turned back, inclined towards Dareius' mercenaries and their own hard-pressed centre, and drove these from the river, and then overlapping the now broken Persian left, by an oblique move, attacked and were in a trice cutting down the mercenaries. However, the Persian cavalry posted opposite to the Thessalians did not keep their ground on the river bed in the action, but crossed manfully and charged the Thessalian squadrons, and here there was a desperate cavalry fight; the Persians did not give way till they saw Dareius in flight and till their mercenaries were cut off, mowed down by the phalanx. But then the rout was open and universal. The Persian horses suffered much in the retreat, with their riders heavily armed, while the riders too, hurrying by narrow roads in a crowded horde, in terror and in disorder, were as much damaged being ridden
τῶν πολέμων ἐβλάπτοντο. Καὶ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ εὐρώστως αὐτοῖς ἐπέκειντο, ὡστε οὐ μείον ἡ τῶν πεζῶν φόνος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ τῶν ἵππων ἐγλυμετο.

4 Δαρείος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφοβήθη τὸ κέρας τοῦ εὐόνυμου καὶ ταῦτα ἀπορρηγνύμενον κατείδες τοῦ ἀλλοῦ στρατόπεδου, εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐξῆν τοὺς πρῶτοις ἐφευγε. Καὶ ἔστε μὲν ὁμαλοὶς χωρίοις ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπετύγχανεν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος διεσώζετο· ὡς δὲ-φάραγξ τε καὶ ἄλλαις δυσχωρίαις ἐνέκυρσε, τὸ μὲν ἄρμα ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν κάνδυν ἐκδόσῃ· ὃ δὲ καὶ τὸ τόξον ἀπολείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸν ἑπιβάς ἐφευγε· καὶ ἡ νυξ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐπιγενομένη ἀφείλετο.

5 αὐτὸν τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀλώναι. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἔστε μὲν φάος ἥν ἀνὰ κράτος ἐδώκεν· ὡς δὲ συνεσκόταζε τε ἡ ἡδὴ καὶ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ἀφανῆ ἦν, ἐσ τὸ ἑμπαλιν ἀπετράπετο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ μέντοι ἄρμα τὸ Δαρείος ἐλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν κάνδυν καὶ τὸ τόξον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ δίωξις βραδυτέρα αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ παραρρήξει τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπιστρέφας καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πρόσθεν ἐσ τὸ διώκειν ἐτράπετο, πρὶν τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους τοὺς ξένους καὶ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἰππικῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπωσθέντας κατείδη.

6 τῶν ὁ περσῶν ἀπέθανον Ἁρσάμης μὲν καὶ Ἁρεμίθρης καὶ Ἁρεξύνης τῶν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ ἡγεσαμένων τοῦ ἰππικοῦ· ἀποδνήσκει δὲ καὶ Σαβάκης ὁ Αἰγύπτου σατράπης καὶ Βουβάκης τῶν ἐντίμων Περσῶν· τὸ δὲ ἀλλοὶ πλῆθος εἰς δέκα μάλιστα 1 τῶν for ὁς (A), a conjecture mentioned by Krüger.
over by one another as by their pursuers. The Thessalians stoutly pressed them, and there was as much slaughter in the cavalry as in the infantry flight.

Dareius, for his part, the moment his left wing was panic-stricken by Alexander and he beheld it thus cut off from the rest of his army, fled just as he was in his chariot, and in the van of the fugitives. So long as he found level ground, he found safety in his chariot; but when he met defiles and other difficulties, he left his chariot and threw away his shield and his outer mantle, nay, left even his bow in the chariot, and fled on horseback; night, speedily falling, saved him from becoming Alexander's captive. For Alexander pursued with all his might as long as daylight held; but when it grew dark and he could not see his way, he turned back towards the camp, taking, however, Dareius' chariot, and with it his shield, bow, and mantle. The fact is that his pursuit was the slower, since he had wheeled back at the first breaking through of the phalanx and had not himself turned to pursue till he had seen the mercenaries and the Persian cavalry driven back from the river.

Of the Persians fell Arsames and Rheomithres and Atizyes of the cavalry commanders on the Granicus; Sabakes the satrap of Egypt, and Bubakes, of the Persian nobles; as for the rank and file, some 100,000,
μυριάδας καὶ ἐν τούτωι ἵππεις ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγου, ἐξυνεπιστομένος τότε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τοὺς μετὰ σφῶν διώκοντας Δαρείου, ὥς ἐπὶ φάραγγι τῶι ἐν τῇ διώξει ἐγένοντο, ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν διαβήναι τὴν φάραγγα.

Τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή, αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου, καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἐάλωσαν καὶ ἀλλαὶ ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὀμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλαί. Οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τὰς γυναίκας σφῶν ἔχουν τῇ ἀλλῇ κατα- σκευῆς ἐς Δαμασκόν ἐτυχοῦσ' ἐσταλκότεσ'. ἐπεὶ καὶ Δαρείος τῶν τε χρημάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὧσα ἄλλα μεγάλῳ βασιλείᾳ ἐς πολυτελῇ δίαιταν καὶ στρατευμένοι ὄμως συνέπεται πεπόμφει ἐς Δαμα- σκόν, ὡστε ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι οὐ πλείωνα ἢ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἕαλω. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν Δαμασκῷ χρήματα ὀλίγων ὑστεροῦν ἕαλω ὑπὸ Παρμενίων ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σταλέντος. Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀθηναίων Νικοκράτους μηνὸς Μαιμακτηρίων.

XII. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ, καὶ περ ἐπεραμένεος τῶν μηρῶν Ἀλεξάνδρους ζήφει, ὁ δὲ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐπήλθε, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐξυπαγαγὼν ἔθαψε μεγα- λοπρεπῶς ἔσων τῇ δυνάμει πάση ἐκτεταγμένη λαμπρότατα ὡς ἐς πόλεμον καὶ λόγῳ τε ἐπεκόσμησεν ὅσοι τι διαπρεπὲς ἔργον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἢ αὐτὸς ἔυνεγόν εἰργασμένον ἢ ἀκοὴ συμφωνού- μενον ἐμαθεί· καὶ χρημάτων ἐπιδόσει ὡς ἐκάστους

2 ἔσων τῇ ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησε. Καὶ Κιλικίας μὲν ἀποδει- κνύει σατράπην Βάλακρον τῶν Νικάνορος, ἔνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τῶν Βασιλικῶν· ἀντὶ δὲ
among which were over 10,000 cavalry, so that Ptolemaeus son of Lagos, who then was with Alexander, says that the pursuers of Dareius meeting a deep gully in the pursuit crossed it on bodies of the dead. Dareius' camp was stormed and captured, with his mother, wife, who was sister also of Dareius, and his infant son; two daughters also were taken, and in their suite some few noble Persian ladies. For the other Persians had sent their women-folk and baggage to Damascus; Dareius too had sent thither the greater part of his money and all else that goes along with a great king, even on campaign, to meet his extravagant way of living; they found, therefore, in the camp not above three thousand talents. Yet even this wealth at Damascus was captured soon after by Parmenio, who was specially detailed to do so. So ended this battle, fought in the archonship at Athens of Nicocrates and in the month Maimakterion.¹

XII. Next day, despite a sword wound in his thigh, Alexander went round to see the wounded; and the dead he gathered together and gave them a splendid military funeral, the whole army marshalled in their finest battle array. He praised all who, by his own personal witness, or by the agreed report of others, he knew had done valorous deeds in the battle; these one and all he honoured by a donation suitable to their desert. He appointed as satrap of Cilicia Balacrus son of Nicanor, one of the royal

¹ November 333.
τούτον ἐσ τοὺς σωματοφύλακας κατέλεξε Μένητα τὸν Διονυσίου. ἀντὶ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Πολυστέρχοντα
1 τὸν Σιμμίου ἀρχεῖν ἀπέδειξε τῆς εκείνου τάξεως. Καὶ Σολεύσι τὰ τε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἃ ἐνδείᾳ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἕπιβληθέντων σφίσι χρημάτων ἀνήκε καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπέδωκεν.

3 Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Δαρείου οὐδὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τῶν παιδῶν ἤμέλησεν. Ἀλλὰ λέγουσι τινες τῶν τὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γράψαντων, τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τῆς Δαρείου ἐπανήκεν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθόντα αὐτὸν τὴν Δαρείου, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐξήρημεν ἢν, ἀκούσας γυναικῶν ὀίμωγην καὶ ἅλλον τοιοῦτον θόρυβον οὗ

4 πόρρω τῆς σκηνῆς πυθέσθαι οὐν αἴτινες γυναικὲς καὶ ἀνθ’ ὅτον οὕτως ἐγγὺς παρασκηνοῦσι καὶ τινα ἐξαγγείλαι, ὡς, Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ἡ μήτηρ τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Δαρείου καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς, ὡς ἐξηγγελθηκαί αὐταῖς ὅτι τὸ τόξον τοῦ Δαρείου ἐχει καὶ τὸν κάνδυν τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡ ἀσπίδας ὅτι κεκόμεσται ὁπίσω ἡ Δαρείου, ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῦντι Δαρείῳ

5 ἀνοιμάξουσι. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψα τροσ αὐτᾶς Δεόνυντον, ἐνα τῶν ἔταρχων, ἐντελέμενον φράσα τοῖ τῇ Δαρείος. τὰ δὲ ὅπλα καὶ τὸν κάνδυν ὅτι φεύγων ἀπέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῷ ἁρματι καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι μόνα ἐχει Ἀλέξανδρος. Καὶ Δεόνυντον παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὰ τε περὶ Δαρείου εἰπείν καὶ ὅτι τὴν θεραπείαν αὐταῖς ἐνυχωρεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ τὸν ἅλλον κόσμον καὶ καλεῖσθαι βασιλίσσας, ἐπεὶ

1 Πολυστέρχων A and inscriptions, despite which -στ. of B, etc., seems certainly correct. The adj. is πολυστέρχης.
bodyguard; and chose to take his place in the guard
Menes, son of Dionysius; and in place of Ptolemaeus
son of Seleucus, who had fallen in the fight, he
appointed Polysperchon son of Simmias commander
of his battalion. To the citizens of Soli he remitted
the fifty talents still due from the fine he had imposed,
and restored their hostages.

Nor did he neglect Dareius’ mother, queen, or
children. Some of the biographies of Alexander
relate that the night after his return from the pursuit
of Dareius he entered Dareius’ pavilion, which had
been put aside for his own use, and heard a lamenta-
tion and other confused sound of women’s voices
near the pavilion; he enquired what women they
were and why they were accommodated so near him;
and was told, “Sire, it is Dareius’ mother, wife, and
children; hearing that you possess his bow and the
royal mantle and that his shield has been brought
back, they are wailing for him as dead.” Alexander
thereupon sent Leonnatus to them, one of the
Companions, bidding him tell them that Dareius
still lived; that he while escaping left his arms and
mantle in the chariot, and that Alexander had no
more than these. Leonnatus entered the tent and
gave Alexander’s message about Dareius, adding
that Alexander granted them the right of royal
state and all other marks of royalty, with the title
ού κατὰ ἔχθραν οἱ γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Δαρείου, ἀλλ’ ύπερ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς 'Άσιας
diastepolemēthai ōnynomos. Ταῦτα μὲν Πτολε-
μαῖος καὶ 'Αριστόβουλος λέγουσιν λόγοι δὲ ἔχει
cal auton 'Alēxandrōn tẹ̄ ỵ̣στεραία παρελθεῖν
eisw xyn Ηφαιστίων μόνω τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ
tn mēterα tẹ̣̄ν Δαρείου, ἀμφιγνωσάσαν ὡστις
o basileus eis autoun, estalhain γαρ ἀμφό τῷ
autō kósmo, tẹ̣̄ν dē 'Hfaiatíōn προσελθεῖν καὶ
proskuinhsiain, ōti melizoun [autẹ̣̄] ἐφανὴν ἐκεῖνος.

'Ως dē t 'Hfaiatíōn te opisow ὑπεχώρησε καὶ
tis tōn ἀμφ' autēn, tōn 'Alēxandrōn deizas,
èkeinou efh elnai 'Alēxandrōn, tēn mēn kataide-
thēasen tẹ̣̄ διαμαρτίμα ὑποχωρεῖν, 'Alēxandrōn dē
ou fānai autēn amartēin' kai gar èkeinon elnai
'Alēxandrōn. Kαi taūta eln wōuth' ws alēthē outhe
wos pāntē apistata anēgrafya. 'All' eīte outos
ēprraxhē, ēpainō 'Alēxandrōn tẹ̣̄ tẹ̣̄ te es tās gnwai-
kas kataiktīsews kai tẹ̣̄ tẹ̣̄ es tōn etairōn pístewos
kai timēs' eīte pithanōs dokesi toui xynigráfasi
'Alēxandrōs wos kai taūta an prakas kai eipōn,
kai ēpi tōde ēpainō 'Alēxandrōn.

XIII. Δαρείου dē tēn mēn νύκτα xyn olignos
tois amph' autoun efughe, tẹ̣̄ dē ἕμερα analambanōn
aiei tōn te Perstōn touj diastwethentas ek tẹ̣̄
machēs kai tōn xēνωn tōn mōsthoforōn, es
tetrapiskilious ēxon touj pāntas, os ēpi
Thāψakou te pōlin kai tou Euyfrātēn pata-
mōn spoudē ἡλαυνεῖν, ωs τάχιsta meξon autōn
tē kai tou 'Alēxandrōn tou Euyfrātēn poihsai.
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, II. 12. 5-13. 1

of princesses of the blood, since he had made war with Dareius from no personal enmity but had legitimately fought for the sovereignty of Asia. This is the account of Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus; there is, however, a story that Alexander himself next day visited the tent with Hephaestion alone of his suite; and Dareius' mother, mistaking the king—for both were accoutred alike—approached Hephaestion and prostrated herself before him, for he appeared the taller. Hephaestion, however withdrew, and one of the Queen-mother's attendants pointing to Alexander said that he was the king; whereupon she also withdrew in confusion at her mistake; Alexander remarking that she had made no error, for Hephaestion was also an Alexander.¹ This I have included not as necessarily true nor yet altogether untrustworthy. If it so happened, I have nothing but praise for Alexander for his compassion towards these women, and for his thus trusting and honouring his comrade; if it is the sort of thing that the historians thought Alexander would have said and done, and hence they accept it, I still have nothing but praise for Alexander.

XIII. Dareius meanwhile fled through the night with a handful of his suite; but in the daylight he kept picking up such Persians as had got off safe from the battle and also some of the foreign mercenaries; and with a body of about 4000 in all he rode at full speed to the River Euphrates, meaning to put the river between Alexander and himself as

¹ Presumably Alexander referred to the etymology of his name; a "driver-away of men," or possibly, what would best suit the context, a "protector of mankind." Hephaestion was his alter ego.
2 Ἀμύντας δὲ ὁ Ἀντιόχος καὶ Θυμώνδας ὁ Μέντωρος καὶ Ἀριστομήδης ὁ Φεραίος καὶ Βιάνωρ ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, ξύμπαντες οὕτωι αὐτόμολοι, μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτοὺς στρατιωτῶν ὡς ὀκτακισχιλίων εὐθὺς ὡς τεταγμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰ ὄρη θεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Τρίπολιν τῆς Φοινίκης.

3 καὶ ἐνταύθα καταλαβόντες τὰς ναῦς νενεωλκημένας ἐφ’ ὄν πρόσθεν ἐκ Δέσβου διακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν, τούτων ὡσι καὶ ικαναὶ σφίσιν ἐς τὴν κομιδὴν ἐδόκοντο, ταῦτας καθελκύσαντες, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς νεφρίοις κατακαύσαντες, όσῃ μὴ παρασχέειν ταχείαν σφόν τὴν δίωξιν, ἐπὶ Κύπρου ἔφυγον καὶ ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Ἀξιγυπτίου, ἰναπερ ὅλων ὑστερον πολυπραγμονών τι Ἀμύντας ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.

4 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Ἀυτοφραδάτης τέως μὲν περὶ τὴν Χίον διετριβὸν καταστήσαντες δὲ φρονμαντὶ τῆς Ἐλιον τὰς μὲν τινὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐς Κῶ καὶ Ἁλιάρνασσόν ἑστείλαν, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐκατὸν ναυσὶ ταῖς ἁριστὰ πλεούσας ἀναγόμενοι ἐς Σίφυνον κατέσχον. Καὶ παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἀφικνεῖται Ἀγις ὁ [τῶν] Δακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐτί μιᾶς τριήμερος, χρηματὰ τε αἰτήσων ἐς τὸν ἄλομον καὶ δύναμιν ναυτικῆν τε καὶ πεζικῆν ὅσην πλειστήν ἀξίωσιν συμπέμψαι οἱ ἐστὶν Πελοπόννησον. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀγγελεῖ αὐτοῦ ἔρχεται τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Ἡσσοῦ γενομένης. Ἕκπλαγέντες δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα Φαρνάβαζος μὲν σὺν δῶδεκα τριήμεροι καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ξένων ξενί τινί ἐπὶ Χίου ἐστάλη, δεῖξας μὴ τί πρὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῆς.

5 ὁτοῖς οἱ Χίοι νεωτερίσωσιν, Ἀγις δὲ παρ’ ἐντόσον.
soon as might be. Amyntas, however, son of Antiochus and Thymondas son of Mentor and Aristomedes of Pherae and Bianor the Acarnanian, all deserters to Dareius, with their troops to the number of 8000, when posted in battle formation, fled straight to the hills and reached Tripolis in Phoenicia.¹ There they picked up the ships which had been hauled ashore; the same ships which had brought them from Lesbos. They launched as many of these as they thought enough for their convoy; the rest they burnt in the dockyards, to avoid a speedy pursuit, and made for Cyprus and thence to Egypt, where a little later Amyntas, stirring up trouble, was killed by the Egyptians.

Meanwhile Pharnabazus and Autophradas for their part had been waiting at Chios; they had appointed a guard for Chios, and they now sent part of their fleet to Cos and Halicarnassus; they themselves with the hundred swiftest ships put to sea and arrived at Siphnus. Agis king of Sparta met them there with a single trireme to beg for funds for the war and to ask that as many ships and men as possible should be sent to him in the Peloponnese. Just at this moment came the news of the battle of Issus. Utterly dumbfounded at the news, Pharnabazus with twelve triremes and fifteen hundred of the mercenaries made for Chios, fearing lest the Chians, on the news of the defeat, might rebel. Agis, meanwhile, getting thirty silver talents

¹ A city on a spur of Mt. Lebanon.
Αὐτοφραδάτου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου λαβὼν τριάκοντα καὶ τριήρεις δέκα, ταύτας μὲν Ἰππίαν ἄξοντα ἀποστέλλει παρὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀγησίλαον ἐπὶ Ταίναρον καὶ παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευσεν Ἀγησίλαώ, διδόντα τοῖς ναύταις ἐνετέλη τὸν μυσθὸν πλεῖν τὴν ταχύτητα ἐπὶ Κρήτης, ὡς τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστησόμενοι. Αὐτὸς δὲ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς νῆσοι ὑπέμενεν, ὅστερον δὲ εἶς Ἀλκαρνασσόν παρ' Αὐτοφραδάτην ἀφίκετο.

7 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν Συρία τῇ κοίλῃ Μένωνα τὸν Κερδίμμα ἔπεταξε, δοὺς αὐτῷ ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας τοὺς τῶν ἕξυμμαχῶν ἰππέας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Φοινίκης ἤμε. Καὶ ἀπαντῶν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὄδον Στράτων ὁ Γηρόστρατος παῖς τοῦ Ἀραδίων τε καὶ τῶν Ἀράδων προσοίκων βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Γηρόστρατος αὐτὸς μετ' Αὐτοφραδάτου ἐπλειε ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ οἱ ἀλλοί οἱ τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ

8 αὐτοὶ Αὐτοφραδάτη ξυνέπλεον. Στράτων δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐνυχθὼν στεφανοὶ χρυσῶν στεφάνων αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν τε Ἀράδων αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν Μάραθον τὴν καταντικρὺ τῆς Ἀράδου ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῳ κειμένῃ πόλιν, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, καὶ Συγόνα καὶ Μαραίμων πόλιν καὶ τάλλα ὡς τὴς σφῶν ἑπικρατείας ἐνδίδωσιν.

ΧΙΝ. Ἡ ἄλλη ἡ ἐπιστολὴ, ὅτι Φιλίππῳ τε πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξῃν φίλλῳ καὶ ἕξυμμαχία ἐγένετο καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἁρσης 174
from Autophradases and ten triremes, despatched Hippias to take them to his brother Agesilaus at Taenarum. He ordered him to tell Agesilaus to pay the crew in full and sail by the shortest route to Crete, to put all there in order. But Agis remained there for the present among the islands, joining Autophradases later at Halicarnassus.

Alexander appointed as satrap of Lowland Syria Menon son of Kerdimmas, giving him, to garrison the country, the allied cavalry. He himself went towards Phoenicia. On his way Stratton son of Gerostratus met him; he was sheik of Aradians and those near Aradus; Gerostratus sailed with Autophradases, and the rest of the princes of Phoenicia and the kings of the Cyprians sailed with him too. But Stratton meeting Alexander crowned him with a golden crown, yielding up to him the island of Aradus and Marathus which lay opposite it on the mainland, a great and prosperous city, with Sigon and Mariamne and all else under his sway.

XIV. While Alexander was yet at Marathus, envoys reached him from Dareius, bringing a letter from him, and themselves under orders to beg Alexander to release to Dareius his mother, wife, and children. The letter ran: Philip and Artaxerxes were in peace and alliance; and when Arses son
ο νῦν Ἀρταξέρξου ἠβασίλευσεν, ὅτι Φίλιππος ἀδικίας πρῶτος ἐσ ἡμιλέα Ἀρσην ἦρξεν οὐδὲν ἄγαρε ἐκ Περσῶν παθῶν. 'Εξ οὐ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεύει Περσῶν, οὕτε πέμψαι τινὰ Ἀλέξανδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσ βεβαιώσων τής πάλαι οὕσης φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας, διαβῆναι τε ἔξω στρατιὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργάσασθαι.

3 θαὶ Πέρσας. Τούτου ἐνεκά καταβῆναι αὐτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἀμνῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πατρῷαν ἀνασώσων. Τὴν μὲν δὴ μάχην ὡς θεῶν τῷ ἐδοξήν, οὕτῳ κριθήναι αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεύς παρὰ βασιλέως γυναικά τῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ αἰτεῖν καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἅλοντας, καὶ φιλίαν ἔθελεν ποιῆσασθαι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ξύμμαχος εἰναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων πέμπειν ὥσιον Ἀλεξάνδρον παρ' αὐτὸν ἔξω Μενίσκῳ τε καὶ Ἀρσίμα τοῖς ἀγγέλισι τοῖς εἰκ Περσῶν ἦκουσι τοὺς τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου δώσοντας.

4 Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιγράφει Ἀλεξάνδρος καὶ ξυμπέμπει τοῖς παρὰ Δαρείου ἐλθούσι Θέρσιππον, παραγγείλας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δοῦναι Δαρείῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴ διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ μηδενός. 'Η δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὅδε ἦχει. "Οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἐλλάδα κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν προηικημένου" ἐγώ δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἦγεμῶν κατασταθεῖς καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι βουλομένους Πέρσας διέβην ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὑπαρξάντων ὑμῶν.

5 Καὶ γὰρ Περσιβίοις ἐβοηθήσατε, οὗ τῶν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἡδίκουν, καὶ εἰς Θράκην, ἢς ἡμεῖς ἡρχομέν, δύναμιν ἐπεμψεν Ὡχος. Τού δὲ πατρὸς.
of Artaxerxes became king, Philip took the first wrong step towards King Arses, having suffered no ungracious treatment at his hands. But since Dareius had been King of Persia, Alexander had sent no envoy to him to confirm this ancient friendship and alliance, but had actually crossed in full force into Asia and had done much harm to the Persians. Dareius therefore had come down to defend his country and to save his ancestral sovereignty. The battle had gone as some god had willed it; but he, a king, begged from a king his captive mother, wife, and children; and was ready to make friendship and an alliance with Alexander; and for these things he begged Alexander to send to him along with Meniscus and Arsimes, the envoys from Persia, duly authorised persons to receive sureties from him, and to give him sureties from Alexander.

Alexander replied to this, sending with Dareius' envoys Thersippus, bidding him deliver the letter to Dareius, but to discuss no point with him. This is how Alexander's letter runs: "Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece and did us much harm, though we had done none to them; I have been duly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Greeks, and invaded Asia desiring to take vengeance on Persia; but it was you who began the mischief. You assisted Perinthus, which wronged my father; and Ochus sent a force into Thrace, which is under our sovereignty. My father was
Ἀρτέναντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων, οὗ οὲ μείναις συνετάξατε, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πρὸς ἀπανταῖς ἐκομπάσατε, καὶ "Ἀρσιν ἀποκτείναντός σου μετὰ Βαγώου, καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν κατασχόντος οὐ δικαίως οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Περσῶν νόμον, ἀλλὰ ἀδικοῦντος Πέρσας, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας γράμματα οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια διαπέμποντος,

6 ὅπως πρὸς με πολεμῶσι, καὶ χρήματα ἀποστέλλοντος πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίως καὶ ἄλλους τινάς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων οὐδεμιᾶς δεχομένης, Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ λαβόντων, καὶ τῶν παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθέντων τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους διαφθειράντων καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἦν τοῖς Ἑλληστι κατεσκεύασα διαλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντων, ἐστράτευσα

7 ἐπὶ σὲ, ὑπάρξαντος σοῦ τῆς ἔχθρας. Ἐπει δὲ μάχη νενίκηκα πρότερον μὲν τοὺς σου στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας, νῦν δὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν μετὰ σου δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχω, τὸν θεὸν μοι δόντων. "Οσοὶ τῶν μετά σοῦ παραταξαμένων μὴ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανον, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἐμὲ κατέφυγον, τοῦτον ἐπιμέλομαι καὶ οὐκ ἀκοντες παρ’ ἐμοὶ εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκόντες ξυστρατεύονται

8 μετ’ ἐμοῦ. Ὅσοι οὖν ἐμοὶ τῆς Ἄσιας ἀπάσης κυρίου ὄντος ἥκε πρὸς ἐμέ. Εἰ δὲ φοβῇ μὴ ἐλθὼν πάθης τι ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι, πέμπε τινὰς τῶν φίλων τὰ πιστὰ ληψόμενος. Ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς με τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τοὺς παιδας καὶ εἰ ἄλλο τι ἑθέλεις αἰτεῖ καὶ λάμβανε. "Ὁ τι γάρ ἂν πείθης

9 ἐμὲ ἐσται σοι. Καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅταν πέμπῃς παρ’ ἐμέ, ὅσ πρὸς βασιλέα τῆς Ἄσιας πέμπε, μηδὲ ἃ ἐξ ἴσου ἐπιστελλε, ἀλλ’ ὡς κυρίῳ ὄντι πάντων

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murdered by conspirators, whom you instructed, as you yourselves boasted in your letters, before all the world; you assassinated Arses with the help of Bagoas,¹ and seized the throne unjustly and, according to Persian law, illegally, doing grievous wrong to Persians; you sent improper letters to the Greeks about me, urging them to declare war upon me. You despatched sums of money to the Lacedaemonians and certain other Greeks, and when no other city received these, save the Lacedaemonians, and when your envoys corrupted my friends and sought to destroy the peace I had made in Greece, I took up arms against you; but it was you who started the quarrel. And whereas I conquered in battle first your generals and satraps, and now yourself and your own force, and hold the country—by the gift of heaven—I hold myself responsible for all of your troops who did not die in the field but took refuge with me; indeed they are with me of their own free will and of their will serve in my army. Regard me then as Lord of all Asia and come to me. If you fear lest by coming you may receive some ungracious treatment at my hands, send some of your friends to receive proper pledges. When you come to me, request and receive your mother, wife, and children, and what you will. You shall have whatsoever you persuade me to give. And in future when you send, send to me as Supreme Lord of Asia, and do not direct what you require as on equal terms, but tell me, as lord of all your possessions,

¹ Alexander seems inaccurate. Bagoas apparently murdered Arses independently and then placed Dareius on the throne, later attempting to poison him, but was “hoist with his own petard,” being compelled to drink the poison himself.
τῶν σών φράζε εἰ τού δεῖ· εἰ δὲ μῆ, ἐγὼ βουλεύσομαι περὶ σοῦ ὡς ἂδικοῦντος. Ἐι δ' ἀντιλέγεις περὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ὑπομείνας ἄτι ἀγώνισαι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ φεύγε, ὡς ἔγω ἐπὶ σε πορεύσομαι σοῦ ἅν γίνῃς."

ΧV. Πρὸς μὲν Δαρείου ταῦτα ἐπέστειλεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμαθε τὰ τε χρήματα ὑσα σὺν Κωφῆνι τῷ Ἀρταβάζον ἀποτεπόμοιευ εἰς Δαμασκὸν Δαρείος ὡς ἔλαβη, καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὰ ἐγκατελείφθησαν ἔν τῇ ἄλλῃ βασιλείᾳ κατασκεύῇ ὡς καὶ οὕτωι ἐκλωσάν, ταῦτα μὲν ὅπισώ κοιμᾶσαντα εἰς Δαμασκὸν Παρμενίωνα φυλάσσειν

2 ἐκέλευεν. Τοὺς δὲ προσβεβίς τῶν ᾿Ελλήνων οἱ πρὸς Δαρείον πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτους ἐκλωσάν ἐμαθε, παρ' αὐτῶν πέμπειν ἐκέλευσεν. Ὁσαν δὲ Εὐθυκλῆς μὲν ὅσαν τυχόντος τῆς Ἀχαιαίων, Θεσσαλίσκος δὲ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Διονυσόδωρος Ὁλυμπίον Κῆφαιοι, Ῥυπερκράτης δὲ ὁ Ῥυπερκράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, Ὄθηναῖωι. Καὶ οὕτωι ὃς ἦκον παρ' Ἄλεξανδρον, Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν καὶ Διονυσόδωρον, καὶ τοῦ Ῥυπερκράτους ὄντας, εὐθὺς ἀφῆκε, τὸ μὲν τε κατοικτῆσει τῶν Θηβῶν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐξισχυστῆται δεδρακέναι ἐφαίνοντο, ἡμιφανεῖς ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων τῆς πατρίδος φισί τε ἡμένα ἡδύναντο ὑφέλειαι εὐρισκόμενοι καὶ εἰ δὴ τίνα καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐκ

3 Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου, ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοῦ ἐπιεικῆ ἐνθυμηθεὶς, ἵδα δὲ Θεσσαλίσκον μὲν αἰδοῖ τοῦ γένους ἀφιέναι εἰπεν, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Θηβαίων ἦν, Διονυσόδωρον δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῶν Ὁλυμπίῶν. Ῥυπερκράτης δὲ φίλα τε τῆς ᾿Αθηναίων πόλεως καὶ μνήμη τῆς δόξης τοῦ

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if you have need of aught; otherwise I shall take steps concerning you as a misdemeanant. If you claim your kingdom, stand your ground and fight for it and flee not, since I will pursue you whithersoever you go."

XV. This was Alexander's letter to Dareius. As soon as he learned that the moneys which Dareius had sent with Cophen son of Artabazus to Damascus had been seized, and that all the Persians left to guard them with the rest of the royal equipage had been seized also, he bade Parmenio take the spoil back to Damascus and guard it there. But as for the Greek envoys who had reached Dareius before the battle, when he learned that these also were captured, he ordered them to be sent to him. They were Euthycles the Spartiate, Thessaliscus son of Ismenius, and Dionysidorus, Olympian victor, of Thebes; and Iphicrates son of Iphicrates the general, of Athens. When these envoys reached Alexander, he at once dismissed Thessaliscus and Dionysidorus, Thebans though they were, partly from compassion for Thebes and partly because it seemed that they had acted pardonably, since their city had been enslaved by Macedonians, and they were looking for what help they could get for themselves and for their country too from Dareius and Persia; Alexander therefore took a kindly view of the doings of both; but privately he said that he released Thessaliscus from regard for his family—since he was one of the Theban nobles—and Dionysidorus because of his athletic victory at Olympia. Iphicrates, from friendship for Athens and remembrance of his father's
πατρὸς ἦν τά ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔτιμησε καὶ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος τὰ ὀστὰ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς πρὸς γένους ἀπέπεμψεν.

5 Εὐθυκλέα δὲ, Δακεδαμίνιον τε ὄντα, πόλεως περιφανῶς ἔχθρας ἐν τῷ τότε, καὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἴδια εὐρισκόμενον ἐς ἐυγνώμην ὦ τι [γε] καὶ λόγου ἄξιον, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν· ὑπερτον δὲ ἐπεὶ μεγάλα εὐτύχει, καὶ τούτον ἀφῆκεν.

6 Ἐκ Μαράθου δὲ ὅρμηθεὶς Βύβλον τε λαμβάνει ὁμολογία ἐνδοθείςαν, καὶ Σιδώνα, αὐτῶν Σιδωνίων ἐπικαλεσάμενοι κατὰ ἑχόσ τὸ Περσῶν καὶ Δαρείου. Ἐντεύθεν δὲ προὐχόρει ὡς ἐπὶ Τύρου· καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν πρέσβεις Τυρίων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐσταλμένοι ὡς ἐγνωκότων Τυρίων πράσσειν ὦ τι ἐν ἐπαγγέλλῃ.

7 Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὁ δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις (καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐν Τύρῳ οὐ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τυρίων παῖς· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀζεμίλκος μετ' Ἀὐτοφραδᾶτον ἔπλει), ἐκέλευσεν ἐπανελθόντας φράσαι Τυρίους ὅτι ἐθέλοι παρελθῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν θύσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεί.

XVI. Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἰερὸν Ἡρακλέους παλαιότατον ὅν μνήμη ἀνθρωπίνη διασώζεται, οὐ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡρακλέους τοῦ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης· πολλαὶ γὰρ γενεαῖς πρότερον τιμᾶται ἐν Τύρῳ Ἡρακλῆς, ἢ Κάδμου ἐκ Φοινίκης ὄρμηθέντα Θῆβας κατασχεῖν καὶ τὴν παιδὰ Κάδμῳ τὴν Σεμέλην γενέσθαι, ἐξ ὑπὸ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Δίως Διόνυσος.

2 γίγνεται. Διόνυσος μὲν δὴ τρίτος ἀν ἀπὸ Κάδμου εἶν, κατὰ Λάβδακος τὸν Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου.
fame, he retained about his person with especial honour; when at last Iphicrates died he sent his bones to his relatives at Athens. Euthycles, however, as a Lacedaemonian, citizen of a city of bitter hostility to him at the moment, and unable to produce any reasonable claim to pardon, at first he kept under open arrest; but later, when successes crowded in upon him, he released him also.

Alexander marched from Marathus and received the surrender of Byblus, Sidon also, invited by the Sidonians themselves, who loathed Persia and Dareius. Thence he proceeded towards Tyre, and on the way Tyrian envoys met him, sent by the community to say that Tyre had decided to accept Alexander's orders. He commended both the city and its envoys—for they were not only Tyrian nobles but numbered among them the son of their king, who himself was at sea with Autophradates' fleet—and bade them return and tell the Tyrians that he proposed to come to Tyre and sacrifice to Heracles.

XVI. There is, you must know, at Tyre the most ancient temple of Heracles 1 of which there is any record; not the Argive Heracles, son of Alcmena; for Heracles was honoured at Tyre many generations before Cadmus sailed from Phoenicia, occupied Thebes, and had a daughter Semele, mother of Dionysus son of Zeus. For Dionysus would appear to be in the third generation from Cadmus, in the line of Labdacus son of Polydorus, son of Cadmus;

1 Known as Melcarth.
παίδα: 'Ηρακλής δὲ ὁ Ἀργεῖος κατ' Οἰδίποδα μάλιστα τὸν Δαίνον. Σέβοντο δὲ καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι ἄλλον Ἡρακλέα, οὗς ὄντερ Τύροι ἦν Ἕλληνες. 3 Ἀλλὰ λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὅτι τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἡρακλέα ἄγουσιν Ἀιγύπτιοι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Δίόνυσον τὸν Δίος καὶ Κόρης σέβοντο, ἄλλον τοῦτον Δίόνυσον καὶ ὁ Ἱακχος ὁ μυστικὸς τούτω τῷ Δίονύσῳ, οὕτω τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐπά- 

detai. Ὡς τὸν γε ἐν Ταρτησσῷ πρὸς Ἰβηρῶν τιμόμενον Ἡρακλέα, ἵνα καὶ στήλαι τινες Ἡρακλέους ὀνομασμένοι εἰσὶ, δοκῶ ἐγὼ τὸν Τύριον εἶναι Ἡρακλέα, ὅτι Φοινίκων κτίσμα ἤ 

Ταρτησσός καὶ τῷ Φοινίκων νόμῳ ὅ τε νέως πεποίηται τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ τῷ ἐκεί καὶ αἱ θυσίαι 

θύνονται. Γηρυόνην δὲ, ἐφ' ἄντινα ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἡρακλής ἐστάλη πρὸς Εὐρυσθέως τὰς βοῦς ἀπελάσαι τὰς Γηρυόνου καὶ ἀγαγεῖν ἐς Μυκήνας, οὐδὲν τι προσήκειν τῇ γῇ τῶν Ἰβηρῶν Ἐκατάνος ὁ λογοποιὸς λέγει· οὔδὲ ἑπὶ νῆσόν τινα Ἐρύθειαν ἐξω τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης σταλῆναι Ἡρακλέα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱπείρου τῆς περὶ Ἀμβρακίαν τε καὶ Ἀμφιλόχους βασιλέα γενέσθαι Γηρυόνην καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἱπείρου τάυτης ἀπελάσαι Ἡρακλέα τὰς βόσας, οὐδὲ τοῦτον φαίλον ἄθλον τιθέμενον. 

6 Οἶδα δὲ ἐγὼ καὶ εἰς τούτῳ ἐτὶ εὐβοτόν τὴν ἱπείρου τάυτην καὶ βοῦς τρέφονσαν καλλίστας· καὶ ἐς Εὐρυσθέα τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἡπείρου βοῶν κλέος ἀφιχθαὶ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἡπείρου τὸ ὄνομα τὸν Γηρυόνην οὐκ ἐξω τοῦ εἰκότος τίθεμαι· τὸν δὲ ἐσχάτων τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἰβηρῶν οὔτ' ἀν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα γιγνώσκειν Εὐρυσθέα, οὔτε εἰ βοῦς καλαὶ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τάυτῃ 184
while the Argive Heracles was probably in the line of Oedipus, son of Laius. The Egyptians worship another Heracles, different from the Heracles of Tyre and Greece; Herodotus says that the Egyptians reckon him one of the Twelve Deities, just as the Athenians worship a different Dionysus, son of Zeus and Kore. It is to him—not the Theban Dionysus—that the mystic chant "Iacchus" is sung. So also I think that the Heracles honoured at Tartessus by the Iberians—where are the "Pillars" called "of Heracles"—is the Tyrian Heracles, since Tartessus is a Phoenician possession, and the temple to the Heracles there has been built in the Phoenician style and the sacrifices are offered in Phoenician ritual. Geryones, moreover, to whom the Argive Heracles was sent by Eurystheus, to raid the oxen of Geryones and bring them to Mycenae, has no connection with Iberia—at least so Hecataeus the Chronicler says; nor, according to him, was Heracles sent to some island, Erytheia, beyond the Great Sea; but rather that Geryones was king of the mainland round Ambracia and Amphilochi, and that from the mainland here Heracles drove off the oxen; and that was in itself achievement enough. What I do know is that even now this part of the mainland is capital pasture and rears excellent oxen; and I reckon it quite likely that Eurystheus got wind of the fame of these mainland oxen and of the name of the king, Geryones; but I feel sure that Eurystheus would have no knowledge of the name of the king of the Iberians, right at the ends of Europe, nor whether there were fine cattle or not in those
νέμονται, εἰ μὴ τις τὴν Ἡραν τούτοις ἑπάγων, ὡς αὐτὴν ταῦτα Ἡρακλεῖ οἱ Εὐρυσθέως ἑπαγγέλ- 
λουσαν, τὸ οὐ πιστὸν τοῦ λόγου ἀποκρύπτειν ἔθελοι τῷ μύθῳ.

7 Τούτῳ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Τυρίῳ ἔφη ἐθέλειν θύσαι Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὅσ' ἐδὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν πρέσβεων εἰς τὴν Τύρον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐδοξεί σφιοῦ ποιεῖν ὦ τι περ ἑπαγγέλλει Ἀλέξαν-
δρος, ἐξ ὃ ἐθέλει πόλιν μητε τινὰ Περσῶν μητε Μακεδόνων δέχεσθαι, ὡς τούτο ἐσ τα πάροντα τῷ λόγῳ εὐπρεπέστατον καὶ ἐσ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν κρίσιν, ἀδηλοῦν ἐτὶ οὐσαν, ἀσφαλέστατον

8 σφιὰ γενησόμενον. Ὅσ' ἐδὲ ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλε-
ξάνδρῳ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις πρὸς ὅργην ὁπίσω ἀπέτεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συνα-
γαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἱλάρχας ἔλεξεν ἀδικτέος γενησόμενον. Ὅσ' ἐδὲ ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλε-
ξάνδρῳ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Τύρου, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις πρὸς ὅργην ὁπίσω ἀπέτεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συνα-
γαγὼν τοὺς τε ἐταίρους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ταξιάρχας καὶ ἱλάρχας ἔλεξεν ἀδικτέος γενησόμενον.

XVII. "Ἀνδρεῖς φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἥμιλον ὅπερ τὴν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου πορείαν ἀσφαλῆ ὅρῳ, 
θαλασσοκρατοῦντων Περσῶν, Δαρείον τε διώκειν ὑπολιπομένους ἰδοὺ τε ὅπσω τὴν τῶν Τυρίων 
πόλιν ἀμφίβολον καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου 

1 ὑπολείπων. Sintenis; and A so reads. Here, however, 
the aorist is clearly more precise.
parts, unless anyone cares to bring in Hera, as passing on the news of them to Heracles through Eurystheus, and thus veil by the myth the general unlikeliness of the tale.

It was to this Tyrian Heracles that Alexander said he wished to sacrifice. When this was announced at Tyre by the envoys, the Tyrians were prepared to obey all Alexander's other behests, but would have no Persian nor Macedonian within their city, for this resolve they felt to be most honourable for the present and safest for the future, looking at the yet uncertain issue of the war. When Alexander received this answer he angrily sent back the envoys, but assembling the Companions and the commanders of the army, with battalion and squadron commanders, he made the following speech.

XVII. "My friends and allies, so long as Persia is supreme at sea I cannot see how we can march in safety to Egypt. Nor, again, is it safe to pursue Dareius, leaving in our rear the city of Tyre, of doubtful allegiance, and Egypt and Cyprus still in Persia's hands, especially in view of the state of Greek affairs. There is a fear lest the Persians, again seizing the coast places, when we have gone in full force toward Babylon and Dareius, should with a larger army transfer the war into Greece,
μοιών μὲν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἡμῶν πολεμοῦντων, τῆς δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλεως φόβῳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν κατεχομένης.  
3 Ἐξαιρεθεὶς δὲ Τύρων ἦ τε Φοινίκη ἔχοντο ἀν πᾶσα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ὅπερ πλεῖστον τὲ καὶ κράτιστον τοῦ Περσικοῦ, τὸ Φοινίκων, παρ' ἡμᾶς μεταχωρῆσειν εἰκός, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξονται οὔτε οἱ ἔρεται οὔτε οἱ ἐπιβάται Φοινίκες, ἔχομενοι σφίσι τῶν πόλεων, αὐτοὶ ύπὲρ ἄλλων πλέοντες κινδυ- νεύειν. Κύπρος δὲ ἔπλ τόδε ἦ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἡμῖν προσχωρῆσει ἡ ἦς ἐπίπλου εὐμαρῶς ληφθήσεται.  
4 Καὶ ταῖς τὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς Φοινίσσαις πλεόντων ἡμῶν τὴν βάλασαν καὶ Κύπρου ἀμα προσγενομένης, βαλασσοκρατοῖμεν τε ἀν βεβαιῶς καὶ ὁ ἑσ Αἰγυπτίων στόλος εὐμαρῶς ἡμῖν ἐν ταὐτῷ γύγυνεται. Αἰγυπτίων δὲ παρα- στησάμενος ὑπὲρ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς οἰκείας οὐδὲν ἔτι υποπτοῦν ὑπολειπόμεναι, τὸν τε ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος στόλον μετὰ τοῦ ἐς τὰ οἰκον αὐτούς καὶ ξύλινοι ἀμα ἡλικότε ὑποτεθύμενοι τὴν τε βαλασαν Περσῶν ἐμπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Εὐφράτου γῆν."  
XVIII. Ταῦτα λέγων οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπειδήν ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ Τύρῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὶ θείον ἀνε- πείθεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἐνύπνιον αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἔδοκεν αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ τείχει προσάγειν τῶν Τυρίων· τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα δεξιοῦσθαι τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνάγειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ τούτο ἐξηγεῖτο Ἀριστανδρος ὁς ἔστη πόνῳ ἁλοσομένην τὴν Τύρον, ὅτι καὶ τα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ἔστη πόνῳ 2 ἐγένετο. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ μέγα ἔργον τῆς Τύρου ἡ πολιορκία ἐφαίνετο. Νῆσὸς τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἢ
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where the Lacedaemonians are at the moment fighting us; and Athens is kept in its place for the present by fear rather than goodwill towards us. But with Tyre once destroyed, Phoenicia could all be held, and the best and strongest part of the Persian navy, the Phoenician element, would most probably come over to us. For neither the rowers nor the marines of Phoenicia will have the courage, if their cities are in our hands, to sail the sea and run its dangers for the sake of others. After this Cyprus, moreover, will either come readily to our side or be captured easily by a naval raid. Then if we hold the sea with our Macedonian ships, and the Phoenician navy too, and with Cyprus ours, we should firmly hold the sea-power, and in virtue thereof our expedition to Egypt would be easy. Then, when we have possession of Egypt, we shall have no cause for uneasiness for Greece and our own home, and we shall make the expedition to Babylon, with security at home, and with our enhanced prestige, with the whole sea cut off from Persia and all the country this side of Euphrates.”

XVIII. With words like these Alexander easily won over his staff to the attack on Tyre, and he had an omen to help him, for in a dream that night he found himself approaching the wall of Tyre, and there was Heracles, stretching out to him his right hand, and conducting him into the city. Aristandros interpreted the dream thus: Tyre would be taken, but with much toil, for toil was the mark of Heracles’ achievements: The plain fact is that anyone could see that the siege of Tyre would be a big business. The city was an island, and strengthened all round
πόλεις ἦν καὶ τείχεσιν υψηλοῖς πάντῃ ὑψιρωτῶν· καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρὸς τῶν Τυρίων μᾶλλον τι ἐν τῷ τότε ἑφαίνετο, τῶν τε Περσῶν ἐτὶ θαλασσοκρατοῦντων καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Τυρίων νεῶν ἐτὶ πολλῶν περιουσίων.

3 Ὡς δὲ ταύτα ὅμως ἐκράτησε, χώμα ἐγνω χωνύναν ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. Ἐστι δὲ πορθμός τεναγώδης τὸ χωρίον· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἥπειρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης βραχέα καὶ πηλόδη αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, ὡς τὸ βαθύτατον τοῦ διάπλου, τριῶν μάλιστα ὀργυρῶν τὸ βάθος. Ἀλλὰ λίθων τε πολλῶν ἀφθονία ἦν καὶ υλῆ, ἤφην τοῖς λίθοις ἀνωθεν ἐπεφόρουν· χάρακες τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῷ πηλῷ κατετήγωντο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πηλὸς ξύνδεσμος τοῖς 4 λίθοις ἐς τὸ ἐπιμένειν ἐγίγνετο. Καὶ προθυμία τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλὴ ἦν, παρόντος τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκαστα ἐξηγομένου καὶ τὰ μὲν λόγω ἐπαίροντος, τὰ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι τοὺς τε ἐκπρεπεστερον κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν πονομένους ἐπικουρίζοντος. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐστε μὲν τὸ πρὸς τῇ ἥπειρῳ ἑχωμυνυτο, οὐ χαλεπῶς προὐχώρει τὸ ἔργον, ἐπὶ βάθος τε ὀλόγου χωνύμενον καὶ 5 οὐδενὸς ἐξεύροντος. Ὡς δὲ τῷ βαθυτέρῳ ἡ ἐπέλαξαν καὶ ἀμα τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ ἐγνώς ἐγνυμνύτο, ἀπὸ τε τῶν τειχῶν, υψηλῶν ὄντων, βαλλόμενον ἐκακοπάθουν, ἀτε καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐργασίᾳ μᾶλλον τε τῇ ὡς ἐς μάχην ἀκριβῶς ἐσταλμένοι, καὶ ταῖς τρὶς ἑπιβρεσίν ἀλλή καὶ ἀλλὴ τοῦ χώματος ἐπιπλέοντες οἱ Τύριοι, ἀτε δὴ θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἐτὶ, ἄφορον πολλαχὴ τὴν πρόσχοσιν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐποίην.

6 Καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες πύργους ἐπάνω τοῦ χώματος,
with high walls; moreover, any movements from
the seaward side were in Tyre’s favour, as the
Persians were still supreme at sea and the Tyrians
had plenty of ships left.

But Alexander’s arguments, none the less, winning
the day, he decided to build a mole from the mainland to the city. At this part is a shallow strait;
towards the mainland are shallows and patches of
mud; but next the city where is the deepest part
of the crossing is a depth of about three fathoms.
But there was plenty of stones and wood, which
they heaped above the stones; then it was easy to
fix stakes in the mud, and the mud itself made a
good and safe binding for the stones. The Mace-
donians were eager for the work, and Alexander
too; he was himself present, explained each step,
and encouraged the workers, besides rewarding with
a gift those who did any specially good work. As
long as the building of the mole was near the main-
land, the work went on without difficulty; for the
depth was not great for the structure, and no one
hindered. But when they got into deeper water
and also nearer the city, they were in great distress
by reason of volleys from the high walls; since the
workers were clad rather for work than for warfare;
and the Tyrians sailing up in their triremes on this
side and on that, being still masters of the sea,
made in many places the building up of the mole
impossible for the Macedonians. On this the Mace-
donians built two towers above the mole, which had
ὁ τιμέρ προκεχωρήκει αυτοῖς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς
θαλάσσης, ἐπέστησαν δύο καὶ μηχανᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς
πύργοις. Προκαλύμματα δὲ δέρρεις καὶ διφθέραι
αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ὡς μῆτε πυρφόροις βέλεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ
teίχους βάλλεσθαι, τοῖς τε ἐργαζόμενοι προβο-
lήν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα· ἀμα τε
ὅσοι προσπλέουσι τῶν Τυρίων ἔβλαπτον τοὺς
χωνυτὰς, ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων βαλλόμενοι οὐ
χαλεπῶς ἀνασταλῆσθεσθαι ἐμελλον.
XIX. Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιμηχανῶνται
tοιότερ. Ναῷ ῥαγωγὸν κλημάτων τε ἔστρων
καὶ ἄλλης ψῆφης εὐφλέκτου ἐμπλῆσαντες δύο
ἰστοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πρώῃ καταπηγνύουσι καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ
περιφράσσουσιν ἐς ὅσοι μακρότατον, ὡς φορουν
tε ταύτη καὶ δάδας ὅσα πλείστας δέξασθαι
πρὸς δὲ πίσσαν τε καὶ θείον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐσ
τὸ παρακαλέσαι μεγάλην φλόγα ἐπὶ ταύτη ἐπε-
2 φόρησαν. Παρετείνων δὲ καὶ κεραίαν διττήν
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱστοὺς ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης
ἐξήρτησαν ἐν λέβησιν ὅσα ἐπιχυθέντα ἡ ἐπι-
βληθέντα ἐπὶ μέγα τὴν φλόγα ἐξάψειν ἐμέλλεν·
ἐρματά τε ἐσ τὴν πρύμναν ἐνέθεσαν, τοῦ ἐξάραι
ἐς ψυὸ τὴν πρώῃ πιεζομένης κατὰ πρύμναν
3 τῆς νεῶς. Ἡ ἐπείτα ἀνεμοῦν τηρήσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ
χώμα ἐπιφέροντα, ἐξάψαντες τριήρεις τὴν ναῦν
καὶ οὐράν εἶλκον. Ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαξον ἢδη τῷ τε
χώματι καὶ τοῖς πύργοις, πῦρ ἐμβάλλοντες ἐς τὴν
ψῆφη καὶ ὡς βιαῖτατα - ἀμα ταῖς τριήρεσιν
ἐπανελκύσαντες τὴν ναῦν ἐνσείουσιν ἀκρῴ τῷ
χώματι ἀυτοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ νητ καιομένῃ ἡδη
4 ἐξενιζαντὸ οὐ χαλεπῶς. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡ τε
φλοξ πολλὴ ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ αἱ κεραίαι
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now run far over the sea, and engines on the towers; they placed hides and skins to cover them, so that they could not be pelted with fire-darts from the wall, and that the builders might have also a screen against arrows; besides, any Tyrians who rowed up and tried to damage the builders of the mole, receiving volleys from the towers, would probably be easily repulsed.

XIX. The Tyrians, however, took counter steps thus; they filled a cavalry transport with dry boughs and a good deal of other combustible wood, fixed two masts in the bows, and built high bulwarks round, extending as far as possible, so as to contain as many chips and shavings and torches as possible; to say nothing of pitch, sulphur, and anything else to stir a great blaze, which they liberally added. Then they lashed a double yardarm to each mast, and from it hung, in cauldrons, anything which either poured or thrown on would increase the flame, and they ballasted the stern to lift the bows as high as possible by the weight aft. Then they waited for a wind blowing towards the mole, and making fast hawsers towed the transport astern with triremes. When they came near the mole and the towers, they lighted the material and as violently as possible hauled with the triremes and dashed the ship on the edge of the mole. The crew of the ship, already burning fiercely, easily swam off. Soon
περικλασθεῖσαι ἐξέχεαν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ὅσα ἐς ἐξαψιν τῆς φλογὸς παρεσκευασμένα ἦν. Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν τριήρων πλησίον τοῦ χώματος ἀνακωχεύοντες ἐτόξευον ἐς τοὺς πύργους, ὡς μὴ ἁσφαλὲς εἶναι πελάσαι ὁσοὶ σβεστῆριόν τι τῇ φλογὶ ἐπέφερον.

Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κατεχομένοιν ἦδη ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν πύργων, ἐκδραμόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πολλοὶ καὶ ἐς κελήτια ἐμβάντες ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐποκείλαντες τοῦ χώματος τῶν τε χάρακα οὐ χαλεπῶς διέσπασαν τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ προβεβλημένον καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ξυμπάσας κατέφελεν ὅσας μὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς πῦρ. ἐπέσχεν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὸ τε χῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου ἁρξαμένους πλατύτερον χωνύναι, ὡς πλέονας δέξασθαι πύργους, καὶ τοὺς μηχανοποιούς μηχανὰς ἄλλας κατασκευάζειν ἐκελεύσεν. Ὡς δὲ ταύτα παρεσκευάζετο, αὐτὸς τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἄναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς 'Αγριάνας ἐπὶ Σιδώνος ἐστάλη, ὡς ἀθροίσων ἐκεί ὅσαι ἦδη ἔσαν αὐτῷ τριήρεις, ὅτι ἀπορώτερα τὰ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐφαίνετο, θαλασσοκρατοῦντων τῶν Τυρίων.

XX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γηρόστρατος τε ὁ Ἀράδου βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἔνυλος ὁ Βύβλου ὃς ἐμαθὼς τὰς πόλεις σφῶν ὑπ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχομένας, ἀπολεῖντες Ἀὐτοφραδάτην τε καὶ τὰς ἔξω αὐτὸ νέας, παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔξω τὸ ναυτικὸ τῷ σφατέρῳ ἀφίκοντο καὶ αἱ τῶν Σιδωνίων τριήρεις τῶν αὐτῶς, ὡστε Φοινίκων μὲν νῆς ὁμοδόχοντα μᾶλιστα αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο. Ἡκὼν δὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἐκ Ῥόδου τριήρεις ἦ τε περίπολος καλουμένη καὶ ἔξω ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἐννέα, καὶ ἐκ Σόλων καὶ Μαλλοῦ τρεῖς καὶ Δυκίας δέκα, 194
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enough a great fire fell on the towers, and as the yards broke, they poured into the fire anything that had been made ready to feed the flame. The men in the triremes lay to near the mole, and shot at the towers, so that it was not safe for anyone bringing materials to quench the fire to get near. At this stage, the towers being well alight, the citizens sallied in large numbers, and jumping into small boats put in at different parts of the mole and easily tore down the palisade set up to protect it; besides, they burned all the engines which had not been caught by fire from the ships. Alexander, however, bade his men to build the mole broader from the mainland, so as to hold more towers, and the engineers he bade construct more engines. While these were being got ready, he with the bodyguard and the Agrianes made for Sidon, to collect all his triremes there, since the siege seemed more difficult as long as the Tyrians held the sea.

XX. Meanwhile Gerostratus king of Aradus and Enylos of Byblus, learning that Alexander held their cities, left Autophradates and his fleet and arrived with their own contingents, and with them the Sidonian triremes, so that a total force joined him of some eighty Phoenician sail. There arrived also at the same time triremes from Rhodes, nine, in addition to their state guardship, three from Soli and
ἐκ Μακεδονίας δὲ πεντηκόντωρος, ἐφ᾽ ἦς Πρωτέας
3 ὁ Ἀνδρονίκος ἐπέπλευ. Ὑπὸ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον
καὶ οἱ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεῖς ἐς τὴν Σιδῶνα
cατέσχον ναύσιν ἐκατόν μάλιστα καὶ εἰκόσιν,
ἐπειδὴ τὴν τε ἧσαν τὴν, καὶ Ἰσσόν Δαρείου
ἐπόδουτο καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη πᾶσα ἐχομένη ἤδη ὑπ᾽
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφόβιει αὐτούς. Καὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν
ἐδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀδειαν τῶν πρόσθεν, ὅτι ὑπ᾽
ἀνάγκης μάλλον τι ἦ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν
ἐδόκουν ξυνταχθῆναι τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν.

4 Ἑν γὰρ δὲ αἱ τε μηχαναὶ αὐτὸ ἐξυνεπήγγυντο
καὶ αἱ νήσει ως εἰς ἐπέπλουν τε καὶ ναυμαχίας
ἀπόπειραν ἐξηρτύνοντο, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν
τῶν τε ἰπτέων ἱλας ἐστιν ἃς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς
καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπ᾽
Ἀραβίας στέλλεται εἰς τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον καλού-
5 μενον τὸ ὄρος καὶ τὰ μὲν βία τῶν ταύτη ἔξελαν,
τὰ δὲ ὀμολογία παραστησάμενος ἐν δέκα ἠμέραις
ἐπανήγγειν εἰς τὴν Σιδῶνα, καὶ καταλαμβάνεις
Κλέανδρον τοῦ Πολεμωκράτους ἐκ Πελοποννησοῦ
ὁκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἂν αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους Ἐλληνας ἐς
tετρακισχίλιον.

6 Ὡς δὲ συνεντέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἐπιβιβά-
σας τοῖς καταστρώμασι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ὅσοι
ἰκανοὶ ἔδοκον ἐς τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ διέκπλοις
μᾶλλον τι ἢ ἐν χερσὶν ἡ ναυμαχία γίγνοτο, ἄρας
ἐκ τῆς Σιδῶνος ἐπέπλευ τῇ Τύρῳ ἐξυντεταγμέναι
ταῖς ναυσίν αὐτῶς μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας,
ὁ δὲ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ ἀνείχε, καὶ ἐξ ἂν αὐτῷ
οἱ τε Κυπρίων βασιλεῖς καὶ ὅσοι Φοινίκων, πλὴν
Πνυταγόρου· οὕτως δὲ καὶ Κράτερος τὸ εὐώνυμον

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Mallos and ten from Lycia, and a fifty-oar from Macedon, its captain Proteus son of Andronicus. Soon also the kings of Cyprus put in at Sidon with about 120 sail, having learnt of Dareius' defeat on the Issus, and scared by Alexander’s hold over all Phoenicia. To all these Alexander let bygones be bygones, supposing that it was rather from necessity than choice that they had joined naval forces with the Persians.

While his engines were being fitted together, and his ships were being equipped for the attack and for trying the issue of a naval battle, Alexander with some of the cavalry squadrons, the Agrianes, and the archers, marched towards Arabia to the mountain called Antilibanus. Part of this country he captured, part he received in surrender, and in ten days returned to Sidon, and found Cleandros son of Polemocrates arrived from the Peloponnese and with him four thousand Greek mercenaries.

When his navy was in due array, he put on deck as many of his bodyguard as he thought sufficient for the action—unless, of course, the engagement should rather be a matter of breaking through and charging than of hand-to-hand fighting—and weighing anchor sailed from Sidon to Tyre with his ships in close order; himself on the right wing, that is, seaward, and with him the Cyprian kings and all the Phoenicians, except Pnytagoras, who, with Craterus, commanded the left wing of the whole
κέρας εἶχον τῆς πάσης τάξεως. Τοὺς δὲ Τυρίους πρότερον μὲν ναυμαχεῖν ἐγνωσμένου ἦν, εἰ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπιπλέοι σφίσιν Ἀλέξανδρος, τότε δὲ πλήθος νεῶν πολὺ ἀπρόσδοκητώς κατιδότες (οὐ γάρ πω πεπυσμένοι ἦσαν τὰς τε Κυπρίων ναῦς καὶ τὰς Φοινίκων ξυμπάσας Ἀλέξανδρον ἤχοντα)

καὶ ἀμα ἐνυπταγμένων τοῦ ἐπιτόπου γιγαντέον (οὐ γὰρ πρὶν προσσχεῖν τῇ πόλει ἀνεκώχευ-

σαν ἐτι πελάγιαι αἰ ἔνν Ἀλέξανδρῳ νῆς ἐπιτέται ὑπὸ τρικεφαλοῦς, ὡς σοῦ ἀντανήγγειλεν, τολῶν τοῦ ῥοθίρο ἐπέπλεον), ταῦτα ὁρῶντες οἱ Τύριοι ναυμαχεῖν μὲν ἀπέγνωσαν τρίχρεσι δὲ ὅσα τῶν λιμένων τὰ στόματα ἐδέχοντο βύζην τὸν ἐσπλοῦν φραζάμενοι ἐφύλασσον, ὡς μὴ ἐς τῶν λιμένων τινὰ ἐγκαθαρμισθήναι τῶν πολεμίων τῶν στόλων.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὡς σοῦ ἀντανήγγειλεν, ἐπέπλει τῇ πόλει καὶ ἔσκε στῆ θάλασσαν καὶ ἀντιπρόφοροι τρικεφαλοὶ πολλαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐσπλοῦν τριεῖς δὲ τὰς ἐξωτάτο ἐφόρμους τοῦ στόματος τρικεφαλοὺς προσπέσοντες οἱ Φοινίκες καὶ ἀντιπρόφοροι ἐμβα-

λόντες καταδύοντοι οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὑπὸ χαλεπῶς ἀπενήσαντο ἐς τὴν γῆν, φιλίαν ὑσαν.

Τότε μὲν δὴ οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ πολτοῦ χώματος κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἵνα σκέπῃ τῶν ἄνεμων ἐφαίνετο, οἱ σὺν Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὁρμᾶντο. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν Κυπρίους ξύν ταῖς σφετέραις ναυσὶ καὶ Ἀνδρομάχῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τὸν

\[1 \text{vīes of Sintenis after Hertlein and from A B gives nēs, el πως ἀρὰ ἐς ναυμαχεῖν τοὺς Τυρίους προκαλέσαντο, ἐπειτα...}]

A omits.
armada. The Tyrians first decided to give battle by sea, should Alexander attack them there. But then sighting a host of ships far beyond their estimate—for they were unaware so far that all the Cyprian and all the Phoenician ships were with Alexander—and observing the attack coming in regular order—I must note that just before closing on the city Alexander’s ships while still in the open had lain to, hoping to draw out the Tyrians to an engagement, and then as they did not put out in their original order came on at great speed—the Tyrians, I repeat, observing this, refused battle; but with so many of the triremes as the mouths of their harbours would hold they blocked the entrance and guarded them, so that the enemy’s armada could not anchor in any of the harbours.

Alexander, however, on the Tyrians’ refusal, sailed towards the city; he would not force an entry into the harbour facing Sidon because of the narrowness of the entry; and also because it was blocked with several triremes, bows on; still the Phoenicians charged, bow to bow, the three triremes which were moored farthest out, and sank them; their crews swam comfortably to the friendly shore; and on this Alexander’s fleet came to anchor near the new-made mole along the shore, where there seemed to be protection from the winds. Next day Alexander ordered the Cyprians, with their contingent and with Andromachus the admiral, to blockade the city
ἐκ Σιδώνος φέροντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐφορμεῖν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δὲ Φοίνικας κατὰ τὸν ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ χώματος τὸν πρὸς Ἀγγυπτοῦ ἀνέχοντα, ὥσα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σκηνή ἦν.

XXI. Ἡδή δὲ καὶ μηχανοποιῶν αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου καὶ Φοίνικης ἀπάσης συλλεγμένων, μηχαναὶ πολλαὶ συμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν, ἀι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν νεῶν, ὡς ἐκ Σιδώνος ἀμα οἱ ἐκόμισεν, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐ ταχυναυτοῦσαῖ ἦσαν. 2 Ὡς δὲ παρεσκεύαστο ἡδὴ ἡμπαντα, προσήγον τὰς μηχανὰς κατὰ τῇ ποιητῶν χώμα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ τείχους προσομοζομένων τε καὶ ἀποπειρωμένων τοῦ τείχους.

3. Ὅς δὲ Τύριοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἑπάλεξων τῶν κατὰ τὸ χώμα πύργους ἐξυλίνους ἐπέστησαν, ὡς ἀπομάχεσθαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ εἶ πὴ ἄλλη αἱ μηχαναὶ προσήγοντο, βέλεσί τε ἡμύνοντο καὶ πυρφόροις οἰστοῖς ἐβάλλει αὐτὰς τὰς ναύς, ὅστε φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς Μακεδοῖς πελάξειν τῷ τείχει. 4. Ην δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τείχη κατὰ τὸ χώμα τὸ τε ύψος εἰς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν μᾶλιστα πόδας καὶ ἦς πλάτος ἡμύμουρον λίθοις μεγάλοις ἐν γύρῳ κειμένοις ἐξυμπεπηγμένοι. Ταῖς δὲ ἱππαγωγοῖς τε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεις τῶν Μακεδῶν, ὅσαι τὰς μηχανὰς προσήγον τῷ τείχει, καὶ ταύτῃ ὅσι εὐποροῦν ἐγκύνευτο πελάξειν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι λίθοι πολλοὶ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος προβεβλημένοι ἐξεῖργον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐγχύσεις ἐπομολήν. Καὶ τούτως Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγὼν ἐξελκώσαι ἐκ τῆς βαλαστηθησίας ἡμύνετο δὲ χαλεπῶς τοῦτο τὸ ἐργον, οἰα δὴ.
at the harbour that faced Sidon, and the Phoenicians
to do the same at the harbour on the other side of
the mole, facing towards Egypt, where was his own
pavilion.

XXI. By this time a good many engineers had
collected from Cyprus and the whole of Phoenicia,
and a large number of engines had been built, some
on the mole, some on the transports which Alexander
had brought with him from Sidon, and some on the
slower triremes. When everything was ready, they
brought forward the engines at the end of the new-
made mole and from the ships which lay to alongside
the walls at all points and which now began to
attack them.

The Tyrians set wooden towers on the battlements
which faced the mole, so as to fight therefrom; and
wherever else the engines were being brought to
bear, they defended themselves with missiles and
with fiery arrows assailed the ships themselves, so
that the Macedonians feared to approach their wall.
The walls facing the mole were about 150 feet high
and of corresponding breadth, stoutly built of big
blocks of stone fitted in mortar. Even at this point
the Macedonian transports and triremes, which
brought up engines against the wall, found it not
easy to approach the city, since heaps of stones
cast into the sea prevented their approaching closely.
These stones Alexander determined to drag out of
the sea; but this work went on with difficulty, being
Ἄπ' ἴνων καὶ οὐκ ἀπ' ὑή βεβαιοῦ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ὁ Τύριος ναὸς καταφράζαντες παρὰ τὰς ἀγκύρας ἐπῆγγον τῶν τριηρῶν καὶ ὑποτέμνοντες τὰς σχοίνους τῶν ἀγκυρῶν ἀπεροῦν τὴν προσώμοισιν ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶν ἐποίουν.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τριακοντόρους πολλὰς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον φράξας ἐπέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας πρὸ τῶν ἀγκυρῶν, ὡς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναστέλλεσθαι τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῶν νεών. Ἀλλὰ καὶ διὸ ὕφαλοι κολυμβηται τὰς σχοίνους αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμνον. Οἱ δὲ ἀλύσσων εἰς τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀντὶ σχοίνων χρώμενοι, οἱ Μακεδόνες, καθίσαν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐτὶ πλέον τοῖς κολυμβηταῖς γύρισθαι. Ἐξάπτωτος οὖν βρόχους τῶν λίθων ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἀνέπτων αὐτοῖς ἔξω τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπείτα μηχανῶς μετεωρίσαντες κατὰ βάθους ἀφίσαν, ἵνα οὐκετί προθέμενοι βλάψεων ἐμελλοῦ. Ὁποὺ δὲ καθαρὸν πεποίητο τῶν προβόλων τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἦδη ταύτῃ αἰ νήσει προσείχον.

7 Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι, πάντη ἀποροὶ γινόμενοι, ἔγνωσαν ἐπίπλουν ποιῆσασθαι ταῖς Κυπρίαις ναυσίν, αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν λιμένα ἐφώρμουν τὸν ἑς Σιδώνα τετραμένου· ἐκ πολλοῦ δὴ καταπετάσαντες τοῦ λιμένος τὸ στόμα ἱστίοις, τοῦ μὴ καταφανὴ γενέσθαι τῶν τριηρῶν τὴν πλήρωσιν, ἀμφὴ μέσον ἡμέρας, ὡς ὅτε οἱ τε ναύται ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως ναυτικοῦ

8 ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπεχώρει, πληρώσαντες πεντῆρεις μὲν τρεῖς καὶ τετρήρεις ἰσας, τριήρεις δὲ ἐπὶ ὃς ἀκριβεστάτοις τε τοῖς πληρώμασι καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων μάχεσθαι μέλλου-
carried on from ships and not from land; moreover, the Tyrians protected with armour certain of their ships and bore down on the anchors of the triremes and cut the cables, thus making it impossible for the enemy’s ships to lie near by. But Alexander protected several thirty-oars in the same way, and laid them athwart in front of the anchors to repel the attack of the Tyrian ships. Even so, divers plunging in cut the cables. So the Macedonians used chains for anchor cables, and lowered them, so that the divers were made useless. Then standing on the mole they cast running knots round the stones and drew them out of the sea, and then hurled them with their engines into deep water, where there was no more chance of their being thrown in the way and doing any more harm. Thus, when they had cleared the approach to the wall, the ships lay alongside quite easily.

The Tyrians, now hard pressed all round, determined to attack the Cyprian vessels which were blockading the harbour that fronted Sidon. For a long time they kept sails stretched in front of the harbour mouth, that the manning of the triremes might not be seen, and about midday, when the Greek sailors were scattered on necessary business and Alexander had just retired from the ships on the south of the city to his pavilion, they manned three quinquiremes and quadriremes, and seven triremes, with their smartest crews and the best-armed marines, to fight from the decks, and—what
σιν εὐσπλοτάτοις καὶ ἀμα εὐθαρσεστάτοις ἐστοι ναυτικοὺς ἀγῶνας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀτρέμα τῇ εἱρεσίᾳ ἐπὶ μᾶς νεὼς ἐξέπλεον ἄνευ κελευστῶν τὰς κάπας παραφέροντες· ὡς δὲ ἐπέστρεφον ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυπρίους καὶ ἐγγύς τοῦ καθοράσθαι ᾧσαν, τότε δὴ ἔδω βοὴ τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐγκελευσμῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀμα τῇ εἱρεσίᾳ ἐξυντόνῳ ἐπεφέροντο.

XXII. Ξυνέβη δὲ ἐκείνη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, οὐ διατρίψαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ εἰσόδος, δὲ ὅλων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπανελθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ Τύριοι προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδοκήτως ταῖς ναυσὶν ὀρμούσας, καὶ ταῖς μὲν πάντῃ κεναῖς ἐπιτυχόντες, τῶν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν βοὴν καὶ τοῦ ἐπίπλουν χαλεπῶς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων πληρουμένων, τὴν τε Πνυταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πεντήρην εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθοσίου καὶ τὴν Πασικράτους τοῦ Θουριέως, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες ἐκποτοῦν.

3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἤσθετο τὸν ἐκπλοῦν τῶν Τυρίων τρητῶν, τὰς μὲν πολλὰς τῶν ἔδω αὐτῷ νεῶν, ὅπως ἐκάστη πληροθεῖν, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἀνακοχεύειν ἐταξίν, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἄλλαι ἐκπλεύσειαν τῶν Τυρίων νῆσε· αὐτὸς δὲ πεντήρεις τε τὰς ἔδω αὐτῷ ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τῶν τριήρων ἐς πέντε μάλιστα, ὅσι ἐφθησαν αὐτῷ κατὰ τάχος πληροθεῖσαι, περιέπλει τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκπεπλευκότας τῶν Τυρίων. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, τὸν τε ἐπίπλουν τῶν πολεμίων κατιδόντες καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, βοὴ 204
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is more—their bravest sea-fighting men, and first gently rowed out in single file, rowing without anyone to call the stroke; but when they were turning towards the Cyprian ships and were on the point of being seen, then, with shouting and calling of the time and with orderly and regular strokes, on they came.

XXII. On that day, as it fell out, Alexander had retired to his pavilion, but had not rested there, as his custom was, but returned to the ships quite soon. The Tyrians falling all unexpected on the anchored ships, finding some quite empty, and others being hastily manned from any who chanced to be there at the noise and the attack, at the first charge sank the pentereme of King Pnytagoras, with those of Androcles of Amathus and Pasicrates of Thurion; the rest they drove ashore and broke up.

Alexander, however, learning of the sally of the Tyrian triremes, bade most of his ships to lay to at the harbour mouth as soon as each was manned, that no other Tyrian ships might sally; then he took what quinqueremes he had and some five triremes, which had got their crews on board in all haste, and sailed round the city against the Tyrians who had broken out. Those on the wall, seeing the enemy attack and Alexander himself aboard, bade
τε ἔτανάγειν ἐνεκελεύοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἔξακουστόν ἦν ὑπὸ θορύβου ἐννευχομένων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, σημείοις ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. Οἱ δὲ ὦντε ἀισθόμενοι τῶν ἐπίπλου τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑποστρέψαντες ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἔφευρον. Καὶ ὅλγαι μὲν τῶν νεῶν φθάνουσιν ὑπεκφυγοῦσαι, ταῖς δὲ πλείσσοις ἐμβάλοουσαι αἱ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἁπλοὺς ἐποίησαν, πεπείνησαν δὲ τοὺς καὶ τετρήρης αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος ἐλήφθησαν. Φῶνος δὲ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οὐ πολὺς ἔγενετο ὡς γὰρ ἦσθον ἐχομένας τὰς ναῦς, ἀπενήξαντο οὖ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν λιμένα.

6 Ὡς δὲ οὐδεμία ἐτι τοῖς Τυρίωις ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀείλεεια ἦν, ἐπῆγον ἦδη οἱ Μακεδόνες τὰς μνήμας τὸ τείχει αὐτῶν. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸ χόμα προσαγόμεναι διὰ ἵσχυν τοῦ τείχους οὐδὲν ἦνου ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον· οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς Σιδώνα τετραμμένον τῆς πόλεως τῶν νεῶν τίνας τῶν 7 μηχανοφόρων προσήγον. Ἡμὸς δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτῃ ἦνεν, ἢς τὸ πρὸς νότον αὐ ἀνέμου καὶ πρὸς Αἰγυπτον ἀνέχου τείχος μετήμει, πάντη ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ ἔργου. Καὶ ἑυταύθα πρῶτον κατεστήσατο τε τὸ τείχος ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τὶ καὶ κατηρείφθη αὐτοῦ παραπραγέν. Τότε μὲν ὁ σοὶ ἐπιβαλὼν γεφύρας ᾧ ἔρημιπτο τοῦ τείχους, ἀπεπειράθη ἐς ὦλόγον τῆς προσβολῆς· καὶ οἱ Τύριοι οὖ χαλεπῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

XXIII. Τρίτη δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἦμερα ὑνεμίαν τε φυλάξας καὶ παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἧγεμόνας τῶν 206
their own men with shouts to put about, and as no one could hear from the general noise, they used various signals to ensure their retreat. The seamen, observing too late the attack of Alexander's ships, went about, and hurried back to the harbour. A few of the Tyrian ships managed to get to safety, but Alexander's ships charged the bulk of them and put some out of action, while a quinquireme and a quadrireme were captured at the very entrance of the harbour. There was no great slaughter of the crews, for they, as soon as they saw that their ships were held up, swam off without much difficulty into the harbour.

Now that the Tyrians could look for no help from their ships, the Macedonians began to bring up their engines against the wall. When brought along the mole, they did nothing worthy of remark, owing to the strength of the walls; but, on the side of the city looking towards Sidon, the Greeks brought up some of their ships which carried engines. But as they did not succeed even here, Alexander turned to the south and the harbour facing towards Egypt, testing the wall from all sides. There first the wall was badly shaken and a part broken down, and thereupon Alexander made a slight and tentative attack so far at least as throwing bridges over the broken part of the wall: the Tyrians, however, easily repulsed the Macedonians.

XXIII. The third day afterwards, having waited for a calm, and urging his battalion commanders to
τάξεων ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἐπήγε τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τὰς μυχανὰς. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν κατέσεισε τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ μέγα. Ὡς δὲ ἀποχρῶν εἰς πλάτος ἐφάνη τὸ παρερρηγμένον, τὰς μὲν μηχα-
2 νοφόρους ναῦς ἐπανάγειν ἐκέλευσεν· ὦ δὲ δύο ἄλλας ἐπῆγεν, αἱ τὰς γεφύρας αὐτῷ ἔφερον, ἂς ἡ ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπενόει τῷ κατερρηγμένῳ τοῦ τείχους. Καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν τῶν νεῶν οἱ ύπαι-
στισταλ ἔλαβον, ἢ ἐπετέακτο Ἀδμητος, τὴν ἐτέραν δὲ ἡ Κοῖνων τάξις οἱ πεζέταιροι1 καλοῦ-
μενοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν τοῖς ὑπαιστισταῖς ἐπιβή-
3 σεθαι τοῦ τείχους ἢ παρείκοι ἐμελλε. Τὰς τριήρεις δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιπλεῖν κατά τοὺς λιμένας ἀμφοτέρους ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ πως πρὸς σφᾶς τετραμ-
μένων τῶν Τυρίων βιάσαιντο τὸν ἐσπλοῦν ὅσαι δὲ αὐτῶν βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενα εἶχον ἢ ὅσαι τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἔφερον, ταύτας δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπλεούσας τὸ τείχος ἐποκέλλειν τε ὅπῃ παρείκοι καὶ ἀνα-
κωχεύειν ἐντὸς βέλους, ἐστε τὸ ἐποκεῖλαι ἀπορον γίγνοιτο, ὡς πανταχόθεν βαλλομένους τοὺς Τυρίους ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἀμφιβόλους γίγνεσθαι.

4 'Ὡς δὲ αἳ τε νῆς αἳ σὺν Ἀλέξανδρῳ προσέσχον τῇ πόλει καὶ αἳ γεφυραὶ ἐπεβλήθησαν τῷ τείχει ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ ύπαιστισταὶ εὐρώστως κατὰ ταύτας ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος· ὥ τε γὰρ Ἀδμητος ἄνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ τότε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀμα Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ τε ἔργον αὐτοῦ καρτερῶς ἀπτόμενος καὶ θεατὴς τῶν

1 ἀσθέτεροι (read, however, ἀ-ταιροι), Α α γ, is possibly correct—"civilian volunteers"—the word recurs IV. 23. 1 and elsewhere.
action, Alexander brought up against the city the engines on board the ships. First he battered down the wall for a good space. But when the breach seemed wide enough, he ordered up the engine-carrying ships; besides, he sent in two others, fitted with gangways, which were to be let fall on the breach of the wall. One of the ships the bodyguard took over, Admetus being its captain; the other was manned by Coenus' battalion, called the territorial infantry. He was ready himself with his bodyguard to rush in wherever the wall gave. A part of his triremes he ordered to sail round about either harbour, to see if perhaps (the Tyrians being busy with the attacking troops) they might force an entrance. Other vessels which carried ammunition for the engines or had archers on deck, Alexander ordered to circle about the wall, and put in wherever it was possible, and lay to within range, so long as it should be impossible to lie alongside; so that the Tyrians should be attacked from all sides and become distracted by their danger.

As soon as Alexander's ships closed upon the city and the gangways were thrown upon the wall from the ships, the guards stoutly mounted the wall by these; not only did Admetus behave valiantly that day, but Alexander was with them, both taking a conspicuous part in the action and keeping his eyes
ΑΛΛΩΝ, ὅτι τι λαμπρῶν κατ’ ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ
5 κινδύνῳ ἔτολματο. Καὶ ταῦτη πρῶτον ἡ ἐπετέ-
tακτο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλήφθη τὸ τεῖχος, οὐ χαλε-
pῶς ἀποκρουσθέντων ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν Τυρίων,
ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον βεβαιῶ τε καὶ ἄμα οὐ πάντη
ἀποτέλῳ τῇ προσβάσει ἐχρήσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες.
Καὶ Ἀδριτος μὲν, πρῶτος ἐπιβᾶς τοῦ τείχους
καὶ τοὺς ἅμφι αὐτὸν ἐγκελευόμενος ἐπιβαίνειν,
βληθεὶς λόγχῃ ἀποθνῄσκει αὐτοῦ· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ
Ἁλέξανδρος ἐσχε τὸ τείχος εἰν τοῖς ἑταῖροις.
6 Ὡς δὲ εἰχοντο αὐτῷ πῦργοι τε ἐστὶν οἱ καὶ
μεταπύργια, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆς διὰ τῶν ἐπάλξεων
ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅτι ταύτη εὐπορωτέρα
ἐφαίνετο ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡ κάθοδος.
XXIV. Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν οἱ τε Φοίνικες κατὰ
τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτον, καθ’ ὀνπερ καὶ
ἐφορμοῦντες ἐτύγχανον, βιασάμενοι καὶ τὰ
κλείθρα διαστάσαντες ἐκοπτοῦν τὰς ναῦς ἐν τῷ
λιμένι, ταῖς μὲν μετεώροις ἐμβάλλοντες, τὰς δὲ
ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξωθοῦντες, καὶ οἱ Κύπριοι κατὰ τὸν
ἀλλὸν λιμένα τὸν ἐκ Σιδῶνος φέροντα, οὐδὲ
κλείθρον τούτον γε ἔχοντα, εἰσπλεύουσαντες εἶλον
2 εὐθὺς ταῦτῃ τὴν πόλιν. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν
Τυρίων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος, ὡς ἐχόμενον εἴδον, ἐκλεῖ-
pουσιν ἀθροισθέντες δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀγηνόριον
καλούμενον ἐπέστρεψαν ταῦτῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακε-
dόνας. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχον τοῖς ὕπασπισταῖς
ἐπὶ τούτους χωρίσας τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ μαχομένους
διέφθειρεν αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσιν ἐφείπτετο.
3 Καὶ φῶνος ἦν πολὺς, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος
ἐχοντων ἦδη τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Κοινοῦ τάξεως
παρεληλυθυνας ἐς αὐτὴν. Ὁργῇ γὰρ ἐχόροιν
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open for any brave or brilliant action of the rest. And the part of the wall captured first was, in fact, just where Alexander had posted himself; the Tyrians were rather easily beaten off from it, since now for the first time the Macedonians had an approach that was solid and not precipitous on all sides. Admetus, first on the wall, and cheering his men on, was wounded by a spear and died there; after him Alexander followed up and seized the wall with his followers. Holding then some of the towers and the curtains between them, he passed on through the battlements towards the royal quarters; this way it appeared that descent into the city would be easier.

XXIV. To turn to the ships and their crews, the Phoenicians near the southern harbour, where they were moored, forcing their way and tearing asunder the booms, played havoc with the ships in the harbour, attacking some afloat, and driving others ashore; the Cyprians by the northern harbour, which had not even a boom, sailed in and captured the city on this side. The main body of the Tyrians deserted the wall when they saw it was in the enemy's possession: but they massed together at what is called the Shrine of Agenor, and there made a stand against the Macedonians. There Alexander with his bodyguard came upon them, and some he slew there, still fighting; the rest he turned to flight and pursued. There was a bloody massacre; now that those coming from the harbour were already masters of the city, and Coenus' battalion had passed inside. For the Macedonians fell furiously on every-
ἐπὶ πᾶν οἱ Μακεδόνες, τῆς τε πολιορκίας τῆς τριβῆς ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες τινὰς αὐτῶν οἱ Τυριῶν πλέοντας ἐκ Σιδῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβιβάσαντες, ὅπως ἀποπον ἐη ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, σφαξαντες ἐρρίψαν ἐς τὴν βάλασ-4 σαν. 'Απέθανον δὲ τῶν μὲν Τυρίων ἐς ὀκτα-κισχιλίους, τῶν Μακεδόνων δὲ ἐν τῇ τότε προσβολῇ Ἀδμητός τε, ὁ πρῶτος ἐλὼν τὸ τεῖχος, ἀυὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ εἴκοσι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ μάλιστα ἐς τετρακοσίους.

5 Τοῖς δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ 'Ἡρακλέους καταφυ-γοῦσιν (ἥσαι δὲ αὐτῶν τε τῶν Τυρίων οἱ μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀξέμιλκος καὶ Καρχῆ-δονίων τινὲς θεοροῦ ἐς τιμήν τοῦ 'Ἡρακλέους κατὰ δὴ τινὰ νόμον παλαιὸν εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἀφικόμενοι) τούτως ἔσυμπασιν ἀδειαν δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἦνδραπόδισε, καὶ ἐπράθησαν Τυρίων τε καὶ τῶν ξένων ὅσοι ἐγκατ-

6 ελήφθησαν, μάλιστα εἰς τρισμυρίους. Ἀλέ-ξανδρος δὲ τῷ 'Ἡρακλεὶ ἐθυσέ τε καὶ πομπῆ ἐστειλε σὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὑπολισμένῃ καὶ αἱ νῆς ἐνεπομπευσαν τῷ 'Ἡρακλεὶ, καὶ ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἔποιησε καὶ τὴν μηχανῆν ὑ τὸ τεῖχος κατεσείζθη ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν λεων καὶ τὴν ναὴν τὴν Τυρίαν τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ 'Ἡρακλέους, ἤντινα ἐν τῷ ἐπιπλω ἐλαβε, καὶ ταύτην τῷ 'Ἡρακλεὶ ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἢ αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἢ ὅτου δὴ ἄλλον ποιήσαντος, οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· διὰ τούτο καὶ ἑγὼ αὐτὸ ἀναγράψαι ἀπηξίωσα. Τύρος μὲν δὴ σὺτως ἐλὼ ἐπὶ ἄρχουντος Ἀνικήτου Ἀθήνησι μηνὸς Ἐκατομβαιώνος.

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thing, enraged at the length of the siege, and also because the Tyrians having captured some of their men sailing from Sidon had dragged them up on to the wall, so that the Greek camp might see them, and slew them and cast them into the sea. Eight thousand Tyrians fell; of the Macedonians, in this actual attack, Admetus, the first to mount on the wall, after proving himself a brave man, and with him twenty of the guards; in the entire siege the losses were about four hundred.

As for those who fled to the temple of Heracles—these were the more important Tyrians, King Azemilcus, and some Carthaginian visitors, come to their mother-city to pay honour to Heracles, according to some ancient custom—to all these Alexander granted complete pardon; the rest he sold into slavery; there were sold, what with Tyrians and foreigners captured at Tyre, some 30,000. Alexander sacrificed to Heracles and held a procession in his honour, with his whole army under arms; there was a naval review also in honour of Heracles, and Alexander held games in the Temple enclosure and a torch-race; the engine which battered the wall he dedicated in the temple; and the Tyrian sacred ship, consecrated to Heracles, which he captured in the attack, he hallowed to Heracles with an inscription, either of his own composition or of someone else's not worth recording; that is why I did not trouble to copy it. Tyre then was captured, in the archonship at Athens of Anicetus in the month Hecatombaeon.
XXV. "Εἰς δὲ ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Τύρου ἤνεγχομένου Ἀλέξανδρον ἄφικοντο παρὰ Δαρείου πρέσβεις ὡς αὐτῶν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες μῦρια μὲν τάλαντα ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν παιδῶν δοῦναι ἐθέλειν Ἀλέξανδρῳ Δαρείῳ τὴν δὲ χώραν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἐὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν. Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι γῆμαντα δὲ τὴν Δαρείου παίδα Ἀλέξανδρον φίλον τε εἶναι

2 Δαρείῳ καὶ ξύμμαχον. Καὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ ἐξυλλόγῳ τῶν ἔταιρων ἀπαγγελθέντων, Παρμενίωνα μὲν λέγουσιν Ἀλέξανδρῳ εἴπειν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἄν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων ἡγάπησε καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον μηκέτι πρόσω κινδυνεύειν. Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ Παρμενίων ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν, ἐπεὶ Παρμενίων ἦν, αὐτῶσ ἐπραξεῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός ἐστιν, ἀποκρινεῖσθαι Δαρείῳ ἄπερ δὴ καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο.

3 Ἕφη γὰρ οὕτε χρημάτων δεύσθαι παρὰ Δαρείου οὕτε τῆς χώρας λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς πάσης τοῦ μέρους· εἶναι γὰρ τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτὸς πᾶσαν· γῆμαί τε ἀν ἐθέλῃ τὴν Δαρείου παίδα, γῆμαι ἄν καὶ οὐ διδόντος Δαρείου· ἐκέλευε τε αὐτὸν ἥκειν, εἰ τι εὐρέσθαι ἐθέλοι φιλάνθρωπον παρ' αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτα ὡς ἦκουσε Δαρείος, τὰς μὲν ξυμβάσεις ἀπέγνω τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρῳ, ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου αὕτη ἦν.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀγάμπττον ἔγνω ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον. Καὶ ἦν αὐτῶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεκυρηκότα ἣδη εὑνοῦχος δὲ τις, ὁ δὲν θείος ἦν Βάτις, 214
XXV. While Alexander was still busied with the siege, envoys from Dareius came to him offering, from Dareius to Alexander, 10,000 talents for his mother, wife, and children; with the proposal that all the country within the Euphrates to the Greek sea should be Alexander's; that Alexander should marry Dareius' daughter and be his friend and ally. On these suggestions being read in the staff council, Parmenio (so we are told) affirmed that were he Alexander he would close with these terms and stop the war without further risks; then Alexander answered Parmenio that he would indeed have done this were he Parmenio, but being Alexander he would reply to Dareius in the words he actually used; he needed no money from Dareius, nor to receive a part of the country in place of the whole; for all the country and all the treasures were already his; if he chose to marry Dareius' daughter, he would marry her, even if Dareius did not give her; and Dareius, if he desired friendship at his hands, must come to him. When Dareius received this reply he cancelled all proposals to Alexander and began to prepare again for war.

Alexander now determined to make his expedition to Egypt. The rest of Syrian Palestine (as it is called) had already come over to him, but a certain
κρατῶν τῆς Γαζάλων πόλεως, οὕς προσεῖχεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἄλλα Ἀραβάς τε μισθωτοὺς ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ σίτον ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευακῶς διαρκῇ ἐς χρόνων πολυρρηθῶν καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ πιστεύων, μῆτοτε ἄν βία ἀλῶναι, ἐγὼ μὴ δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXVI. Ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Γαζὰ τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἰκοσὶ μάλιστα σταδίους, καὶ ἐστὶ ψαμμώδης καὶ βαθεῖα ἐς αὐτὴν ἡ ἁπάντως καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τεναγώθης πάσα. Μεγάλη δὲ πόλις ἡ Γαζὰ ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ χώματος ύψηλοῦ φυκίστω καὶ τεῖχος περιεβέβλητο αὐτῇ όχυρόν. Ἐσχάτη δὲ φίλειτο ὡς ἐπὶ Αὐγκυπτον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἱόντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἑρήμου.

2 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὅς ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἡ μάλιστα ἐπίμαχον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ τείχος, καὶ μηχανᾶς συμπηγνύναι ἐκέλευσεν. Οἱ δὲ μηχανοποιοὶ γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυντο ἄπορον εἶναι βία ἐλείν 3 τὸ τείχος διὰ υψός τοῦ χώματος. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐδόκει αἰρετέον εἶναι ὅσφος ἀπορώτερον ἐκπλήξειν γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ ἔργον τῷ παραλόγῳ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐλείν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐς τε τοὺς Ἔλληνας καὶ ἐς Δαρείον. Ἐδόκει δὴ χῶμα ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως χωνυνύναι, ὅσ ἐξ ἵππῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωσθέντος ἐπάγεσθαι τὰς μηχανᾶς τοῖς τείχεσι. Καὶ ἐχώσυντο κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως τείχος, ἵνα 4 ἐπιμαχότερα ἐφαίνετο. Ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει ἐξήρθαι συμμέτρος τὸ χῶμα, μηχανᾶς ἐπιστήσαντες οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπῆγγον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος τῶν Γαζάλων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ θύνετι Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἐστεφανώσθη.
eunuch, Batis, who was master of Gaza, did not join Alexander, but brought against him a force of Arab mercenaries, and having got ready some time before provision for a long siege, trusting, moreover, in the fortress, that it never could be taken by assault, decided not to admit Alexander into the city.

XXVI. Gaza is about 20 stades from the sea, and the approach is over deep sand, and the sea over against the city is broken into pools. The city of Gaza was large, and built on a lofty mound, with a strong wall built round it. It was the last town on the edge of the desert as you go from Phoenicia to Egypt.

When Alexander reached the city, he encamped the first day where the wall seemed easiest to attack, and he ordered siege engines to be made up. The engineers, however, suggested that it was hopeless to take the city by force owing to the height of the mound. Alexander thought, on the contrary, that the more impracticable it was, the more it must be taken; for the miracle of the achievement would strike terror into his enemies, while not to take it would be a blow to his prestige when noised abroad to the Greeks and Dareius. It was decided to raise a counter-mound round the city, and so bring the engines to bear on the walls, from the new mound, on the level. They built this mound chiefly against the city's southern wall, where the assault seemed most likely to succeed. And when the Macedonians thought they had built the mound of the proper height, they set up engines upon it and brought them up to the city wall. Just at this time, as Alexander was sacrificing, wearing garlands,
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μένω τε καὶ κατάρχεσθαι μέλλοντι τοῦ πρῶτου ἱερεῖου κατὰ νόμον, τῶν τις σαρκοφάγων ὄρθων ὑπερπετόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ λίθου ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν οὕτων τῶν ποδῶν ἐφερε. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦρετο Ἀρίστανδρον τὸν μάντιν δὲ τι νοοὶ ὁ οἰωνός. 'Ο δὲ ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι, 'Ὡς βασιλεῦ, τὴν μὲν πόλιν αἰρήσεις, αὐτῷ δὲ σοι φυλακτέα ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

XXVII. Ταύτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος τέως μὲν πρὸς ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἔξω βέλους αὐτῶν εἶχεν ὡς δὲ ἐκδρομή τε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καρτερὰ ἐγύρινον καὶ πύρ τε ἐπέφερον ταῖς μηχαναῖς οἱ Ἀραβεῖς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀμυνομένους κάτωθεν αὐτῶν ἐξ ὑπερδέξιον τοῦ χωρίου ἔβαλλον τε καὶ ὅθουν κατὰ τὸν ποιητὸν χῶματος, ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐκῶν ἀπειθεῖ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μάντει ἢ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσε τῆς μαντείας, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς παρεβοθεῖ ἡμα 2 μάλιστα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες. Καὶ τούτους μὲν ἔσχε τοῦ μὴ οὐκ αἰσχρὰ φυγή ὡσθήναι κατὰ τοῦ χῶματος, αὐτῶς δὲ βάλλεται καταπέλτη διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος διαμπτάκι καὶ τοῦ θόρακος ἐς τὸν ὄμον. Ὡς δὲ ἔγω τὰ ἀμφί τὸ τραύμα ἀληθεύ- σαντα τὸν Ἀρίστανδρον, ἔχαρη, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤ αἰρήσειν ἔδοκε ἂριστάνδρον ἐνεκα.

3 Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ τραύμα ἑθεραπευτῶν χαλε- πώς ἀφικνοῦται τ' αὐτῷ μετὰπεμπτο ἀπὸ θαλάσσης αἱ μηχαναὶ αἰς Τύρον εἰπέ· καὶ χώμα χωνύναι ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐκλευσεν, εὔρος μὲν ἐς δύο στάδιους, ύψος δὲ ἐς 4 πόδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων.1 'Ὡς δὲ αἰ

1 For διακοσίων Krüger plausibly πέντε (e' for e').

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and just about to initiate the first victim according to the ceremonial, a carnivorous bird hovering over the altar dropped on his head a stone which it was carrying in its talons. Alexander asked Aristander the seer what this omen of the bird meant, and he answered, "O King, you will capture the city; but for to-day you must look to yourself."

XXVII. On this advice Alexander remained for a time by the engines, out of range; but on a strong sally from the city, the Arabs trying to set fire to the engines, and pelting the Macedonians, who were resisting below, from their commanding position, and even pushing them over the new mound, Alexander either disobeyed the seer's words on purpose or carried away in the action did not give them a moment's thought, but bringing on his guards helped the Macedonians where they were most hardly pressed. He did, in fact, hold them from being driven down the mound in ignominious flight; but he was hit by a shot from a catapult right through his shield and his corselet, into the shoulder. But perceiving that Aristander had been right about the wound, he was glad, since he felt that Aristander also guaranteed the capture of the city.

Alexander was not easily treated of his wound; but there arrived, sent for by sea, the engines with which he captured Tyre. He ordered a mound to be erected the whole way round the city, two stades broad, two hundred and fifty feet high. Then as
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tε μηχαναί αυτῶ εποιήθησαν καὶ ἐπαχθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸ χώμα κατέσεισαν τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ πολύ, ὑπονόμων τε ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ὄρυσσομένων καὶ τοῦ χοῦ ἀφανῶς ἐκφερομένων τὸ τείχος πολλαχῇ ἥρειπτο ὑφιξάνων κατὰ τὸ κενούμενον, τοὺς τε βέλεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεῖχουν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἀναστέλλοντες τοὺς προμαχομένους ἐκ τῶν πύργων, ἐς μὲν τρεῖς προσβολὰς οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποθυησκόντων τε αὐτοῖς πολλῶν καὶ τιτρωσκο-5 μένων, ὁμωσώλητεῖχον τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ τῶν Μακε-δόνων τὴν φάλαγγα πάντοθεν προσαγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ μὲν ὑπορυσσόμενον τὸ τείχος καταβάλλει, τῇ δὲ παιόμενον ταῖς μηχαναῖς κατασεῖε ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὡς μὴ χαλεπὴν ταῖς κλίμαξὶ τὴν προσβολὴν κατὰ τὰ ἔρημομένα ἐνδοῦναι.

6 Ἀ' τε οὖν κλίμακες προσήγοντο τῷ τείχει καὶ ἑρίς πολλῇ ἡν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσοι τι ἄρετής μετεποιοῦντο, ὅστις πρῶτος αἰρῆσει τὸ τείχος· καὶ αἱρεῖ πρῶτος Νεοπτόλεμος τῶν ἑταίρων τοῦ Ἀιακίδου γένους· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῶ ἄλλαι καὶ ἄλλαι 7 τάξεως ὁμοί τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνέβασιν. Ὁς δὲ ἀπαξ παρῆλθόν τινες ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τῶν Μακεδόνων, κατασχίσαντες ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας πύλας, ὅσις ἐκαστοὶ ἐπετύχανον, δέχονται εἰς ἔτη τὴν στρατιὰν πάσαν. Οἱ δὲ Γάζαιοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως σφίσιν ἡ ἐχομένης ξυνηστηκόντες ὅμως ἐμάχοντο· καὶ ἀπέθανον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ὡς ἐκαστὸ ἐτάχθησαν. παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραπόδισεν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος. Τὴν πόλιν δὲ ἑποικίσασις ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἐχρῆτο ὡς φρονώρω ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.
soon as his engines had been set up and being brought up to the mound had considerably battered the wall, tunnels were driven here and there and the earth below secretly withdrawn till the wall gave, subsiding on the gaps, while the Macedonians cleared a great space with their volleys and drove back the defenders from the towers; the defenders, nevertheless, though with many dead and wounded, held bravely out against three onslaughts. But in the fourth Alexander brought up his phalanx of Macedonians on all sides, threw down the wall, now undermined, at one place, and breached it for a great stretch in another, battered as it was with his engines, so that it was not hard to make the assault with ladders on the fallen portions. So the ladders were set against the wall, and then was much rivalry of the Macedonians, such as laid claim to valorous qualities, who would be first to mount the wall; the first proved to be Neoptolemus, one of the Companions and of the family of the Aeacidae. After him, battalion after battalion climbed up with their officers. As soon as the first few had entered into the wall, they tore down gate after gate, as they found them, and so admitted the entire army. The citizens, though their city was already in enemy hands, held together and still resisted; and they all perished there, fighting each man at his post. Their women and children Alexander sold into slavery; the city he populated with the neighbouring tribesmen and used it as a fortress town for the war.
BOOK III
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ

1. Ἄλεξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου, ἦναπερ τὸ πρῶτον ὤμηθη, ἐστέλλετο, καὶ ἐβδόμη ἡμέρα ἀπὸ τῆς Γάζης ἐλαύνων ἦκεν εἰς Πηλούσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Ὡ δὲ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς παρέπλευ αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ὡς ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς ἐν Πηλούσιῳ ὀρμούσας.

2. Μαξάκης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης, ὁ ὁ δὲ σατράπης Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Δαρείου καθεστηκός, τὴν τε ἐν Ἰσσῷ μάχην ὁπως συνέβη πεπνυμένος καὶ Δαρείου οὔτε αἰσχρὰ φυγῇ ἠφύγε, καὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίαν καὶ τῆς Ἄραβίας τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Ἄλεξανδροῦ ἐχόμενα, αὐτῷ τε οὐκ οὕσης δυνάμεως Περσικῆς, ἐδὲνετο ταῖς πόλεσι φιλίως καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ Ἄλεξανδρον.

3. Ὡ δὲ εἰς μὲν Πηλούσιον φυλακὴν εἰσῆγαγε, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀναπλεῖν κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κελεύσας ἔστε ἐπὶ Μέμφι τὸ πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἐφ᾽ Ἡλιούπολεσ ἡμεῖς, ἐν δεξίᾳ ἔχων τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ ὅσα καθ᾽ ὁδὸν χωρίᾳ ἐνδιδύνων τῶν ἐνοικοῦν τῶν κατασχῶν, διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν. Ἐκείθεν δὲ διαβᾶς τὸν πόρον ἦκεν ἐς Μέμφιν. Καὶ θύει ἐκεῖ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ Ἀπίδῳ καὶ ἄγωνα ἐποίησε γυμνικῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν ἦκον δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα τεχνίται ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. Ἐκ δὲ Μέμφιος κατέπλευ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν

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BOOK III

I. ALEXANDER now set forth for Egypt—his original goal—\textsuperscript{1} and marching from Gaza he arrived on the seventh day at Pelusium in Egypt. His fleet was coasting along with him from Phoenicia towards Egypt; and he found them already at anchor at Pelusium. Mazaces the Persian, who had been appointed satrap of Egypt by Dareius, when he learnt both the result of the battle of Issus and the shameful flight of Dareius, and also that Phoenicia, Syria, and the greater part of Arabia were in Alexander’s hands, being, moreover, without any Persian force, received Alexander in a friendly way into the cities and the country. Alexander for his part brought a garrison into Pelusium, and bade the officers of his fleet sail up the river as far as Memphis; he meanwhile went towards Heliopolis, with the river Nile on his right hand; all the districts on his route he took over, by surrender of the inhabitants, and through the desert he reached Heliopolis. Thence he crossed the river and came to Memphis. There he sacrificed in especial to Apis and also to the other gods; and held a contest both athletic and literary; the most famous artists in these branches came to him there from Greece. From Memphis he sailed down-stream towards the sea, taking on board the

\textsuperscript{1} That is, the original object of his southerly march, held up for a time at Tyre.
λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τῶν ἵππεων τῆς βασιλικῆς ὕλην τῆν τῶν ἔταιρων.

6 Ὁ Ἑλλὸν δὲ ἐς Κάνωβον καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαρίαν περιπλεύσας ἀποβαίνει ὅπου νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρεια πόλις ὥσισται, Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπώνυμος. Καὶ ἐδοξεῖν αὐτῷ ὁ χῶρος κάλλιστος κτίσαι ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν καὶ γενέσθαι ἀν εὐδαιμονα τὴν πόλιν. Πόθος οὖν λαμβάνει αὐτὸν τὸν ἔργου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ σημεία τῇ πόλει ἔθηκεν, ἵνα τε ἀγοράν ἐν αὐτῇ δείμασθαι ἔδει καὶ ἱερὰ ὡσα καὶ θεῶν ὀντινων, τῶν μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν, Ἰσίδος δὲ Ἀγυπτίας, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἢ περιβεβλήσθαι. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως ἐθύετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐφαίνετο.

Π. Δέγεται δὲ τις καὶ τοιόσος λόγος, οὐκ ἀπίστος ἔμοιγεν ἐθέλειν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον καταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ τειχισμοῦ τοῖς τέκτοσιν, οὐκ εἶναι δὲ ὅτι τὴν γῆν ἔπιγράψουσι τῶν δὴ τεκτόνων τινὰ ἐπιφρασθέντα, ὡσα ἐν τεύχεσιν ἄλφβατα οἱ στρατιώται ἐκόμιζον ξυναγώγοντα ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ γῇ ἱππερ ὁ βασιλεὺς υφηγεῖτο, καὶ τὸν κύκλον οὕτω περιγραφῆναι τοῦ 2 περιτειχισμοῦ ὀντινα τῇ πόλει ἐποίει. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιλεξαμένοις τοὺς μάντεις καὶ μάλιστα δὴ Ἀρίστανδρον τῶν Τελμυσσέα, δὲ δὴ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀληθεύσα τὸ ἐλέγετο Ἀλέξανδρῳ, φάναι εὐδαιμόνα ἐσεθεῖν τὴν πόλιν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καρπῶν εἴνεκα.

3 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἡγέλοχος κατέπλευσεν εἰς Ἀγυπτόν, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλέξανδρῳ Τενεδίον τε ἀποστάντας Περσῶν σφίσι προσβέσθαι (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄκοντις Πέρσαις προσχωρήσαι) καὶ
ships his guards, the archers, and the Agrianes, and of the cavalry the royal squadron of the Companions. When he had reached Canobus and sailed round Lake Mareotis he came ashore just where is now the city of Alexandria, named after Alexander. It struck him that the position was admirable for founding a city there and that such a city was bound to be prosperous. He was therefore filled with eagerness to get to work, and himself marked out the ground plan of the city, both where the market-place was to be laid out, how many temples were to be built, and in honour of what gods, some of these Greek, and Isis, the Egyptian; and where the wall was to be built round it. In view of all this he offered sacrifice, and the sacrifice proved favourable.

II. A story of the following sort is told, and I see no reason to disbelieve it; Alexander desired to leave behind for the builders the ground-plan of the fortification, but had nothing wherewith to mark the ground. One of the builders, however, had the happy thought of collecting the meal which the soldiers carried in vessels, and of dropping it upon the ground wherever the king led the way. Thus the circle of the surrounding wall which he proposed to make for the city was marked out. The soothsayers, and among them especially Aristander the Telmissian, who was reported to have made many other correct prophecies to Alexander, reflecting upon this, said that the city would be prosperous in all respects, but especially in the fruits of the earth.

Meanwhile Hegelochus arrived by sea in Egypt and reported to Alexander that Tenedos had revolted from the Persians and joined the Macedonians, in fact they had joined the Persians against their will;
Χίων δὲ τὴν δῆμον ἐπηγάγετο σφᾶς βία τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν, οὐσὶς Αὐτοφραδάτης τε καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ἐγκατέστησαν τὰς ἁλῶν δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ Φαρνάβαζον ἐγκαταληφθέντα καὶ Αριστόνικου Μηθυμναίον τὸν τύραννον ἐσπλεύσαντα ἐστὶ τὸν λιμένα τῆς Χίου ἐν ἡμολίας ληστρικάς πέντε, ὑπὸ σφῶν ἔχομενον τὸν λιμένα οὐ γνώντα, ἀλλ' ἐξαπατηθέντα γὰρ πρὸς τῶν τὰ κλείδρα εχόντων τοῦ λιμένος, ὅτι τὸ Φαρναβάζου ἄρα ναυτικὸν ὅρμηε ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τούς μὲν ἁρπάζων πάντας αὐτοῦ κατακοπῆναι πρὸς σφῶν. Ἀριστόνικος δὲ ἦγε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδην τὸν Χίου καὶ Φισινον καὶ Μεγαρέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσιον τῆς τε ἀποστάσεως τῆς Χίου ἑυπεπέλαβοντο καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα τῆς νύσσου βία εἶχον καὶ Μιτυλήνην δὲ Χάρητα ἔχοντα ἄτε ἀφεῖλετο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν Λέσβῳ πόλεις καὶ αὐτάς ὁμολογία προσηγάγετο, Ἀμφωτέρον δὲ αὐν ἐξήκοντα ναυσίν ἐπὶ Κῶ ἐπεμψεν ἐπικαλεὶσθαι γὰρ σφᾶς τοὺς Κώνους καὶ αὐτὸς καταπλεύσας ὅτι εὗρε τὴν Κῶ πρὸς Ἀμφωτεροῦ ἤδη ἐχομένην καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσιοι αἰχμάλωτοι ἦγεν Ἡγέλοχος, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀπέδρα ἐν Κῶ λαθῶν τοὺς φυλακας. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τυράννους μὲν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἓς τὰς πόλεις πέμπει, χρῆσασθαι ὡς ἐθέλοιεν τοὺς δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀπολλωνίδην τοὺς Χίους ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν Αἰγυπτίαν ἐν ἡμακῇ ἀκριβεὶ ἐπεμψεν.

III. Ἔπε τούτου δὲ πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν παρ' Ἀμμωνα ἐς Διόνυσον, τὸ μὲν τῷ θεῷ χρησόμενον, ὅτι ἀτρεκές ἔλεγετο εἶναι τὸ 228
the people of Chios too had invited him and his men into the city, despite those whom Autophradas and Pharnabazus had settled in the city, and who now were in possession of it; moreover, that Pharnabazus had been captured there, and with him Aristonicus the despot of Methymna who had sailed into the harbour of Chios with five pirate ships, not having learnt that the Macedonians had possession of the harbour; he had also been misled by those who guarded the entrance of the harbour, who asserted that Pharnabazus' fleet was in the roadstead there; the pirates indeed had all been cut down by his own men, but Aristonicus he brought to Alexander, with Apollonides the Chian and Phisinus and Megareus, and all the rest who had assisted the revolt of the Chians, and, at the time being, were tyrannically in command of the government of the island. He reported also that he had captured Mitylene from Chares who was holding it, and had received in surrender the other cities in Lesbos also. Amphoterus with sixty ships he had sent to Cos; for the people of Cos asked them to come; and he had sailed himself to Cos and found it already in the possession of Amphoterus. All the remaining captives Hegelochus brought in, except Pharnabazus, who had slipped his guards in Cos and escaped. Alexander sent the despots who came from the cities to their cities, so that the citizens might take such justice upon them as they pleased; but those with Apollonides, the Chians, he sent to the city of Elephantine of Egypt, with a strong guard.

III. After this an overmastering desire came upon Alexander to pay a visit to Ammon in Libya; partly to consult the oracle, since the oracle of Ammon was
μαντείον τοῦ Ἀμμωνος καὶ χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ Περσέα τε καὶ Ἡρακλέα, τὸν μὲν ἔπὶ τὴν Γοργώνα ὅτε πρὸς Πολυδέκτου ἐστέλλετο, τὸν δὲ ὅτε παρ᾽ Ἀνταίον ἦει εἰς Διβύνην καὶ παρὰ

2 Βούσιριν εἰς Ἀγυπτον. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ φιλοτιμία ἦν πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα, ἀπὸ γένους τε ὅτι τού ἀμφότερον καὶ τι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐστὶ Ἁμμωνα ἀνέφερε, καθάπερ οἱ μῦθοι τῆς Ἡρακλέους τε καὶ Περσέως ἐς Δίαν. Καὶ οὐν παρ᾽ Ἀμμωνα ταύτη τῇ γνώμῃ ἐστέλλετο, ὡς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἄτρεκέστερον εἰσόμενος ἡ φήσιν γε ἐγνωκέναι.

3 Μέχρι μὲν δὴ Παραιτοῦτον παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦει δὲ ἐρήμου, οὐ μέντοι δὲ ἀνύδρων τῆς χώρας, σταδίους ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἕξακοσίους, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐτράπτετο, ἵνα τὸ μαντείον ἦν τοῦ Ἁμμωνος. Ἑστὶ δὲ ἐρήμη τε ὑ ὀδὸς καὶ ψάμμος ὑ πολλή

4 αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνύδρος. "Τῶρο δὲ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολὺ ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτῳ ἐς τὸ θείου ἀνηνέχθη. Ἀνηνέχθη δὲ ἐς τὸ θείον καὶ τὸ δὲ ἀνέμος νότος έπαυν πνεῦσιν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τῷ χώρῳ, τῆς ψάμμου ἐπιφορεῖ κατὰ τῆς ὀδοῦ ἐπὶ μέγα, καὶ ἄφανίζεται τῆς ὀδοῦ τὰ σημεῖα οὐδὲ ἐστὶν εἰδέναι ἵνα χρῆ πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐν πελάγει τῆς ψάμμῳ, ὅτι σημεῖα οὐκ ἐστὶ κατὰ τῆς ὀδοῦ οὔτε που ὄρος οὔτε δένδρον οὔτε γῆς ὁμοιοί βέβαιοι ἀναστηκότες, οἵτινες οὐ ὁδιτὶ τεκμαίροντο ἀν τὴν πορείαν, καθάπερ οἱ ναῦται τοῖς ἀστροις ἀλλὰ ἐπιλαννότο γὰρ ἡ στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ

5 οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὀδοῦ ἀμφίβολοι ἦσαν. Πτολεμαῖος μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάγου λέγει δράκοντας δύο ἴέναι

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reputed to be infallible, and Perseus and Heracles were both said to have consulted it: Perseus when he was sent by Polydectes to destroy the Gorgon, and Heracles when he was journeying into Libya to find Antaeus, and into Egypt to find Busiris. Then, besides, Alexander felt a kind of rivalry with Perseus and Heracles, being descended from them both; nay, he also traced his descent in part from Ammon, just as the legends traced the descent of Heracles and Perseus from Zeus. In any case he set out for Ammon with this idea, hoping to learn about himself more accurately, or at least to say he had so learnt.

As far as Paraetonium he advanced along the coast through country which though desert is not wholly waterless, a distance of sixteen hundred stades, as Aristobulus tells us. Thence he turned into the interior, where the oracle of Ammon was. The way thither is desert; most of it is sand, and waterless. Alexander, however, had plenty of rain, and this too was attributed to the divine influence. This also was attributed to divine power; whenever the south wind blows in that country, it makes a great heap of sand upon the route and obscures the marks of the road, and one cannot get one's bearings in the sand any more than at sea; since there are no marks along the route nor any mountain anywhere nor tree nor solid hillocks standing up, by which the wayfarers might get some inkling of their proper course, as sailors do from the stars; the fact was, indeed, that Alexander's army fairly went astray, and the guides were in doubt as to the route. Now Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says that two serpents
ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος φωνὴν ἱέντας, καὶ τοῦτος Ἀλέξανδρος κελεύσαι ἔπεσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας πιστεύσαντας τῷ θείῳ· τοὺς δὲ ἡγήσασθαι τὴν ὀδόν τὴν τε ἐσ τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ὅπισω αὐθές.

6 Ἀριστοβουλὸς δέ, καὶ ὁ πλείων λόγος ταύτη κατέχει, κόρακας δύο προπετομένους πρὸ τῆς στρατιάς, τούτους γενόσθαι Ἀλέξανδρῳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν θείον τι ξυνεπέλαβεν αὐτῷ ἔχω ισχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς ταύτῃ ἔχει· τὸ δὲ ἀπεκεῖς τοῦ λόγου ἀφείλοντο οἱ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐξηγησάμενοι.

IV. Ὅ δὲ χάδρος ἰσαπερ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τὸ ἱερὸν ἔστε, τὰ μὲν κύκλω πάντα ἐρημα καὶ ψάμμων τὸ πᾶν ἔχει καὶ ἀνυδρον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὅλον ὄν (ὅσον γὰρ πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ ἐς πλάτος διέχει, ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων ἔρχεται) κατὰ-πλεώς ἐστιν ἤμέρων δένδρων, ἐλαιῶν καὶ φοινίκων,

2 καὶ ἐνδροσος μόνος τῶν πέρις. Καὶ πηγὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνύσχει οὐδὲν τι ἑοκυκια ταῖς πηγαῖς ὅσαι ἄλλαι ἐκ γῆς ἀνύσχουσιν. Ἡν μὲν γὰρ μεσημβρία ψυχρὸν τὸ ὑδρό γευσαμένῳ τε καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἀψαμένῳ οἶνον ψυχρότατον· ἐγκλίναντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐς ἐσπέραν θερμότερου, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ θερμότερου ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσας νύκτας, μέσον δὲ νυκτῶν ἐαυτοῦ θερμότατον· ἀπὸ δὲ μέσων νυκτῶν ψύχεται ἐν τάξει, καὶ ἐξοθεν ψυχρὸν ἤδη ἐστὶ, ψυχρότατον δὲ μεσημβρίας· καὶ τούτῳ δὴ ἀμείβει ἐν τάξει ἐπὶ ἐκάστῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

3 Γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ἄλες αὐτόματοι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ ὅρυκτοι. Καὶ τούτων ἐστιν οὕς ἐς Ἀγινυπ-τον φέρουσι τῶν ἱερείων τινὸς τοῦ Ἀμμωνος. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀγινυπτον στέλλονται, ἐς

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preceded the army uttering speech, and Alexander bade his leaders follow them and trust the divine guidance; and the serpents did actually serve as guides for the route to the oracle and back again. But Aristobulus, with the more common version, has it as follows: two crows flying in advance of the army acted as guides to Alexander. That some divine help was given him I can confidently assert, because probability also inclines this way; but the story has been deprived of exactitude by the way in which various writers about Alexander have given various accounts.

IV. The district in which the Temple of Ammon lies is desert all round, covered with sand, and without water. But the site, in the centre, is small (its broadest stretch only comes to about forty stades) and is full of garden trees, olives and palms, and it alone, of all the surrounding country, catches the dew. A spring, too, rises from it, not at all like ordinary springs which rise from the ground. For at midday the water is cold to the taste and even more to the touch, it is as cold as can be, then when the sun sinks towards evening it is warmer, and from evening on it grows warmer and warmer till midnight, and at midnight it is at its warmest; but after midnight it cools off in turn, and from dawn onwards it is already cold, but at midday coldest. This goes on in due rotation day by day. Then there are natural salts in this district, to be obtained by digging; some of these salts are taken by priests of Ammon to Egypt. For whenever they are going towards Egypt, they pack the salt into baskets woven
κοινίδας πλεκτᾶς ἐκ φολνικός ἐσβαλόντες δῶρον
4 τῷ βασιλείῳ ἀποφέρουσιν ἢ εἰ τῷ ἄλλῳ. Ἑστὶ
dὲ μακρός τε ὁ χώνδρος καὶ ἡ ἤδη τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ
ὕπερ τρεῖς δακτύλους, καὶ καθαρὸς ὡσπερ
κρύσταλλος· καὶ τούτῳ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις χρῶνται,
ὡς καθαρωτέρῳ τῶν ἄπο τὸ θαλάσσης ἄλων,
Ἀλυσπτιοί τε καὶ ὁσοὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ θείου οὐκ
5 ἀμελῶς ἔχουσιν. Ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξινδρος τὸν τε
χῶρον ἔθαμμας καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἔχρησατο· καὶ
ἀκούσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἦν, ὡς ἔλεγεν,
ἀνέξενεν ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου, ὡς μὲν Ἀριστόβουλος
λέγει, τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὀδόν, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος
ὁ Λάγου, ἀλλην εὔθειαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μέμφιν.

V. Εἰς Μέμφιν δὲ αὐτῷ προσβείας τε πολλαὶ
ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἤκουν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντων
ἀτυχήσαντα δὸν ἐδείτο ἀπέπεμψε· καὶ στρατιὰ
παραγίγνεται παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρου μισθοφόροι·
Ἐλλήνες ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὅλη ἢγείτῳ Μενίδας ὁ
Ἡγησάνδρου, ἐκ Θράκης δὲ ἐπιτεῖς ἐς πεντα-
κοσίους, ὃν ἤρχεν Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Εὐνίκου.

2 Ἐνταῦθα θύει τῷ Διῷ τῷ βασιλείῳ καὶ πομπέυει
ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ
γυμνικόν καὶ μουσικόν. Καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Αἰγύπτου ἐνταῦθα ἐκόσμησε· δύο μὲν νομάρχας
Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν Αἰγύπτιος, Δολόασπιν
cαὶ Πέτισιν, καὶ τούτοις διένειμε τὴν χώραν τὴν
Αἰγυπτίαν· Πετίσιος δὲ ἀπειπαμένου τὴν ἄρχη

3 Δολόασπις ἐνδέχεται πάσαν. Φοινάρχους δὲ
tῶν ἑταίρων ἐν Μέμφις μὲν Πανταλέουνα κατέσ-
tησε τῶν Πυθνείων, ἐν Πηλουσίῳ δὲ Πολέμωνα
tὸν Μεγακλέους, Πελλαίον· τῶν ξένων δὲ ἀρχεῖν
Δυκίδαν Ἀιτωλόν, γραμματεία δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων
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of palm leaves and take them as a present to the king or to someone else. The grains of this salt are large, some of them have been known to be more than three fingers' breadth; and it is as clear as crystal. Both Egyptians, and others who are particular about religious observance, use this salt in their sacrifices, as being purer than the sea-salts. There Alexander surveyed the site with wonder, and also made his enquiry of the god; he received the answer his soul desired, as he said, and turned back towards Egypt, as Aristobulus says, going the same way back, but as Ptolemaeus son of Lagos says, another way direct to Memphis.

V. There came to him at Memphis a good many embassies from Greece, and he sent no one away disappointed of his request; and also a force from Antipater joined him, Greek mercenaries four hundred strong, under the command of Menidas son of Hegesandros; from Thrace came cavalry, about five hundred, under command of Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus. Thereupon Alexander sacrificed to Zeus the King and held a procession with his force under arms and held an athletic and literary contest. He also put Egyptian affairs in order; he appointed two Egyptian governors of provinces, Doloaspis and Petisis, dividing the whole country of Egypt between them; Petisis, however, declined the office, and Doloaspis took it all over. As garrison commandants at Memphis he appointed Pantaleon of Pydna of the territorial troops, and in Pelusium, Polemon, son of Megacles, of Pella; to command the mercenaries, Lycidas, an Aetolian, and as clerk in charge of the
Εὐθυμόστου τῶν Ἐνοφάμτου τῶν ἑταῖρων· ἐπισκόπους δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀισχύλου τε καὶ Ἐφίππου τὸν Ἑλκιδέα. Διβύς δὲ τῆς προσχώρου ἄρχειν διδώσιν Ἀπολλόγιον Χαρίνου, Ἀραβίας δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἰρώων πόλει Κλεομένην τὸν έκ Ναυκράτιος καὶ τούτω παρηγγέλλετο τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας ἔναν ἄρχειν τῶν νομῶν τῶν κατὰ σφᾶς καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιῶν καθεστῆκεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους; οἱ δὲ ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ ἑτάχθεν 5 θησαυ. Ἐστηθησούσι δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ κατέστησεν ἡμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπτετο Πεικέσταν τε τὸν Μακαρτάτου καὶ Βάλακρον τὸν Ἀμύντου, ναύαρχον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν Πολέμων τὸν Θηραμένους σώματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Ἀρρύβα τὸν Λεώνατον τὸν 'Ονάσου ἑτάξειν. Ἀρρύβας γὰρ νόσῳ ἀπέθανεν.

6 Ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἄρχων τῶν τοξοτῶν, καὶ ἀντὶ τούτου ἄρχειν ἐπέστησε τοῖς τοξόταις ὅμβριων Κρήτα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τοὺς πεζοὺς, διὸ Βάλακρος ἠγείτο, ἐπεὶ Βάλακρος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὑπελείπτετο, Κάλαμων κατέστησεν 7 ἡγεμόνα. Κατανείμαϊ δὲ λέγεται ἐς πόλλοις τὴν ἄρχην τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τὴν τε φύσιν τῆς χώρας βασιλέας καὶ τὴν όχυρότητα, ὅτι σὺκ ἀσφαλές οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ἄρχειν Αἰγύπτου πάσης. Καὶ 'Ῥωμαῖοι μοι δοκοῦσι παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον μαθόντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἑχειν Αἰγύπτου καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ ἐκτέμπευν ὑπαρχὸν Ἀἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰππέας σφῖσι εὐντελούντων.

VI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀμα τῷ ἑν πάντω ὑποφαίνοντι ἐκ Μέμφιος ἤει ἐπὶ Φοινίκης καὶ ἐγεφυρώθη.

1 'Ονάσου, Krüger gives Ἀντέου, comparing VI. 28. 4.
mercenaries Eugnostos son of Xenophantes, one of the territorials, and as their overseers, Aeschylus and Ephippus of Chalcis. As governor of the neighbouring country of Libya he appointed Apollonius son of Charinus; and of Arabia about Heroöopolis, Cleomenes from Naucratis. He instructed him to permit the district governors to govern their own districts as had been their way all along, but that he was to exact from them the tributes, while they were ordered to pay these to him. As generals of the army which he was leaving behind in Egypt he appointed Peucestas son of Macartatus and Balacrus son of Amayntas, and as admiral of his fleet, Polemon son of Theramenes; and as bodyguard in place of Arrhybas he appointed Leonatus son of Onasus; Arrhybas having died of disease. Antiochus also the commander of the archers had died, and in his place Alexander appointed as commander of the archers Ombrion a Cretan. Over the allied infantry, of which Balacrus had been commander, he set Calanus as general, since Balacrus was being left behind in Egypt. It is stated that he divided the government of Egypt between many officers, both from his surprise at the nature of the country and its strength, since it did not appear to him safe to entrust the command of all Egypt to one man. The Romans, too, I think, learnt a lesson from Alexander and keep Egypt under guard, and never send anyone from the Senate as proconsul of Egypt, but only those who are enrolled among them as Knights.

VI. When Spring began to show itself, Alexander started from Memphis in the direction of Phoenicia;
αὐτῷ ὃ τε κατὰ Μέμφιν πόρος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ αἱ διώρυχες αὐτοῦ πάσαι. Ὑς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τύρον, καταλαμβάνει ἐνταῦθα ἥκον αὐτῷ ἢδη καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν. Ἐν Τύρῳ δὲ αὖθις θυεὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεί καὶ ἀγώνα ποιεῖ γυμνικὸν τε καὶ μου-2 σικὸν. Ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἡ Πάραλος πρέσβεις ἄγουσα Διόφαντον καὶ Ἀχιλλῆα: ξυνεπρέσβευον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Πάραλοι ξύμπαντες. Καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τὲ ἀλλῶν ἔτυχον ἢν ἕνεκα ἐστάλησαν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτον ἀφῆκεν Ἀθηναίοις ὡσοί ἐπὶ Γραικὸ Ἀθηναίων 3 ἐάλωσαν. Τὰ δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ὃτι αὐτῷ νενεωτερίσθαι ἀπήγγελτο, Ἀμφοτερὸν πέμπτε βοηθεῖν Πελοποννησίων ὡσοὶ ἐς τε τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον βέβαιοι ἦσαν καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων οὐ κατήκουν. Φοινίξι δὲ καὶ Κυπρίοις προσετάχθη ἕκατὸν ναῦς ἀλλὰς πρὸς αῖς ἑχοῦτα Ἀμφοτερὸν ἐπεμπε στέλλειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου.

4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἢδη ἄνω ὀρμᾶτο ὡς ἐπὶ Θάψακον τε καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, ἐν Φοινίκῃ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων τῇ ξυλλογῇ καταστήσας Κούρανον Βεροιαῖον, Φιλόξενου δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου ἐκλέγειν. Τῶν ἔποιον αὐτῷ δὲ χρη-ματῶν τῇ φυλακῇ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐπέτρεψεν Ἀρπάλῳ τῷ Μαχάτα ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἦκοντι. 5 Ἀρπάλοις γὰρ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐφυγε, Φιλίππου ἐπὶ βασιλεύοντος, ὃτι πιστὸς ἦν, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐφυγε καὶ Νέαρχος ὁ Ἀνδροτίμου καὶ Ἐρίγυμος ὁ Δαρίχου καὶ Δαο-μέδων ὁ τούτων ἀδελφὸς, ὃτι ὑπόπτα ἦν Ἀλεξ-
a bridge was made for him over the River Nile at Memphis and over all its canals also. When he reached Tyre he found there his fleet already arrived to meet him. At Tyre he sacrificed a second time to Heracles and held an athletic and literary contest. There the Paralus from Athens met him, bringing as envoys Diophantus and Achilles; the entire crew of the Paralus were associated with them in the embassy. These achieved all the objects of their mission, and Alexander gave up to the Athenians all the Athenian captives taken on the Granicus. Learning that things in the Peloponnesus had taken a turn towards revolt in his favour, he sent Amphoterus to help such Peloponnesians as were quite sound as regards the Persian war and were not inclined to listen to the Lacedaemonians. Orders were, besides, given to the Phoenicians and Cyprians to send to the Peloponnesian a hundred ships over and above those he was despatching under command of Amphoterus.

Alexander himself was already starting inland towards Thapsacus and the River Euphrates, having set Coeranus, a Beroean, over the collection of taxes in Phoenicia, and Philoxenus to be collector in Asia, this side of the Taurus. The guardianship of such moneys as were with him he entrusted (in lieu of these officers) to Harpalus son of Machatas, just returned from exile; for this Harpalus had in the first instance been sent into exile while Philip was still on the throne, because he was loyal, and Ptolemaeus son of Lagos was exiled on the same account, and Nearchus son of Androtimus and Erigyios son of Larichus and Laomedon his brother, since Alexander had various suspicions towards

1 Being all free citizens.  
2 To Alexander.
Ἀνδρῳ ἐς Φίλιππον, ἐπείδη Ἕλληνικὴν γυναῖκα ἡγάγετο Φίλιππος, Ὀλυμπιάδα δὲ τὴν Ἀλέξιδον μητέρα ἦτίμασε. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Φίλιππον κατελθόντας ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὅσοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφευγον Πτολεμαῖον μὲν σωματοφύλακα κατέστησαν, "Ἀρπαλὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ὅτε αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὰ πολέμια ἀχρείω ἢν, Ἐρίγυνον δὲ ἵππαρχην τῶν ἐμμάχων, Δαομέδου δὲ τὸν τοῦτον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δυγιῶσος ἦν ἐς τὰ βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα, ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις βαρβάροις, Νεαρχον δὲ σατραπεῖν τυχεῖα καὶ τῆς ἐχομένης Δυκίας χώρας ἐστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ταυρόν τὸ δρόσο. Ὀλίγον δὲ πρόσθεν τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Ἰσσῷ γενομένης ἀναπεισθεὶς πρὸς Ταυρίσκου, ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ, Ἀρπαλὸς φεύγει ἐκ τῶν Ταυρίσκων. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταυρίσκος παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἡπείρωτον ἐς Ἰταλίαν σταλεῖς ἐκεῖ ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἀρτάλω δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἡ φυγὴ ἢν. Ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος πείθει αὐτῶν κατελθέων, πίστεις δοὺς οὐδὲν οἱ μεῖον ἑσεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ οὐδὲ ἄγεντο ἐπανελθόντι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων αὐθεὶς ἐτάχθη Ἀρπαλὸς. Ἐς Λυσίαν ὑπὸ σατράπην Μένανδρον ἐκπέμπει τῶν ἑταῖρων ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ξένοις, ὅν ἡγεῖτο Μένανδρος, Κλέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐτάχθη, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀρίμμα σατράπην Σιρίας Ἀσκληπιόδωρον τῶν Εὐνίκου ἀπέδειξεν, ὅτι Ἀρίμμας βλακεύει ἐδὸκει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ ήμινα ἐτάχθη παρασκευᾶσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἄνω.

VII. Καὶ ἄφικετο ἐς Θάψακον Ἀλέξανδρος μηνὸς Ἐκατομβαιῶν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηνησίων

1 γραμματέα ἐπὶ . . . Sintenis.
Philip, because Philip had taken Eurydice to wife, and had treated with contumely Olympias the mother of Alexander. On Philip's death those who were in exile on Alexander's account returned, and of them he appointed Ptolemaeus one of the bodyguards, Harpalus an officer of finance, since his bodily strength was not equal to fighting, Erigyius commander of the allied cavalry, and Laomedon his brother, since he knew, besides his own, the Persian language, officer in charge of the Persian captives; Nearchus he made satrap of Lycia and the country bordering upon Lycia as far as Mount Taurus. To return to Harpalus; not long before the battle of Issus he was led astray by Tauriscus, an evil man, and fled with Tauriscus, who made his way to Italy to Alexander of Epirus, and died in Italy; Harpalus, however, took refuge in the Megarid. Alexander, however, persuaded him to return, giving him assurances that he would not suffer at all for this flight of his; and sure enough he did not suffer, but was set again in charge of the treasure. He sent to Lydia as satrap Menandros, one of the Companions, setting Clearchus in command of the mercenaries of whom Menandros had charge. In place of Arimmas he made satrap of Syria Asclepiodorus son of Eunicus, since he considered Arimmas to have mangled in the matter of supplying such things as he had been ordered to supply for the army detailed for the march into the interior.

VII. Alexander arrived at Thapsacus in the month Hecatombaeon, when Aristophanes was
Ἀριστοφάνου καὶ καταλαμβάνει δυὸν γεφύραν ἐξευγμένου τὸν πόρον. Καὶ γὰρ Μαξαῖος, ὅτω ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ Δαρείου ἐπετέ- τραπτο, ἤπειας μὲν ἐχῶν περὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ τούτων Ἔλληνας μισθοφόρους δισχιλίους, τέως 2 μὲν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῶν ἄντιπέραν ὅχθην τοῖς Μακεδοσί, δειμαίνουσι μὴ ἐπιθυμοῦντοι ἐκεῖ ἑμφανεῖ Μαξαῖον τῇ γεφύρᾳ ἵνα ἐπαύετο: Μαξαῖος δὲ ὅσος ἦκουσεν ἥδη προσάγοντα Ἀλέξανδρον, ὥρχετο φεύγων ἐξ ἑκ τῆς στρατείας πάσης καὶ ευθὺς ὅσοι ἐφυγε Μαξαῖος, ἐπεβλήθησαν αἱ γεφυραὶ τῇ ὅχθῃ τῇ πέραν καὶ διεβή ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐξ ἑκ τῆς στρατείας Ἀλέξανδρος.

3 Ἔκειν δὲ ἔχωρει ἀνω, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐχῶν τὸν Ἐὐφράτην ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὰ ὅρη, διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καλουμένης χώρας. Οὐκ εὐθείᾳν δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἦγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐὐφράτου ὀρμηθέες, ἃν τὴν ἐτέραν ἤνετο εὐπορότερα τὰ εὐμπαινα τῷ στρατῷ ἦν, καὶ χιλὸς τοῖς ἐπιποιοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν, καὶ 4 τὸ καύμα ὅσιοι ωσαύτως ἐπιφλέγον. Ἀλόντες δὲ τινες κατὰ τὴν ὅδον τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατεύματος κατασκοπίης ἐνεκα ἀπεσκεδασμένων ἐξήγγειλαν, ὅτι Δαρείος ἐπὶ τοῦ Τύχρητος ποταμοῦ κάθεται, ἐγνωκὼς ἐφρείνει Ἀλέξανδρον, εἰ διαβαίνῃ καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πολὺ μείζονα 5 ἡ ἐξ ἑνὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἐμάχετο. Ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας ἦν εἰποῦν ὅσο ἐπὶ τοῦ Τύχρητη. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, ὅπου αὐτῶν Δαρείου καταλαμβάνει, ἐν ἑκ τῶν φυλακῶν ἤντινα ἀπολελοίπει Δαρείος, ἀλλὰ διαβαίνει τὸν πόρον, χαλεπῶς μὲν δὲ ὀξύτητα τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδενὸς δὲ εἰργοῦντος.
archon at Athens. There he found the river bridged by two bridges. The fact was that Mazaeus, to whom Dareius had entrusted the guarding of the river, with about three thousand cavalry, and of these two thousand being Greek mercenaries, for some time kept his guard over the river, and so the bridge had not been completed by the Macedonians right up to the opposite bank, for fear that Mazaeus' troops would attack the bridge at its extremity; but Mazaeus on learning that Alexander was already marching up hurried off with all his forces. So soon as ever Mazaeus fled, the bridges were thrown right over to the far bank and Alexander crossed over with his troops.

Thence he continued inland, keeping on his left the Euphrates and the mountains of Armenia, through the country called Mesopotamia. But on leaving the Euphrates he did not lead direct on Babylon, since going by the other road he found everything more convenient for the troops, and it was easy to obtain fodder for the horses and any necessities from the country, and, what is more, the heat did not burn so strongly. Some few men captured from those who had broken off from Dareius' army for scouting, reported that Dareius was encamped on the River Tigris, determined to check Alexander should he try to cross. Dareius, they said, had a much larger army than that with which he had fought in Cilicia. On hearing this Alexander hurried off towards the Tigris, but on arriving there he found neither Dareius himself nor the guard which Dareius had left behind. Yet he crossed the river, with difficulty, it is true, on account of the swiftness of the current, but without any attempt at hindrance.
6 Ἐνταῦθα ἀναπαίει τὸν στρατόν καὶ τῆς σελήνης τὸ πολὺ ἐκλιπτὲς ἐγένετο· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔθυν τῇ τε σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ ἥλιῳ καὶ τῇ γῇ, ὅτων τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο λόγος εἶναι κατέχει. 
Καὶ ἐδόκει Ἀριστάνδρῳ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εἶναι τῆς σελήνης τὸ πάθημα καὶ ἐκείνον τοῦ μηνὸς ἐσεσθαι ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν νῖκην σημαίνεσθαι Ἀλέξανδρῳ. Ἀρας δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἤτε διὰ τῆς Ἀτουρίας χώρας, ἐν ἀριστερὰ μὲν ἔχων τὰ Γορδυναίων ὄρη, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν Τίγρητα. Τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως οἱ πρόδρομοι αὐτῶ ἐξαγγέλλοντο ὅτι ἵππεῖς [οὕτω] πολέμιοι ἄνα τὸ πεδίον φαίνονται, ὅσοι δὲ, οὐκ ἔχειν εἰκάσαι. Ἐνυπάξας οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν προὐχόρει ὡς ἐς μάχην· καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν προδρόμων προσελάσαντες ἄκριβέστερον οὕτω κατιδόντες ἐφασκον δοκεῖν εἶναι σφίσιν οὔ πλείον ἡ χιλίοις τοὺς ἵππεις.

VIII. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἒλην καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων μίαν καὶ τῶν προδρόμων τοὺς Παύνων ἡλιον σπουδὴ, τὴν δὲ ἀλλήν στρατίαν βάδην ἔπεσθαι ἐκείλευσεν. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἵππεις, κατιδόντες τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ὁξεῖς ἐπάγωντο, ἔφευγον ἀνά κράτος. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος διώκων ἐνέκειτο· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἀπέφυγον, τοὺς δὲ τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, ὅσοι οἱ ἱπποί ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐκαμον, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔσωντας αὐτοῖς ἱπποῖς ἐλαβον· καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἐμαθον ὅτι οὐ πόροι εἰς Δαρεῖος ἔων δυνάμει πολλή.

3 Βεβοθηθήκεσαν γὰρ Δαρεῖῳ Ἰνδῶν τε ὁσοὶ Βακτρίοις ὁμοροὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ Σωγδιανοὶ· τούτων μὲν πάντων ἡγεῖτο Βήσσος ο τῆς 244
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, III, 7. 6-8. 3.

There he gave his army a rest; there too there was an almost total eclipse of the moon. Alexander sacrificed to the Moon, to the Sun, to the Earth; who are all said to be concerned in an eclipse. Aristandros concluded that the eclipse was favourable to the Macedonians and Alexander, and that the battle would take place during that selfsame moon, and that the sacrifices portended victory to Alexander. Then, leaving the Tigris, Alexander passed through the country of Aturia with the Gordyaeans mountains on his left, and the Tigris on his right. On the fourth day after the crossing, his advance scouts reported that enemy cavalry were sighted here over the plain, but they could not guess their numbers. So drawing up his force he advanced as to battle; when other scouts rode in, and those having had a more precise view reported that they thought the cavalry to number not above a thousand.

VIII. Alexander, then, taking with him the royal squadron, one squadron of territorials, and, from among the advanced scouts, the Paonians, moved on rapidly, ordering the rest of the army to follow at walking pace. But the Persian cavalry observing the troops with Alexander coming up rapidly, lost no time in flight. Alexander pressed on pursuing, and though the greater number of them got off, the Greeks slew some whose horses wearied in the flight, and captured others alive with their mounts. From these they learnt that Dareius was not far off with a large force.

This was because there had come to the help of Dareius such of the Indians as border upon the Bactrians, with the Bactrians and Sogdians themselves; all these were under the command of Bessus.
Βακτρίων χώρας σατράπης. Εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Σάκαι (Σκυθικών τούτο τὸ γένος τῶν τῇ Ἄσιαν ἐποικισμένων Σκυθῶν), σοῦ υπήκουοι οὕτωι δὲ ἤγείτο δὲ αὐτῶν Μανάκης: αὐτῷ δὲ ἰπποτοξόται 4 ἤσαν. Βαρσαέντης δὲ Ἀραχώτων σατράπης Ἀραχώτους τε ἤγει καὶ τοὺς ὀρείους Ἰνδοὺς καλουμένους. Σατιβαρζάνης δὲ ὁ Ἀρείων σατράπης Ἀρειοὺς ἤγει. Παρθανάλους δὲ καὶ Τρκανίους καὶ Ταπούρους, τοὺς πάντας ἰππεᾶς, Φραταφέρνης ἤγεν. Μῆδων δὲ ἤγεῖτο Ἀτροπάτης’ εὐνετάτοντο δὲ Μῆδως Καδούσιοι τε καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ 5 καὶ Σακεσίναι. Τούς δὲ προσοίκους τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ Ὀκουνδαβάτης καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης καὶ Ὀρξίνης ἐκόσμουν. Οὔτε δὲ καὶ Σουσιανοὶ ἤγεμονα παρεῖχοντο Ὅξαθρην τὸν Ἀβουλίτου. Βουτάρης δὲ Βαβυλωνών ἤγειτο. Οἱ δ’ ἀνάσπαστοι Κάρες καὶ Σιτακηνοὶ σὺν Βαβυλωνίοις ἑτετάχατο. Ἀρμενίων δὲ Ὁρόντης καὶ Μιθραύς 6 στῆς ἤρχε, καὶ Ἀριάκης Καππαδόκων. Σύρους δὲ τούς τε ἐκ τῆς κοίλης καὶ ὅσοι τῆς μεταξύ τῶν ποταμῶν Συρίας Μαζαῖος ἤγεν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ἡ πᾶσα στρατιά ἡ Δαρείου ἰππεῖς μὲν ἐσετρακισμειρίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἐς ἐκατὼν μυριάδας, καὶ ἀρμάτα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια, ἐλέφαντες δὲ υἱὸς πολλοί, ἀλλὰ ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μᾶλιστα Ἰνδοὶς τοῖς ἐπὶ τάξε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἤσαν.

7 Ἐν παντοῦ τῇ δυνάμει ἑστρατοπεδεύκει Δαρείος ἐν Γαγγαμήλαιοι πρὸς ποταμῷ Βουμώδῳ, ἀπέχου Ἀρβήλων τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἐξακοσίους στάδιους,

1 A here and III. 11. 4. Τόπεροι.
2 Roos Βουμήλῃφ from VI. 11. 5.
the satrap of Bactria. With these there came also certain Sacae, a Scythian people, of the Scyths who inhabit Asia, not as subjects of Bessus, but owing to alliance with Dareius; Mauaces was their commander, and they were mounted archers. Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians led both the Arachotians and the Indian hillmen, as they are called. Satibarzanes satrap of the Areians led the Areians. But the Parthyaeans, the Hyrcanians and the Tapurians, who were all cavalry, were commanded by Phrataphernes. Atropates led the Medes; along with the Medes were ranged Cadusians, Albanians, and Sacesinians. The tribes bordering on the Red Sea were marshalled by Ocondobates, Ariobarzanes, and Orxes. The Uxians and Sousianians acknowledged the leadership of Oxathres son of Aboulites. Bupares was in command of the Babylonians. The Carians who had been transplanted and Sitacenians were brigaded with the Babylonians. Of the Armenians, Orontes and Mithraustes were commanders; of the Cappadocians, Ariaces. The Syrians of Lowland-Syria and all from Mesopotamian Syria were under Mazaæus. The number of Dareius’ forces was given as 40,000 horse, 1,000,000 foot, 200 scythe-chariots, a few elephants, the Indians on this side of the Indus having some fifteen.

With this army Dareius had encamped at Gaugamela by the River Bumodus, about six hundred stades from the city Arbela, in a position level on all
ἐν χώρῃ ὀμαλῷ πάντῃ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὅσα ἀνώμαλα αὐτοῦ ἐσ ἔππαιναι, ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ οἱ Πέρσαι τοῖς τε ἄρμασιν ἐπελαύνειν εὐπετὴ πεποίηκεσαν καὶ τῇ ἱππῷ ἐππάσιμα. Ἡσαυ γὰρ οὗ ἀνέπειδον Δαρείου ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς Ἰσσοῦ γενομένης μάχης ὅτι ἂρα ἐμειονέκτησε τῶν χωρίων τῇ στενότητι καὶ Δαρείους οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπείθετο.

IX. Ταῦτα ὡς ἔξηγγελθε Ἀλέξανδρο πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων τῶν Πέρσων ὅσου εἴλωσαν, ἔμεινεν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔξηγγελθη ἡμέρας τέσσαρας καὶ τὴν τε στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ ἀνέπαυσε, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον τάφρῳ τε καὶ χάρακι ἐτείχισεν. Ἐγώ γὰρ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα ἀπολείπειν καὶ ὅσου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔκτοις μαχίμοις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὅπλα 2 φέρουσιν ἤνει ἐς τῶν ἀγώνα. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν νυκτὸς ἦγεν ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν μάλιστα, ὡς ἄμμηρα προσμῆζαι τοῖς βαρβάροις. Δαρείος δὲ, ὡς προσηγγελθη αὐτῷ προσάγων ἦδη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκτάσσει τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς ἄρα μάχην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγεν ὡσάντως τεταγμένους. Καὶ ἀπείχε μὲν ἄλληλων τὰ στρατόπεδα ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους, οὐ μὴν ποιο καθεώρων ἄλληλους· γῆλοφοι γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ ἐπίπροσθεν ἀμφοὶ ἦσαν.

3 Ὡς δὲ ἀπείχεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσον ἐς τριάκοντα σταδίους καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν ἦδῃ τῶν γηλόφων ἦς αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός, ἐνταῦθα, ὡς εἴδε τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐστήσε τὴν αὐτοῦ φάλαγγα καὶ ἐνγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς 1 ἑταῖρους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἑλάρχας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τε καὶ τῶν 1 αὐ τοὺς τε Roos.
sides. For what few uneven parts for cavalry there had been the Persians had mostly made convenient both for chariot driving and for cavalry to ride over; for certain persons persuaded Dareius that in the battle of Issus he had, all said and done, suffered disadvantage from the narrowness of the battle-field; and Dareius very readily assented.

IX. On receiving this information from the captured Persian scouts, Alexander stopped where he had received it, for four days; he rested his army after their march and strengthened his camp by a ditch and palisade. For he had decided to leave behind the baggage animals and any non-combatants among his men, and himself with the combatant troops to advance to the battle burdened with nothing but their arms. He therefore marshalled his force at night and led them off just about the second watch, so as to meet the enemy at dawn. Dareius for his part, on hearing that Alexander was already advancing, arrayed his army for battle; while Alexander was bringing up his army also in due battle array. The forces were about sixty stades apart, but did not as yet sight one another, for there were hills intervening in front of both.

When Alexander was about thirty stades away and his army was already descending these hills, sighting the enemy he drew up there his phalanx; and summoning the Companions, the generals, the cavalry commanders, and the commandants of the
μισθοφόρων ξένων τούς ἥγεμόνας, ἐβουλεύετο εἰ αὐτόθεν ἔπαγοι ἦδη τὴν φάλαγγα, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι
4 ἀγείν ἐκέλευον, ἡ καθάπερ Παρμενίων καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει, τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύειν,
κατασκέψασθαι δὲ τὸν τε χῶρον ξύμπαντα, εἰ
dὴ τι ὑποπτοῦ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἀποροῦ, ἥ εἰ τῇ τάφρῳ
ἡ σκόλοπες καταπεπηγότες ἄφανεῖς, καὶ τὰς
tάξεις τῶν πολεμίων ἀκριβέστερον κατιδείν.
Kal
νῦν Παρμενίων τῇ γυνώμῃ, καὶ καταστρατοπε-
δεύουσιν αὐτοῦ ὅπως τεταγμένοι ἔμελλον ἕναι
ἐς τὴν μάχην.
5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ψυλοὺς καὶ
tῶν ὑπέτων τοὺς ἑταίρους, περιηγεῖ ἐν κύκλῳ
σκοπῶν τὴν χώραν πάσαν ἵνα τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ
ἐσεσθαι ἔμελλεν. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ καὶ ξυγκαλέσας
αὐθίς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἥγεμόνας, αὐτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη
χρήναι παρακαλεῖσθαι πρὸς οὐ ἐς τὸν ἀγώνα,
pάλαι γὰρ εἶναι δὲ ἀρετὴν τῇ τὴν σφών παρα-
κεκλημένους καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλάκις ἦδη καλῶν
6 ἔργων ἀποδεδειγμένων τοὺς κατὰ σφᾶς δὲ
ἐκάστους ἐξομίαν ἦξιον, λοχαγὸν τε λοχίτας
καὶ ἰλάρχην τὴν ἱλην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον καὶ
tαξιάρχους τὰς τάξεις, τοὺς τε ἥγεμόνας τῶν
πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἔκαστον τὴν οἱ ἐπιτετραμ-
μένην, ὡς ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ οὐχ ὑπὲρ Κοιλῆς
Συρίας ἢ Φοινίκης, οὔτε ὑπὲρ Ἀἰγυπτοῦ, ὡς
πρόσθεν, μαχουμένους, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐξυμπάσης
Ἀσίας, οὕστινας χρῆ ἀρχεῖν, ἐν τῷ τοτε κριθη-
7 σόμενον. Ὑσκοῦν τὴν ὡς τὰ καλὰ ἐξόρμησιν διὰ
πολλῶν ἀναγκαίαν αὐτοῖς εἰναι οὐκοθεν τούτῳ
ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ κόσμου τε ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ὅπως

1 ἔχειν supplied by Krüger.
allies and the mercenary troops, he discussed the question whether he should advance his phalanx at once from that point, as most of them urged, or, as Parmenio thought best, camp for the time being, make a complete survey of the whole ground, in case there should be any part suspicious or impassable, or perhaps ditches, or hidden stakes fixed in the soil, and make a thorough reconnaissance of the enemy's dispositions. Parmenio's advice prevailed and they camped there, but in the order in which they were to engage.

But Alexander, taking with him the light-armed troops and the territorial cavalry, rode all round surveying the ground which was to be the battlefield. Then he returned and again summoned the same officers, and said that there was no need for him to inspire them to the fight; they had long ago been inspired by their own bravery and by their many splendid exploits already done; but he called on each of them to encourage his own men; the infantry captains their companies, the cavalry commanders their own squadrons, the brigadiers their brigades, and the infantry commanders each the phalanx placed under him. In this battle, he pointed out, they were going to fight, not as they had before, for Lowland-Syria or Phoenicia, nor for Egypt, but the sovereignty of all Asia was there and then to be decided. There was then no need for him to stir them to noble deeds by a long speech—such valour was inborn in them—but rather that each in his own
ARRIAN

tís kath’ autón épimeleíasetai kai synhès ákriboús ótôte sygónantas épiénav déoi, kai aut ñ lamprás tís boís ína émboízasi kalôn, kai álalagmou 8 òse fôberowtátov ótôte épalaalázai kairósoi autói te õpws õxeów kattakóuioen tón te paraphgel-
loméнов, kai parî autón au õpws õe às táxeis õxeów paraphidóntai tà paraphgélmatà. Ên te tó kath’ autón ékastov kai tô páv mevnîsthai xugikindunewn te amelouménop kai di’ èpimeleías èkponouménèk ūnouordoumenv.

X. Tauta kai toiauta ãllá ou pollá paraph-
kaleías te kai antiperapakeítheis prósin tón õge-
mónov tharreín qeî sfìsî, déiupnopoieîthai te kai
anapauûseíthai èkéleunè te strotón. Paramevînov
de léghousin õti õfikómenos par’ autôn õepî te
skhnh, vûkter parhînei èptihèseîthai toûs Pèrсais:
aprosoðkîtous te gar kai anatetaragmênovos kai
2 ãma en nukti fôberowterov èptiðhèsseîthai. ’O de
èkeînîs men õapokrînetai, õti kai ãllloi kathkou
nov tón lógon, aîâkhron eînai klêghai te níkgnh,
ãllá fanevðos kai ãneu sofiûmatos xhînai
nikhîs òlekhandoû. Kál to megálhûgouron aut-
tov tûnot ouî õpèrofouk mûllnh ti õè eûðarðês
ên toûs kinhnou õffaineto. dokeîn õè ëmouge, kai
3 loognîmò ákribeî õèhîstato ën tô touðdeî en
nukti ãgar tôs te âpoxhrónntos kai tôs êndèos
pròs tás máxhais paraskenasménous pollá êk
tov paraphlogou õumhánta tôs men õsfîle, tôs
kreîsosnas, tôs cêrîsos dé parâ tà õe õâmofîn
ëlpisthênta te nâ kîngn parêdokein. autô to
kainiðunonti tô polû ën tôs máxhais sfolelará õ
ûz katefâineto, kai ãma õpsihhênti te aûðhîs
heart would think of discipline in danger, and complete silence when they must go forward in silence, and of a ringing cheer when it was right to cheer, and of the most frightful battle-cry when it was time to raise it; and that each should smartly obey orders, and pass on smartly too the orders to the ranks; one and all remembering, and the army as a whole, that in his own neglect there was universal danger, and in his own diligent achievement universal success.

X. With these and similar words, though brief, he exhorted them, and was in turn urged by the commanders to rely on them. So he bade his army take their meal and rest. It is related that Parmenio came to him to his tent and advised him to attack the Persians at night, for he would thus fall upon them unready and confused and more open to panic in the night-time. Alexander, however, replied—since others were listening—that it was a low thing to steal the victory, and that Alexander must win his victory openly and without sleight. This loftiness of his did not seem mere excess of vanity, but rather confidence amid dangers; and as I fancy he reasoned well in this matter; for at night many unforeseen occurrences have happened as much to those who were well prepared as to those who were ill prepared for battle, and have caused failure to the stronger and thrown the victory into the hands of the weaker, contrary to the expectations of both. Alexander as a rule ran risks in his battles, but yet he thought night was too risky, and besides, given one more
Δαρείως τήν ευγχώρισιν τοῦ χείρον ὑποτυφότι καὶ χειρόνων ἠγείσθαι ἢ λαθραία τε καὶ νυκτερινή
4 ἐκ σφῶν ἐπίθεσις ἀφηρεῖτο, εἰ τε τι ἐκ τοῦ παράλογον πτάσμα σφίσι ξυμπέσοι, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις τὰ κύκλω φίλια καὶ αὐτὸι τῆς χώρας ἐμπειροῦσιν. σφεῖς δὲ ἀπειροὶ ἐν πολεμίοις τοῖς πάσιν, ὃν ὀυ μικρὰ μοῖρα οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦσαν, ξυνεπιθέσιμοι ἐν νυκτὶ μὴ ὅτι πταίσασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ παρὰ πολὺ νικῶντες φαίνοντο. Τούτων τε τῶν λογισμῶν ἔνεκα ἔπαινῳ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ φανέρον ὑπερόγκου οὐ μεῖον.

XI. Δαρείος δὲ καὶ ὁ ξύν Δαρείῳ στρατὸς οὕτως ὅπως τὴν ἀρχήν ἐτάξαντο ἐμείναι τῆς νύκτος ξυντεταγμένοι, ὅτι οὐτε στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς περιβέβλητο ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἀμα ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ σφίσι νῦκτωρ ἐπίθοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι. 2 Καὶ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκάκωσε τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐν τῷ τότε τὰ πράγματα, ὅ στάσις ἢ πολλή ἢ ξύν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τὸ δέος, ὅ τιπερ φιλεῖ πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων κυνόπιαν, ἢ γένεσιν, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκη σχεδιασθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ μελετηθέν τε καὶ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῖς δουλωσάμενοι.

3 Ἐτάχθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ὄδε ἐάλῳ γὰρ ὑπέρτον ἡ τάξις ἤμυτινα ἔταξε Δαρείος γεγραμμένη, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. Τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον αὐτῷ κέρας οἱ τε Βάκτριοι ἵππεῖσ εἰχον καὶ ξύν τούτοις Δαῖα καὶ Ἀραχώτοι ἐπὶ δὲ τούτους Πέρσαι ἐτετάχθατο, ἕπειτα τε ὅμοι καὶ πεζοὶ ἀναμεμογμένοι, καὶ Σούσιοι ἐπὶ Πέρσαις, ἐπὶ δὲ 4 Σουσίους Καδούσιοι. Ἀδυκὴ μὲν ἡ τοῦ εὐώνυμου κέρως ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ méσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος 254
defeat of Dareius, the secret attack by the Greeks under cover of night would excuse Dareius from any confession of being a worse general with worse troops; while should any unexpected disaster happen to themselves, the enemy had a friendly country round them, with which they were familiar, while they themselves were in an unknown country full of enemies, and of these a good number were prisoners who would be sure to make an onslaught at night, not only in case of failure but even if they did not clearly win a preponderating victory. For these reasons I commend Alexander, and equally so for his bold resolve for a daylight action.

XI. Dareius and his army remained during the night marshalled in the order which they had drawn up at first; for they had no proper entrenched camp surrounding them, and also they feared all along that the enemy would make a night attack. This more than anything else hampered the fortunes of the Persians at this crisis, their long stand under arms and their fear, such as usually comes before great dangers, not suddenly created from the crisis of the moment, but long dwelt on, and having long since unnerved their minds.

The army was drawn up thus; for, as Aristobulus tells us; the written arrangements as Dareius arranged it were afterwards captured. The left wing the Bactrian cavalry held, and with them the Dahans and the Arachotians; next to them were arrayed Persians, cavalry and infantry mixed, and after the Persians Susians, and after the Susians Cadusians. This was the disposition of the left wing
τάξις ἦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεξίον οὐ τε ἐκ Κοῖλης Ἀρρίας ἐκ οὐ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ἐτετάχατο, καὶ Μῆδοι ἔτι κατὰ τὸ δεξίον, ἐπὶ δὲ Παρθαναῖοι καὶ Σάκαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Τάπουροι καὶ Ἁρκάνιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Σακεσίναι, οὐτοὶ μὲν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τῆς πάσης φάλαγγος.

5 Κατὰ τὸ μέσον δὲ, ἤνα ἦν βασιλεὺς Δαρείος, οὗ τε ξυγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλείως ἐτετάχατο καὶ οἱ μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰνδοί καὶ Καραῖ οἱ ἀνάσπαστοι καλούμενοι καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται· Ὁξιοὶ δὲ καὶ Βαζυλώνιοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰ θαλάσσῃ καὶ Σιτακηνοὶ ἐς βάθος ἐπὶ-

6 τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Προετετάχατο δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου κατὰ τὸ δεξίον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου οὗ τε Σκύθαι ἰππεῖς καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ ἀρματα δραπανηφόρα ἐκατόν. Οἱ δὲ ἐλέφαντες ἔστησαν κατὰ τὴν Δαρείου ἱλην τὴν 7 βασιλικὴν καὶ ἀρματα ἐς πεντήκοντα. Τοῦ δὲ δεξιοῦ οὗ τε Ἀρμενίων καὶ Καππαδόκων ἰππεῖς προετετάχατο καὶ ἀρματα δραπανηφόρα πεντή-

κοντα. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες οἱ μισθοφόροι παρὰ Δαρείον τε αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ τοὺς ἄμα αὐτῶν Πέρσας κατὰ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς μονοὶ δὴ ἀντίρροποι τῇ φάλαγγι, ἐτάχθησαν.

8 Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ ἦ στρατιὰ ἐκοσμήθη δώδε. Τὸ μὲν δεξίον αὐτῶ εἶχον τῶν ἰππέων οἱ ἐταῖροι, ὧν προετέκατο ἡ ἱλη ἡ βασιλική, ἡς Ἐλείτον ὁ Δρωπίδου ἱλάρχης ἦν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτη ἡ Γλαυκίου ἱλη, ἐκομένη δὴ αὐτῆς ἡ Ἀρίστωνος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Σωφόλιδος τοῦ Ἑρμοδώρου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, ἐπὶ ταύτη δὲ ἡ Δημητρίου τοῦ 256
up to the centre of the entire phalanx. On the right were marshalled the troops from Lowland-Syria and Mesopotamia; and next, on the right, were Medes, and within them Parthyaeeans and Sacians, then Tapurians and Hyrcanian, and then Albanians and Sacesinians, right up to the centre of the entire phalanx. In the centre, where was King Dareius, were posted the king’s kinsmen, the Persians whose spears are fitted with golden apples,1 Indians, the “transplanted” Carians, as they were called, and the Mardian bowmen. The Uxians, Babylonians, Red Sea tribes, and Sitacenians were in deep formation behind them. Then, in advance, on the left wing, facing Alexander’s right, were the Scythian cavalry, some thousand Bactrians, and a hundred scythe-chariots. The elephants were posted ahead of Dareius’ royal squadron, and fifty chariots. In front of the right wing were posted the Armenian and Cappadocian cavalry and fifty scythe-chariots. The Greek mercenaries, close by Dareius, and his Persian troops, on either side, were stationed exactly opposite the Macedonian phalanx as being the only troops able to meet the phalanx.

Alexander’s army was marshalled thus: his right wing was held by the mounted Companions, the royal squadron being in advance of them; it was commanded by Cleitus son of Dropides; next came Glaucias’ squadron, next Aristo’s, next that of Sopolis son of Hermodorus, next that of Heracleides son of Antiochus, then that of Demetrius

1 The “apples” were possibly pomegranates or quinces. Apples, however, were symbols of the sun.
Ἀλθαιμένους, ταύτης δὲ ἐχομένη ἡ Μελεάγρου, 
tελευταία δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱλῶν ἦς Ὁνέλοχος 
ὁ Ἰπποστράτου ἰλάρχης ἦν. Εὐμπάσης δὲ τῆς 
ἴππου τῶν ἐταίρων Φιλότας ἦρχεν ὁ Παρμεν 
νίωνος. Τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐχο 
μενον τῶν ἰππεών πρῶτον τὸ ἄγγια ἔτετακτο 
tῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο οἱ ἄλλοι 
ὑπασπισταῖ ἦγειτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἡμικάνωρ ὁ 
Παρμενίωνος τοῦτων δὲ ἐχομένῃ ὡς Κοῦνο 
tοῦ Πολεμοκράτους τάξις ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ 
tου Πέρδικκου τοῦ Ὁρὸντος, ἔπειτα ἡ Μελ 
εάγρου τοῦ Νεοτολέμου, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Πολυσπέρχο 
ντος τοῦ Σαμμᾶν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀν 
δρομένους ταύτης δὲ ἠγείτο Σιμμίας, ὅτι Ἀ 
μύντας ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας ἐς ξυλλογὴν στρατιᾶς ἐ 
stαλμένου 
10 ἦν. Τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακ 
εδόνων ὁ Κράτερου τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου τάξις εἰ 
χε, καὶ αὐτῶς Κράτερος ἔξηρχε τοῦ εὐώνυ 
μου τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἰππεῖς ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ οἱ 
ξύμμαχοι, ὅπως ἠγείτο Ἐρύγνιος ὁ Λαρί 
χος τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώ 
νυμον κέρας οἱ Θεο 
ςαλοὶ ἰππεῖς, ὅπως ἦρχε Φιλιππος ὁ Μενε 
λάων. Ξύμπαν δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἤγε Παρμε 
νίων ὁ 
Φιλότα, καὶ ἃμφοτὲν οἱ τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἰ 
ππεῖς οἱ κράτιστοι τε καὶ πλείστοι τῆς 
Θεσαλικῆς ἰπποῦ ἀνεστρέφοντο. 
ΧΙ. Ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ μετώπου τάξις ᾽Αλέξαν 
δρο ὡς κεκόσμητο ἐπέταξε δὲ καὶ δευτέραν τάξιν 
ὡς εἶναι τὴν φάλαγγα ἀμφίστομον. Καὶ παρ 
ήγγελτο τοῖς ἦγεμοσι τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων, εἰ 
kυκλομένους τοὺς σφῶν πρὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ 
στρατεύματος κατίδοιεν, ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐς τὸ 
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son of Althaemenes, next Meleager's, and finally of the royal squadrons that commanded by Hegelochus son of Hippostratus. Of the mounted Companions as a whole Philotas son of Parmenio was commander-in-chief. Of the Macedonian infantry phalanx, next to the cavalry was stationed first the picked corps of the bodyguards and then the rest of the bodyguards; they were under Nicanor son of Parmenio; after them came the brigade of Coenus son of Polemocrates, next that of Perdicas son of Orontes, then that of Meleager son of Neoptolemus, then that of Polysperchon son of Simmias, next that of Amyntas son of Andromenes; this was led by Simmias, since Amyntas had been sent to Macedonia to collect troops. The left of the Macedonian phalanx was held by the brigade of Craterus son of Alexander, Craterus himself commanding the left of the infantry. Following on them came the allied cavalry, under Erigyius son of Larichus; beyond them, right up to the left wing, were the Thessalian cavalry under Philippus son of Menelaus. The commander of the entire left was Parmenio son of Philotas, and round him rode the Pharsalian cavalry, the finest and most numerous of the Thessalian horsemen.

XII. This was the order in which Alexander had arranged his front; but he posted a second line so as to duplicate his phalanx. The commanders of this reserve line had been ordered, if they should see their own front line being surrounded by the Persian
2 ἐμπαλίν δέχεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἐς ἐπικαμπθήν δὲ, εἴπον ἀνάγκη καταλαμβάνοι ἢ ἀναπτύξαι ἢ συγκλείσαι τὴν φάλαγγα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ δεξίῳ κέρας ἐχόμενοι τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱλῆς τῶν Ἁγριάνων ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ἡμῖνες, ἄν ἱγείτω Ἀτταλος, καὶ μετὰ τούτων οἱ Μακεδόνες τοξόται, ὅπως Βρίσων ἤρχεν, ἐχόμενοι δὲ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἄρχαιοι καλούμενοι ξένοι καὶ ἄρχων

3 τούτων Κλέανδρος. Προετάχθησαν δὲ τῶν τε Ἁγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ τε πρόδρομοι ἵππεῖς καὶ οἱ Παῖονες, ὅπως Ἀρέτης καὶ Ἀρίστων ἤγοντο. Ξυμπάντων δὲ προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν οἱ μυθοφόροι ἵππεῖς, ὅπως Μενίδας ἤρχε. Τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ἱλῆς καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἠταίρων προτεταγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν τε Ἁγριάνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν οἱ ἡμῖνες, καὶ οἱ Βαλάκρου ἀκοντισταὶ· οὕτωι κατὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐτετάχατο.

4 Μενίδα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτῶν παρήγγειλε, εἰ περιππεύοιεν οἱ πολέμου τὸ κέρας σφῶν, ἐς πλαγίους ἐμβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ἐπικαμπθάνας. Τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξίου κέρας οὕτως ἐτετακτὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐόνυμον ἐς ἐπικαμπθήν οἱ τε Ἐράκκες ἐτετάχατο, ὅπως ἱγείτο Σιτάλκης, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἵππεῖς, ὅπως Κοίρανος, ἐπὶ δὲ οἱ Ὀδρύσαι ἵππεῖς, ὅπως ἱγείτο

5 Ἁγάθων ὁ Τυρίμμα. Ξυμπάντων δὲ ταύτῃ προετάχθη ἡ ἐξεικνυόμενος ἡ τῶν μυθοφόρων, ἄν Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Ἱέρωνος ἤρχεν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σκέυοις μισθοφόροις οἱ ἀπὸ Θράκης πεζοὶ ἐς φυλακὴν ἐτάχθησαν. Ἡ πᾶσα δὲ στρατιὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἵππεῖς μὲν ἐς ἐπτακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ ἄμφι τὰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας.

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host, to wheel round and receive the Persian attack. In case, however, need should arise either to extend out the phalanx or to contract it, the half of the Agrianes under Attalus next to the royal squadron, on the right wing, along with them the Macedonian archers under Briso, were posted at a slightly inclined angle; next to the archers were so-called old guard of the mercenaries under Cleander. In advance of the Agrianes and the archers were the mounted scouts and the Paeonians, under Aretes and Aristo. In front of the entire body were the mercenary cavalry under Menidas. In advance of the royal squadron and the other Companions were stationed half the Agrianes and archers, and the javelin men of Balacrus who were opposed to the scythe-chariots. Menidas and his troops had been ordered, if the enemy should try to ride round their wing, to wheel and attack them on the flank. This was the disposition of Alexander's right wing: on the left had been posted, also at an inclined angle, the Thracians under Sitalces, and next the allied cavalry, under Coeranus, and then the Odrysian cavalry, under Agathon son of Tyrimmes. In front of the whole body, at this point, was posted the paid foreign cavalry under Andromachus son of Hiero. The Thracian foot had been posted to guard the baggage animals. The entire army of Alexander numbered 7000 cavalry and about 40,000 infantry.
XIII. Ὅς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἦδη τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐγίγνετο, ὄφθη Δαρεῖος τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτῶν, οἱ τε μηλοφόροι Πέρσαι καὶ Ἰμιδοὶ καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Κάρες οἱ ἀνασπαστοὶ καὶ οἱ Μάρδοι τοξόται κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τεταγμένου καὶ τὴν ὥραν τὴν βασιλικήν. Ὅγε δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δέξιον τὸ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος μᾶλλον, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντιπαρῆγγον, ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες πολὺ ἐπὶ τὸ 2 σφῶν εὐωνύμῳ. Ἡδή τε οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἵππεῖς παριππεύοντες ἤπτοντο τῶν προτεταγμένων τῆς Ἀλέξανδρον τάξεως καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτί ὁμοῦ ἤγεν ἐπὶ δόρυ, καὶ ἐγγύσ ἦν τοῦ ἐξαλλάσσειν τὸν ἁδροπεταμένου πρὸς τῶν Περσῶν χόρων. Ἐνθα δὴ δείσας Δαρεῖος μὴ προχωρησαντών εἰς τὰ οὖχ ὀμαλὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀχρεία σφίει γέννηται τὰ ἅρματα, κελεύει τοὺς προτεταγμένους τοῦ εὐωνύμου περιππεύειν τὸ κέρας τὸ δέξιον, ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤγε, τοῦ μικρὲτο προσωτέρω αὐτοῦ 3 ἐξαγείρει τὸ κέρας. Τούτῳ δὲ γενομένου Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμβάλλει τελεύει ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μυσθοφόρους ἵππεας, ὅν ἤγείτο Μενίδας. Ἀντικλαιμάντες δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ τε Σκύθαι ἵππεες καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων οἱ ξυνταγμένοι τοῖς Σκύθαις τρέπουσιν ὀλίγους δυτὰς πολλὰ πλείον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἀριστονᾶ τε, τοὺς Παῖονας, καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐμβαλεῖν τὸις Σκύθαις 4 ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Βάκτριοι δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πελάσαντες τοὺς Παῖοσί τε καὶ ξένους τοὺς τε σφῶν φεύγοντας ἦδη ἀνέστρεψαν ἐς τὴν μάχην καὶ τὴν ἰππομαχίαν ξυστήσαν ἐποίησαν. Καὶ ἐπιττον μὲν πλείονες τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τῷ τε πλήθει τῶν βαρβάρων 262
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XIII. When the armies now were nearing one another, Dareius and his immediate followers were in full sight; there were the Persian "spearmen of the Golden Apples," Indians, Albanians, the "transplanted" Carians, and the Mardian archers, all ranged over against Alexander and the royal squadron; Alexander, however, led off his men rather in the direction of his right, on which the Persians moved accordingly, their left far outflanking the Greeks. Already the Scythian cavalry, riding parallel with the Greeks, found touch with the troops posted in front of Alexander's main body; but Alexander still continued steadily his march towards his right, and was nearly clear of the ground which had been trampled level by the Persians. On this Dareius, afraid lest—if the Macedonians reached the uneven ground—his chariots would be of no service, ordered the troops which were in advance of his left wing to wheel round the Greek right which Alexander was leading, so that the Greeks might not prolong their wing any farther. Upon this Alexander ordered his mercenary cavalry under Menidas to charge them. At once the Scythian cavalry, and the Bactrian which was brigaded with the Scythian, dashed out to meet them, and by sheer weight of numbers drove them back. But Alexander ordered Aristo's brigade, the Paeonians, and the mercenaries to charge the Scythians, on which the Persians wavered. The rest of the Bactrians, however, joining up with the Paeonians and the foreign troops, at once restored to the battle those of their own men who were turning to flight, and thus made the cavalry engagement a close one. Alexander's men fell in greater numbers, overwhelmed with the number of
βιαζόμενοι καὶ ὁτι αὐτοὶ τε ὁι Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς ἀκριβέστερον ἐς φυλακὴν πεφραγμένοι ἦσαν. Ὁλλὰ καὶ ὡς τὰς τε προσβολὰς αὐτῶν ἐδέχοντο οἱ Μακεδόνες καὶ Βία κατ᾽ ἔλας προσπίπτοντες ἐξώθοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξεως.

5 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἐφῆκαν οἱ βάρβαροι κατ᾽ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς ἀναταράξοντες αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα. Καὶ ταῦτα μάλιστα ἐψευσθήσαν σας μὲν ἵππος εὐθὺς ὡς προσέφερετο κατηκόρτισαν οὐ τε Ἀγριάνες καὶ οἱ ξίνῳ Βαλάκροι ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ προτεταγμένοι τῆς ἵππου τῶν ἑταίρων τὰ δὲ τῶν ῥυθήρων ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τούς τε ἀναβάτας κατέστων καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς περιστάμενοι ἐκοπτοῦν. Ἡστι δὲ ἀ καὶ διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων διέσχον γάρ, ὡσπερ παρήγγειλτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσέπιπτε τὰ ἄρματα καὶ ταῦτα μάλιστα ἔννεφη αὐτὰ τε ὁμα καὶ οἷς ἐπηλάθη ἀβλαβεῖς διελθεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οὐ τε ἱπποκόμοι τῆς Ἀλέξανδρου στρατιῶς καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ οἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐκράτησαν.

XIV. Ὁς δὲ Δαρείος ἐπήγει τῇ τῆς φάλαγγα πάσαις, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρέτην μὲν κελευεὶ ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς περιππεύουσι τὸ κέρας σφόν τὸ δεξιὸν ὡς ἐς κύκλωσιν αὐτὸς δὲ τέως μὲν ἐπὶ 2 κέρας τοὺς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἤγει τῶν δὲ ἐκβοσθησάντων ἰππέων τοῖς κυκλομένοις τὸ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν παραρρηξάντων τι τῆς πρότης φάλαγγος τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐπιστρέψας κατὰ τὸ διέχον, καὶ ὡσπερ ἐμβολον ποιήσας τῆς τε ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρίκης καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῆς ταύτης τεταγμένης, ἤγε δρόμος τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμό ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτὸν 264
the Persians, and also because the Scythians, riders and horses alike, were better protected by defensive armour. Yet even so the Macedonians stood up against their onsets, and falling on them stoutly, squadron after squadron, broke their formation.

Meanwhile the Persians launched their scythe-chariots direct upon Alexander, in the hope of throwing his phalanx also out of formation; but in this they failed signally. For in the first place, as soon as they approached, the Agrianes and the javelin-men under Balacrus who had been stationed forward to screen the Companions’ cavalry met them with volleys; and secondly, they snatched at the reins, pulled down the drivers, and crowding round the horses cut them down. One or two did pass right through the Greek lines, for, as they had been ordered, they parted asunder where the chariots attacked; and thereby it fell out that the chariots passed through unscathed and the troops against which they were driven were unscathed also. These chariots too were afterwards overpowered by the grooms of Alexander’s army and the royal bodyguards.

XIV. When now Dareius brought on his complete phalanx, Alexander ordered Aretes to charge the Persian cavalry which was wheeling round the Greek right wing to enclose it; he himself for a short time led on his army in column; but when the cavalry who had been sent off to attack the Persians, wheeling round the Greek right, had broken in some degree the front of the Persian phalanx, he wheeled towards the gap, and making a wedge of the Companion cavalry and the part of the phalanx which was at this point, he led them on at the double, and, with a
Δαρείου. Καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ὀλίγον ἐν χερσὶν ἢ μάχῃ ἐγένετο· ὡς δὲ οἱ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρος εὐρώστως ἐνέκειτο ὀθισμοῖς τε χρώμενοι καὶ τοῖς ἔυστοις τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Περσῶν κόπτοντες, ἢ τε φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ πυκνὴ καὶ ταῖς σαρίσσαις πεφρικνία ἐμβεβλήκει ἢδη αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντα ὁμοί τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πάλαι ἢδη φοβερῷ ὠντι Δαρείῳ ἐφαίνετο, πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας ἐφευγεν· ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περιππεύοντες τῶν Περσῶν τὸ κέρας ἐμβαλοῦσιν ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐρώστως τῶν περὶ Ἀρέτην.

Ταύτῃ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν Περσῶν φυγῇ καρτερὰ ἢν, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐφεστῶμεν ἐφόνευοι τους φεύγοντας. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Σιμμῖλαν καὶ ἡ τούτου τάξις οὐκέτι συνεξομήσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δυνατόν ἐγένοντο ἐς τὴν δίωξιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστήσαντες τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτοῦ ἠγωνίζοντο, ὅτι τὸ εὐφόρον τῶν

Μακεδόνων πονεῖσθαι ἡγγέλλετο. Καὶ ταύτῃ παραρραγεύσῃ αὐτοῖς τῆς τάξεως, κατὰ τὸ διεχον διεκπαίουσι τῶν τε Ἰνδῶν τινες καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἱπποῦ ως ἐπὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τῶν Μακεδόνων· καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκεῖ καρτερὸν ἐγήγετο. Οἱ τε γὰρ Πέρσαι θρασεῖς ἐνέκειντο ἀνόπλους τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπὶ σφάς διεκπεσεῖσθαι τινας διακόψατος διπλῆ τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ αἰχμαλῶτοι βάρβαροι ἐμβαλλόντων τῶν Περσῶν ἐπεσεθεντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς

Μακεδόσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. Τῶν δὲ ἐπετεταγμένων τῇ πρώτῃ φάλαγγι οἱ ἡγεμόνες ὀξέως, μαθόντες τὸ γνυμομένου, μεταβαλόντες, ἀπερ παρίγγελτο
loud battle cry, straight at Dareius. Now for some little time it became a hand-to-hand fight; but when the cavalry with Alexander, and Alexander himself, stoutly fell on the enemy, actually hustling the Persians, and striking their faces with their spears, and the Macedonian phalanx, solid and bristling with its pikes, had now got to close quarters with them, and Dareius, nervous as he had been all along, saw nothing but terrors all around, he was himself the first to turn and ride away. Those too of the Persians who were trying to envelop the Greek right took fright at the vigorous charge of Aretes and his men.

At this place indeed the Persians' rout was complete, and the Macedonians following up kept slaughtering the fugitives. But Simmias' staff and the brigade under him were unable to join up with Alexander for the pursuit, but halted their phalanx where it was and continued the struggle, since the Macedonian left was reported to be in difficulties. And at this point the Greek formation was broken, and into the gap there thrust some of the Indians and of the Persian cavalry right up to the Macedonians' baggage animals; and there the action was becoming severe. For the Persians boldly fell upon their adversaries, being mostly unarmed men, and having never dreamt that anyone would make a cleavage through the phalanx, doubled as it was, and force their way right up to them; what is more, the Persian captives themselves, as the Persians broke in, joined with them in the action and fell upon the Macedonians. However, the commanders of the troops which formed the reserve to the first phalanx, learning what had happened, smartly turned about face, according to previous orders, and so
αὐτοῖς, τῇ τάξιν ἐπιγίγνονται κατὰ νότου τοῖς Πέρσαις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀμφὶ τοῖς σκευοφόροις ἔννοικομένους ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγκλίναντες ἔφευγον. Οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξίου κέρως τῶν Περσῶν, οὕτω τῆς φυγῆς τῆς Δαρείου ἡσθημένοι, περιμππεύσαντες τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐώνυμον κατὰ κέρας τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Παρμενίωνα ἐνέβαλον.

ΧV. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀμφιβόλων τὰ πρῶτα γυνομένων τῶν Μακεδόνων, πέμπει Παρμενίων παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου στουδὴ ἄγγελοῦντα ὡτι ἐν ἀγώνι ἐνεκεῖται τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς καὶ βοηθεῖς δεί. Ταῦτα ὡς ἔξηγεν ἡλθὴ Ἀλεξάνδρω, τοῦ μὲν διάκειν ἔτι ἀπετράπετο, ἐπιστρέφας δὲ συν τῇ ἱππῳ τῶν ἑταίρων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξίον τῶν βαρβάρων ἕγε ἀρίθμῳ. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς φεύγοντι τῶν πολεμίων ἰππεύσι, τοῖς τε Παρθναίοις καὶ τῶν Ἰουδῶν ἐστίν οἷς καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς πλεῖστοις καὶ 2 κρατίστοις ἐμβάλλει. Καὶ ἰππομαχία αὐτῇ καρτερωτάτῃ τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ἐνέστη. Ἐσ βάθος τε γάρ, οἷα δὴ ἠλιάννεν τεταγμένοι, ἀνέστρεφον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀντιμέτωτοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐμπεσόντες οὔτε ἀκοντισμῷ ἔτι οὔτ’ ἑξελυμοίς τῶν ἱππῶν, ἤπερ ἰππομαχίας δέκα, ἔχοντο, ἀλλὰ διεκπαίδευσε πᾶς τῶν τὸ καθ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς μόνη ταύτην σωτηρίαν σφίσεις οὔσαν ἐπευγόμενοι, ἔκοπτον τε καὶ ἐκόπτοντο ἀφεῖν, οἷα δὴ οὐχ ὑπὲρ νίκης ἀλλατρίας ἔτι, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας οἰκεῖας ἀγωνιζόμενοι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πέπτουσι μὲν ἀμφὶ ἐξηκοντα ἑταῖρος τῶν ἑταίρος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τυπρόσκεται Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτῶς καὶ Κοίνος καὶ Μενίδας· ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησε καὶ τούτων Ἀλεξάνδρος.

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appeared in the rear of the Persians and slew large numbers of them, crowded together as they were round the baggage animals. Some, however, gave way and so escaped. The Persians of the right wing, meanwhile, not having wind yet of Dareius’ flight, wheeling round Alexander’s left, were making a flank attack on Parmenio’s troops.

XV. At this, since at first the Macedonians were between two fires, Parmenio sent to Alexander a despatch rider to report with all haste that his troops were in a desperate position and needed help. Alexander receiving this message turned back from further pursuit, and wheeling round with the mounted Companions came galloping down on the Persian right and charged first such of the enemy’s cavalry as were in flight, the Parthyaeans, some Indians, and the main host (and the strongest) of the Persians. Here raged the fiercest cavalry engagement of the whole action. For being drawn up by squadrons, and so in column, the Persians wheeled round and clashed with Alexander’s troops front to front: there was no javelin-throwing and no manœuvring of horses, such as are usual in a cavalry engagement, but each tried to break his way through whatever opposed him, pressing on as if this were their one hope of safety. So they continued beating and battered, with no quarter given, as men now no longer fighting for someone else’s victory, but for their own very lives. There about sixty of the Companions of Alexander fell, and Hephaestion himself, Coenus, and Menidas were wounded.
3 Καὶ τούτων μὲν ὅσοι διεξέπεσον 1 διὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρου ἐφευγοῦν ἀνά κράτος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦν προσμίξατι ἤδη τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων. Καὶ εἶν τούτῳ οἳ Θεσσαλοὶ ἵππεῖς λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι οὐχ ὑπελείποντο Ἀλέξανδρῳ τοῦ ἑργοῦν ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφευγοῦν ἤδη οἳ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅποτε Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῖς ἐνεμόχεν, ὥστε ἀποτραπόμενος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐσ τὸ διώκειν αὐθίς Δαρείοι ἐξόρμησε· καὶ ἐδύωξεν ἕστε φάος ἦν καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Παρμενίωνα τὸ καθ’ αὐτοὺς διώκοντες ἐπίτοντο. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν διαβᾶς τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν Λύκου κατεστρατοπέδευσεν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀναπαύσαι ὅλγον τοὺς τε ἀνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἤππους. Παρμενίων δὲ τὸ τε στρατότεθον τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλεῖ καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς ἑλέφαντας καὶ τὰς καμήλους.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀμφὶ αὐτοῦ ἤππεας ἐστε ἐπὶ μέσας νῦκτας προῦχορει αὐθίς κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπ’ Ἀρβηλα, ὡς Δαρείον τε αἰρήσων ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς Ἀρβηλα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, διόξας τοὺς πάντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἐξακοσίους. Καὶ Δαρείον μὲν οὐ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Ἀρβηλῖοι, ἀλλὰ ἐφευγεν οὐδὲν τι ἐλινύσας Δαρείος· τὰ χρήματα δὲ ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ Δαρείου αὐθίς ἐγκατελήφθη καὶ ἡ ἰστίς αὐθίς καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐάλω.

6 Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἄνδρες

1 διεξέπεσαν Polak, see I. 8. 5.
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Yet even these foes did Alexander overcome, and those of the Persians who contrived to pass through Alexander’s troops took to headlong flight. But Alexander was now ready to come to blows with the enemy’s right wing, and here the Thessalian cavalry, who fought gloriously, had been no whit behind Alexander in the action, in fact those on the enemy’s right were already taking to their heels when Alexander approached them, so Alexander turned back again and began once more his pursuit of Dareius, and he pursued as long as the light held; and Parmenio’s troops followed, pursuing their late opponents. But Alexander crossed the river Lycus and there encamped, to rest a little both his men and horses, but Parmenio took the Persian camp with the baggage trains, elephants, and camels.

Alexander rested his cavalry till towards midnight, and hurried on to Arbela, hoping to seize Dareius there and his treasure and all the other royal belongings. He arrived at Arbela next day, having covered in all, since the battle, six hundred stades in the pursuit. However, he did not catch Dareius at Arbela, for Dareius had continued his flight without delaying; yet the treasure was captured there and the other belongings, including the chariot of Dareius, which was again captured, and his spear too and bow and arrows were taken a second time.

Of Alexander’s troops upwards of a hundred
μὲν ἐς ἐκατὸν μάλιστα, ἤπποι δὲ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων καὶ τῆς κακοπαθείας τῆς ἐν τῇ διωξει ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους, καὶ τούτων τῆς ἐταιρικῆς ἦπποι σχέδου τι οἱ ἡμίσεes. Τῶν βαρβάρων δὲ νεκρῶν μὲν ἔλεγοντο ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ἐάλωσαν δὲ πολλῷ πλείονες τῶν ἀποθανόντων καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ὡσα μὴ κατεκόπη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

7 Τούτῳ τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ταύτη ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἀρχούτος Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστοφάνους μηνὸς Πυνευσίων, καὶ Ἀριστάνδρῳ ἔμπνευση ἡ μαντεία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μην ἐν ὦτῳ ἡ σελήνη ἔκλυτης ἐφάνη, τῷ τε μάχυν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῷ νίκην γενέσθαι.

XVI. Δαρείος μὲν δὴ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης παρὰ τὰ δρῆ τὰ Ἀρμενίων ἠλαυνεὶ ἐπὶ Μηδίας, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῶ οἱ τέ Βάκτριοι ἱππεῖς, ὡς τότε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐυνετάχθησαν, ἐφευγον καὶ Περσῶν οἱ τε συγγενεῖς οἱ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μηλοφόρων 2 καλουμένων οὐ πολλοί. Προσεγένοντο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν φυγήν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔσων ἔς διασχίσας, οὕς Πάρων τε ὁ Φωκεύς καὶ Γλαύκος ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ἤγγον. Ταύτη δὲ αὐτῶ ἡ φυγή ἐπὶ Μηδίας ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐδόκει τὴν ἐπὶ Σούσων τε καὶ Βαβυλόνως ἦσειν Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὅτι οἰκουμένη τε ἐκεῖνη πᾶσα ἦν καὶ ὅδος τοῖς σκευοφόροις οὐ χαλεπῆ, καὶ ἀμα τοῦ πολέμου τὸ αἵθλον ἡ Βαβυλών καὶ τὰ Σούσα ἐφαίνετο, ἢ δὲ ἐπὶ Μηδίας μεγάλω στρατεύματοι οὐκ εὐπόροι.

3 Καὶ οὐκ ἐφεύσθη Δαρείος. Ἀλεξάνδρος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀρβηλῶν ὀρμηθεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος εὐθὺς 272
perished, but of horses, from wounds and distress in the pursuit, over a thousand, and among these nearly half of the Companions' horses. Of the Persian dead were counted some three hundred thousand, but even a greater number of prisoners were made than the slain, and the elephants and such chariots as had not been destroyed in the battle were also captured.

So ended this battle, in the archonship at Athens of Aristophanes and in the month Pyanepson. Thus Aristander's prophecy came true, that in the self-same month in which the moon was eclipsed Alexander's battle and victory should occur.

XVI. As for Dareius, he fled straight from the battle by the Armenian mountains towards Media, and with him the Bactrian cavalry, as they had been posted to him in the battle; and also of the Persians the royal kinsmen and the greater number of the "spearmen of the Golden Apple." There joined him during the flight also some two thousand of the foreign mercenaries led by Paron the Phocian and Glaucus the Aetolian. The reason why he fled towards Media was because he imagined that Alexander after the battle would take the road to Susa and Babylon, since all that part was inhabited and the road itself was easy for the baggage trains, and besides, Babylon and Susa naturally seemed to be the prize of the war. The road to Media, on the contrary, was not good for a large force.

Dareius was not mistaken, for Alexander leaving Arbela at once took the road to Babylon. He was

\[\text{1 October, 331.}\]
προὐχώρει. Ἡδή τε ού πόρρῳ Βαβυλώνος ἦν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ξυντεταγμένην ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε, καὶ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πανθημεί απήντων αὐτῷ εἶχον ἱερεύσι τε σφῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα, δώρα τε ὡς ἐκαστοι φέροντες καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντες καὶ τὴν ἁκραν καὶ τὰ χρήματα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλώνα, τὰ ἱερὰ ἐν Εὔρηξι καθεῖλεν ἀνοικοδομεῖν προσέταξε Βαβυλωνίοις, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ Βῆλου τὸ ἱερόν, ὅν μάλιστα θεῶν τιμῶσι Βαβυλώνιοι. Σατράπην δὲ κατέστησε Βαβυλώνος Μαξαῖον, Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ τὸν Ἀρμιπολίτην στρατηγὸν τῶν μετὰ Μαξαίου ὑπολειπομένων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδω-5 ρον τὸν Φίλωνος τοὺς φόρους ἐκλέγειν. Κατέπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἀρμενίαν Μιθρίδην σατράπην, ὅς τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρότολιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐνέδωκεν. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἐνέτυχε, καὶ ὅσα ἐδόκει Χαλδαίοις ἀμφί τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν Βαβυλώνι ἐπράξε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βῆλῳ καθ’ ἀ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγοῦντο ἐθυσεν.

6 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Σοῦσων ἐστέλλετο· καὶ ἐντυγχάνει αὐτῇ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ὅ τε παῖς τοῦ Σουσίων σατράπου καὶ παρὰ Φιλοζένου ἐπιστολεύς. Φιλοζένων γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ Σοῦσων ἐστάλκει Ἀλεξάνδρος. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ παρὰ Φιλοζένου ἐνεγέραπτο, ὅτι τὴν τε πόλιν οἱ Σοῦσιοι παραδεδόκασιν καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα 7 σώα ἐστιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Σοῦσα Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐκ Βαβυλώνος ἐν ἡμέραις εἰκοσικαὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὰ τὰ χρήματα παρέλαβεν, ὑπὸ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἐς πεντακισμύρια, καὶ τὴν ἅλλην κατασκευήν τὴν βασιλικήν 274
now not far from Babylon, and was leading his force in battle order, when the Babylonians came to meet him in mass, with their priests and chief men, each section of the inhabitants bringing gifts and offering surrender of the city, the citadel, and the treasure. Alexander entering Babylon bade the Babylonians build up again the temples which Xerxes destroyed, and especially the temple of Bel, whom the Babylonians honour before all gods. He appointed Mazaeus satrap of Babylon and Apollodorus of Amphipolis guard of the troops left behind with Mazaeus, and Asclepiodorus son of Philo to collect the taxes. He sent also as satrap to Armenia Mithrines, who had given up the acropolis of Sardis to Alexander. It was at Babylon he came across the Chaldaeans, and he carried out at Babylon all that the Chaldaeans suggested in regard to sacrifices, sacrificing especially to Bel, according to their instructions.

He himself, however, set out towards Susa, and there met him on the way the son of the satrap of Susa and a letter-carrier from Philoxenus, whom Alexander had sent to Susa directly after the battle. In Philoxenus' letter it was stated that the people of Susa had yielded up the city and that all the treasure was in safe-keeping for Alexander. In twenty days from Babylon Alexander arrived at Susa; he entered the city and took over the treasure, about fifty thousand talents of silver, and all the rest
κήν. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατελήφθη αὐτοῦ, ὡσα Ξέρξης ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγων ἤλθε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτωνος χαλκάι εἰκόνες. Καὶ ταύτας Ἀθηναίων ὁπίσω πέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖται Ἀθηναίων ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ἣ ἄνιμεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καταντικροῦ μᾶλιστα τοῦ Μητρόφου, οὗ μακράν τῶν Εὐδανέμου τοῦ βωμοῦ ὅστις δὲ μεμύνηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἑλευσίνῃ, οἴδε τὸν Εὐδανέμον βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα.

9 Ἕνταῦθα θύσας τῷ πατρὶῳ νόμῳ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ λαμπάδα ποιήσας καὶ ἁγώνα γυμνικόν, καταληπτῶν σατράπην μὲν τῆς Σουσιανῆς Ἀβουλίτην, ἀνδρὰ Πέρσαν, φρουράρχον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Σουσών Μάζαρου τῶν ἑταῖρων καὶ στρατηγῶν Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Θεοδώρου, προξύρῃ ὥς ἐπὶ Πέρσας· ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ κατέπεμψεν ὑπάρχον Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κιλικίας Μένητα.

10 Καὶ τοῦτο ἐδωκεν ἀργυρίον τάλαντα ἐς τρισχίλια φέρειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστείλαι παρ' Ἀντίπατρον ὅσων ἂν δέηται Ἀντίπατρος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον. Ἕνταῦθα καὶ Ἀμύντας ὁ Ἀνδρομένους ἐὰν τῇ δυνάμει ἀφίκετο ἦν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἢγε. Καὶ τούτων 11 τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐς τὴν ἱππον τὴν ἑταιρίκην κατέταξεν Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ προσέθηκε ταῖς τάξεις ταῖς ἄλλαις, κατὰ ἐθνὶ ἔκαστος ἐυντάξας. Κατέστησε δὲ καὶ λόχους δύο ἐν ἑκάστῃ Ἰλή, οὐ πρόσθεν ὄντας λόχους ἱππικούς, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησε τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν προκριθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἑταῖρων.

XVII. Ἀρας δὲ ἐκ Σουσῶν καὶ διαβᾶς τὸν 276
of the royal belongings. A good deal else was captured there, all that Xerxes brought back from Greece, and among this bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. These Alexander sent back to the Athenians, and they are now set up at Athens in the Cerameicus, on the way by which one ascends the Acropolis, just opposite the Metroön, not far from the altar of the Eudanemi. Anyone who has been initiated into the mysteries of the Twain Goddesses at Eleusis is aware that the altar of Eudanemos is in the plain.

There Alexander sacrificed with the traditional ceremonial, and held a torch race and an athletic contest. He left behind as satrap of the district of Susa Abulites a Persian, and as garrison commandant in the citadel of Susa, Mazarus one of the Companions, and, as general, Archelaus son of Theodorus; and then he advanced towards the Persians. Seaward he sent Menes as governor of Syria, Phoenicia and Cilicia. He gave him upwards of three thousand silver talents to take to the sea, and to send of these as much as Antipater should require for the Lacedaemonian war. There too Amyntas son of Andromenes arrived with his force which he was bringing from Macedon. Of these Alexander detailed the cavalry to join the Companions' cavalry, but the infantry he distributed among the various brigades, arranging them racially. He also formed two companies in each squadron of cavalry; there had formerly been no cavalry companies; and as captains he appointed those of the Companions distinguished for valour.

XVII. Leaving Susa and crossing the river Pasi-
Πασινήρην ποταμῶν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν Οὐξίων γῆν. Οὐξίων δὲ οἱ μὲν τὰ πεδία οἰκούντες τοῦ τε σατράπου τῶν Περσῶν ἦκονον καὶ τότε Ἀλέξανδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνέδοσαν· οἱ δὲ ὅρεοι καλούμενοι Οὐξίων Πέρσας τε συχ ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν, καὶ τότε πέμψαντες παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ ἄλλως παρῆσειν ἔφασαν τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἴόντα ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἡ λαβεῖν ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν
2 βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐλάμβανον. Καὶ τούτων ἀποτείμητε Ἀλέξανδρος, ἦκεν κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ὅν κρατοῦντες ἐπὶ σφῖσιν ἔδοκον τῇ πάροδον εἶναι τῇ ἐς Πέρσας, ἵνα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοιεν τὰ τεταγμένα. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ἐς ὁκτακισχάλιον τῆς νυκτὸς ἦσει ἄλλην ἢ τὴν
3 φανερὰν, ἤγησάμενων αὐτῷ τῶν Σουσίων. Καὶ διελθὼν ὄδου τραχείαν καὶ δύσπορον ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπέπτε ταῖς κώμαις τῶν Οὐξίων, καὶ λείαν τοὺς πολλὰν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναίς δύτων πολλοὺς κατέκτησεν· οἱ δὲ ἀπέφυγον εἰς τὰ ὅρη. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤσει σπουδὴ ἐπὶ τὰ στενά, ὑνα ἀπαντήσεσθαι οἱ Οὐξίοι πανδημεῖα
4 ἔδοκον, ληψόμενοι τὰ τεταγμένα. Κράτερον δὲ ἔτι προσθεν ἀπέστειλε τὰ ἀκρα καταληψόμενον ἐνθε φέτο λιαξομένους τοὺς Οὐξίους ἀποφυρήσειν. Αὐτὸς δὲ πολλῷ τάχει ἦν· καὶ φθάνει τε κρατήσας τῶν παρόδων καὶ ξυντεταγμένους τοὺς ἅμφα· αὐτῶν ἔχων ἐς ὑπερδεξίων χωρίων
5 ἐπῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. Οἱ δὲ, τῷ τε τάχει τῷ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκπλαγαίνοντες καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις, οἷς μάλιστα ἦσῃ ἐπεποίθεσαν, πλεο- 278
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tigres, Alexander invaded the land of the Uxians. Of these some, who dwelt in the plain lands, had obeyed the Persian satrap, and now surrendered to Alexander; but the Uxian hillmen, as they are called, had not owned allegiance to Persia, and on this occasion sent to Alexander and stated that they would on no other terms permit him to pass that way towards the Persians with his army unless they should receive what they usually received from the Persian king whenever he made a progress that way. Alexander sent them away, bidding them come to the pass; which, while they held it, made them feel that the way through into Persia was in their hands, there to receive the accustomed payment from himself also. Then he, taking with him the royal bodyguards, and the other guards, and some eight thousand of the rest of the army, during the night marched by another than the obvious road, being guided by the Susians; then passing along a rough and difficult path in one day, he fell upon the Uxian villages, captured a great deal of plunder, and slew many of them, being yet in their beds; the rest escaped to the hills. Then he marched swiftly to the pass where the Uxians were likely to oppose him in full force, in order to exact the customary toll. But he sent Craterus even further in advance, to seize the heights, whither he imagined the Uxians, if forced away, would retreat; but he himself came on at full speed and got first to the pass and held it, and with his men in due battle order he led them from a commanding position to attack the Uxians. They, however, astounded at Alexander’s swiftness, and overmastered at the very position in which they had chiefly put their trust, fled without so much as
νεκτούμενοι ἐφυγον οὔδε εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθόντες· καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέβανον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὄδον, κρημνώδη οὐσαν οἱ πλείστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὀρη ἀναφεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κράτους, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπώλουτο. Ταῦτα τὰ γέρα παρ' Ἀλέξανδρου λαβόντες χαλεπῶς εὑροῦτο δεόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν τὴν σφῶν ἔχοντες φόρους ὡσα ἐτή Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἀποφέρειν. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Δάγον λέγει τὴν Δαρείου μιτέρα δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρου δοῦναι σφίσι τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν. Ὁ φόρος δὲ ὁ συνταχθεῖς ἦν ἕπποι ἐς ἔτος ἐκατὸν καὶ ὑποζύγια πεντακόσια καὶ πρόβατα τρισμύρια· χρήματα γὰρ οὐκ ἦν Οὐζίου ὕπτε ἡ γῆ οία ἐργαζόταται, ἀλλὰ νομεῖς αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ἦσαν.

XVIII. Ἡκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα καὶ τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἱππεάς καὶ τοὺς ἄξιομάχους καὶ τοὺς μεσθοφόρους τοὺς ἔνοικους καὶ ὅσοι ἀλλοι τοῦ στρατεύματος βαρύτερον ὄψισμένοι [ἡπαί] ἦσαν Παρμενίων ἐκτέμπει, ὡς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἠγείρεν κατὰ 2 τὴν ἀμαξίτον τὴν ἐς Πέρσας φέρουσαν. Αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἐπον τὴν ἑταρικὴν καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους ἱππεὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ήμε ἑπονυμὴ τὴν διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν. Ὑμί δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τὰς Περσαῖδας ἀφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει αὐτὸι Ἀρισταρχάνην τὸν Περσῶν σατράπην, πεζοὺς μὲν ἐς τετρακισιμύριος ἔχοντα, ἱππεὰς δὲ ἐς ἐπτακοσίους, διατετειχοὺς τὰς πύλας καὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ τείχει ἐστρατοπεδευκότα, ὡς εἰργαί τῆς παροδοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον.

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coming to close quarters. Some of them were slain by Alexander’s troops in the flight, and many also beside the road, which was precipitous. The greater number, however, escaped to the hills, where they encountered Craterus’ force and were by this destroyed. These then were the “gifts” they received from Alexander; and it was only with difficulty that they obtained their request from him that they might retain their own territory and pay tributes to Alexander every year. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, however, tells us that the mother of Dareius implored Alexander on their account to give them back their territory to dwell in. The tribute appointed was a hundred horses every year with five hundred transport animals and thirty thousand sheep. For the Æxians had no money nor arable land, but they were for the most part herds-

men.

XVIII. After this, Alexander sent off the baggage trains, the Thessalian cavalry, the allies, the mercenaries, and all the other heavier-armed troops of his army with Parmenio, to lead them against the Persians by the main road which leads into their country. He himself took with him the Macedonian foot, the Companions’ cavalry, the mounted scouts, the Agrianes and the archers, and marched at full speed through the hills. When he arrived at the Per-
sian Gates he found there Ariobarzanes, the satrap of Persia,¹ with not less than forty thousand infantry and seven hundred horse, having already built a wall across the Gates and encamped there by the wall, to bar Alexander’s progress.

¹ Persia here = the Province of Persia.
3 Τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο τῇ δὲ ύστεραίᾳ ξυνάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπίγει τῷ τείχει. Ὅσ' δὲ ἀπορον τε διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἐφαίνετο αἱρεθῆναι καὶ πολλὰς πληγὰς οἶ ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοῖς χωρίοι καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενοι, τότε μὲν ἀποχωρεῖ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν δὲ αἰχμαλώτων φρασάντων ἀλλήν ὁδὸν περίαξεν αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἶσο παρελθεῖν τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπεὶ τραχεῖαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν ἐπύθετο, Κράτερον μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλείπει ἐπὶ στρατόπεδου, τῇν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν τοξότων ὄλγους καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς πεντακοσίους, καὶ προστάττει αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπεριεληλυθότα αὐτὸν αἰσθηταί καὶ προσάγοντα ἢδη τῷ στρατόπεδῳ τῶν Περσῶν (αἰσθήσεσθαι δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς, σημανεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰς σάλπυγγας), τότε δὲ προσβαλεῖν τῷ τείχει αὐτὸς δὲ προὐχώρει νῦκτωρ, καὶ διελθῶν ὅσον ἐκατὸν σταδίους ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τάξιν καὶ τῶν τοξότων τοὺς κουφοτάτους καὶ τοὺς 'Αγριάνας καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὴν ἤλη τὴν βασιλικῆν καὶ τετραρχίαν πρὸς ταύτη μίαν ἐπικήν, καὶ ἔσθ' τούτοις ἤει ἐπι- κάμψες ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐν' οὶ αἰχμάλωτοι ἠγον. Ἐμύνταν δὲ καὶ Φιλώταν καὶ Κοῖνον τὴν ἀλλήν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ἄγειν καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὅτι ἐχρῆν περάσαι ἵνα ἐπὶ Πέρσας γεφυροῦν ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἤει ὁδὸν χαλε- πῆν καὶ τραχείαν καὶ ταύτην δρόμῳ τὸ πολὺ ἵγε. Τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην φυλακὴν τῶν βαρβάρων πρὶν φάους ἐπιπεσῶν διέφθειρε καὶ τῶν δευτέρων τοὺς πολλοὺς· τῆς τρίτης δὲ ὁ 282
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For the time being Alexander encamped there, but next day he marshalled his troops and led them to the assault of the wall. But as it appeared to be difficult to attack by reason of the awkwardness of the ground, and as his troops were suffering much damage, being assailed by volleys from commanding heights and even from catapults, he for the moment fell back on his camp. His prisoners, however, undertook to lead him round by a different road, so that he could make his way within the gates; but gathering from enquiry that this road was rough and narrow he left Craterus there in charge of the camp with his own brigade and Meleager's, a few of the archers, and about five hundred horse, bidding him, so soon as he should perceive that he himself had managed to get right round and was nearing the Persian camp (of this Craterus would easily be aware, for the buglers would signal it to him), to fall upon the Persian wall. So he advanced by night, and after traversing some hundred stades, brought up the bodyguard, with Perdiccas' brigade, the lightest armed of the archers, the Agrianes, the royal squadron of the Companions, and over and above this one double squadron of cavalry, and with them made a turning movement towards the gates, by the way in which the prisoners guided him. Amyntas, meanwhile, and Philotas and Coenus he had instructed to march the remainder of the army towards the plain, and to bridge the river 1 which he must cross to enter Persia; but he himself traversed a difficult and rough path, and yet for the most part took it at full speed. He fell upon the first Persian guard before dawn, and destroyed both this and the greater part of the second; most of the third fled, yet

1 The Araxes.
πλείους διέφυγον, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτω έσ το στρατοπεδον το Δροβαρξάνου ἐφυγον, ἀλλά αὐτοθέν ὡς εἶχον ἐς τὰ δρή περιοδένειν, ὡστε ἐλαθεν ὕπο τὴν ἐω ἐπιπεσών τὸν στρατοπέδω τῶν πολεμίων. Καὶ ἄμα μὲν προσεβαλλε τῇ τάφρῳ, ἄμα δὲ αἱ σάλπυγιες ἔσήμαινον τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κράτερον,
8 καὶ Κράτερος προσήγε τῷ προτειχίσματι. Οἱ πολέμοι δὲ πάντοθεν ἀμφίβολοι γυγνόμενοι οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθοντες ἐφυγον, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν γὰρ εἰργοῦντα, τῇ μὲν Ὀλεξάνδρου ἐπικειμένου, ἀλλὰ δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κράτερον παραδεόμενων, ὡστε ἡγακάσθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ τείχη ἀποστρέψαντες φεύγειν τῇ ἕχετο δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη πρὸς τῶν Ἰωάκημων ἦδη. Ὀλεξάνδρος γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὅπερ ἐξεβίῃ ὑποτοπίσας Πτολεμαίων ἀπολειοπεῖ αὐτοῦ, ἔχοντα τῶν πεζῶν ἐς τρισχίλιους, ὡστε οἱ μὲν πλείστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν χερσὶ πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων κατεκόπησαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, φοβερὰ γενομένῃ, κατὰ τῶν κρημών ῥίγαντες ἀπόλοντο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Δροβαρξάνης ἔλα τὸ ὄλγος ἐπενεύσεις ἐς τὰ δρή ἀπέφυγεν.
9 Ὀλεξάνδρος δὲ σπουδὴ αὐθίς ἔγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἡδὴ πεποιημένην ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γέφυραν, καὶ διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν στρατιὰ εὔπετῶς. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐθίς σπουδὴ ἠλατενεν ἐς Πέρσας, ὡστε ἐφθη ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσασθαι τοὺς φύλακας. Ἑλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Πασαργάδαις χρήματα ἐν τοῖς Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου θησαυροῖς. Σατράπην μὲν δὴ Περσῶν κατέστησε Φρασαόρτην τὸν Ρεομίθρου παιδᾶ. τὰ βασίλεια δὲ τὰ Περσικὰ ἐνέπρησε, Παρ-
not even these fled to Ariobarzanes’ camp, but ran in terror from the spot just as they were to the hills; so that quite unobserved, just at dawn, he assaulted the enemy’s camp. At the same moment as he attacked the trench, the bugles sounded, notifying Craterus’ troops, and Craterus assaulted the wall. So the enemy, caught on all sides, never so much as came to blows, but fled; even so they were hemmed in on all sides; Alexander was pressing hard upon them here, Craterus’ troops were hastening up there, so that the greater number of the Persians were forced to turn back to the walls and seek escape there. But by this time the walls themselves were in Macedonian hands. For Alexander had expected to happen just that which did happen; and so had left Ptolemy there with some three thousand infantry, so that the greatest part of the Persians were cut down by the Macedonians at close quarters. Even those who were attempting flight, and the flight had become a panic, threw themselves over the cliffs and perished; but Ariobarzanes himself with a handful of horsemen escaped to the hills.

Alexander once more at full speed led on towards the river; and he found there the bridge already made, and crossed without difficulty with his host. Thence once more at full speed he hurried on towards the Persians and arrived there before the garrison had plundered the treasure. He captured also the treasure which had been at Pagarsadæ in the treasury of Cyrus the First. As satrap of Persepolis he appointed Phrasaortes the son of Rheomithras. The Persian palace he set on fire; though Parmenio

1 That is, to Persepolis. 2 The former capital. 3 Arrian means deliberately. He does not agree with the usual story (Diodorus, Curtius, Plutarch).
μενίωνος σώζειν ξυμβουλεύοντος, τά τε ἄλλα
[kαι] ὅτι οὐ καλὸν αὐτοῦ κτήματα ἢδη ἀπολ-
λύναι, καλ ὅτι οὐχ ὤσαύτως προσέξουσιν αὐτῷ
οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνθρώποι, ὡς οὔδε αὐτῷ
ἐγνωκότε κατέχειν τῆς Ἀσίας τῆν ἀρχήν, ἄλλα
ἐπελθεῖν μόνον νικῶντα. Ὁ δὲ τιμωρήσασθαι
ἐθέλειν Πέρσας ἐφασκεν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἑλλάδα ἐλάσαντες τὰς τε Ἀθήνας κατέσκαψαν
καὶ τὰ ἵππα ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κακὰ τοὺς
Ἑλλήνας εἰργάσαντο, ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκαια λα-
βεῖν. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ συν νῦ δρᾶσαι τούτο
γε Αλέξανδρος οὐδὲ εἶναι τις αὐτὴ Περσῶν τῶν
πάλαι τιμορία.

XIX. Ταύτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος προὐχώρει ἐπὶ
Μηδίας· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι Δαρείον.
Γνώμην δὲ πεποίητο Δαρείος, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ Σοῦσων
καὶ Βαβυλώνος μένοι Αλέξανδρος, αὐτῶν προσ-
μένειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Μηδίας, εἰ δὴ τι γεωργίαθεί
τῶν ἀμφ' Αλέξανδρου εἰ δ' ἐλαύνοι ἔπ' αὐτῶν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνω ἰέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθωνος τε καὶ
Τρκανίαν, ἔστε ἐπὶ Βάκτρα τὴν τε χώραν
φθείρων πάσαν καὶ ἀπόρροι ποιῶν Ἀλέξαν-
2 δρον τὴν πρόσω όδόν. Τὰς μὲν δὴ γυναῖκας
καὶ τὴν ἅλλην τὴν ἔτι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατασκευῆν
καὶ τὰς ἀρμαμάξας ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίας καλου-
μένας πύλας πέμπει· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξὶν τῇ δυνάμει
ἡτις ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυνεῖλεκτό αὐτῷ προσέ-
μενεν ἐν Ἑκβατάνωι. Ταύτα ἄκοουν Ἀλέξαν-
δρος προὐχώρει ἐπὶ Μηδίας. Καὶ Παρατάκας μὲν
ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλὼν κατεστρῆσε τοῖς
καὶ σαταπευεῖν ἐταξεν αὐτῶν Ὦξάθρην τὸν Ἀβο-
λίτου τοῦ [πρότερον] Σοῦσων σατράπου παῖδα·
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urged him to save it, arguing, among other things, that it was not seemly to destroy what was now his own property, and that the Asians would not thus be induced to join him, if he seemed determined not to hold fast the sovereignty of Asia, but merely to pass through it in triumph. Alexander, on the contrary, replied that he proposed to punish the Persians in recompense for what they had done in their invasion of Greece; for their wrecking of Athens, their burning of the temples, and for all the other cruel things they had done to the Greeks; for these, he said, he took vengeance. Yet I do not myself think that Alexander was politic in doing this; nor can I regard it as any retribution upon the Persians of earlier days.

XIX. After this success Alexander marched towards Media, for he had learnt that Dareius was there. Dareius had determined, if Alexander should remain at Susa and Babylon, to wait there himself also, in Media, in case there should be some new move of Alexander’s. But should Alexander march straight against him, he proposed to go inland towards the Parthyaean and Hyrcania, as far as Bactra, ravaging all the country and making any further progress impossible to Alexander. The women and all the belongings he had still with him and the closed wagons he sent to what are called the Caspian gates; then he, with the force he had collected from what he had left, waited in Ecbatana. Alexander, learning this, also advanced towards Media, and subdued the Paraetacae, invading their territory, and appointed satrap over them Oxathres son of Abulites, the [former]
3 αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἤγγελθη κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὅτι ἔγνωκὼς εἷς Δαρείου ἀπαντᾷ τε αὐτῷ ὡς ἢς μάχην καὶ αὐθεὶς διακωδευέως (Σκύθας τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἤκειν καὶ Καδούσιος συμμάχους), τὰ μὲν ὑποξύγια καὶ τοὺς τούτων φύλακας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατα- ἁκευὴν ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ τῇν ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν ἤγεν ἐσταλμένους ὡς ἢς μάχην.

4 Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται δωδεκάτη ἥμερα ἐς Μηδίαν. Ἕνθα ἐμαθεν ὡς ὃς ὑδραγχον δύναμιν Δαρείου ὑπεδέ. Καδούσιος ἢ Σκύθας αὐτῷ συμ- μάχους ἦκοντας, ἀλλ' ὅτι φεύγειν ἔγνωκὼς εἷς Δαρείος· ὃ δὲ ἐτὶ μάλλον ἢγε σπουδῆ. Ὅσι δὲ ἀπείχεν Ἐκβατάνων ὡςον τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν, ἐνταῦθα ἄπνητα αὐτῷ Βισθάνης ὁ Ὁμοι παῖς, τοῦ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεύσαντος Περσῶν καὶ οὕτως ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι Δαρείος ἐς πέμπτην ἡμέραν εἶνεν πεφευγός, ἤχων τὰ τε χρήματα ἐκ Μηδιῶν ἐς ἐπτακισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ στρατιῶν ἰππέας μὲν ἐς τρισχίλιον, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς ἐξακισχίλιον.

5 Ἑλθὼν δὲ ἐς Ἐκβατάνα Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν Θεσσαλοὺς ἰππεάς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἕμμαχους ἀποπέμπει ὅπως ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ἀποδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐντελῆ τὸν ξυντεταγμένον καὶ διαχίλια παρ' αὐτοῦ τάλαντα ἐπιδοῦσι· ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ βούλοιτο ἐτὶ μισθοφορεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀπο- γράφεσθαι ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἀπογραφό- μενοι ὡς ὡρείν. Ἐπόκειλον δὲ τὸν Πολυειδοὺς ἔταξε καταγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἰππέας ἄλλους ἔχοντα ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν· οἱ γὰρ Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἰππους αὐτοῦ ἀπέδωσαν. Ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Μένητι, ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκωνται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἐπιμελήθησαι ὡς ἐπὶ τριήρων.
satrap of Susa. Then he himself, learning on the road that Dareius had decided to give battle to him and fight it out again—for he had had an accession of Scythians and Cadusians as allies—bade the baggage trains and their keepers and all the rest of the stores to follow; and taking the rest of the army he led them marshalled for battle. On the twelfth day he reached Media. There he learned that Dareius' force was not worth fighting with and that the Cadusians and Scythians had not arrived to help him, but that Dareius had resolved on flight. On this Alexander led on all the more rapidly. But when he was about three days' journey from Ecbatana there came to meet him Bistanes son of Ochus, the predecessor of Dareius as King of Persia; and he reported that Dareius had fled five days back, with his treasure from Media of seven thousand talents and a cavalry force of three thousand and infantry about six thousand.

Arriving at Ecbatana, Alexander sent back to the sea the Thessalian cavalry and the rest of the allies, paying each the agreed pay in full, and himself making a largess of two thousand talents; but anyone who would continue to serve him for pay on his own account he ordered to be enlisted, and a great number were so enrolled. He appointed Epocillus son of Polyeides to lead the remainder seaward, with cavalry besides to guard them, for the Thessalians had sold their horses on the spot. He instructed Menes also, so soon as they should reach the coast, to see to their being embarked on transports for
7 κομισθήσονται ἐς Εὐβοιαν. Παρμενίωνα δὲ προσέταξε τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐκ Περσῶν κομισθόμενα εἰς τὴν ἀκραν τὴν ἐν Ἐκβατάνωι καταθέσθαι καὶ Ἀρπάλῳ παραδοῦναι. "Αρπαλοῦ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέλυτος καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν χρημάτων Μακεδόνας ἄς ἐξακισχύλουσ καὶ ἱππεάς καὶ ψιλοὺς ὀλίγους· αὐτόν δὲ Παρμενίωνα τοὺς ξένους ἀναλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς Ὀρᾶκας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς ἔξω τῆς ἱπποῦ τῆς ἐταιρικῆς παρὰ τὴν χώραν τὴν Καδούσιων ἐλαύνειν ἐς 8 Ἰρκανιάν. Κλείτῳ δὲ τῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἰλῆς ἡγεμόνοι ἐπέστειλεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκ Σοῦσων ἐς Ἐκβατάνα ἀφικνηθαί (καταλείπειπτο γὰρ ἐν Σοῦσως ἀρρωστῶν), ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς Μακεδόνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων τότε ὑπολειφθέντας, ἱέναι τὴν ἐπὶ Παρθυναίους, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἦξειν ἐμελλεῖν.

XX. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τε ἱπποῦ τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τοὺς προδρόμους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἱππεάς, ὅν Ἐρήμιος ἤγειτο, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἔξω τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήμασι ταχθέντων καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας ἡλαυνεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ Δαρείου. Καὶ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν σπουδὴ γυγνομένων τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς κάμνοντες ὑπελείποντο καὶ ἵπποι ἀπέθυμσον· 

2 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἦγε, καὶ ἀφικνεῖταί ἐς Ἡράγας ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Διέρχει δὲ ὁ χῶρος ὁπότε ἀπὸ τῶν Καστίων πυλῶν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἐλαύνοντι ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦγε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἔφθακε ἤδη παρεληλυθὼς εἰς τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Καστίων. Τῶν δὲ ἐκμισθησόντων Δαρείῳ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπολεύτοντες αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκαστοί ἀπεχώρουν, οὐκ ὁλίγοι δὲ καὶ Ἁλε- 

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Euboea. Parmenio also he ordered to convoy the Persian treasure to the citadel in Ecbatana and hand it over to Harpalus; for he had left Harpalus in charge of the treasure, and with him as guard over the treasure some six thousand Macedonians, with cavalry and a few light auxiliaries; Parmenio himself he instructed to take the mercenaries and the Thracians and any other cavalry besides the territorial cavalry through the land of the Cadusians and march into Hyrcania. Cleitus also, the commander of the royal squadron, he ordered, so soon as he should reach Ecbatana from Susa—for he had been left at Susa sick—to take the Macedonians who had been left to guard the treasure and go towards the Parthyaean, where he himself also proposed to go.

XX. Alexander then taking the Companions' cavalry and the mounted scouts and the mercenary horse under Erigyius, and the Macedonian phalanx, save those detailed to guard the treasure, and the archers and the Agrianes, began his march against Dareius; and by reason of the speed of his march many of his troops were left behind, worn out, and many horses died; but Alexander went on undeterred, and reached Ῥḥagae in eleven days. This territory is one day's journey from the Caspian gates for anyone marching as Alexander did. Dareius, however, had contrived to pass already within the Caspian gates. Of those who shared his flight, many had deserted him during the flight, and had gone away to their homes, and a good number had surren-
ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

3 Ξάνδρῳ σφᾶς ἐνεδίδοσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀπέγνω κατὰ πόδας αἰρήσεων Δαρείου, μείνας αὐτοῦ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ ἀναπαύσας τῶν στρατόν, Μηδίας μὲν σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν Ὅξοδάτην, Πέρσην ἄνδρα, διὰ ἐτύγχανε πρὸς Δαρείου ξυνειλημμένοι καὶ ἐν Σοῦσοις εἰργόμενοι τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἐς πίστιν ἢν πρὸς Ἀλέ-

4 Ξανδροῦ αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθιαῖον ἦγε. Καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ πρὸς ταῖς Καστίαις πῦλαις ἑστρατοπέδευσεν, τῇ δεύτερᾳ δὲ εἰσώ παρῆλθε τῶν πυλῶν ἐστε οἰκούμενα ἢν. Ἐπιστισόμενος δὲ αὐτόθεν, ὅτι ἐρημοῦ τὴν πρόσω χώραν ἠκούει, ἐς προνομὴν ἐκπέμπει Κοῖον ἐξ ἦν ἵππευσὶ τε καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὀλύγους.

XXI. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἄφικνεῖται παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαρείου στρατοπέδου Βαγιστάνης, Βαβυλώνιος αὐτής, τῶν γνωρίμων, καὶ ἔναν τούτῳ 'Ἀντίβηλος τῶν Μαζαίου παῖδων' οὗτοι ἀπῆγ- γείλειν ὅτι Ναβαρζάνης τε, χιλιάρχης τῶν ἔξιν Δαρείῳ φευγόντων ἵππεων, καὶ Βῆσσος ο Βακτρίων σατράπης καὶ Βαρσαέντης ὁ Ἀραχώ-

2 Δαρείου. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτε μᾶλλον ἦγε σπουδῆς, τοὺς ἑταίρους μόνους ἔχων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς προδόμους ἵππεας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς εὑρωστοτάτους τε καὶ κουφοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κοῖον προσ-

3 μένας ἐκ τῆς προνομῆς ἐπανειλθέν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις ἐπιστήσας Κράτερον προσ-

3 τάττει ἐπεσθαι 1 μὴ μακρὰς ὀδοὺς ἄγοντα. Οἳ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον μόνων καὶ δύο

1 ἐπεσθαὶ Gronow from K.
ordered to Alexander. Seeing, however, that he should not now catch Dareius by hot pursuit, Alexander remained there five days and rested his force; he appointed Oxodates satrap of Media, a Persian who had been arrested by Dareius and imprisoned at Susa; this caused Alexander to rely upon him. Alexander then marched towards the Parthyaeans, and the first day he encamped by the Caspian gates, but on the second he passed within the gates as far as the district was inhabited. Then in order to get provisions thence, since he heard that the country beyond was desert, he sent Coenus to forage with the cavalry and a few foot-soldiers.

XXI. Meanwhile there arrived to visit him one Bagistanes from Dareius' camp, a Babylonian and a noble, and with him Antibelus, one of Mazaeus' sons. They reported that Nabarzanes, commander of the cavalry which had shared Dareius' flight, and Bessus satrap of Bactria and Barsaentes satrap of the Arachotians and the Drangians, had arrested Dareius. On learning this Alexander pressed on faster than ever, with only the Companions, the mounted scouts, and the strongest and lightest of the infantry, carefully selected, and he did not await even Coenus and his men to return from their foraging. He posted Craterus to command those left behind and ordered him to follow, but not by forced marches. His own men had nothing but their arms and two days' rations.
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ἡμερὸν συτία. Ἐλθὼν δὲ τὴν τε νύκτα ὅλην καὶ
tῆς ἐπιουσίας ἡμέρας μέχρι μεσημβρίας, ὁλίγον
χρόνον ἀναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν αὐθίς ἤει ὅλην
tῆν νύκτα, καὶ ἀμα ἡμέρα ὑποφανοῦσα παρῆν
eἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὁδὲν ἀφωρμήκει ὑπίσω

4 Βαγιστάνης. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους οὕ κατέ-
λαβε, Δαρείου δὲ πέρι ἐπιθέτο, αὐτὸν μὲν
συνελημμένον ἀγεσθαι ἐφ’ ἀρμαμάξης, Βῆσσω
δὲ ἀντὶ Δαρείου εἶναι τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡγεμόνα
ὄνομάζεσθαι Βῆσσον πρὸς τέ τῶν Βακτρίων
ἰππεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι βάρβαροι ξυνέφευγον
Δαρείῳ, πλὴν Ἀρταβάζου καὶ τῶν Ἀρταβάζου
παῖδων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μισθοφόρων. Τού-
tους δὲ πιστοὺς εἶναι Δαρείῳ, καὶ εἰργεῖν μὲν
τὰ γεγονόμενα οὐ δύνατος εἶναι, ἐκτραπέντας δὲ
ἐξώ τῆς λεωφόρου ὁδὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ δρῆ ἱέναι κατὰ
σφᾶς, οὐ μετέχοντας τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον τοὺς

5 ἔργον. Γνώμην δὲ πεποιήσθαι τοὺς ἠμπα-
bόντας Δαρείου, εἰ μὲν διώκοντα σφᾶς Ἀλέ-
ξανδροῦ πυθάνοντο, παραδοῦναι Δαρείου
Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ σφίς τι ἀγαθὸν εὐρίσκεσθαι
eῖ δὲ τὸ ἐμπαλιν ἐπανεληλυθότα μάθοιεν, τοὺς
dὲ στρατιῶν τὲ ἄνελεγεν ὅσην πλείστην
δύναμιν καὶ διασώζειν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῆν ἀρχὴν.
Βῆσσον δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐξήγεισθαι κατ’ οἰκείο-
tητὰ τε τῆν Δαρείου καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ
σατραπείᾳ τὸ ἔργον ἐγίγνετο.

6 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνὰ κράτος
dιωκτέα ἐφαίνετο. Καὶ ἦδη μὲν ἐξεκαμὼν οὐ
tε ἄνδρες καὶ οἱ ἱπποὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τῇ
ξυνεχεῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἦγε, καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν
πολλὴν τῆς τε νυκτὸς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

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Travelling all night and the next day till noon, he rested his troops a short time and then again hurried on all night, and at dawn he reached the camp, whence Bagistanes had come. But he did not catch the enemy; about Dareius he learnt that he had indeed been arrested and was being carried in a closed waggon, and that Bessus had been given the sovereignty in place of Dareius and had been saluted as leader by the Bactrian cavalry and the other Persians who had fled with Dareius, save Artabazus and his sons and the Greek mercenaries. These, he learnt, remained faithful to Dareius, but being unable to prevent what had occurred had turned off the main road and were making for the hills by themselves, refusing to participate in the action of Bessus and his followers. Those who had seized Dareius had decided that if they should learn that Alexander was pursuing them they would give up Dareius to Alexander and make good terms for themselves. Should they learn that Alexander had turned back they would collect as large an army as they could and join in preserving their empire. Bessus was in command for the time being both from his relationship to Dareius and because this event took place in his satrapy.

Learning this, Alexander decided that he must pursue with the utmost vigour. Already his men and horses were growing utterly wearied beneath this continued exertion; none the less, Alexander pressed on, and accomplishing a great distance during the
Ἀρριάν

έστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τινα κόμην, ἵνα τῇ προτεραιᾷ ἐστρατοπεδεύκεσαι οἱ Δαρείοιν 7 ἄγοντες. Ἡνταῦθα ἀκούσας ὅτι νυκτὸς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἑγνωσμένον εἰ ἡ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἠλεγχε τοὺς προσχώρους εἰ δὴ τινα εἰδεῖεν ἐπιτυμωτέραν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας. Οἱ δὲ εἰδέναι μὲν ἔφασαν, ἐρήμην δὲ εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν δὲ ἀνυδρίαν. Ὁ δὲ ταύτῃ ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἡμοῖς ὅτι οὐχ ἔγονται οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ σπουδῇ ἔλαινοντι, τῶν μὲν ἵππων ἐς πεντακοσίους κατεβάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων· τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δὲ τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιλεξάμενος τοὺς κρατιστέοντας ἐπιβίβαζε τῶν ἱππῶν ἐκέλευσεν οὕτως 8 ὅτις οἱ πεζοὶ ὁπλισμένοι ἦσαν. Νικάνορα δὲ τῶν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Ἀτταλοῦ τῶν τῶν Ἀγριανέων κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἤμιν οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἡσσὼν προκεχωρήκεσαν τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τούτους ὡς κουφότατα ἐσταλμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἐπέστησεν. 9 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἄγειν ἀρξάμενος δρόμῳ ἡγεῖτο· διελθὼν δὲ τῇ νυκτὸς σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους ὑπὸ τὴν ἐω ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀτάκτως ἱόνισι καὶ ἀνόπλοις, ὡστε ὁλίγοι μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι ὄρμησαν οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ εὐθὺς ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν κατείδου, οὐδὲ ἐς χειρὰς ἐλθόντες ἐφευγον· καὶ οἱ τραπεντές ἐς ἀλκήν ὁλίγων πεσόντων καὶ οὕτω ἐφυγον. 10 Ἡσσος δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ τέως μὲν ἔφ γραμμάξῃ Δαρείον μετὰ σφῶν ἑκόμιζον· ὡς δὲ ὅμως ἦδη ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Δαρείον μὲν Νεκραζάνης καὶ Βαρσαέντης κατατρώσαντες αὐτοῦ ἀπέλιπον.
night and the following day till noon, he arrived at a village where the day before Dareius' conductors had bivouacked. Hearing there that the Persians had determined to continue their journey by night, he enquired of the inhabitants whether they knew of any shorter way to take him to the fugitives. They replied that they did; but that the road was desolate, having no water. But he bade them lead on by this road, and seeing that his infantry would not keep up with him if he pushed on at full speed, he dismounted some five hundred horsemen, and selecting from the officers of the infantry and the rest those whose strength was best maintained, he bade them mount the horses, carrying their usual infantry arms. Nicanor the commander of the bodyguard, and Attalus commander of the Agrianes, he ordered to lead those who were left behind along the road by which Bessus and his party had already proceeded; these were to travel in the lightest possible order, and the rest of the infantry was to follow in ordinary formation. Alexander then himself started off at dusk, and led on his troops at full speed; during the night he traversed some four hundred stades, and just at dawn came upon the Persians marching at ease and without arms, so that only a few of them turned to hinder his passage, but the greater part, as soon as ever they saw Alexander himself, not waiting to come to close quarters, took to flight; those who turned to make a fight of it, on losing a few of their number, also fled. Bessus and his immediate followers for a time took Dareius with them in the closed waggon; but when Alexander was now right upon them, Nabarzanes and Barsaentes wounded him and left him where he was, themselves escaping
αὐτὸι δὲ ἐφυγον σὺν ἰππεῦσιν ἐξακοσίοις. Δαρείος δὲ ἀποθνήσκει ὃλγον ύστερον ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων πρὶν ὀφθήναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

XXII. Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Δαρείου ἐς Πέρσας ἐπεμψε, θάψαι κελεύσας ἐν ταῖς βασιλικῶς θήκαις, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πρὸ Δαρείου βασιλεῖς, σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξε Παρθναίων καὶ Ἰρκανίων Ἀμμινάπτην Ἀρμενίων ἦν δὲ οὗτος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐνδόντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ Μαξάκου. Τληπόλεμος δὲ Πυθοφάνους τῶν ἐταῖρων ἐγνεάχθη αὐτῷ σκοπεῖν τὰ ἐν Παρθναίοις τε καὶ Ἰρκανίοις.

2. Τούτῳ τὸ τέλος Δαρείῳ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος 'Αθηναίων Ἀριστοφῶντος μηνὸς Ἐκατομβαιώνος, ἀνδρὶ τὰ μὲν πολέμια, εἰπερ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, μαλθακὸ τε καὶ οὐ φρενὴρει, εἰς δὲ τὰλλα οὐδὲν ἀνεπιεικὲς ἔργον ἀποδεξαμένῳ οὐδὲ ἐγενόμενον αὐτῷ ἀποδείξασθαι, ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθεῖν, ὅμοι δὲ προσπολεμεῖσθαι πρὸς τε Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυνέβη. Οὕκουν οὐδὲ ἔθελοντες ἔξην ἐτὶ ύβρίζειν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἐν μείζονι κυνδύνῳ ἦπερ ἑκεῖνοι καθεστηκότι.

3. Ζώντι μὲν δὴ ξυμφοραί αὐτῷ ἄλλαι ἐπὶ ἄλλας ξυνηνέχθησαν, οὐδὲ τις ἀνακωχὴ ἐγένετο ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν ἄρχην παρῆθεν ἅλλα εὐθὺς μὲν τὸ τοῦ σατράπῶν ἐπὶ Γαλατῶν πταῖσαμα ξυνέβη τὸ ἱππικόν, εὐθὺς δὲ Ἰωνία τε καὶ Αἰολία εἰχόντο καὶ Πρύγες ἀμφότεροι καὶ Λυδία καὶ Κάρης πλὴν 4. Ἀλικαρνασσῶν όλόγον δὲ ύστερον καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσῶν ἐξήρητο, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡ παράλλα πᾶσα ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐνθεν δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰσσὸ δὲσσα, ἢν τὴν τε μητέρα αἰχμαλωτισθείσαν καὶ
with six hundred horsemen. Dareius died of his wound soon after, and before Alexander had seen him.  

XXII. Alexander sent Dareius' body to Persepolis, ordering it to be buried in the royal tomb, as were the other kings before Dareius. He appointed as satrap of the Parthyaeans and Hyrcanians, Amminaspes, a Parthyaean; he was one of those who, with Mazacus, had surrendered Egypt to Alexander. Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes, one of the Companions, was appointed overseer of Parthyaea and Hyrcania.

Thus died Dareius, when Aristophon was archon at Athens and in the month Hecatombaeon. He was a man above all weak and incapable in warfare; but in other regards he had given proof of no harsh act, or perhaps had no chance to do so, since the moment of his accession was also the moment of the declaration of war by Macedon and Greece. Even had he desired, therefore, he had no chance to play the tyrant over his subjects, being set in the midst of greater dangers than they. His life was one series of disasters, nor, from his accession, had he any respite; at once there befell the cavalry disaster of his satraps on the Granicus, and then at once Ionia and Aeolis were in the enemy's hands, with Greater and Lesser Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria save Halicarnassus; soon followed the capture of Halicarnassus, and over and above all the coast-line as far as Cilicia. Next came his defeat at Issus, where he beheld his mother made captive with his wife and

1 330 B.C., July.


τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παιδαὶς ἐπείδευν· ἐπὶ τῶδε Φοινίκη τε ἄπωλετο καὶ Ἀγγυπτὸς πᾶσα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἄρβηλοις ἐφυγε τε ἐν πρώτοις αἰσχρῶς καὶ στρατιὰν πλείστην παντὸς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ 5 γένους ἀπώλεσε· φυγᾶς τε ἐκ τούτου τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς πλανώμενος, καὶ τελευτῶν πρὸς τῶν ἀμφι αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα προδοθεῖς, βασιλεῖς τε ἐν τῶ αὐτῶ καὶ δεσμῶτης ξύν ἄτιμα ἀγόμενος, τέλος δὲ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπώλετο. Ζώντι μὲν Δαρείῳ τοιαύτα ξυνηνέχθη· τελευτῆσαντι δὲ ταφὴ τε ἡ βασιλεία καὶ τῶν παιδῶν ὅποια καὶ βασιλεύσων αὐτοῦ τροφή τε Ἀλεξάνδρου 1 καὶ παιδευσις, καὶ γαμβρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρος. Ὅποτε δὲ ἐτελεύτα ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἑτη.

XXIII. Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ τοὺς ὑπολειμβέντας ἐν τῇ διώξει τῆς στρατιάς ἀναλαβὼν ἐς Ἀρκανίαν προύχωρει. Κεῖται δὲ ἡ Ἀρκανία χώρα ἐν ἀριστερὰ τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα φερούσης· καὶ τῇ μὲν ὀρέσιν ἀπείροις δασείσι καὶ υψηλοῖς, τὸ πεδίον δὲ αὐτῆς καθήκει ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταύτην βάλασαν. Ταύτην δὲ ἢγεν, ὅτι ταύτη τοὺς ἑπόνισαν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Δαρείων διαπεφυγέσθης ἐς τὰ τῶν Ταποῦρων ὄρη ἐπύθεσκε καὶ αὐτῶς 2 ἀμα τοὺς Ταποῦρους χειρῳδόμενος. Τριχή δὴ διέλου τὸν στρατὸν αὐτὸς μὲν τὴν ἐπιτομώτατην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην ἡγήσατο, τὸ πλείστον καὶ ἀμα τὸ κουφότατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἄγων· Κράτερον δὲ τὴν το αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν Ἀμύντου καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐστίν ὅσι καὶ ὀλγούς τῶν ἰππέων ἐπὶ Ταποῦρων ἐστειλεν· Ἐρύγυιον δὲ τοὺς τε

1 παρ’ Ἀλεξ. Schmiedier.
children; then Phoenicia and all Egypt was lost; and then again followed his own flight at Arbela, a shameful flight among the foremost, and his loss of the greatest host of all the Persian Empire; and now a fugitive from his own kingdom, and a vagabond, at last he was betrayed by his own guards to the worst of fates, both king and prisoner, hurried off with every mark of shame and finally perishing by conspiracy of those who were most bound in duty to him. These were the tragedies of Dareius' life. His lot in death was the royal tomb, his children nurtured and educated by Alexander as if he were still on the throne, and Alexander for his daughter's bridegroom. At his death he had reached about fifty years of age.

XXIII. Alexander, taking over those of his force who had been left behind in the pursuit, advanced into Hyrcania. This country lies on the left of the road leading to Bactria; on the one hand it is bounded by high and wooded mountains, but the plain land in it stretches to the Great Sea which lies this way. ¹ Alexander marched in this direction because he found out that the mercenaries who had been with Dareius had escaped this way to the Tapurian hills; besides, he intended also to subdue the Tapurians themselves. He divided his army into three parts, and himself led on by the shortest and hardest road with the greater part, and the lightest armed also, of his force; but Craterus with his own brigade and that of Amyntas, some of the archers, and a few horsemen, he sent against the Tapurians. Erigyius, on the

¹ The Caspian.
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ξένους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ὑπὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὴν λεωφόρον τε καὶ μακροτέραν ἥγεσθαι ἐκέλευσε, τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄμιλον ἄγοντα.

3 'Ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ὃρη καὶ καταστρατο- 

πεδεύσας αὐτοῦ, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς 

καὶ τῆς Μακεδόνικής φάλαγγος τοὺς κοιφοτάτους 

καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐστίν ύς, ἕμει χαλεπὴν ὀδὸν καὶ 

δύσπορον, φύλακας τῶν ὀδῶν καταλιπὼν ἦνα 

σφαλερόν τι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ὡς μὴ τοῖς ἐπομένοις 

κατ’ ἑκεῖνο ἐπίθοιντο οἱ τὰ ὄρη ἔχοντες τῶν 

βαρβάρων. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν τοξοτῶν διελθὼν 

τὰ στενὰ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καταστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς 

ποταμῷ οὐ μεγάλῳ. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁντος αὐτοῦ 

Ναβαρζάνης τε ὁ Δαρείου χυλιάρχης καὶ Φρατα- 

φέρης ο 'Τρκανίας τε καὶ Παρθυναίων σατράπης 

καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἀμφὶ Δαρείου Περσῶν οἱ ἐπιφα- 

νέστατοι ἀφικόμενοι παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς.

5 'Ὑπομείνας δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας 

ἀνέλαβε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν, τοὺς 

μὲν ἄλλους ἀσφαλῶς διελθόντας, τοῖς δὲ 'Ἀγριάσιω 

ὀπίσθοφυλακοῦσιν ἐπέθεντο οἱ ὅρειοι τῶν βαρ- 

βάρων, καὶ μείον ἔχοντες τῷ ἀκροβολίσμῳ 

ἀπηλλαγῆσαι.

6 Ἀρας δὲ ἐντεῦθεν προῆι ὡς ἐφ' 'Τρκανίας εἰς 

Ζαδράκαρτα, πόλιν 'Τρκανίων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ 

ὁ περὶ Κράτερον συνέμειξαν αὐτῷ, τοῖς μὲν ξένους 

τοῖς Δαρείου οὐκ ἐντευχηκότες, τὴν χώραν δὲ 

ὅσην διαπεπορευμένοι ἦσαν τὴν μὲν βια, τὴν δὲ 

ἐνδιδόντων τῶν κατοικούντων προσπεποιημένοι. 

Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐρίγυιος ἦκε ξὺν τοῖς σκευοφόροις 

7 καὶ ταῖς ἀμάξαις. Ὀλύγον δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρτάβαζος.
other hand, he ordered to take the mercenaries and the rest of the cavalry and bring them along the high-road, which was longer, convoying the waggons, the baggage trains, and the rest of the host.

After he had crossed the first hills and had encamped there, Alexander took the bodyguard and the lightest armed of the Macedonian phalanx and some of the archers, and marched along a rough and difficult road, leaving behind troops to guard the roads where he thought there was danger, so that the enemy who held the heights might not at any such spot attack those who were coming after. He himself with the archers crossed the pass and camped in the plain by a small river. While he was there, Nabarzanes, Dareius' cavalry general, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Hyrcania and Parthyaea and other most highly placed Persian officers of Dareius, came and gave themselves up. After waiting four days in the camp, he picked up those who had been left behind on the march, most of whom crossed with safety; the native hillmen, however, had attacked the Agrianes, who were the rearguard, but getting the worst of a long range skirmish withdrew.

Moving thence Alexander advanced towards Hyrcania to Zadracarta, a city of the Hyrcanians. Meanwhile Craterus and his troops had joined him; they had not fallen in with Dareius' mercenaries, but they had, partly by force and partly by the surrender of the natives, taken over all such territory as they had traversed. There also Erigyius arrived with the baggage trains and the waggons. Soon after, Arta-
ἀφίκετο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ Κωφῆν καὶ Ἀριστοβαρζάνης καὶ Ἀρσάμης καὶ ἕως τούτοις παρὰ τῶν ξένων τῶν ἕως Δαρείῳ πρέσβεις καὶ Ἀυτοφραδάτης ὁ Ταπούρων σατράπης. Αὐτοφραδάτης μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπεῖαν ἀπέδωκεν, Ἀρτάβαζον δὲ καὶ τοὺς παίδας ἁμαὶ οἱ ἐν τιμῇ ἦγε τά τε ἄλλα ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι Περσῶν ὄντως καὶ τῆς ὅ ἐσ Δαρείῳ πίστεως ἔνεκα. Τοῖς πρέσβεσι δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων δεομένων στείσασθαι σφίσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ξενικοῦ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὀμολογήθαν μὲν οὐκ ἄν ποιήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν ἀδικεῖν γὰρ μεγάλα τοὺς στρατευομένους ἔχαντια τῇ Ἐλλάδι παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρὰ τὰ δόγματα τὰ Ἐλλήνων ἐκέλευσε δὲ ἢκειν ξύμπαντα καὶ παραδίδοναι σφάς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ χρησθαι ὃ τι καὶ βούλουτο 

9 ἡ σώζεσθαι ὅπη δύναυτο. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐφασαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀλέξανδρῳ. ξυμπέμπειν τε ἐκέλευον τὸν ἡγησόμενον αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀσφαλῶς διακομισθεὶν παρ' αὐτῶν εἶναι δὲ ἐλέγουστο ἐς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πέμπει Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Ἀγέρρου καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον παρ' αὐτοὺς.

XXIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Μάρδους, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστάς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ Ἀγριάνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου καὶ Ἀμύντου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων ἱππέων τοὺς ἡμίσεις καὶ τοὺς ἱππακοντιστὰς ἦδη γὰρ αὐτῶ καὶ ἱππακοντισταὶ 2 τάξις ἦσαν. Ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς χώρας τῶν Μάρδων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν

1 τὰ after δόγματα added by Dübner.
brazus came to join Alexander, and of his sons Cophen and Ariobarzanes and Arsames, and with them envoys from the mercenaries who had been with Dareius and Autophradates, satrap of the Tapurians. To Autophradates Alexander handed over the satrapy; but Artabazus and his sons he kept by him in honourable positions, especially as they were among the highest of the Persians and because of their loyalty towards Dareius. To the envoys of the Greeks, however, who begged him to grant them terms for the whole mercenary force, he replied that he would make no compact with them whatever; those who fought with foreigners against Greeks were doing grievous wrong, and flying in the face of Greek traditions. But he bade them come in a body and surrender themselves, leaving it to him, Alexander, to do what he would with them, or, if not, take what steps they could for their own safety. They replied that they placed themselves and the rest in Alexander's hands; and bade him send an officer to lead them, that they might have safe conduct to his camp. They were reckoned to be about one thousand five hundred. Alexander sent Andronicus, son of Agerrhus, and Artabazus to them.

XXIV. Then he himself proceeded against the Mardians, taking the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, the brigades of Coenus and Amyntas, half of the Companions' cavalry, and the mounted javelin-men, for by this time he had a brigade of these. Passing through the greater part of the Mardian country, he slew many of them attempting to escape,
αὐτῶν φεύγοντας, οὓς δὲ τινας ἐσ ἄλκην τετραμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππων ἠλαβεν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅστις χρόνου ἐμβεβλήκει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τὲ δυσχώριαν καὶ ὅτι πένητες οἱ Μάρδοι καὶ μάχιμοι ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ ἦσαν. Οὕτων οὖν ἐστὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἀν ποτε δεισάντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ προκεχωρηκότα ἢδη ἐσ τὸ πρόσω, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἁφύλακτοι ἡλίσκοντο.

3 Πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ ὅρη κατέφυγον, ἢ δὴ ὑπερψηλά τε καὶ ἀπότομα αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστῖν, ὥς πρὸς ταύτῃ γε οὐχ ἥξουντα Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ προσῆγεν, οἱ δὲ πείμαντες πρέσβεις σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ἐνέδοσαν καὶ τὴν χώραν· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀφῆκε, σατράπην δὲ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτῶν Αὐτοφραδάτην, ὄντερ καὶ Ταπούρων.

4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνθεντερ ὁμωθῆν ἐς τῶν Μάρδων τὴν γῆν, κατέλαβε τὸν Ἐλληνας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἡκοντας καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλεὰ Δαρείον ἐπρέσβευεν, Καλλικρατίδαν τε καὶ Παύσππον καὶ Μόνιμον καὶ Ὀνόμαντα, καὶ Ἀθηναίων Δρωπίδην. Τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐξυλλαβὼν ἐν φυλακῇ ἐλέξ. Τοὺς Σιωπέων δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι Σιωπείς οὔτε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἐλλήνων μετέχον, ὑπὸ Πέρσαις τε τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἄπεικότα ποιείν ἐδοκοῦν παρὰ τῶν βασιλέα σφῶν πρεσβεύοντες.

5 Ἀφῆκε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ὅσοι πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τε καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας γενομένης παρὰ Πέρσαις ἐμισθοφόρουν, καὶ Καλχηδωνίων Ἡρακλείδην τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀφῆκε τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐξυπατεύεσθαι.
and some turning to bay; a great number he captured alive. For no one had for a long time invaded their country, owing to the difficulties of transit, and because the Mardians were both poor and, besides being poor, warlike. So they never imagined that Alexander would have invaded their country, especially as he had already marched far out of his course, and thus were all the more caught unprepared. But many of them took refuge in the hills also, which are very lofty and precipitous in their country; feeling sure that Alexander would not reach so far as that. But when he did approach even in this direction, they sending envoys surrendered themselves and their country; and Alexander dismissed them, and appointed as their satrap Autophradas, also made satrap of the Tapurians.

He himself returned to the camp whence he had set out to the Mardian territory, and received the mercenary Greeks who had arrived, and the Lacedaemonians’ envoys who were on an embassy to the court of King Darcius, namely, Callicratides, Pausippus, Monimus, and Onomas, and, of the Athenians, Dropides. These he seized and kept under arrest. The envoys from Sinope he dismissed since the Sinopeans were not part of the Greek comity of nations, but being subject to Persia did not appear to have done anything outrageous in going as envoys to their own suzerain. Of the remaining Greeks he dismissed so many as before the peace and the conclusion of the alliance with Macedon had been serving with the Persian force; he dismissed also Heracleides, envoy of the Calchedonians; the rest he commanded
οἱ ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς Ἀνδρόνικον, ὅσπερ ἤγαγε τε αὐτούς καὶ ἐνδηλος γεγόνει οὐ φαίλον ποιούμενος σῶσαι τοὺς ἁνδρας.

XXV. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκαρτα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ἱρκανίας, ἵνα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τοῖς Ἱρκανίοις ἴμν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν ποσήσας ὡς ἐπὶ Παρθανιῶν ἦγεν· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀρείας ὅρια καὶ Σουσίαν, πόλιν τῆς Ἀρείας, ἵνα καὶ Σατιβαρβάνης ἴκε παρ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀρείους σατράπης τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὴν σατραπεῖαν ἀποδοὺς ἐμπέμπει αὐτῷ Ἀνάξιππον τῶν ἑταῖρων, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἰππακτυστῶν ἐς τεσσαράκοντα, ὡς ἔχοι φύλακας καθιστάναι τῶν τόπων, τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἀρείους πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς κατὰ τὴν πάροδον.

3 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται παρ’ αὐτὸν Περσῶν τινός, οἱ ἤργετον Βῆσσον τὴν τε τιάραν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντα Ἀρταδήμην τε καλεῖσθαι ἀντὶ Βῆσσον καὶ βασιλέα φάσκειν εἶναι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐχεῖν τε ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἐς Βάκτρα διαφύγοντας καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτριανῶν πολλοὺς προσδοκᾶσθαι δὲ ἦξειν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκύθας ξυμμάχους.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἔχων τὴν πάσαν δύναμιν ἤει ἐπὶ Βάκτρων, ἵνα καὶ Φιλιππὸς ὁ Μενέλαον παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο ἐκ Μηδίας, ἔχων τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ἰππέας, ὃν ἤγειτο αὐτός, καὶ Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἔθελοντας ὑπομείναντας καὶ τοὺς ἕξους τοὺς Ἀνδρομάχου. Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ 308
to serve under him at the same rate of pay; and he set Andronicus over them, who had led them and had made it evident that he had made it a matter of considerable moment to preserve his men.

XXV. When he had put all this in order he marched towards Zadracarta, the greatest city of Hyrcania, where was also the Hyrcanian palace. There he spent fifteen days, and sacrificed to the gods as custom directed, and held an athletic contest, and then he marched towards the Parthyaeans, and thence to the borders of Areia and Sousia, a city of Areia, where also Satibarzanes met him, the satrap of the Areians. Alexander confirmed him in his satrapy, and sent with him Anaxippos of the Companions, giving him about forty of the mounted javelin-men, so that he might have guards to set at various places, and that the Areians might not suffer harm from the army on the passage.

Meanwhile certain Persians met Alexander, reporting that Bessus was wearing his cap royal fashion and clothing himself in Persian royal garb, called himself Artaxerxes instead of Bessus, and gave out that he was King of Asia. He had about him, they said, those Persians who had fled safe to Bactria and a good number of the Bactrians themselves; and he expected that Scythian allies would also join him.

Alexander with his whole force now reassembled advanced to Bactria, where Philip son of Menelaus met him from Media with the mercenary cavalry led by himself and the Thessalian volunteers, who had remained behind, and those under Andromachus.

1 The conical Persian cap was worn with the apex drooping by all but the King.
2 A purple tunic with white stripes.
Παρμενίωνος ὁ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄρχων τετελευ-
5 τήκει ἥδη νόσω. Ἰόντι δὲ 'Ἀλέξανδρῳ τὴν ἐπὶ
Βάκτρα ἐξηγγέλθη Σατιβαρζάνης ὁ 'Ἀρείων
σατράπης Ἀνάξιππον μὲν καὶ ἰππακοντιστᾶς
tοὺς Ἐμναυτῶν ὕπω τῶν Ἀρείων. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὅτι
ἐγνώκειν, ἐπειδὲ προκεχωρηκότα Ἀλέξανδρον
πῦῆται, ἑναὶ Ἐμναῖδ' ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶις παρὰ Βῆσσον,
ὡς Ἐμναῖδ' ἐπιθυμομένοι ὅπη ἀν τύχη τοὺς
6 Μακεδώσι. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ, τὴν μὲν
ἐπὶ Βάκτρα ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔγεν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς
tε ἑταῖρους ἐπεέας καὶ τοὺς ἰππακοντιστὰς καὶ
tοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τὴν Ἀμυντοῦ
τε καὶ Κόινον τάξιν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δύναμιν αὐτοῦ
καταλυτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ Κράτερον ἤγεμόνα,
σπουδὴ ἔγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Σατιβαρζάνῃ τε καὶ τοὺς
Ἀρείους, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν δυσίν ἡμέραις σταδίους
ἐς ἐξακοσίους πρὸς Ἀρτακόνα ἥκε.
7 Ὅταν δὲ τοὺς Σατιβαρζάνης μὲν σὺν, ὡς ἔγινο ἐγχύσ
8 'Ἀλέξανδρον, τῇ ὅξυτητι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐκπλαγεὶς
ζήν ὀλίγος ἐπεέατι τῶν Ἀρείων ἐφυγε' πρὸς γὰρ
τῶν πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν κατελείφθη ἐν τῇ φυγῇ,
ὡς κάκεινοι ἐμβοῦν προσάγωντα Ἀλέξανδρον.
Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὅσοι χυναίτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως
κατέμαθε καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀπολελοιπότας τὰς
κόμας, τούτους δὲ ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη, ὁξείας τὰς
διώξεις ποιησάμενος, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς
δὲ ἣνδραπόδισε· σατράπην δὲ Ἀρείων ἀπέδειξεν
Ἀρσάμην, ἄνδρᾳ Πέρσην. Αὐτὸς δὲ Εἰπν τοὺς
Ἀρτακόναν ὑπολειμμένοις, ὅμοι σύμφων ἦδη,
ὡς ἐπὶ την Ἀρτακόναν χώραν ἔγε· καὶ
Nicanor, however, son of Parmenio, commander of the bodyguards, had already died of sickness. But as Alexander advanced towards Bactria, news was brought that Satibarzanes, satrap of Areia, had massacred Anaxippus and the mounted javelin-men with him, and was arming the Areians and leading them in a body to the city Artacoana, where was the palace of the Areians; and that he had decided, on learning that Alexander had advanced forward, to go thence with his troops to Bessus, and with him to attack the Macedonians where opportunity should offer. When this was reported to Alexander he did not continue his march to Bactria; but he took the Companions’ cavalry, the mounted javelin-men, the archers, the Agrianes, and Amyntas’ and Coenus’ brigades, and leaving behind there the rest of the army and Craterus in charge, he advanced swiftly against Satibarzanes and the Areians, and traversing in two days the distance of six hundred stades arrived at Artacoana.

Satibarzanes for his part, learning of Alexander’s proximity and astounded at the swiftness of his approach, fled with a few Areian horsemen; for in his flight he had been deserted by the majority of his soldiers, since they too learnt that Alexander was pressing on towards him. So many as Alexander found to have had a hand in the revolt and had at the time deserted their villages, with swift pursuits, he slew some here, some there, others he enslaved. As satrap of Areia he appointed Arsames a Persian. He then with the force left under Craterus, which had now joined him, marched towards the territory of the
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ἀφικνεῖται ἵνα τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Ζαραγγαϊῶν ἦν. Βαρσαέντης δὲ, ὥς τότε κατείχε τὴν χώραν, εἰς ὅλον τῶν ἔννεπτεμένων Δαρείῳ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, προσιόντα 'Ἀλέξανδρον μαθῶν ἐς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τού Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφυγε. Ἐντλα-
βόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παρ ’Αλέξανδρον ἀπέστειλαν καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει πρὸς ’Αλέξανδρον τῆς ἐς Δαρείον ἀδικίας ἐνεκα.

XXVI. Ἔνταῦθα καὶ τὴν Φιλώτα ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἐμαθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστότευος ὅτι προηγγελ-
μένην ἢ ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὐ μέντοι πιστῆ γε ἐφάνη τῆς τῆς φιλίας τῆς πάλαι εἴνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐς Παρμενίωνα τε τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Φιλώτα τιμῆς καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ Φιλώταν ἐποίησαν πίστεως. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Δάγου λέγει εἰσα-
χθῆναι ἐς Μακεδόνας Φιλώταν καὶ κατηγορήσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ἴσχυρός Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπολογησάσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ Φιλώταν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμηνυτὰς τοῦ ἔργου παρελθοντας ἐξελέγξαι Φιλώταν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτοῦ ἄλλοις τε ἐλέγχοις ὡς ἀφανεῖ καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς Φιλώτας πεποίθη μὲν ἐπιβουλὴν τινα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρασκευαζόμενην συνεφη, ἐξελέγχειε δὲ κατασιωπήσας ταύτην πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν 3 ὁσμέραι τὴν Ἀλέξανδρον φοιτῶν. Καὶ Φιλώ-
ταν μὲν κατακοντισθῆναι πρὸς τῶν Μακεδώνων καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετέσχουν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς· ἐπὶ Παρμενίωνα δὲ σταλῆναι Πολυδάμαντα, ἐνα τῶν ἔταιρων, γράμματα φέροντα παρ’ Ἀλε-

1 Roos προηγγελμένη μὲν ἦν: Polak perhaps better προηγγ.

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Zarangaeans; and arrived where their palace was. But Barsaentes who then held the country, being one of those who had joined in attacking Dareius on the flight, learning that Alexander was approaching, fled to the Indians on this side of the river Indus; but the Indians seized him and sent him to Alexander, who put him to death for his treachery to Dareius.

XXVI. It was there that Alexander learnt also of the conspiracy of Philotas son of Parmenio. Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus say that some report of it had been already made to him in Egypt, but he did not think it credible, both because of their long friendship with him and because of the honour he had shown to Parmenio, Philotas' father, and the trust he had reposed in Philotas himself. Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states as follows; Philotas was summoned before the Macedonians, and Alexander vigorously accused him, Philotas making his defence; and then those who had reported the plot came forward and convicted Philotas and his fellows with many manifest proofs, and chiefly this, that while Philotas himself agreed that he had heard of some sort of plot being laid against Alexander, he was proved guilty of having uttered no hint of it to Alexander, though he visited Alexander's tent twice daily. Philotas for his part was shot down by javelins by the Macedonians, and with him the other conspirators; but as for Parmenio, Polydames, one of the Companions, was sent
Γέροντες προς τοὺς στρατηγούς τοὺς ἐν Μηδία, Κλέανδρον τε καὶ Συτάλκην καὶ Μενίδαν· οὕτως γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦς ἡ στρατιά τῶν Παρμενίων ὁταγμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ πρὸς τούτων ἀποθανεῖν Παρμενίωνα, τυχὼν μὲν ὁτι οὐ πιστὸν ἔδοκε εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλότα ἐπιβουλεύοντος μὴ εὐμμετασχεῖν Παρμενίωνα τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ βουλευματος, τυχὼν δὲ ὁτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὐμμετέσχε, σφαλεῖς ὡς ἦν περίων Παρμενίων, τὸ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνηρμένου, ἐν τοσοῦτο ὅν ἀξίωσε παρά τε αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ ἐσ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, μὴ ὁτι τὸ Μακεδονικόν, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἅμα ὁ δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος κατὰ πρόσταξιν τὴν Ἀλέξανδρου ἔψε ἀρίστη ἐξηγεῖτο.

XXVII. Δέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀμύνταν τὸν Ἀνδρομένους κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ χρόνον ὑπαχθῆναι ἐς κρίσιν, καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Ἀτταλοῦ καὶ Σιμμίλαν τὸν Ἀμύνταν ἄδελφοὺς, ὡς εὐμμετασχέοντας καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς κατ’ Ἀλέξανδρου 2 κατὰ πίστιν τε καὶ ἐπαιρίαν τῆς Φιλώτα. Καὶ ἔδοκε πιστοτέρα ἡ ἐπιβουλή ἐς τὸ πλήθος, ὦτι Πολέμων, ἐς τῶν ἄδελφων τῶν Ἀμύντου, ξυλληφθέντος Φιλώτα, ἐφυγεν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. Ἄλλα Ἀμύντας ἐς γὰς τοὺς ἄδελφοὺς ὑπομείνας τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπολογησάμενος ἐν Μακεδόσι καρτερῶς ἀφίεται τῆς αἰτίας καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς ἀπέφυγεν, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἤξιώσει ἄφεθηναι οἱ ἔλθείν παρὰ τὸν ἄδελφον καὶ ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες 3 ἔυγχωροῦσιν. Ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Πολέμων ἐπανήγαγε καὶ τιτῆ τοῦ πολὺ ἐτὶ 314
to him with a letter from Alexander to the generals in Media, Cleander and Sitalces and Menidas; for they had been posted to the force which Parmenio commanded. By them Parmenio was put to death, possibly because Alexander could not believe that when Philotas was conspiring Parmenio had no share in his own son’s conspiracy; or possibly because, even supposing he had no such share in it, Parmenio was already a grave danger, if he survived when his own son had been put to death, being so highly thought of both by Alexander himself and throughout all the army, and that not only the Macedonian army, but the mercenaries also, whom he had so often commanded both in his ordinary turn of duty and also in extraordinary commands by Alexander’s express order and with Alexander’s approbation.

XXVII. It is said that Amyntas son of Andromenes was brought to trial about the same time, with Polemon and Attalus and Simmias, brothers of Amyntas, on a charge of having joined also in the conspiracy against Alexander, through their faith in Philotas and their friendship with him; and the conspiracy won more credence among the multitude because Polemon, one of Amyntas’ brothers, as soon as Philotas was arrested, deserted to the enemy. But Amyntas at any rate with his brothers stood his trial, and made a vigorous defence before the Macedonians, and was acquitted of the charge; and the moment he was acquitted, he asked leave to go to his brother and bring him back again to Alexander; this the Macedonians permitted. He departed, therefore, that very day and brought back Polemon;
μᾶλλον ἡ πρόσθεν ἔξω αὐτίας ἐφάνη Ἀμύντας. Ἄλλα ὁλόγων γε ὦστερον κόμην τινα πολιορκῶν τοξευθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς πληγής ἐτελεύτησεν, ὡστε οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτῷ γίγνεται τὴν κρίσιν ἀποφυγόντι ὅτι μὴ ἀγαθῷ νομιζομένῳ ἀποβανεῖν.

4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, καταστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους ἵππαρχας δύο, Ἡφαιστίωνά τε τῶν Ἀμύνταρος καὶ Κλείτον τὸν Δραπίδον, καὶ δίχα διελῶν τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἑταίρων, ὅτι οὐδὲ φίλων ἄν ἤποιλετο ἕνα τοσούτων ἕππεων, ἀλλὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν κρατίστον τοῦ παντὸς ἱππικοῦ κατὰ τὰ ἄξιωσιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τοὺς πάλαι μὲν Ἀριάσπας καλουμένους, ὦστερον δὲ Εὐεργέτας ἐπουμοσσθέντας, ὅτι Κύρος τῷ Καμβύσου ἔννεπελάβοντο τῆς ἐσ.

5 Σκύθας ἐλάσσεως. Καὶ τούτοις Ἀλέξανδρος δὲν τε ἐς Κύρον ὑπῆρξαν οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτῶν τιμήσας καὶ αὐτὸς καταμαθῶν ἄνδρας οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτης βαρβάρους πολιτεύοντας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δικαίου ἱσα καὶ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν Ἐλλήνων μεταποιουμένους, ἔλευθεροις τις ἀφήκε καὶ χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσην αὐτοὶ σφίσιν ῥητασαν (οὐ τολλην δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοί ῥητασαν), προσέθηκεν. Ἔνταθα θύσας τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι Δημήτριου μὲν ἐνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, ὑποπτεύεσας μετασχείν Φιλώτα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, ἔνελαβε σωματοφύλακα δὲ ἀντὶ Δημήτριον ἀπεδειξε Πτολεμαῖον τόν Δάγγον.

XXVIII. Ταύτα δὲ διαπραξάμεθα προῆι ὡς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα τε καὶ Βήσσου, Δράγγας τε καὶ Γαρδρώσους ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ παραστησάμενος.

1 φίλων Freinshemius, φιλάτων Α.
and thus Amyntas seemed more clear of guilt than before. Soon after, however, when besieging some village he received an arrow wound, of which he died; so that all he gained from his acquittal was that he died with his good name unsmirched.

Alexander now appointed two officers over the Companions, Hephaestion son of Amyntor and Cleitus son of Dropides, and dividing the Companions' brigade in two parts, since he did not wish any single man, even of his friends, to command so large a body of cavalry, especially as it was the best of all his mounted force in reputation and valour, he arrived among the people called formerly Ariaspian, but later surnamed also Benefactors, because they assisted Cyrus son of Cambyses in his Scythian expedition. Alexander showed regard for this people, both for the services their forefathers had done to Cyrus, and from his own observation that they were not governed like the other tribesmen of these parts, but also claimed to practise justice, like the best of the Greeks; he therefore let them go free and gave them as much as they asked for themselves of the neighbouring country; and yet they only asked for a modest portion. There he sacrificed to Apollo; and also arrested Demetrius, one of the bodyguards, suspecting that he had a hand in Philotas' conspiracy; and in his place he appointed as bodyguard Ptolemaeus son of Lagus.

XXVIII. After setting all this in order Alexander proceeded towards Bactria and against Bessus, reducing on the way the Drangians and Gadrosians,¹

¹ Both lived in the south-easternmost corner of the Persian Empire, towards the Indus.
Παρεστήσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραχώτους καὶ σατράπην κατέστησεν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς Μένωνα. Ἐπήλθε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς προσχώρουσ᾽ Ἀραχώτοις. Ξύμπαντα δὲ ταύτα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ χιόνος τε πολλῆς καὶ ξύν ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταλαίπωρον ἐπήλθε.

3 Μαιὸν δὲ τοὺς Ἀρείους αὔθες ἀφεστάναι, Σατιβαρζάνου ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔμβαλοντος σὺν ἰππεύσι δισχιλίωι, οὐς παρὰ Βῆσσου ἔλαβεν, ἀποστέλλει παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Πέρσην καὶ Ἐρύγυιον καὶ Κάρανον τῶν ἑταῖρων προσέταξε δὲ καὶ Φραταφέρην, τοὺς τῶν Παρθιαίων σατράπην, ἐξυνεμβαλείν αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς Ἀρείους. Καὶ γύρωναι μᾶχη τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἐρύγυι καὶ Κάρανον πρὸς Σατιβαρζάνην καρτέρα, οὐδὲ πρόσθεν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνέκλιναν πρὶν Σατιβαρζάνην ἐξυμπεσόντα Ἐρυγυῖον πρὸς Ἐρυγυίον πληγέντα δόρατι ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἄποθανεῖν. Τότε δὴ ἐγκλίναντες οἱ βάρβαροι προτροπάδην ἔφευγον.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρος πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὅρος ἦγεν, ἵνα καὶ πόλεις ἐκτίσει καὶ ὁνόμασίν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ θύσας ἐντάθη τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις νόμος αὐτῷ ὑπερέβαλε τὸ ὅρος τὸν Καύκασον, σατράπην μὲν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιτάξας Προέξην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων Νειλόξενον τὸν Σατύρου ἐπίσκοπον ἐξισταῖ ἀπολιπὼν.

5 Τὸ δὲ ὅρος ὁ Καύκασος ψηλὸν μὲν ἐστὶν ὡσπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, ψιλὸν δὲ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ τὸ γε ταύτη. Μακρὸν γὰρ ὅρος παρατείνεται ὁ Καύκασος, ὡστε καὶ τὸν Ταύρον τὸ ὅρος, δὴ δὴ τῆς Κιλικίας

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and also the Arachotians, appointing Menon satrap over them. He reached also the Indians who were nearest to the Arachotians. All these various tribes he invaded through deep snow, with lack of provisions, and with much distress of his men. But learning that the Areians had again revolted, since Satibarzanes had invaded their country with two thousand horse, whom he received from Bessus, he sent to them Artabazus the Persian and two Companions, Eriigyius and Caranus; he ordered Phrataphernes also, the satrap of Parthyaea, to help them in their attack on the Areians. A severe battle took place between the troops of Eriigyius and Caranus against Satibarzanes; indeed, the Persians did not give way till Satibarzanes in single combat with Eriigyius was struck in the face with a spear and killed. Then the tribesmen turned and fled headlong.

Meanwhile Alexander led his army to Mount Caucasus,¹ and founded there a city which he called Alexandreia. There he sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually sacrificed, and then crossed Mount Caucasus, appointing as satrap of the district Proexes, a Persian, and Neiloxenes son of Satyrus, one of the Companions, overseer; and left him there with a force.

Mount Caucasus is, according to Aristobulus, as high as any in Asia; most of it is bare, at least on this side. For Caucasus is a long mountain range, so that they say that even Mount Taurus, which is

¹ The Indian Caucasus, or "Hindu-Koosh."
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te καὶ Παμφυλίαν ἀπείργει, ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ἄλλα ὅρη μεγάλα ἀπὸ τοῦ Καυκάσου διακεκριμένα ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη ἐπωνυμία 6 κατὰ ἡθη τὰ ἑκάστων. Ἀλλὰ ἐν γε τούτῳ τῷ Καυκάσῳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τέρμινθυ πεφυκας καὶ σιλφίον, ὡς λέγει 'Αριστόβουλος. ἕλλα καὶ δῶς ἐπροκείτο πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ κτήνη ἐνέμοντο, ὅτι καὶ χαίρουσι τῷ σιλφίῳ τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ εἰ ἕκ πολλοῦ πρόβατα σιλφίον αἰσθοῦτο, καὶ θεὶ ἔπ' αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ τε ἄνθος ἐπινέμεται καὶ τὴν ρίζαν ἀνορύττον καὶ 7 ταύτην κατεσθίει. Ἐπὶ τόδε ἐν Κυρηνή ὡς μακρότατῳ ἀπελαύνουσι τὰς ποίμας τῶν χωρίων ἵνα αὐτῷ τὸ σιλφίον φύταια οἱ δὲ καὶ περιφράσσουσι τὸν χώρον, τοῦ μη' εἰ πελάσσειν αὐτῷ πρόβατα, δυνατὰ γενέσθαι εἴσε παρελθεῖν, ὅτι πολλοῦ ἄξιον Κυρηναίοις τὸ σιλφίον.

8 Βῆσσος δὲ, ἔχων ἅμφ' αὐτῶν Περσῶν τε τοὺς μετασχόντας αὐτῷ τῆς Δαρείου συναλήψεως καὶ αὐτῶν Βακτρίων ἐσ' ἐπτακισχίλιους καὶ Δαίας τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Τανάίδος ποταμοῦ ἐποικούντας, ἐφθειρε τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ ὅρε τὸ Καυκάσῳ, ὡς ἐρημία τε τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπείρ- 9 ἔως Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ μη' ἑλαύνειν πρόσω. Ἀλλ' Ἀλεξάνδρος ἠλαύνειν οὐδὲν μείλον, χαλεπῶς μὲν διὰ τε χίονος πολλῆς καὶ ἐνδείᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἤτα δὲ ὀμοῖς. Βῆσσος δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐξῆγγελλεν αὐτῷ οὗ πόρρω ἡδη ὅν Ἀλεξάνδρος, διαβάς τὸν Ὁμηρον ποταμὸν τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἐφ' ὅν διέβη κατέκαυςεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Ναύτακα τῆς Σογδιανῆς 10 χώρας ἀπεχώρει. Εἴποντο δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ τε ἅμφι 320
the boundary of Cilicia and Pamphylia, is really a part of Mount Caucasus as well as other great mountains which have been distinguished from Mount Caucasus by various nomenclatures according to their geographical positions. In this Mount Caucasus, however, there grows nothing save terebinths and asafetida, according to Aristobulus. But even so it was inhabited by a large number of people and many flocks and herds grazed there, since the flocks like the asafetida, and if they are aware of it ever so far away they hurry to it and nibble off its flower, and also dig up and eat the root. For this reason in Cyrene they drive their flocks as far as possible from the places where this plant grows; some even hurdle off the place, so that the flocks even if they approach cannot get in, since the plant is very valuable to the Cyrenaecans.

But Bessus with such of the Persians about him as had joined in the arrest of Dareius, some seven thousand of the Bactrians themselves, and the Dahae who dwell on this side of the river Tanais, ravaged the country lying under Mount Caucasus, hoping by this desolation of the country lying between himself and Alexander and by want of provisions to keep Alexander from proceeding farther. But Alexander came on none the less, with difficulty indeed, through thick snow and owing to want of necessaries, but still he came on. But Bessus, as soon as he was told that Alexander was now not far off, crossed the river Oxus and burned the boats on which he had crossed, but himself moved off towards Nautaka of the country of Sogiana. There went with him the troops of
Σπιταμένην καὶ Ὀξυάρτην, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἑκ τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἱππέας, καὶ Δάαι οἱ ὧπὸ τοῦ Τανάιδος. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Βακτρίων ἱππεῖς ὡς φεύγειν ἑγισκότα ἐμαθον Βήσσουν, ἄλλοσ ἄλλη ἐπὶ τὰ σφῶν ἑκαστοὶ ἀπηλλάγησαν.

XXIX. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐς Δράψακα ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς Ἄορνον τε ἤγε ταῖς Βάκτρα, αὖ δὴ μέγισται εἰςι πολεις ἐν τῇ Βακτρίων χώρᾳ. Καὶ ταῦτας τε ἐς ἐφόδου ἐλαβε καὶ φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ἀκρᾳ τῆς Ἄορνου ἀπέλιπτε καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτας Ἀρχέλαον τὸν Ἀνδρόκλου τῶν ἐταίρων τοὺς ἄλλοις Βακτρίους, οὗ χαλεπῶς προσχωρήσασιν, ἐπέταξε σατράπην Ἀρτάβαζον τῶν Πέρσων.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἤγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀξον ποταμῶν ὁ δὲ Ὀξος βέει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἐστὶ δὲ ποταμῶν μέγιστος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐπηλθοῦν, πλὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ πάντων ποταμῶν μέγιστοί εἰσιν· ἐξίησι δὲ ὁ Ὀξος ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν καθ'

3 Ἡρκανίαν. Διαβάλλειν δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν πάντη ἄπορον ἐφαίνετο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὕρος ἦν ἐς ξὺ μάλιστα στάδιοις, βαθύς οὐ πρὸς λόγον τοῦ εὕρος, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δὴ τὶ βαθὺτερος καὶ ψαμμώδης, καὶ ἰεύμα δὲ [ἐχων], ὡς τὰ καταπηγοῦμενα πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ μοῦ ἐκστρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὗ χαλεπῶς, οἷα δὴ οὐ

4 Βεβαιῶς κατὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἱδρυμένα. Ἀλλως δὲ καὶ ἀπορία ὡς ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἦν καὶ τριβὴ πολλῆ ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μακρόθεν μετίουεν ὡς καὶ γεφύρωσιν τοῦ πόρου. Ξυναγαγόν οὖν τὰς 322

Spitamenes and Oxyartes, and with them the horsemen from Sogdiana, and Dahae from the Tanais. But the Bactrian cavalry when they learnt that Bessus had determined on flight went off, each party their own way to their homes.

XXIX. Alexander now arrived at Drapsaca, and after he had rested his army led them on to Aornos and Bactra, the greatest cities of Bactria. These he took at his first attempt, and left a garrison in the citadel of Aornos, and in charge of it Archelaus son of Androcles, one of the Companions. Over the rest of the Bactrians, who readily gave in, he set as satrap Artabazus the Persian.

He then marched towards the river Oxus. The Oxus flows from Mount Caucasus and is the greatest of those Asian rivers which Alexander and his army reached, except the rivers of India; they are the greatest of all rivers. The Oxus flows, however, into the Great Sea¹ which is in Hyrcania. When Alexander attempted to cross the river it appeared impossible to pass in any direction. For its breadth was about six stades, and its depth disproportionately great for its breadth, with sandy bed, and a swift current, so that piles fixed into the bed were easily twisted out of their ground by the stream alone, not getting a firm hold on the sand. Apart from this there was want of timber in the district, and it was clear that there would be much delay if they went to fetch from a distance enough for the bridging of the stream. He therefore collected the hides which

¹ The Caspian.
5 Πρὶν δὲ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν, τῶν τε Μακε-δόνων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους καὶ ἡδὴ ἀπολέμου καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἐθελοῦτας καταμείναντας, ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπέστειλεν. 'Εκτέμ-πει δὲ καὶ Στασάνορα, ἕνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐς Ἀρείων, προστάξας Ἀρσάμην μὲν τὸν σατράπην τὸν Ἀρείων ἐμπλαβεῖν, ὅτι ἐθελοκακεῖν αὐτῷ Ἀρσάμης ἐδοξεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ σατράπην εἶναι ἀντὶ ἐκείνου Ἀρείων.

6 Περάσας δὲ τὸν Ὀξόν ποταμὸν ἦγε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἵνα Βῆσσον εἶναι ἕως τῇ δυνάμει ἐπυνθάνετο. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἠφικνοῦντα παρὰ Σπιταμένους καὶ Δαταφέρνου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγ-γέλλοντες ὅτι Σπιταμένης καὶ Δαταφέρνης, εἰ πεμφθείν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅλην στρατιὰ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῇ στρατιᾷ, ξυλλήψονται Βῆσσον καὶ παραδώσουσιν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἀδέσμω φυλακῇ φυλάσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν Βῆσσον.

7 Ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναπαύων ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν σχολαίτερον ἢ πρόσθεν. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγον ἀποστέλλει τῶν τῇ ἐταίρων ἱππαρχίας τρεῖς ἁγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἱππακουντιστὰς ξύμπαντας, πεζῶν δὲ τὴν τῇ Φι-λώτα τάξιν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιαρχῶν μίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας πάντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἠμέσαις, σπουδὴ ἐλαύνειν κελεύσας ὡς Σπιτα-
the troops used for tent covers and ordered them to be filled with the driest possible chaff, and then to be tied down and stitched neatly together so as to be watertight. When they were filled and stitched together they were efficient enough to take the army across in five days.

Before crossing the river Alexander selected from the Macedonians the oldest men who were no longer fit for service and the Thessalian volunteers who had remained behind and sent them on their way home. He sent also Stasanor, one of the Companions, to Areia, bidding him arrest Arsames satrap of the Areians because Arsames appeared to have ill-will towards him; and he bade Stasanor take over the satrapy of Areia in Arsames' place.

Then after crossing the river Oxus he marched rapidly to where he had learned Bessus and his force to be. Meantime there met him messengers from Spitamenes and Dataphernes telling him that they two, if quite a small force were sent them, and a man to command it, would seize Bessus and hand him over to Alexander; in fact they had Bessus already under open arrest. On hearing this, Alexander for his own part rested his army and led it on more leisurely than before. But he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus with three regiments of the Companions' cavalry and all the mounted javelin-men, from the infantry, the brigade of Philotas and a regiment of the bodyguard, all the Agrianes, and half the archers, bidding him lead them rapidly to Spita-
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μένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρνην. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἦς ὡς ἐτέτακτο, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν ἡμέραις τέσσαρις σταθμοὺς δέκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐ τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἡλισμένοι ἦσαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐπιτεμένην βάρβαροι.

XXX. Ἔνταῦθα ἔμαθε Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι οὐ βεβαία τῷ Ἐπιτεμένῃ καὶ Δαταφέρνῃ ἡ γνώμη ἐστὶν ἀμφὶ τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ Βῆσσου. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ πεζοὺς κατέλιπε, προστάξας ἐπεσθαί ἐν τάξει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔσεν τοὺς ἱππεύσιν ἐλάσας ἀφίκετο πρὸς κώμην τινά, ὅπερ ὁ Βῆσσος ἦν ἔσεν ὁλῶς 2 στρατιώταις. Οἱ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐπιτεμένην μετακεχωρήσαν ἢδη ἐκεῖθεν, καταδεσθέντες αὐτοὶ παραδοῦναι τὸν Βῆσσον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ περιστήσας ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης τοὺς ἱππεύς (ὅπως γάρ τι καὶ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένων καὶ πύλαι κατ’ αὐτό), ἐπεκηρυκέντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ βαρβάρους, ἀπαθεῖς σφαῖς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι παραδόντας Βῆσσον. Οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο τοὺς ἔσεν Πτολεμαῖος ἐς 3 τὴν κώμην. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἔτυλαβὼν Βῆσσον ὅπθεν ἐπανῆκεν προπέμψας δὲ ἱρετὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὅπως χρὴ ἐσθε ἄγειν Ἀλέξανδρον Βῆσσον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ ἤσσαντα οὕτως ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ καταστήσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὀδού ἦ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρελάσσεσθαι ἐμελλε. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οὕτως ἐποίησεν. 4 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἔδω τοῦ τὸν Βῆσσον ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἀριμνὸ ἰρετὸ ἀνθ’ ὅτον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄμα οἰκεῖον καὶ ἐνεργήτην γενομένον Δαρείον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξυνέλαβε καὶ δήσας ἤγεν, ἐπείτα ἀπέκτεινε. Καὶ ὁ Βῆσσος οὐ μόνος οἱ ταῦτα δόξαντα πράξαι ἔφη, ἀλλὰ ἔσω τοῖς τότε ἀμφὶ 326
menes and Dataphernes. Ptolemaeus went as he was ordered, and traversing ten days' marches within the space of four days he arrived at the camp where on the former day the Persians with Spitamenes had bivouacked.

XXX. There Ptolemaeus learnt that Spitamenes and Dataphernes had not quite made up their mind about the surrender of Bessus. He therefore left the infantry behind, bidding them follow in ordinary marching order, and he himself rode off with the cavalry, and arrived at a village where Bessus and a few soldiers were. For Spitamenes and his men had already withdrawn thence, their conscience not permitting them to be themselves the betrayers of Bessus. But Ptolemaeus stationing the cavalry in a cordon round the village—it had some sort of wall thrown round it, and gates in the wall—made a proclamation to the Persians in the village that they would be allowed to depart unscathed if they yielded up Bessus; and they received Ptolemaeus and his troops into the village, and Ptolemaeus seized Bessus and retired. Then he sent a messenger ahead and asked Alexander in what way he should bring Bessus into his presence. Alexander bade him bring Bessus bound, naked, and wearing a wooden collar, and thus conduct him, stationing him on the right of the road by which he and his army were about to pass. And so Ptolemaeus did.

But Alexander on seeing Bessus stopped his car and asked him why he had first seized Dareius, who had been his king, his relative, and his benefactor, then led him about in chains, and then murdered him? Bessus replied that he had done this not by any private decision of his own but in union with all
Δαρείου οὖσιν, ὡς σωτηρίαν σφίσιν εὐρέσθαι
dὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μαστιγοῦν ἐκελευθέν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιλέγειν τὸν
cήρυκα ταύτα ἐκεῖνα ὅσα αὐτὸς τῷ Βῆσσῳ ἐν
tῇ πύστει ὁμείδισε. Βῆσσος μὲν δὴ οὕτως
ἀκισθεῖς ἀποτελεῖται ἐς Βάκτρα ἀποθανοῦ-
μενος. Καὶ ταύτα Πτολεμαῖος ύπὲρ Βῆσσον
ἀνέγραψεν. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σπι-
tαμένην τε καὶ Δαταφέρυν Πτολεμαῖῳ ἀγαγεῖν
Βῆσσον καὶ παραδοῦναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γυμνὸν ἐν
κλοιῷ δῆσαντας.

Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ ἀναπληρώσας τὸ ἱππικόν ἐκ
τῶν αὐτῶθεν ἵππων (πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἱπποὶ ἐν
tῇ ύπερβολῇ τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ
tῶν Ὑξίων τε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑξίου πορεία ἐξέλιπον)
ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα ἥγετὰ δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλεῖα
7 τῆς Σουγδιανῶν χώρας. Ἐμθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Τάναιων
ποταμῶν προῆι. Τῷ δὲ Ταναϊδὶ τούτῳ, ὅν δὴ
cαι Παξάρτην ἄλλῳ ὑνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων
βαρβάρων καλεῖσθαι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, αἰ
πηγαὶ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου ὄρους καὶ αὐτῷ εἰςων
ἐξήσι δὲ καὶ οὕτος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐς τὴν Ἰρκανίαν
8 θάλασσαν. Ἄλλος δὲ ἄν εἰς Τάναις ύπὲρ ὅσον
λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὁ λογοτεῖος ὕθεν εἶναι τῶν
ποταμῶν τῶν Σκυθικῶν Τάναιν, καὶ ἰδεῖν μὲν ἐκ
λίμνης μεγάλης ἀνίσχοντα, ἐκδιδόναι δὲ ἐς μεῖζον
ἐτὶ λίμνην τὴν καλουμένην Μαιώτιν' καὶ τῶν
Τάναιων τοῦτον εἰςιν οἱ ὄροι ποιοῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας
9 καὶ τῆς Ἑυρώπης, οἷς δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ
πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἡ λίμνη τε ἡ Μαιώτις καὶ
δὲ ταύτην ἐξείης ποταμὸς ὁ Τάναις οὗτος
dieirgei tēn 'Aσιαν te kai tēn Euρōpēn, kathēper
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the attendants of Dareius at that time, that they might themselves win safe-conduct from Alexander. But Alexander at this bade them scourge him and the herald to proclaim during the scourging these same reproaches he had directed to Bessus in his enquiry. Bessus then after this torture was sent to Bactra to be put to death. This is Ptolemaeus' account of Bessus; Aristobulus, however, affirms that it was the followers of Spitamenes and Datarphernes who led Bessus naked and bound, wearing a wooden collar, and so handed him over to Alexander.

But Alexander, when he had brought his cavalry to full strength with the horses in the vicinity, for a good many horses had fallen from exhaustion during the crossing of Mount Caucasus and on the marches both to and from the Oxus, led his troops towards Maracanda, the royal city of that part of Sogdiana. Thence he advanced to the river Tanais. The springs of the Tanais too, which Aristobulus says is called by the natives another name, the Jaxartes, rise on Mount Caucasus; and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian Sea.¹ The Tanais, of which Herodotus the historian tells us that it is the eighth of the Scythian rivers, rises and flows out of a great lake, and runs into a greater lake, called Maeotis, will be a different Tanais. Some authorities regard this Tanais as the boundary between Asia and Europe; they imagine that from this corner of the Euxine Sea upwards the Lake Maeotis and this river Tanais which runs into the lake do actually part Asia and Europe, just as the

¹ Arrian (with Strabo) is here in error.
η κατὰ Γάδειρά τε καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπέραν Γαδείρων Δίβνας τοὺς Νομάδας θάλασσα τὴν Διβύην αὖ καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην διείργει, οἷς γε δὴ ἡ Διβύη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς ἀλλης τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ διακέκρειται.

10 'Ενταῦθα ἀποσκεδασθέντες των τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς προνομὴν κατακόπτονται πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων· οἱ δὲ δράσαντες τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφυγον ἐς ὅρος τραχύτατον καὶ πάντη ἀπότομον· ἦσαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐς τρισμυρίους. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς κουφοτάτους τῆς στρατιάς ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν. 'Ενθα δὴ προσβολαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγένυντο τοῖς Μακεδόσειν ἐς τὸ ὅρος· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀπεκρούοντο βαλλόμενοι ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἄλλοι πεῖν ἐνεμαχόμενοι ἐγένυντο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὴν κυρίμην τοξεύεται διαμπαξ καὶ τῆς περόνης τε ἀποθραύεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ τοξεύματος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσ' ἔλαβε τὸ χωρίον καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπταν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν ρίψαντες σφᾶς ἀπέθανον, ὡστε ἐκ τρισμυρίων ὁ πλεῖος ἀποσωθὴναι ὄκτακισχίλιων.
sea near Gadeira and the nomad Libyans opposite Gadeira\(^1\) parts Libya and Europe; imagining also that Libya is parted from the rest of Asia by the river Nile.

It was here\(^2\) that some of the Macedonians who had scattered for foraging were cut down by the natives. Those who did this deed took refuge in a very rugged and completely precipitous mountain, being in number about thirty thousand. Alexander took his lightest troops and led them to attack the fugitives. Then the Macedonians attempted several assaults upon the mountain; and at first they were driven back by the volleys from the natives, and a great many were wounded; notably Alexander himself was shot right through the leg with an arrow, and a part of the small bone of the leg was broken. But even so he captured the position, and of the tribesmen some were cut down there and then by the Macedonians, but many perished by throwing themselves down the rocks, so that from thirty thousand not more than eight thousand saved themselves.

\(^1\) The Straits of Gibraltar.

\(^2\) On the Jaxartes.
BOOK IV
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΠΤΟΝ

I. Οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὑστερον ἀφικνοῦνται παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τε Σκυθῶν τῶν Ἀβίων καλομένων (οὐς καὶ Ὁμηρος δικαιοτάτους ἀνθρώπους εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἐπήνεμεν· ὁικοῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ οὗτοι αὐτόνομοι, οὐχ ἦκιστα διὰ πενίαιν τε καὶ δικαιότητα), καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Σκυθῶν, οὐ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ἔθνος ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐποικισώς. Καὶ τούτοις ἔμπεμπτε Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἐταίρων, πρόφασιν μὲν κατὰ πρεσβείαν φιλίαν ἐνυθησόμενος, ὁ δὲ νοῦς τῆς πομπῆς ἐς κατασκοπὴν τι μᾶλλον ἐφέρε φύσεως τε τῆς χώρας τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ πληθοῦσαν αὐτῶν καὶ νομαίον καὶ ὀπλίσσεως ἤτυνα ἐχοντες στέλλονται ἐς τὰς μάχας.

3 Αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τῷ Τανᾶίδι ποταμῷ ἐπενόει πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπώνυμον. "Ο τε γὰρ χώρος ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ ἔφαινεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ ἐν καλῷ οἰκισθῆσεθαι τῆς ἐπὶ Σκύθας, εἰπτε ἐνυμβάινοι, ἐλάσσεως καὶ τῆς προφυλακῆς τῆς χώρας πρὸς τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐποιήσασιν καὶ μεγάλη γενέσθαι ἡ πόλις πλήθει τε τῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐνυθησόμενων καὶ τοῦ ὅνοματος τῇ λαμπρότητι. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πρόσχωροι τῷ ποταμῷ βάρβαροι τοὺς τε ἐτὶ φρούρια ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι σφόν ἐχοντες στρατιῶτας τῶν Μακεδόνων ξυλλα-

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BOOK IV

I. Nor many days after, envoys came to Alexander from the Abian Scythians, as they are called, of whom Homer spoke highly in his epic, calling them "justest of men"; they dwell in Asia, independent, chiefly through their poverty and their sense of justice. Envoys came too from the European Scythians, who are the greatest nation dwelling in Europe. With these Alexander sent some of the Companions, giving out that they were, by way of an embassy, to conclude a friendly agreement with them; but the real idea of the mission was rather to spy out the nature of the Scythians' territory, their numbers, their customs, and the arms they use on their warlike expeditions.

He himself was minded to found a city on the Tanais, and to call it after his own name. For the site seemed to him suitable for considerable development of the city; he also thought that it would be built in an excellent position for his invasion of Sceythia, should that ever take place, and for an outpost of the country against the raids of the tribesmen dwelling on the other side of the river. He felt also that such a city would become great both from the number of settlers and the splendour of its name. Meanwhile the tribesmen near the river seized the Macedonian troops who garrisoned their cities and slew them, and
βόντες ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐς ἀσφαλείαν
5 τινα μᾶλλον ὑχύρουν. Ξυνεπελάβοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς
τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τῶν Σογδιανῶν οἱ πολλοί,
ἐπαρθέντες πρὸς τῶν Ἑιλλαβόντων Βῆσσον, ὡστε
καὶ τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἐστίν οὐς σφισάν οὕτωι
ξυναπέστησαν, εἶτε δὴ καὶ δείσαντες Ἀλέξανδρον,
εἶτε καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει διδόντες, ὅτι
ἐς ἕνα Ἑιλλογον ἐπηγγέλθη Ἀλέξανδρος ξυν-
εθεῖν τοὺς ὑπάρχους τῆς χώρας ἑκείνης εἰς
Σαρίασσα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν, ὡς ἐπὶ ἱγαθῷ
οὐδενὶ τοῦ Ἑιλλογον γυνομένοι.

II. Ταύτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη Ἀλέξανδρος, παραγγεῖ-
λας τοῖς πεζοῖς κατὰ λόχους κλίμακας ποιεῖσθαι
ὅσα ἐκάστῳ λόχῳ ἐπηγγέλθησαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ
τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρμηθῆς πόλιν
προύχωρει, ἢ ὄνομα ἢν Γάζα· ἐς γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλιν
ξυμπεθεφυγεῖναι ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἐκ τῆς χώρας βάρ-
2 βαρον· Κράτερον δὲ ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὴν καλού-
μένην Κυρούπολιν, ἣ περι μεγίστη πασῶν καὶ ἐς
αὐτὴν οἱ πλείστοι ἐξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν τῶν βαρ-
βάρων. Παρήγγειλτο δὲ αὐτῷ στρατοπεδεύσαι
πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τάφρον τε ἐν κύκλῳ
αὐτῆς ὄρυξαί καὶ χάρακα περιβάλεσθαι καὶ τᾶς
μηχανᾶς ὅσας χρησθαι [προσήκον] ἐξυμπηγνύναι,
ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κράτερον τὴν γνώμην τετραμ-
μένου οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἀδύνατο ὅσι ταῖς
3 ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἐπωφελεῖν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν
Γάζαν ἐπεὶ ἄφικετο, ὡς εἶχεν ἐξ ἐφόδου σημαίνει
προσβάλλειν τῷ τείχει, γηνώ τε καὶ οὕς ὑψηλῶ
ὄντι, προσβάλλεις ἐν κύκλῳ πάντοθεν τὰς κλί-
μακας· οἱ δὲ σφενδονήται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ τοξοται
τε καὶ ἀκοντισταί ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῶν πεζῶν
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then began to strengthen the cities more than before, for their security. There joined with them in this revolt the mass of the people of Sogdiana, stirred up to do so by the party which had arrested Bessus, so that these drew into their revolt some of the Bactrians too; it may be that the Bactrians were terrified of Alexander, or it may be that their seducers gave as a reason for their revolt that Alexander had instructed the chief men of that country to come to a joint conference at Zariaspa the capital; and that this conference boded no good.

II. When this was reported to Alexander, he ordered the infantry, section by section, to make so many ladders as were appointed to each section; and then he advanced to the first city you meet with on leaving the camp, called Gaza; for the tribesmen were said to have taken refuge in seven cities. Then he sent Craterus to that called Cyropolis; it was the greatest of them all, and the greatest number of refugees had collected there. Craterus was ordered to encamp near the city and to dig a ditch and to build a stockade round it, then to fix together such siege engines as he required, so that the defenders of this city might have their minds fully occupied with Craterus and his troops and so be unable to help those in the other cities. When Alexander himself, meanwhile, arrived at Gaza, on his first approach he at once ordered his men to attack the wall, which was made of earth and of no great height, and to place their ladders against it on all sides; while his slingers and archers and javelin-men, at the moment of the
ἈΡΙΑΝ

ἐσηκόντεξο ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἡφίετο, ὡστε ὄξεως μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἐγυμνώθη τὸ τείχος τῶν προμαχομένων, ταχείᾳ δὲ ἡ πρόσθεσις τῶν κλιμάκων καὶ ἡ ἀνάβασις τῶν 4 Μακεδόνων ἦ ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἐγύργετο. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄνδρας πάντας ἀπέκτειναν, οὕτως ἐξὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένου γυναικας δὲ καὶ παιδας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λείαν δειρπασαν. Ἔνθεν δὲ εὐθὺς ἤγγεν ἐπὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀπ' ἐκείνης πόλιν ὁκισμένην καὶ ταύτην τῷ αὐτῷ τε τρόπῳ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ λαμβάνει καὶ τους ἀλόντας τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπράζει. Ὁ δὲ ἤγγεν ἐπὶ τὴν τρίτην πόλιν, καὶ ταύτην τῇ ὑστεραιά ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ εἶλεν.

5 Ἔν γὰρ δὲ αὐτὸς ἦν τοὺς πεζοῖς ἀμφὶ ταύτα ἑκεῖ, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο τὰς πλησίον πόλεις, προστάξας παραφυλάττειν τοὺς ἄνθρωπους τοὺς ἐνδον, μήποτε τὴν ἅλωσιν αἰσθόμενοι τῶν πλησίον πόλεων καὶ ἀμα τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἐφοδον, οἴ δὲ ἐς φυγὴν τραπέντες ἀποροι αὐτῷ διὸκειν γένονται. Καὶ ξυνέβη τε οὕτως ὅπως ἐκάστε, καὶ ἐν δεόντι 6 ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ἡ πομπὴ τῶν ἱππέων. Οἱ γὰρ τὰς δύο τὰς οὐπω ἐαλοκοκίας πόλεις ἐχοντες τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀς καπνον τε εἶδον ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸ σφῶν πόλεως ἐμπιπραμένης καὶ τίνες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντες αὐτάγγελοι τῆς ἄλωσις ἐγένοντο, ὅς τάχους ἐκαστοι ἤχον ἄθροοι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φεύγοντες ἐμπίπτοντοι ἐς τὸ στέφος τῶν ἱππέων ἐξυπτεταγμένοι καὶ κατεκόπησαν οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν.

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infantry attack, showered volleys upon the first line of defence on the walls, and missiles were hurled from the catapults, so that the wall was soon cleared of defenders by the great shower of missiles, and thus the setting up of the ladders and the ascent of the Macedonians to the wall were rapidly accomplished. They put to the sword all the men, according to Alexander's orders; they carried off the women, and children, and the general plunder. Thence Alexander led on at once to the second city, which lay next to this one; it too he captured in the same fashion and on the same day, and treated his captives likewise. He advanced then to the third city, and this he took next day at the first assault.

While he himself was thus busied with his infantry, he despatched the cavalry to the two next cities, bidding them watch the inhabitants carefully lest learning of the capture of the neighbouring cities, and also of his own impending approach, they might take to flight, and pursuit might be impracticable. It fell out just as he anticipated, and the despatch of the cavalry came none too soon. For those tribesmen who held the two yet untaken cities, seeing the smoke rising from the city next in front of them, when it was fired, and when a few who escaped its catastrophe gave first-hand information of the capture, attempted as fast as they could to escape from these cities in a mass, but ran straight into the close cordon of cavalry, and the greater number of them were cut down.

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ΠΡΩΤΟ ὁ ταῖς πέντε πόλεις ἐν δυσι ἥμεραις ἔλον τε καὶ ἑξανδραποδισάμενος ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν μεγιστὴν αὐτῶν τὴν Κυρούπολιν. Ἡ δὲ τε- 
τείχισμενη τε ἦν ὕψηλοτέρω τείχει ἦπερ αἰ ἄλλα, οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ Κύρου οἰκισθείσα, καὶ τοῦ 
πλείστου καὶ μαχιμωτάτου τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβά-
ρων ἐς ταύτῃ συμπεφευγότος, οὐχ ὥσαυτός 
ῥαδία ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐλεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐγίγνετο.
Ἄλλα μηχανάς ἡδο προσάγων τῷ τείχει Ἀλέ-
ξανδρός ταύτη μὲν καταστείει ἐπενύει τὸ τεῖχος 
καὶ κατὰ τὸ αἰεί παραρρηγύμενον αὐτοῦ τὰς 
2 προσβολάς ποιεῖσθαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁς κατείδε 
τοὺς ἐκροὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, δεὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως χει-
μάρρους ὅν διέρχεται, ἔχρους ἐν τῷ τότε ὑδά-
τος καὶ οὐξεχεῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἀλλ’ οίους 
παρασχεῖν πάροδον τοῖς στρατιώταις διαδύναι ἐς 
τὴν πόλιν, ἀναλβῶν τοὺς τε σωματοφύλακας 
καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς 
Ἀγριάνας, τετραμμένων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς 
μηχανὰς καὶ τοὺς ταύτη προσμαχομένους λανθά-
νει κατὰ τοὺς ἐκροὺς ἐξ ὅλους τὸ πρῶτον 
3 παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀναρρίξας δὲ ἐνυδαθὲ 
τῶν πυλῶν αἰ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦσαν, δέχε-
ται καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους στρατιώτας εὐπετῶς. Ἐνθα 
δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐχομένην ἡδὴ τὴν πόλιν αἰσθό-
μενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ὅμως ἐτράπησαν 
καὶ γίνεται προσβολὴ αὐτῶν καρτερά’ καὶ βάλ-
λεται λίθων αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος βιαῖως τὴν τε 
κεφαλήν καὶ τὸν αὐχένα καὶ Κράτερος τοξεύματι 
καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων’ ἄλλα καὶ ὅς 
4 ἐξέσωσαν ἐκ τῆς ἁγορᾶς τοὺς βαρβάρους. Καὶ ἐν 
τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος προσβεβληκότες ἔρημον 
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ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, IV. 3. 1-4

III. And thus after capturing the five cities in two days and enslaving the survivors, Alexander marched against the greatest of them, Cyropolis. This was walled with a higher wall than the rest, since Cyrus had founded it; and as the greatest number and the most stalwart of the tribesmen of the district had taken refuge in it, it was not so easy for the Macdonians to capture it straight off. However, Alexander brought up engines to the wall and proposed on this side to batter the wall, and then, as breaches occurred, to make his assaults through them. But when he personally observed that the channels of the river which, being a winter torrent only, runs through the city, were dry at the time, and did not reach up to the wall, but were low enough to permit a passage to soldiers by which to pass into the city, he took the bodyguards and the shield-carrying guards, the archers and the Agrianes, and while the tribesmen were engaged with the siege-engines and those assaulting on this side, he slipped through the channels, at first with only a few men, and penetrated into the city; then breaking open from within the gates which were on that side, he easily admitted the rest of the troops. Then the tribesmen, seeing that their city was already in the enemy’s hands, none the less turned upon Alexander and his force, and they made a vigorous onslaught, and Alexander himself was struck violently with a stone upon his head and his neck; and Craterus was wounded by an arrow and many others of the officers also. Yet none the less they cleared the market-place of the tribesmen. Meanwhile those who had assaulted the
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Ἡδή τὸ τείχος τῶν προμαχομένων αἰροῦσιν. Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ πρώτῃ καταλήψει τῆς πόλεως ἀπέθανον τῶν πολεμίων μᾶλιστα ἐς ὀκτακισχίλιον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ (ἳσαν γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι μαχίμους οἱ ἦσαν ἡμελημενότες) καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἀκραν. Καὶ τούτοις περιστρατοπεδεύσας Ἀλέξανδρος ἦμέραν μῖαν ἐφρούρησειν οἱ δὲ ἐνδεικτὸς ἤδαιος ἐνεχείρισαν σφᾶς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.

5 Τῇ δὲ ἐβδομήν πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἠλάβει. Πτολεμαῖος μὲν λέγει ὅτι αὐτοῦ σφᾶς ἐνδόντας· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ ὅτι βία καὶ ταύτην ἐξείλε καὶ ὅτι πάντας τοὺς καταληφθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπεκτείνει. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ κατανειμα λέγει αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ διδεμένους κελεύσαντας φυλάσσεσθαι ἐστὶν ἂν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάττηται αὐτός, ὡς μηδενα ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν τῆν ἀπόστασιν πραξάντων.

6 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Σκυθῶν στρατιὰ ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τάς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ταμάίδος, ἀκούσαντες οἱ πόλλοι αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔστιν οἱ καὶ τῶν ἔτη ἐκεῖνα τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαρβάρων ἀπὸ Ἀλέξανδρου ἀφεστάσιν, ὡς εἰ δὴ τι λόγον ἄν 1 ἄξιον νεωτερίζοντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς Μακεδώσιν. Καὶ οἱ ἄµφι Σπιταμένην δὲ ἀπηγγέλθη ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Μαρακάνδοις καταλείψατε ἐν τῇ ἀκρᾳ πολυρκοῦσιν. Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἄµφι Σπιταμένην Ἀνδρόμαχον τε ἀποστελλεὶ καὶ Μενέδημον καὶ Κάρανον, ἵππεας μὲν ἔχοντας τῶν ἑταίρων ἐς 1 ἀν seems impossible; Polak suggests ὅν; Krüger ὁ δὲ ἅρξιον; Abicht ἄρταξιον.

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ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, IV. 3. 4-7

wall seized it, now denuded of defenders. In the first capture of the city about eight thousand of the enemy perished; the rest—the whole number gathered together there was some fifteen thousand fighting men—took refuge in the citadel: these Alexander watched, camping about them, the space of one day; and then they, from want of water, surrendered to Alexander.

The seventh city he took without trouble. Ptolemaeus says they surrendered; but Aristobulus, that Alexander captured this also by force, and slew all whom he found within it; but Ptolemaeus also says that he distributed the men among his army and ordered them to be bound and under guard till he should leave their country, so that none of those responsible for the revolt should be left behind.

Meanwhile an army of the Asian Scythians arrived on the banks of the river Tanais; most of these had heard that some of the natives on the far side of the river had revolted from Alexander and had the intention, should any important rising occur, to join themselves also in attacking the Macedonians. News was also brought that Spitamenes and his troops were besieging those who had been left behind in Marakanda in the citadel. On this Alexander sent against the troops of Spitamenes, Andromachus, Menedemans, and Caranus, with sixty horsemen of the Companions
ἐξήκουντα καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὀκτακοσίους, ὁνὶς Κάρανος ἦγεῖτο, πεξοὺς δὲ μισθοφόρους ἐς χιλίους πεντακοσίους. ἐπιτάσσει δὲ αὐτοῖς Φαρνούχην τὸν ἐμηνέα, τὸ μὲν γένος Δύκιον τὸν Φαρνούχην, ἐμπείρως δὲ τῆς τε φωνῆς τῶν ταύτης βαρβάρων ἔχοντα καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ὀμιλήσας αὐτοῖς δεξίον φαινόμενον.

IV. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἐπενοεί τειχίσας ἐν ἰμέραις εἰκοσί καὶ ξυνοικίσας ἐς αὐτὴν τῶν τε Ἐλλήνων μισθοφόρων καὶ ὅσις τῶν προσοκούντων βαρβάρων ἔθελον τῆς ξυνοικίσεως καὶ τινας καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μακεδόνων, ὅσοι ἀπόμαχοι ἦδη ἦσαν, θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος αὐτὸ καὶ ἀγώνια ἰππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικόν ποιήσας, ὅσ ποικιλότατος καὶ λασσομένος ἔωρα τοὺς Σκύθας ἀπό τῆς ὄχθης 2 τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐσφόντο, οὔ πλατύν ταύτη ὄντα, καὶ τινα καὶ πρὸς ὑβρίν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βαρβαρικῶς ἐθρασύνοντο, ὅσ σκυῖς ἄν τολμήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον ἀψασθαι Σκύθων ἢ μαθόντα ἄν τὸ τιτπερ τὸ διάφορον Σκύθας τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς βαρβάροις, ὑπὸ τοῦ τουτον παροξυνόμενος ἐπενοεί διαβάινειν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς διήθερας παρεσ-3 κεύαζεν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ. Θυομένῳ δὲ ἔπι τῇ δια-βᾶσει τὰ ἱερὰ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὸ δὲ βαρέως μὲν ἐφερεν οὐ γιγνομένων, όμοι δὲ ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἔμενεν. Ἡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσσαν οἱ Σκύθαι, ἀθδής ἔπι τῇ διαβάσει ἐδύνετο καὶ αὐς ἐς κίνδυνον αὐτῷ σημαίνοσθαι Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντες ἐφραζεν ὁ δὲ κρέϊσσον ἑφ' ἐς ἐσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθέων ἡ κατεστραμμένον ξύμπασαν ὄλγου δεῖν τὴν 344
and eight hundred of the mercenaries under Caranus, and mercenary infantry up to fifteen hundred; and he attached to these Pharnaces the interpreter, a Lycian by race who knew well the speech of the natives of this country and in all other ways appeared skilful in dealing with them.

IV. Alexander himself now spent twenty days in building the wall of the city which he proposed to found, and arranged to settle there any of the Greek mercenaries and any of the neighbouring tribesmen who had as volunteers shared in the settlement, with some of the Macedonians too from the camp, so many as were no longer fit for active service. He then sacrificed to the usual gods and held a cavalry and athletic contest; and seeing that the Scythians did not leave the river bank but were observed shooting arrows into the river, which was not very broad here, and besides uttered rough braggart taunts to insult Alexander, to the effect that Alexander would not dare to touch the Scythians, or, if he did, would learn what was the difference between Scythians and the barbarians of Asia, being much irritated by these he was minded to cross and attack them, and began to get ready the hides for the crossing. However, when he sacrificed with a view to the crossing the sacrifice was not favourable. At this Alexander was much annoyed, but yet he restrained himself and stayed where he was. However, as the Scythians still continued, he sacrificed again with a view to crossing, and once more Aristander the prophet said that danger was signified to him. But Alexander replied that it was better to go to any extremity of danger than, after subduing almost all Asia, to be a laugh-
Ἀσίαν γέλωτα εἶναι Σκύθαις, καθάπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ Ἐρέχθου πατήρ πάλαι ἐγένετο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θείου σημαίνομενα ἄλλα ἀποδείξασθαι, ὅτι ἄλλα ἐθέλει ἄκοιναι Ἀλέξανδρος.

4 Ὁ δὲ, ὡς αἱ τε διιφθέραι αὐτῶ παρεσκευασμέναι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῷ πόρῳ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐξωπλισμένος ἔφειστήκει τῷ ποταμῷ, αἱ τε μηχαναὶ ἀπὸ ἐνυθήματος ἐξηκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας παριππεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ ὦχθῃ καὶ ἔστιν οἱ αὐτῶν ἐπιτρόποιον ἐκ τῶν βελῶν, εἰς δὲ δὴ διὰ τὸν γέρρον τε καὶ τὸν θώρακον διαμπαξίαν ἐπηρέα ἔπετε ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕππου, οἱ μὲν ἐξεπλάγησαν πρὸς τε τῶν βελῶν τὴν διὰ μακρὸν ἀφεσιν καὶ ὅτι ἄνηρ ἠγαθὸς αὐτῶς τετελευτήκει, καὶ 5 ὁ λύγων ἀνεχώρησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὦχθης. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τεταραγμένους πρὸς τὰ βέλη ἰδὼν ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὸς ἤγομενος ἐξετετε πε καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἄφθασεν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη στρατιά. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς σφενδόνους ἀποβιβάζομεν, σφενδόνοις τε καὶ ἐκτοξεύεις ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τοὺς Σκύθας, ὥς μὴ πελάξειν αὐτῶς τῇ φάλαγγῇ τῶν πεζῶν ἐκβαινούσῃ πρὶν τὴν ὑπνον 6 αὐτῶ διαβήσαι πάσαν. Ὡς δὲ ἀθροῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὦχθῃ ἐγένοντο, ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μίαν ἑπαρχίαν τῶν ἑνῶν καὶ τῶν σαρισσοφόρων ἱλας τέσσαρας καὶ τοὺς δεξάμενοι οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ἐς κύκλους περιπετεύοντες ἐξβαλλόν τε πολλοὶ ὀλὐγοὺς, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς διεφύγανον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψιλοὺς, ὅπων Βάλακρος ἤρχεν, ἀναμίξας τοὺς ἑπεύωσιν 346
ing-stock to Scythians, as Dareius the father of Xerxes had been long ago.¹ But Aristander refused to declare otherwise than the sacrifices had portended, merely because Alexander desired a different report.

So as soon as the hides had been got ready for him for the crossing, and the army in full marching order was drawn up on the river bank, and after the catapults, when the order was given, had hurled their volleys upon the Scythians who were riding along the bank, some of them being wounded by the missiles, and one actually pierced right through his shield and corset fell from his horse, the Scythians were amazed at the long-range discharge of the missiles and at the death of one of the best men and retreated a little from the bank. Alexander thereupon, seeing them in disorder because of the missiles, sounded his bugles and began the crossing of the river, himself leading the way; the rest of the army followed him. He disembarked first the archers and slingers, and bade them sling and shoot at the Scythians, to keep them from approaching the phalanx of the infantry as it was disembarked, before the cavalry had all crossed. When they were all in a body on the bank, he launched at the Scythians first a regiment of the mercenaries and four squadrons of spearmen. The Scythians, who were in strong force, awaited them, and then rode round the smaller party of the enemy, which kept shooting at them, while they themselves easily managed to escape by flight. Alexander then massed together his archers, the Agrianes, and the other light troops, under Balacrus,

¹ See Herod, iv. 122 foll.
7 ἐπὶ τῶν Σκύθων. Ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἦδη ἐγνώμονο, ἐλάσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτούς τῶν τε ἐταίρων τρεῖς ἰππαρχίας καὶ τούς ἰππακοντιστὰς ξύμπαντας καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν ἱππον ἄγων σπουδὴ ἐνέβαλεν ὀρθίας ταῖς ὸλαις. Οὐκούν ἐτι οἶοι τε ἦσαν ἐξελίσσειν τὴν ἰππασίαν ἐς κύκλους, ὡς πρόσθεν ἔτι; ὁμοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἱππος προσέκειτο αὐτοῖς, ὁμοῦ δὲ οἱ ψυλλοι ἀναμεμηγμένοι τοῖς ἰππεύσι, καὶ οὐκ ἦν τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς ἀσφαλείς ποιεῖσθαι. Ἑνθα λαμπρὰ ἦδη φυγῆ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἦν καὶ πίπτουν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς χιλίους καὶ εἰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Σατράκης, ἐάλωσαν δὲ ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Ὡς δὲ ἡ δίωξις ὄξεια τε καὶ διὰ καῦματος πολλοῦ ταλαιπώρως ἐγνρετο, δίγαι τε ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα εἰχετο καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐλαύνων πίνει

9 ὁποῖον ἦν ύδωρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνη. Καὶ ἦν γὰρ πουηρὸν τὸ ύδωρ, ἰεῦμα ἄθροον κατασκήπτει αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα· καὶ ἐπὶ τάδε ἡ δίωξις οὐκ ἐπὶ πάντων Σκυθῶν ἐγένετο· εἰ δὲ μῆ, δοκούσιν ἃν μοι καὶ πάντες διαφαρμῆναι ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδροι τὸ σῶμα ἐκαμε. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς ἅσχατον κινδύνου ἐλθὼν ἐκομίσθη ὁπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ οὕτω ἐξυνέβη ἡ μαντεία Ἀριστάνδρῳ.

V. Ὅλιγον δὲ ὑστερον παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Σκυθῶν ἀφικνοῦνται παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πρέσβεις, ὑπὲρ τῶν πραξάμενων ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐκπεμφθέντες, ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐπράξθη, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἀρπαγήν ἀρσενικὸ τρόπῳ σταλέντων, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐθέλει ποιεῖν τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα. Καὶ τούτω φιλάνθρωπος.
with the cavalry, and led them against the Scythians. Then, when they were quite close, he ordered three regiments of the Companions and all the mounted javelin-men to charge them; and he himself brought up the rest of the cavalry at full speed and charged with his squadrons in column. So the Scythians were no longer able to wheel round in circles as they had been doing just before; for the Greek cavalry was now pressing them at close quarters, and at the same moment the light troops, mingling with the cavalry, prevented their wheeling about to the attack with any security. In fact the flight of the Scythians was by now manifest; there fell of them about a thousand, with one of their commanders, Satrases, while about a hundred and fifty were captured. The pursuit was sharp, and was distressing because of the great heat, so that all the army was consumed by thirst, and Alexander himself as he rode on drank whatever kind of water there was in that district. The water was, however, unwholesome, and so a constant diarrhœa suddenly seized him; and for this reason the pursuit did not extend to the whole body of Scythians. Otherwise I am inclined to think that they would all have perished in their flight, had not Alexander had this seizure. He fell indeed into serious danger, and was carried back into the camp, and in this way Aristander's prophecy came true.

V. Soon afterwards envoys reached Alexander from the king of the Scythians; they had been sent to express regret for what had occurred, on the ground that it had not been any united action of the Scythian state, but only that of raiders and freebooters; the king himself, moreover, was desirous to perform what was laid upon him. Alexander gave a polite
Ἀρριάνος ἐπιστέλλει Ἀλέξανδρῳ, ὅτι οὔτε ἀπιστοῦντα μὴ ἐπεξείναι καλῶν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, οὔτε κατὰ καιρὸν ἢν ἐν τῷ τότε ἐπεξείναι.

2 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Μαρακάνδῳ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ φρουροῦμενοι Μακεδόνες, προσβολῆς γενομένης τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐκ Σπιταμένους τε καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπεκδραμόντες ἀπέκτειναν τε τῶν πολεμιῶν ἔστιν οὐς καὶ ἀπώσαντο ξύμπαντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐσταλμένοι ἐς Μαράκανδα ἡδὴ προσάγοντες Σπιταμένεις ἐξηγούσαν τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν ἐκλείπει τῆς ἄκρας, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁς ἐς τὰ Βασίλεια τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἀνεχόμεν. Φαρνούχης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔως αὐτῷ στρατηγοῖ σπεύδοντες ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν παντάπασιν ἐπὶ τε τὰ ὀρια τῆς Σογδιανῆς ἔνειρυσαν ὑποχωροῦντα καὶ εἰς τοὺς Νομάδας οὕδενι λογισμῷ ἐννεσβάλλουσιν.

4 Ἔνθα δὴ προσλαβὼν ὁ Σπιταμένης τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππέων ἐς ἐξακοσίους προσεπήρθη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐξυμμαχίας τῆς Σκυθικῆς δέξασθαι ἐπιώντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας. παραταξάμενος δὲ ἐν χωρίῳ ὁμαλῶ πρὸς τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὑπομείναν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἠθελε, περιπτενύων δὲ ἐτόξευεν ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν. Καὶ ἐπελυκόντων μὲν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἀμφὶ Φαρνούχης, ἐφευγεν εὐπετῶς, οἷα δὴ ἀκτυτέρων τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε ἀκμαιστέρων ὅντων τῶν ἱππῶν; τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀνδρόμαχον ὑπὸ τε τῆς ξυνεχοῦς πορείας καὶ ἀμα χιλού ἀπορία κεκάκωτο ἡ ἑπος· μένουσι δὲ ἡ ὑποχωροῦσιν ἐπέκειντο.

5 Βασίλεια A, but Maracanda was the capital. Polack Bóreia.
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answer, since it seemed dishonourable not to continue the expedition, if he distrusted the king, and yet it was not exactly the best moment to make the expedition.

The Macedonians, meanwhile, who were being watched in the citadel at Maracanda, on an assault being made on the citadel by Spitamenes and his troops, made a sally and killed some of the enemy, while they drove off the whole body, themselves retiring unharmed to the citadel. As soon, however, as Spitamenes heard that the force sent by Alexander to Maracanda was already drawing near, he left the siege of the citadel and himself retreated as if to the chief city of Sogdiana.\(^1\) Pharnuches, however, and the officers with him, hurrying on to drive him off altogether, pursued him as he retreated towards the frontiers of Sogdiana, and unheedingly made a general attack on the nomad Scythians. On this Spitamenes, adding to his force some six hundred Scythian horse, was encouraged by this alliance of the Scythians to await the Macedonians as they came on; he drew up his men on a level space near the Scythian desert, but had no intention of merely awaiting the enemy or himself making a charge upon them, but wheeling round and round shot volleys of arrows into the infantry phalanx. Then when Pharnuches' troops charged them, they had no difficulty in riding off, their horses being swifter and at the moment fresher, while the horses of Andromachus' troops were distressed by the forced march and want of fodder, so that whether they stood their ground or withdrew, the Scythians swooped vigorously upon

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\(^1\) Some error, possibly. Maracanda (Samarcand) was itself the capital.

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6 ευρώστως ο Σκύθαι. "Ενθα δὴ πολλῶν μὲν τιτρωσκομένων ἐκ τῶν τοξευμάτων, ἐστὶ δ' ὧν καὶ πιπτόντων, ἐς πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον τάξαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεχώρουν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ Πολυτίμητον, ὅτι νάπος ταύτη ἦν, ὡς μὴτε τοίς βαρβάροις εὐπετεῖς ἔτι εἶναι ἐκτοξευένως ὡς αὐτούς, σφίσει τε οἱ πεζοὶ ὀφελιμότεροι ὡσι.

7 Κάρανος δὲ ὁ ἱππάρχης οὐκ ἀνακοινώσας 'Ανδρομάχῳ διαβαίνεις ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐς ἀσφαλὲς ταύτη καταστήσαν τὴν ἱππον. καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπηκολούθησαν, ὡς ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ φοβερὰ τε καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐσβάσις ἢ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ

8 κρημνώδεις τὰς ὀχθας. Καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσθάμενοι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τῶν Μακεδόνων, αὐτοῖς ἱπποῖς ἔθεν καὶ ἐνθέν ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν πόρον. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἡδὴ διαβεβηκότων καὶ ἀποχωροῦντων εὗχοντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνοντας ἀντιμέτωποι ταχθέντες ἀνείλουν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πλαγίων ἐτοξευόν ἐς αὐτοὺς, οἱ δὲ

9 τοῖς ἐτε ἐσβάινουσιν ἐπέκειντο, ὡστε ἀπορία πάντοθεν συνεχόμενοι οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐς νήσον τινα τῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ συμφεύγουσιν ὁμ μεγάλην. Καὶ περιστάντες αὐτοὺς οἱ Σκύθαι τε καὶ οἱ ἔνων Σπηταμένει ἱππεῖς ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας κατετόξευσαν ὁλογος δὲ ἡνδραπόδισαντο αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους πάντας ἀπέκτειναν.

VI. Ἀριστοβούλος δὲ ἐνέδρα τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθαρῆμαι λέγει, τῶν Σκυθῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ κρυφέντων, οὐ ἐκ τοῦ ἄφαινος ἐπεγένοντο τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ἵνα τῶν μὲν Φαρμούχην παραχωρέιν τῆς ἤγεμονίας 352
them. And now as a good number of men were being wounded by the arrows, and some actually falling, the officers formed their men into a square and withdrew towards the river Polytimetus, where was a wooded glen near by, so that the Scythians could no longer easily shoot at them, and they themselves could make more use of their infantry.

Caranus, however, the commander of the cavalry, without notifying Andromachus attempted to cross the river, hoping to get his cavalry into safety on this side, and the infantry followed him, not receiving any instructions to do so, but making a panic-stricken and disorderly descent into the river from the precipitous banks. The Scythians seeing this error of the Macedonians, mounted as they were, dashed from all directions into the stream. Some pressed on after those who had already crossed and were retreating, others ranging themselves athwart pulled down into the river those who were trying to cross, others again from the flanks showered arrows at them, and others pressed on such as were just entering the river. Then the Macedonians, helpless every way, took refuge in a body on a small island in the river. The Scythians flocking round them, with Spitamenes' cavalry, in a circle, shot them all down; a few they took as prisoners, but killed all these also.

VI. Aristobulus, however, states that the greater part of this force was destroyed by an ambush, the Scythians having hidden themselves in a park; then they suddenly burst forth upon the Macedonians from their concealment just at the beginning of the action, just at the moment when Pharnuches was
τοὺς ἔμπεμφθεῖσιν Μακεδόνας, ὥς οὖν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντα ἑργῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ’ ἔπι τῷ καθομιλῆσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους μᾶλλον τι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐσταλμένον, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας τε εἰναι καὶ ἐταῖρους.

2 Βασιλέως. Ἀνδρόμαχων δὲ καὶ Κάρανων καὶ Μενέδημον οὐ δέχασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὸ μὲν τι ός μὴ δοκεῖν παρὰ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτούς τι κατὰ σφάς νεωτερίζειν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δεινῷ οὐκ ἔθελήσαντας, εἰ δὴ τι πταίσειαν, μὴ ὅσον κατ’ ἄνδρα μόνον μετέχειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἐξηγησαμένους. Ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ τῇ ἀταξίᾳ ἐπιθεμένους αὐτοῖς τοὺς βαρβάρους κατακόψαι πάντας, ὡστε ἰππείας μὲν οὐ πλείονας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἀποσωθῆναι, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς τριακοσίους.

3 Ταύτα δὲ ὡς ἡγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἥλυσε τε τῷ πάθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἔγνω σπουδῆς ἐλαύνειν ὡς ἐπὶ Σπιταμένην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄμφοιτον βαρβάρους. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τῶν τε ἐταῖρων ἰππείων τοὺς ἡμίσειας καὶ τοὺς ἱππασπιστῶν ἐξύπαντάς καὶ τοὺς τοξώτας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς κούφοτάτους ἤηε ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα, ὡν ἐπανήκειν Σπιταμένην ἐπινυθάνετο καὶ ἀξίας πολιορκεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀκρᾳ. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τρισίν ἡμέραις διελθὼν χελίους καὶ πεντακόσιοις σταδίοις, τῇ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔων προσῆγῃ τῇ πόλει. Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄμφοιτον, ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη προσώγον Ἀλεξάνδρος, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλ’ ἐκλήσιον τοὺς τὴν πόλιν φεύγουσιν. 'Ὁ δὲ ἐχόμενος

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retiring from his command in favour of the Macedonians who had been sent with him, on the ground that he was not skilled in military actions, but had been sent by Alexander rather to treat with the natives than to act as leader in battles, while they were both Macedonians and Companions of the king. Andromachus, however, and Caranus and Menedemus did not accept the command, partly that they might not appear to take any fresh action on their own account over and above the commands of Alexander; and partly because in the face of this danger they did not wish to take any individual share in defeat, should this happen; much less to bear the blame, as a body, of having proved bad generals. In this confusion and disorder the Scythians charged down and cut them down in large numbers, so that of cavalry not more than forty escaped, and of footsoldiers about three hundred.

When this was reported to Alexander he was much distressed at this disaster to his men and decided to march at full speed upon Spitamenes and the tribesmen with him. Accordingly, he took half of the Companions’ cavalry, the archers and the Agrianes, and, of the phalanx, the lightest-armed, and marched on Maracanda, whither he had learnt that Spitamenes had returned and was again besieging the garrison in the citadel. Alexander traversed fifteen hundred stades in three days, and on the fourth about dawn approached the city. But Spitamenes and his troops, learning that Alexander was drawing near, did not await him but left the city and fled. Alexander pur-
αὐτῶν ἐδίωκεν ὡς δὲ ἔπτε τὸν χῶρον ἦκεν οὐ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, θάψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἴπετο ἐστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον τοῖς φεύγουσιν. 'Εκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστρέφων ἔπορθε τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα καταπεφευγότας τῶν βαρβάρων ἔκτεινεν, ὅτι ἐνυπηθεσθαί ἐξηγγέλ- λοντο καὶ αὐτῷ τοῖς Μακεδώνι καὶ ἐπῆλθεν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ὅσην ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Πολυτί-6 μητος ἐπάρδον ἐπέρχεται. "Ἰνα δὲ ἀφανίζεται τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη το ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἔρημος ἡ χώρα ἔστιν τὰ ἀφανίζεται δὲ, καίπερ πολλοῦ ὅν ὕδατος, ἐς τὴν ψάμμον. Καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί ὡσαύτως ἐκεῖ ἀφανίζονται μεγάλοι καὶ ἀἐνναι, ὃ τε 'Επαρδος, δὴ ῥέει διὰ Μάρδων τῆς χώρας, καὶ 'Αρείος, ὅτον ἐπώνυμος ἡ τῶν 'Αρείων γῆ ἔστι, καὶ 'Εὐμανδρος, δὴ 'Εὐδρεγετών ῥέει. 7 Καὶ εἰς ἐξεμπάντες οὕτω τηλικοῦτο ποταμὸ ὡστε οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μείων ἐστὶ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ τοῦ Θεσσαλικοῦ ποταμοῦ, δή διὰ τῶν Τεμπών ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν· ὃ δὲ Πολυτίμητος πολὺ ἐτὶ μείζον ἥ κατὰ τὸν Πηνειοῦ ποταμὸν ἐστὶ.

VII. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραζόμενος ἐς Ζαρίασπα ἀφίκετο καὶ αὐτὸν κατεμείνε ἐστε παρελθεῖν τὸ ἀκμαῖον τοῦ χειμῶνος. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτὸν Φραταφέρης τε ὁ Παρθυαίων σατράπης καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ ἐς Ἀρείους ἀπο-πεμφθεῖς ὡς Ἀρσάμην συλληψόμενος, τὸν τε Ἀρσάμην δεδεμένον ἄγοντες καὶ Βαρζάνην, ὄντια Βήσσος τῆς Παρθυαίων σατράπην κατέ- στησε, καὶ τινας ἄλλους τῶν τότε ἔμνη Βήσσω 2 ἀποστάντων. Ἡκὼν δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Εὐπόκιλλος καὶ Μελαμνίδας καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν
sued him closely; and when he reached the place where the battle took place, he buried the soldiers as best he could and followed the fugitives right up to the desert. Thence he turned back, and ravaged the district, and slew such of the tribesmen as had taken refuge in the forts, because they too were reported to have joined in the attack on the Macedonians. He traversed the entire country which the river Polytimetus waters, but when the water of the river comes to an end, thence beyond the country is all desert: the stream, though of considerable volume of water, vanishes into the sand. Other rivers, great and perennial ones, disappear there in the same way; the Epardus, which runs through the Mardian country, the Areius, which gives its name to the country Areia, and the Etymandrus, which runs through the country of the Euergetae. All these rivers are of a size such that none is smaller than the Peneius, the river of Thessaly which runs through Tempe and discharges into the sea; the Polytimetus, however, is out of all comparison larger than the Peneius.

VII. When Alexander had completed this, he arrived at Zariaspa; and there he remained till the depth of winter should pass. Meanwhile there came to him Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Stasanor who had been sent to Areia to arrest Arsames, bringing Arsames in chains, and Barzanes, whom Bessus had made satrap of Parthyaea; and others also of those who had revolted with Bessus. There arrived at the same time from the seacoast Epocillus and Melamnidas and Ptolemaeus the
στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, οὐ τὰ τε χρήματα [τὰ] ξύνων Μένητι πεμφθέντα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατήγαγον. Καὶ Ἀσανδρὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἤκε καὶ Νέαρχος, στρατιάν Ἐλληνων μισθοφόρων ἄγοντες, καὶ Βῆσσος τε ὁ Συρίας σατράπης καὶ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ ὑπαρχός ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, καὶ οὕτω στρατιάν ἄγοντες.

3 "Ενθα δὴ ξύλλογον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυναγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος παρῆγαγεν ἐστὶν Βῆσσον καὶ κατηγορήσας τὴν Δαρείου προδοσίαν τὴν τε ρίνα Βῆσσον ἀποτυπωθήναι καὶ τὰ ὅτα ἀκρα ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐστὶν Ἐκβάταα ἄγεσθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ Μηδών τε καὶ Περσῶν ξύλλογῳ ἀποθανοῦμενον. Καὶ ἐγὼ οὕτε τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην τιμωρίαν Βῆσσον ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλὰ βαρβαρικὴν εἶναι τίθεμαι τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τὴν λάβην καὶ ὑπαχθῆναι Ἀλέξανδρος ἔμφημι ἐστὶ ξῆλον τοῦ Μηδικοῦ τε καὶ Περσικοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους βασιλεάς ὤν ἴσης ἐστὶ τοὺς ὀπικοὺς ξυνδιαιτήσεως, ἔσθητα τε ὅτι Μηδικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς τε καὶ πατρίου Ἡρακλείδης ὃν μετέλαβεν, οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν κίταριν τὴν Περσικῆν τῶν νεικιμένων αὐτὶ ὁν αὐτὸς ὁ μικῶν πάλαι ἐφορεῖ ἀμείσρας ὦκ ἐπη

5 δέσθη, οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπαινῶ, ἀλλ’ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ τὰ Ἀλέξανδρον μεγάλα πράγματα ἐς τεκμηρίωσίν τεθέμαι ὡς οὕτε τὸ σῶμα ὅτω εἰς καρτερῶν, οὕτε ὅστις γένει ἐπιφανῆς, οὕτε κατὰ πόλεμον εἴ δὴ τῆς διευθυνοῦ ἔτη μᾶλλον ἡ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Διβύνῃ τις πρὸς τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καθάπερ οὖν ἐπενεῖ ἐκεῖνος, ἐκπεπτεύεσας κατάσχοι, οὐδὲ εἰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τε καὶ Διβύνη

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general of the Thracians; they had escorted the treasure sent with Menes and the allies down to the sea. Asander also came at this time and Nearchus, bringing a Greek mercenary force, and Bessus the satrap of Syria, and Aselepiodorus the deputy, from the sea, they also bringing an army.

Then Alexander summoned a conference of those with him and brought out Bessus before them, and accusing Bessus of treachery towards Dareius and commanded that his nose and tips of the ears should be cut off, and that he should be carried to Ecbatana, there to be put to death in the full gathering of Medes and Persians. This over-punishing of Bessus I cannot approve; I regard as barbaric the mutilation of the extremities, and I agree that Alexander was carried away to the extent both of copying Medic and Persian splendour, and also the fashion of barbaric kings to treat their subjects as lower creatures. Nor do I at all commend his taking to Median garb instead of the Macedonian traditional dress, especially since he was a descendant of Heracles. Moreover, he did not blush to exchange the head-dress he had long worn as a conqueror for the tiara of the conquered Persians. I commend none of these things, but I hold that Alexander's own splendid achievements prove, if aught can prove, that neither vigorous bodily strength nor splendour of birth nor greater fortune in war than Alexander's own, nor if anyone might sail round Libya and Asia and subdue them both, as Alexander intended, nor if one might add Europe as a third, over and above Libya and Asia—that not one of these
τρίτην, τούτων ουδέν τι ὀφελος ἐς εὐθαμονίαν ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἐν ταύτῳ ὑπάρχοι τούτῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ τὰ μεγάλα, ὡς δοκεῖ, πράγματα πράξαντε.

VIII. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ Κλείτου τοῦ Δρωπίδου πάθημα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ξυμφοράν, εἰ καὶ ὅλγον ὑστερον ἔπραξθη, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ καίρου ἀφηγησομαι. Ἐναι μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα ἤρεσαν ἡμᾶς τοῦ Διονύσου Μακεδοσί καὶ θέειν Διονύσῳ ὡσα 2 ἐτή ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐν τῷ τότε ἀμελήσαι λέγουσι, Διοσκοῦροι δὲ θύσαι, ἐξ ὅτου δὴ ἐπιφρασθέντα τοῖν Διοσκούροι τὴν θυσίαν πόρρω δὲ τοῦ πότου προίντος (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῶν πότων ἦδη Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικότερον νενευτέριστο), ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ πότῳ τότε ὑπὲρ τοὺν Διοσκούροιν λόγους γίγνεσθαι, ὅπως ἐς Δία ἀνηρέχθη αὐτῶν 3 ἡ γένεσις ἀφαιρεθείσα Τυνδάρεω. Καὶ τῶν παρόντων κολακεία τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου, οἷον δὴ ἀνδρεῖς διέφθειραν τε ἀεὶ καὶ οὕποτε παύσονται ἐπιτρέβοντες τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, κατ' οὐδὲν ἄξιον συμβάλλειν Ἀλεξάνδροι τε καὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἑργοῖς τῶν Πολυδευκῆς καὶ τῶν Κάστωρα. Οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλεώς ἀπείχοντο ἐν. τῷ πότῳ, ἀλλὰ τῶν φθόνων γὰρ ἐμποδών ἱστασθαι τοῖς ξώσι τὸ μὴ οὖ τὰς δικαιὰς τιμὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ξυνόντων γίγνεσθαι.

4. Κλείτον δὲ δήλου μὲν εἰσαι πάλαι ἢδη ἀχθο- μενον τοῦ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικό- τερον μετακινήσει καὶ τῶν κολακευόντων αὐτῶν τοῖς λόγοις τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοῦ οἴνου παροξυνόμενον οὐκ εὰν οὔτε ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὑβρίζειν, 360
things is of any use to make a man’s happiness, unless the man that has done, in the eyes of the world, these mighty deeds, has learnt the mastery of himself.

VIII. At this point it will not be unseasonable to relate the death of Cleitus son of Dropolis and what happened to Alexander after it; even though it actually occurred later. The Macedonians kept a festival of Dionysus and Alexander sacrificed to him yearly on the festival; it is said that only on this particular occasion Alexander neglected Dionysus but sacrificed to the Dioscuri, having for some reason decided thus to sacrifice to the Dioscuri. However, the drinking was prolonged (and, in fact, Alexander had already taken to barbaric ways in drinking), and in the course of the drinking bout talk occurred about the Dioscuri, and how their fatherhood was no longer attributed to Tyndareus but referred to Zeus. Some of the company, that type of men who always have spoiled and always will continue to harm the interests of the reigning monarch, out of flattery to Alexander, gave out as their opinion that there was no comparison between Castor and Pollux and Alexander and Alexander’s achievements. Others, being as they were in drink, did not even stop short of Heracles; it was only envy, they said, which stood in the way of those yet living and kept them from receiving their due honours from their contemporaries.

Cleitus, however, had clearly, for some time past, been distressed both with Alexander’s change towards the more barbaric style and the expressions of his flatterers; and now under the stimulus of wine he could not permit them to offer these insults to divine
οὔτε τὰ τῶν πάλαι ἕρων ἔργα ἐκφανλίζοντας χάριν ταύτην ἁχαρίν προστεθέναι Ἀλέξάνδρῳ. 5 Ἔναι γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ Ἀλέξανδρου οὔτω τι μεγάλα καὶ βαυμαστὰ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐπαίρουσιν, οὐκόν μόνον γε καταπράξαν αὐτὰ, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ γὰρ μέρος Μακεδόνων εἶναι τὰ ἔργα. Καὶ τούτον τὸν λόγον ἀνιᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρῳ λεχθέντα. Οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐπηνιῶ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἰκανὸν γὰρ εἶναι τίθεμαι ἐν τοιάδε παροιμίᾳ τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν συγώντα ἔχειν μηδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔστι κολακείαν πλημμελεῖν. Ἡ δὲ καὶ τῶν Φιλίππου τινὲς ἔργαν, ὅτι οὐ μεγάλα οὖνδε βαυμαστὰ Φιλίππω πατεράχθη, οὔδεμιᾶ ἐνι ἑπεμηνιήσθησαν, χαριζόμενοι καὶ οὕτω ᾧ Ἀλέξανδρῳ, τὸν Κλεῖτον ἢδη οὐκέτι ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὑπὸ προσβείειν μὲν τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου, καταβάλλειν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τε καὶ τὰ τούτον ἔργα, παροιμοῦντα ἢδη τὸν Κλεῖτον, τὰ τε ἅλλα καὶ πολὺν εἶναι ἐξονειδίζοντα Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄρα ἐσώθη, ὅποτε ἡ ἱππομαχία ἢ ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ 7 ξυνειστήκει πρὸς Πέρσας· καὶ ἕν καὶ τὴν ἑξιὰν τὴν αὐτοῦ σοβαρώς ἀνατείναντα, Ἀὐτὴ σε ἡ χείρ, φάναι, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἐν τῷ τότε ἐσωστε. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκέτι φέρειν τοῦ Κλεῖτον τὴν παροιμίαν τε καὶ ύβριν, ἄλλα ἀναπηδῶν γὰρ ἐν ὑργῇ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, κατέχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκμπινοῦντων. Κλεῖτον δὲ οὐκ ἀνείνα υβρίζοντα. 8 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐβόα ἀνακαλῶν τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς· οὖδενὸς δὲ ὑπακούοντος, ἐς ταύτα ἐφ᾽ ἱκαθεστήκεναι Δαρείῳ, ὅπότε πρὸς Βήσσου τε καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βήσσου ἀναληφθεῖς ἔγετο οὐδὲ τὶ ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ἄνομα ἣν βασιλέως. Ὅπουν ἔτη οἰόν τε 362
beings, or, by belittling the deeds of the heroes of old, to do to Alexander this kindness that was far from kind. He felt that Alexander’s achievements were not so great and wonderful as they exaggerated them to be; nay, Alexander had not achieved them by himself, but they were for the great part Macedonian achievements. When he uttered these thoughts, Alexander was deeply hurt. I do not commend Cleitus’ words, either; I rather think it enough, amid such drunkenness, for a man to keep his own views to himself, and so avoid the errors of flattery of the rest. However, when some even referred to Philip’s achievements, quite unjustly suggesting that Philip had done no great or wonderful deeds, these also trying to gratify Alexander, Cleitus could no longer control himself and spoke up on behalf of Philip’s achievements, making little of Alexander and his; and being now heated with wine, among other things he even became voluble in reproaches to Alexander, that after all Alexander owed his life to him, when the cavalry battle on the Granicus was fought with the Persians; and, what is more, holding out with a superb air his right hand, cried, “This very hand, Alexander, saved you then!” On this Alexander could no longer brook the drunken arrogance of Cleitus, and leapt up in anger to strike him, but was held back by his boon companions. Still Cleitus did not restrain his insults. Thereupon Alexander shouted out, calling on his bodyguard; but as no one obeyed, he cried that he had come to the same pass as Dareius, when he was led prisoner by Bessus and his confederates, and that he had nothing now left of king but the name. No longer could his friends
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eἶναι κατέχειν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἑταῖρον, ἀλλ' ἀνα-
πηδήσαντα γὰρ οἱ μὲν λόγχην ἀρπάσαι λέγουσι
τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτῃ παῖσαντα
Κλείτον ἀποκτείναν οἱ δὲ σάρισσαν παρὰ τῶν
9 φυλάκων τινὸς καὶ ταύτῃ.1 'Αριστοβουλὸς δὲ
ὁθὲν μὲν ἡ παροινία ὄρμηθη οὐ λέγει; Κλείτον
dὲ γενέσθαι μόνου τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ὅν γε, ὕργισμέ-
νου 'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντος ἐπὶ αὐτὸν
ὡς διαχρησμένου, ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν διὰ θυρῶν
ἐξῶ ὑπὲρ τὸ τείχος τε καὶ τὴν τάφρον τῆς ἀκρας,
Ἰνα ἐγίνετο πρὸς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Δάγου τοῦ
σωματοφυλάκος· οὐ καρτερήσαντα δὲ ἀνα-
στρέψαι αὖθις καὶ περιπετεῖ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ γε-
νέσθαι Κλείτον ἀνακαλοῦντι, καὶ φᾶναι ὀτι
Οὐτός τοι ἐγὼ ὁ Κλείτος, ὁ 'Αλεξάνδρε· καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ πληγέντα τῇ σαρίσσῃ ἀποθανεῖν.
IX. Καὶ εἰγὼ Κλείτον μὲν τῆς ὑβρεως τῆς ἐς τὸν
βασιλέα τῶν αὐτοῦ μεγαλωστὶ μέμφομαι, 'Αλέ-
ξανδρὸν δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς οἰκτείρω, ὅτι δυοῖν
κάκοιν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡττημένου ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν,
ὑφ' ὅτων δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐπέοικεν ἄνδρα
σωφρονοῦντα ἐξητᾶσθαι, ὅργῃς τε καὶ παροινιᾶς.
2 'Ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ ἔπαινῳ 'Αλεξάνδρου,
ὅτι παραντικα ἐγὼ πεχτιλον ἐργον ἐργασα-
μενος. Καὶ λέγουσιν εἰςιν οἱ τοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρου
ὅτι ἐρείσας τὴν σάρισσαν πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον ἐπι-
πίπτειν ἐγνώκει αὐτῇ, ὡς οὐ καλὸν αὐτῷ ἦν
3 ἀποκτείναντι φίλον αὐτοῦ ἐν ὀδῷ. Οἱ πολλοὶ
de ἐνυγγραφεῖς τούτῳ μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν ἀπελθόντα

1 ταύτῃ (from Sinentis) seems necessary: but there is no need to repeat ταύτῃ. Kl. ἀποκτ. Arrian can use brachylogy when he chooses.
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, IV. 8. 8-9. 3

hold him back; but he leapt up and, as some say, snatched a spear from one of the guard and therewith smote and slew Cleitus; but, according to others, a long pike from one of the guard, and with this slew him. But Aristobulus, while not telling us the origin of this drinking bout, holds that the entire fault lay in Cleitus, since he, as Alexander broke into passion and leapt up to slay him, was hurried away through the doors over the wall and ditch of the citadel, where all this happened, by Ptolemæus son of Lagus, one of the bodyguards; and yet could not control himself, and hurried back; and arriving just as Alexander was calling out "Cleitus!" himself cried, "Behold, here is Cleitus, Alexander!" and there and then was smitten with the pike and so died.

IX. I myself strongly blame Cleitus for his insulting behaviour towards his king; Alexander I pity for this mishap, since he showed himself therein the slave of two vices, by neither of which any self-respecting man should be overcome, namely, passion and drunkenness. But for the sequel I commend Alexander, in that he immediately perceived that he had done a foul deed. Some say that Alexander leaned the pike against the wall, intending to fall upon it himself, as no longer worthy to live when he had slain a friend through drunkenness. But most historians do not relate this. They tell us that Alexander took to

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δὲ ἦς τὴν εὐνύχνη κεῖσθαι ὀδυρόμενον, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Κλεῖτον ὁνομαστὶ ἀνακαλοῦντα καὶ τὴν Κλεῖτον μὲν ἀδελφὴν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναθρεψαμένην, Δανίκην τὴν Δρωπίδου παιδα, ὥς καλὰ ἀρα αὐτῆς τροφεία

4 ἀποτετικῶς εἰς ἀνδροθείς, ἦ γε τοὺς μὲν παιδας τοὺς ἐαυτῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἐπείδην ἀποθανόντας, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ αὐτῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοχειρία ἐκτείνει φονέα τε τῶν φίλων οὐ διαλέιπεις αὐτὸν ἀνακαλοῦντα, ἄσιτον τε καὶ ἄποτον καρτερεῖν ἔστε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀλλήνθεραπείαν θεραπέναι τὸ σώμα.

5 Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτως τῶν μάντεων τινες μὴν εκ Διονύσου ᾑδον, ὅτι ηθοσία ἐξελείψθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ή του Διονύσου. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μόνης πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων πεισθεὶς σίτου τε ἡγατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἄκως ἐθεράπευσεν καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν θυσίαν ἀπεδωκεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἀκοντὶ ἦν ἐς μὴν τοῦ θείου μᾶλλον τι ἡ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακότητα

6 ἀναφέρεσθαι τὴν ξυμπορίαν. Ταῦτα μεγαλωστὶ ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὸ μήτε ἀπαυθαδιάσασθαι ἐπὶ κακῶς, μήτε προστάτην τε καὶ ξυνὴγορον κακίων ἐτι γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀμαρτηθέντος, ἀλλὰ συμφῆςαι γὰρ ἐπταίκεναι ἀνθρώπον γε ὁντα.

7 Εἰςὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσιν Ἀνάξαρχον τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐλθείν μὲν παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον κληθέντα, ὡς παραμυθησόμενον εὑρόντα δὲ κείμενον καὶ ἐπιστένοντα, ἐπιγελάσαντα, ἀγνοεῖν, φάναι, διότι ἐπὶ τὸ τὸ τοῖς πάλαι σοφοὶ ἄνδρες τὴν Δίκην πάρεδρον τῷ Διὶ ἐποίησαν, ὡς ὃ τι ἀν πρὸς τοῦ Δίδος

1 ἄκως, “grudgingly,” may be right. Röhl gives ἄλλως. Perhaps ἀτάκτως.

2 Perhaps ἦτι στένοντα.
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, IV. 9. 3-7

his bed and lay there lamenting, crying out the name of Cleitus and of Cleitus' sister, Lanice daughter of Dropides, who had nursed him: "What a fine gift for her nursing had he given her, now come to man's estate! she had seen her sons die fighting for him, and now with his own hand he had murdered her brother." He kept again and again calling himself the slayer of his friends, and lay three days without food or drink, and careless of all other bodily needs.

Hereupon some of the prophets kept uttering hints of wrath from Dionysus, because Alexander had neglected the sacrifice to Dionysus. With some difficulty Alexander was brought by his friends to take food, and took some slight care of his person; then he paid the due sacrifice to Dionysus, since indeed he was not unwilling that the disaster should be referred to divine wrath rather than to his own evil nature. In this I have high commendation for Alexander, that he did not brazen out his evil act, nor degrade himself by becoming champion and advocate of his misdeed; but confessed that, being merely human, he had erred.

Some authorities say that Anaxarchus the Sophist came by summons to Alexander, and finding him lying moaning, laughed at him and said that Alexander had not learnt that the old philosophers made Justice to sit by the throne of Zeus just for this reason,
κυρωθη, τούτο ενε δικη πεπραγμένον καλ ουν καλ τα έκ βασιλέως μεγάλου γυγόμενα δίκαια χρημα νομίζεσθαι, πρώτα μεν πρὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπειτα πρὸς τὸν ἀλλων ἀνθρώπων.

8 Ταύτα εἰπόντα παραμυθήσασθαι μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ τότε· κακὸν δὲ μέγα, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι, ἐξεργάσασθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ μείζον ἔτι ἢ ὁτὲ τότε ἐνυεῖχετο· εἰπερ οὖν σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς τήνδε ἐγνω τὴν δόξαν, ὡς οὖ τὰ δίκαια ἄρα χρὴ στουδὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον πράττειν τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ δὲ τι ἄν καὶ ὅπως οὖν ἐκ βασιλέως πραχθη, τούτο δίκαιον νομίζειν. Ἐπει καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι θέλειν Ἀλεξάνδρον λόγος κατέχει, ὑπούργησι μεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀμφί τοῦ Ἀμμωνος πατρὸς μᾶλλον τῇ Φιλίππου δόξῃς, θαυμάζοντα δὲ ἠδὲ τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων τῆς τε ἐσθήτως τῇ ἀμείμης καὶ τῆς ἀλλης θεραπείας τῇ μετακοσμήσει. Οὐκ ἐνδεχεσαι δὲ οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτῷ τοὺς κολακεία ἐς αὐτὸ ἐνδιδόντας, ἀλλοις τε τινας καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ Ἀνάξαρχον τε καὶ Ἀγιν Ἀργεῖον, ἐποποίουν.

9 Χ. Καλλισθένην δὲ τῶν Ὁλύνθιον Ἀριστοτέλους τε τῶν λόγων διακηκοστά καὶ τῶν τρόπων οὖντα ὑπαγροικότερον οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν τάυτα. Τούτου μὲν δὴ ἑνεκα καὶ αὐτοὺς Καλλισθένει κυμφέρωμα· ἐκεῖνα δὲ οὐκέτι ἑπιεικῆ δοκῶ τοῦ Καλλισθένους, εἰπερ ἀληθῆ ἐνυγγόρραπται, ὅτι ὡς αὐτῶ [τε] εἰναι ἀπεφαινε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐνυγγραφῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐργα. Οὐκοιν αὐτοὺς ἀφίχθαι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξαν κτησόμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνου εὐκλεᾶ ἐς ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσων. Καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦ θέου τὴν μετουσίαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὐκ ἐξ ὅν

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that whatsoever is done by Zeus is done with Justice; even so what is done by a great King should be held just, both by the King himself and by all the world. With these words he consoled Alexander for the time; but I say that he did Alexander a wrong more grievous than the trouble which beset him; if indeed he gave this opinion as that of a philosopher, that the King need not really give all diligence to choose out and do just deeds, but that we must hold whatsoever the King does, in whatsoever way it may be done, to be just. For the tale goes that Alexander even desired people to bow to the earth before him, from the idea that Ammon was his father rather than Philip, and since he now emulated the ways of the Persians and Medes, both by the change of his garb and the altered arrangements of his general way of life. It is said that he had no lack of zealous flatterers who yielded to him in this, and not least among them Anaxarchus, one of the Sophists at his court, and Agis of Argos, an epic poet.

X. Callisthenes of Olynthus, however, a pupil of Aristotle, and with something of the boor in his character, did not approve all this, and herein I agree with Callisthenes. But I think quite out of place the remark of Callisthenes (if correctly reported), that Alexander and his achievements were all dependent on himself and his history. He himself (he said) hoped for no glory in coming to Alexander, but rather to make Alexander famous in the sight of men; and again, that Alexander’s share in divinity
Ολυμπίας ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ψεύδεται ἀνηρτήσαι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάν- 
δρος Ξυγγράφας ἐξενέγκη ἐς ἀνθρώπους: Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ὡς ἄρα ἦτετο ποτὲ 
αὐτὸν Φιλώτας, ὄντινα οὔτοι μᾶλλον τιμηθήναι 
πρὸς τῆς 'Αθηναίων πόλεως: τὸν δὲ ἀποκρί 
νασθαι Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογέιτονα, ὅτι τὸν 
ἐτερον τῶν τυραννῶν ἐκτείναν καὶ τυραννίδα ὅτι 
κατέλυσαν. Ἐρέσθαι αὖθις τὸν Φιλώταν εἰ 
τῷ τυραννῷ κτείναντι ὑπάρχει παρ' οὕτως ἐδέχε 
τῶν Ἑλλήνων φυγόντα σωζέσθαι καὶ ἀποκρί 
nασθαι αὖθις Καλλισθένην, εἰ καὶ μὴ παρ' 
ἀλλοις, παρὰ γε Ἀθηναίους ὅτι φυγόντε 
ὑπάρχει σωζέσθαι τούτους γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἐυρυ 
σθείᾳ πολεμήσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων τῶν �rts 
Hρακλέους, 
τυραννοῦντα ἐν τῷ τότε τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 
Τπέρ δὲ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ὅπως ἡμαντίωθι 
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ τοιόσοις κατέχει λόγος. Ἐν 
κεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς τοὺς 
σοφισταί τε καὶ τοὺς ἄμφι αὐτοῦ Περσῶν καὶ 
Μῆδων τῶν δοκιμωτάτως μνήμην τοῦ λόγου 
τούτῳ ἐν πότῳ ἐμβελεῖν· ἄρξαι δὲ τοῦ λόγου 
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὡς πολὺ δικαιότερον ἄν θεοῦ νομίζω 
μενον Ἀλεξάνδρον Διονύσου τε καὶ Ἡρακλέους, 
μὴ ὅτι τῶν ἑργῶν ἑνεκα ὡσα καὶ ἡλίκα κατα 
pέπρακται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι Πτολεμαίω ὑ 

μὲν Ἐθελὸς ἂν, οὐδέν τί προσήκοις Μακ 

dόσι, καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Ἀργείος, οὐδὲ οὕτως προ 
σῆκων, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ γένος τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου· 
Ἡρακλείδην γὰρ εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου· Μακεδόνας 
δὲ αὐ τῷ σφῶν Βασιλέα δικαιότερον θείας τιμα 
κομοῦντας. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔκεινο εἶναι ἀμφὶ-
did not depend on Olympias' fanciful story of his birth, but upon his own account of Alexander which should be given to the world in his history. Some relate too that Philotas once asked him whom he thought to be held in highest honour by the Athenians; and he replied, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, because they slew one of the two tyrants, and destroyed the tyranny. Then Philotas asked him again if a tyrannicide could find a safe refuge among any of the Greeks he wished? and Callisthenes again answered that if not elsewhere, at least if he fled to Athens such a one would be safe, since the Athenians, on behalf of the children of Heracles, had even fought against Eurysthenes, who was tyrant then over Greece.

And as to Callisthenes' opposition to Alexander in the matter of bowing to the ground before him, there is a story as follows. It had been agreed between Alexander and the Sophists and the most illustrious of the Persians and Medes at his court that there should be mention made of this topic at a wine-party; Anaxarchus began the subject, saying that it would be far more just to reckon Alexander a god than Dionysus and Heracles, not so much because of the many great achievements of Alexander, but also because Dionysus was a Theban, and had no connection with Macedon, and Heracles an Argive, also unconnected with Macedon, save by Alexander's descent, for he was a son of Heracles; but that Macedonians were more justified in honouring their own King with divine honours. For in any case there
Λόγον ὅτι ἀπελθόντα γε ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὡς θεοῦ τιμήσουσιν. πόσῳ δὴ δικαιότερον ζώντα γεραίρειν ἢπερ τελευτήσαντα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῷ τιμωμένῳ.

XI. Δεχθέντων δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοιούτων λόγων πρὸς Ὄναξάρχου, τούς μὲν μετεσχηκότας τῆς βουλής ἐπαινεῖν τὸν λόγον καὶ δὴ ἐθέλειν ἄρχεσθαι τῆς προσκυνήσεως· τοὺς Μακεδόνας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς μαχομένους τῷ λόγῳ σιγῇ ἔχειν.

2 Καλλισθένην δὲ ὑπολαβόντα, Ὅλεξανδρον μὲν, εἰπεῖν, ἄν Ὅναξαρχε, οὐδεμιάς ἀνάξιον ἀποφαίνω τιμῆς ὅσαι ζύμμετροι ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλὰ διακεκρίθη βαρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσαι τε ἀνθρώπιναι τιμᾶται καὶ ὁσαι θεῖαι πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καθάπερ ναὸν το οἰκοδομήσει καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀναστάσει καὶ τεμένῃ ὅτι τοίς θεοῖς ἔξαιρεται καὶ θύεται ἐκείνοις καὶ σπένδεται, καὶ ἄμοι μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦνται, ἐπαινοῦν δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, ἀτὰρ οὐχ ἦκιστα τῷ τῆς προσκυνήσεως νόμῳ.

3 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀσπαζόμενον, τὸ θεῖον δὲ, ὅτι ἄνω ποῦ ἱδρυμένον καὶ οὐδὲ γιαῦσαι αὐτοῦ θέμις, ἐπὶ τῶδε ἁρὰ τῇ προσκυνήσει γεραίρεται, καὶ χοροὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἱστανται καὶ παιῶνες ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἱδόνται. Καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστῶν, ὅποτε γε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἄλλοις ἀλλὰ τιμᾶ τοῖς πρόσκενται, καὶ ναὶ μᾶ Δία ἡρωσιν ἄλλα τε, καὶ αὐταὶ ἀποκεκριμέναι ἐς τὸ θεῖον. Οὐκοῦν εἰκὸς ἐξεμπαντὰ ταῦτα ἀναταράσσοντας τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐς σχῆμα ὑπέροχον καθίσταναι τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ τὸ γε ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐς ταπεινότητα οὐ πρέπουσαν καταβάλλειν τὰ ἱσα ἀνθρώπων.
was no doubt that when Alexander had passed away from men they would honour him as a god; how much more just, then, that they should honour him in life rather than when dead, when the honour would profit him nothing.

XI. When then Anaxarchus had spoken thus, and to this purport, those who were in the plot approved his statement and indeed desired to begin the ceremony of prostration. The Macedonians, however, for the most part disagreed with these remarks, and kept silent. But Callisthenes broke in and said: "Anaxarchus, I hold Alexander unworthy of no honour fit for mankind; but, in point of fact, lines have been drawn for men between honours fit for mortals and honours fit for gods in many diverse ways, as by the building of temples and setting up of images, and since enclosures have been set apart for the gods, and since we sacrifice to them, and offer libations, and hymns are composed to gods, while eulogies are composed for men; but chiefly in this very custom of bowing down before them. Those who greet their fellow-men kiss them, but as for the gods, since they are set far above us and we may not even touch them, hence they are honoured by our bowing down before them; dances, too, are held in honour of the gods, and peans sung before them, and this is nothing out of the way; since among the gods themselves some have these honours attached, and some those; and what is more, they are again different for the heroes, and these distinct from those paid to gods. It is not, therefore, proper to confuse all this, and to raise mortals to an extravagant grade by excesses of honour, and to reduce the gods, as far as can be done, to an unseemly humiliation, by honour-
ποὺς τιμῶντας. Οὔκ οὖν οὔτε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνασχέσθαι ἄν, εἰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τις εἰσποιοῦτο ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς χειροτονία ἢ ψήφῳ οὐ δικαία. Πολὺ ἄν ὦν δικαιοτέρον τοὺς θεοὺς δυσχεραίνειν ὅσοι ἄνθρωποι ἐς τὰς θείας τιμὰς σφάς εἰσποιοῦσιν ἢ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων εἰσποιούμενοι ἀνέχονται. Ἐλέξανδρον δὲ πόρρῳ τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ἄνδρῶν ἄγαθῶν τὸν ἀριστον εἶναι τε καὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ βασιλέων τῶν βασιλικῶτατον καὶ στρατηγῶν τῶν ἄξιοστρατηγότατον. Καὶ σὲ, εἴπερ τινὰ ἄλλον, ὁ Ἀνάξαρχος, εἰσηγητήν τε τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐχρὴν γύρευσθαι καὶ κυωντὴν τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐπὶ σοφία τε καὶ παιδεύσει Ἀλέξανδρῷ ξυνόντα. Οὐκοὖν ἀρχεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸν ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ μεμνημένοι γαρ ὦ Ἐλληνσι καὶ ἐνδώρῳ παϊσὶ, Ἡρακλείδη ὑπὸ ἀγώνος καὶ Ἀιακίδη, ὅτου οἱ πρόγονοι εἰς Ἀργοὺς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, οὔτε βία, ἀλλὰ νόμω Μακεδόνων ἀρχοντες διετέλεσαν. Οὔκ οὖν οὔτε αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἧνοι ἤτι θείαι τιμαί παρ᾽ Ἐλλήνων ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιθεσπισθήμενοι ὡς θεόν τιμῶν Ἡρακλέα. Εἰ δέ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ βαρβαρῷ γῇ οἱ λόγοι γίγνονται, βαρβαρικὰ χρῆ ἔχει τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ ἑγὼ τῆς Ἐλλάδος μεμνημένοι σε ἄξιῶ, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρῳ, ἃς ἔνεκα ὁ πᾶς στόλος σοι ἐγένετο, προσθέειν τὴν Ἀσίαν τῇ Ἐλλάδι. 8 Καὶ οὖν ἐνθυμήθητι, ἐκείσε ἐπανελθὼν ἅρα γε καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας τοὺς ἐλευθερωτάτους προαναγκάσεις ἐς τὴν προσκύνησιν, ἡ Ἐλλῆνων μὲν ἄφηγ, Μακεδόνι οὖν δὲ προσθήσεις τίμις τὴν
ing them on the same level as men. Alexander himself would not brook it for a moment, if some private person laid claim to the royal honours by right of some unconstitutional election or vote. Much more rightly then would the gods be angry with any mortals investing themselves with divine honours or permitting others so to invest them. Now Alexander both is and is thought to be above all measure the bravest of the brave, most kingly of Kings, most worthy to command of all commanders. As for you, Anaxarchus, you above all should have taken the lead in this discourse and put a stop to the opposite argument, being as you are attached to Alexander as philosopher and instructor. It was most improper that you should take the lead in this line of argument; you should rather have remembered that you are not attending nor advising some Cambyses or Xerxes, but a son of Philip, by race a descendant of Heracles and of Aeacus, whose forefathers came from Argos to Macedonia, and long held sway there, not as tyrants but as constitutional monarchs of Macedonia. But not even to Heracles himself were divine honours paid by the Greeks while he yet lived; nay, even after his death they were not paid before an oracle was given by the god of Delphi that Heracles was to be honoured as a god. If, however, we must think in foreign fashion, since our discussion takes place in a foreign country, yet even so I beg you, Alexander, to remember Greece, for whose sake all your expedition took place, to add Asia to Greece. Moreover, consider this also, on your return to Greece will it be Greeks, the most free of all mankind, whom you will compel to bow down before you, or will you perhaps exempt the Greeks, and shackle the Mace-
ΑΡΡΙΑΝ

άτιμαν, ἡ διακεκριμένα ἔσται σοι οὐτώ τὰ τῶν τιμῶν εἰς ἀπαντας, ὡς πρὸς Ἑλλήνων μὲν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνθρωπίνως τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς τιμᾶσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μόνων βαρ-βαρικῶς; εἰ δὲ ύπὲρ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου λέγεται τὸν πρῶτον προσκυνήθηναι ἀνθρώπων Κύρου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δε ἐμμεῖναι Πέρσαις τε καὶ Μήδοις τὴν ταπεινότητα, χρὴ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ὅτι τὸν Κύρου ἑκεῖνον Σκύθαι ἐσωφρόνισαν, πένητας ἄνδρες καὶ αὐτόνομοι, καὶ Δαρείου ἄλλοι αὐ Σκύθαι, καὶ Ξέρξην Ἀθηναίοι καὶ Δακεδαι-μόνοι, καὶ Ἀρταξέρξην Κλεάρχος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ έξ οὗ τούτως μύριοι, καὶ Δαρείου τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ προσκυνοῦμενος.

ΧΙΙ. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντα Καλλισθένην ἀνιᾶσαι μὲν μεγαλωστὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, Μακεδόσι δὲ πρὸς θυμοῦ εἰπτεῖν. Καὶ τοῦτο γνόντα Ἀλέξανδρον πέμψαντα κωλύσαι Μακε-
δόνας μεμνησθαι ἐτι τῆς προσκυνήσεως. Άλλα συγῆς γὰρ γενομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀναστάντας Περσῶν τοὺς προσβεβευτάτους ἐφεξῆς προσκυνεῖν. Λεόννατον δὲ, ἐνα τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐπειδή τέις ἐδόκει τῶν Περσῶν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ προσκυνήσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐπιγελάσαι τῷ σχῆματι τοῦ Περσοῦ, ὡς τατεινῶν" ¹ καὶ τοῦτῳ χαλεπῆνατα τότε Ἀλέ-
ξανδρον ξυναλλαγήναι αὖθις. Ἀναγέρασται δὲ δὴ καὶ τοιόσοδε λόγος. Προπίνειν φιάλην χρυσῆν ἐν κύκλῳ Ἀλέξανδρον πρῶτοις μὲν τούτοις πρὸς οὕστως ξυνέκειτο αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως τῶν δὲ πρῶτον ἐκπιόντα τὴν

¹ Ellendt tateiφ, but tateiνων will construe. Perhaps tateiνων ὡν.
donians with this shame? or will you draw a line thus in the matter of honours for all the world, that by Greeks and Macedonians you shall be honoured as a man, but by foreigners only in this foreign fashion? But if it is said of Cyrus son of Cambyses that Cyrus was the first of men to receive this homage of bowing to the ground, and that therefore this humiliation became traditional with Persians and Medes, yet you must remember that this very Cyrus was brought to a better mind by Scythians, a poor but free people; Dareius too by other Scythians, Xerxes by Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and Artaxerxes by Clearchus and Xenophon and their Ten Thousand, and Dareius now by Alexander, as yet unworshipped by prostrations."

XII. This, and to this effect, spake Callisthenes; and while he irritated Alexander exceedingly, he found favour with the Macedonians, and, perceiving this, Alexander sent and bade the Macedonians to take no thought for such prostrations in future. When, however, a silence fell after these words, the senior of the Persians arose and one by one bowed low before Alexander. But Leonnatus one of the Companions, thinking that one of the Persians made his bow ungracefully, mocked the Persian’s attitude, as something abject, at which Alexander was very angry, though he was reconciled with him again. A story also occurs as follows:—Alexander sent round a loving cup, a golden one, first to those with whom he had made the arrangement about the prostrations; then the first guest drinking of it rose up, prostrated him-
φιάλην. προσκυνήσαι τε ἀναστάντα καὶ φιληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτῳ ἐφεξῆς διὰ πάντων
4 χωρήσαι. Ὡς δὲ ἐς Καλλισθένην ἤκεν ἢ πρόποσις, ἀναστήναι μὲν Καλλισθένην καὶ ἐκπιεῖν
τὴν φιάλην, καὶ προσελθόντα ἐθέλειν φιλῆσαι οὐ προσκυνήσαντα. Τὸν δὲ τυχεῖν μὲν τότε δια-
λεγόμενον 'Ἡφαιστίων' οὐκ οἵ τε προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰ καὶ τὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως ἐπιτελῇ αὐτῷ
5 Καλλισθένει ἐγένετο. Ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον γὰρ τὸν
Πυθώνακτον, ἐνα τῶν ἑταίρων, ὡς προσήηει αὐτῷ
ὁ Καλλισθένης φιλῆσων, φάναι ὅτι οὐ προσ-
κυνήσας πρόσεισι. Καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ
παρασχεῖν φιλῆσαι ἑαυτὸν τὸν δὲ Καλλισθένην,
φιλῆματι, φάναι, ἔλαττον ἔχων ἀπειμ. 
6 Καὶ τούτων ἐγὼ ὁσα ἐς ὑβρίν τε τὴν Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου τὴν ἐν τῷ παρατίκᾳ καὶ ἐς σκαιῶντα
τὴν Καλλισθένους φέροντα, οὐδὲν οὐδαμὴ ἐπαινώ:
ἀλλὰ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν γὰρ κοσμίως πίθεσθαι
ἐξαρκεῖν φημί, αὐξοντα ὡς ἀνυστόν τὰ βασιλεῖς
πράγματα ὅτως τις ξυνεῖαι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν.
7 Οὔκ οὖν ἀπεικότως δι' ἀπεχθείας γενέσθαι Ἀλε-
ξάνδρῳ Καλλισθένην πιθήμαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκαίρῳ
τοῦ παραρθίᾳ καὶ ὑπερογκῷ ἁβελτηρίᾳ. Ἐφ'
ὅτῳ τεκμαίρομαι μὴ χαλεπῶς πιστευθῆναι τοὺς
κατειπότας Καλλισθένους ὅτι μετέσχε τῆς
ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς γενομένης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν
παίδων, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐπῆρεν αὐτῶς ἐς τὸ
ἐπιβουλέωσαι. Ξυνέβη δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
ἀδέ. 
XIII. Ἐκ Φιλίππου ἣν ἂν καθεστήκος, τῶν
ἐν τέλει Μακεδόνων τοὺς παίδας ὁσοὶ ἐς ἡλικίαν
ἐμειρακίσαντο, καταλέγεσθαι ἐς θεραπείαν τοῦ
378
self, and received a kiss from Alexander, and so they did one by one in order. But when the turn to drink came to Callisthenes, he rose up, drank from the cup, approached, and made to kiss Alexander without having prostrated himself. Alexander at the moment was talking to Hephaestion, and therefore was not attending to see whether the ceremony of prostration was duly carried out by Callisthenes. But Demetrius son of Pythonax, one of the Companions, as Callisthenes approached to kiss Alexander, remarked that he was coming without having prostrated himself. Alexander did not permit Callisthenes therefore to kiss him; and Callisthenes remarked, "I shall go off short of a kiss."

All this, as far as it bears on the arrogance of Alexander at the time and the rudeness of Callisthenes, I in no sort of way approve. It seems to me enough that a man as far as himself is concerned should behave in a seemly way, and that when a man has consented to serve a King, he should exalt the King's doings in every possible way. Rightly therefore, in my judgment, was Alexander angry with Callisthenes both for his unseasonable freedom of speech and for his foolish arrogance. I gather that this is why people easily credit the detractors of Callisthenes who suggest that he had a part in the plot laid against Alexander by his squires; some even say that Callisthenes incited them to the plot. The story of the plot is as follows.

XIII. Philip had long ago ordained that the sons of Macedonian notables who had reached adolescence should be attached to the service of the King; and
βασιλέως, τά τε περὶ τῆς ἄλλης διάιταν τοῦ σώματος διακονεῖσθαι βασιλεῖ καὶ κοιμώμενον φυλάσσειν τούτοις ἐπετέρπατο καὶ ὅποτε ἐξελαύνοι βασιλεύς, τοὺς ἵππους παρὰ τῶν ἱπποκόμων δεχόμενοι ἐκεῖνοι προσῆγον καὶ ἀνέβαλλον οὗτοι βασιλέα τῶν Περσικῶν τρόπον καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θήρας φιλοτιμίας βασιλεῖ κοιμώνοι ἤσαν.

2 Τούτων καὶ Ἐρμόλαιος ἦν, Σωπόλιδος μὲν παῖς, φιλοσοφία δὲ ἐδόκει προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν καὶ Καλλισθέην θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ τῶι ὅδε. Ἡπερ τούτου λόγος κατέχει ὅτι ἐν θήρᾳ προσφερομένου Ἀλέξανδρος συνὸς ἐφῆ βαλὼν τὸν σὺν ὁ Ἐρμόλαιος καὶ ὁ μὲν σὺς πίπτει βληθεῖς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑστερίσας ἐχαλέπησε τῷ Ἐρμόλαιῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὁργὴν πληγὰς λαβεῖν, ὃραντων τῶν ἄλλων παῖδων, καὶ τὸν ἵππου αὐτοῦ ἀφεῖλετο.

3 Τούτων τῶν Ἐρμόλαιον ἀληθεύσαντα τῇ ὕβρει φράσαι πρὸς Σώστρατον τῶν Ἀμύντου, ἡλικιώτην τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρασθὴν δύνα, οτι τι οὐ βιωτόν οὐ ἐστὶ μὴ τιμωρησαμένῳ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὑβρεως, καὶ τῶν Σώστρατον οὐ χαλεπῶς συμπείσαι μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἐργού, ἀτε ἐρώτα. Ἡπὸ τούτων δὲ ἀναπεισθῆναι Ἀντίπατρον τε τῶν Ἀσκληπιοδόρου τοῦ Συρίας σατραπεύσαντος καὶ Ἐπιμένη τῶν Ἀρσέου καὶ Ἀντικλέα τῶν Θεοκρίτου καὶ Φιλώταν τῶν Κάρσιδος τοῦ Ἐρακός. Ὡς οὖν περιῆκεν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον ἡ νυκτερινὴ φυλακή, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἕγνυκείμενον εἶναι ἀποκτείναν Ἀλέξανδρον, κοιμώμενον ἐπιπεσόντας.

4 Συμβῆναι δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτομάτως λέγουσιν ἔστε ἕμεραν πίνειν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀριστόδουλος δὲ 380
besides general attendance on his person, the duty of guarding him when asleep had been entrusted to them. Again, whenever the King rode out, they received the horses from the grooms and led them up, assisted the King to mount in Persian fashion, and were his companions in the rivalry of the chase. Among them was one Hermolaus a son of Sopolis; he was reputed to be a zealous student of philosophy and to be a follower of Callisthenes to this end. About him there is a story that once in a hunt a wild boar charged Alexander and that Hermolaus hastened to pierce the boar, which indeed fell from the stroke; but Alexander, too late for his chance, was angry with Hermolaus and in his passion ordered him to be whipped in the presence of his fellow-pages, and took his horse from him.

This Hermolaus, feeling bitterly the degradation, told Sostratus son of Amyntas his comrade and fast friend that he found life no longer worth living until he had avenged himself on Alexander for this injustice. Sostratus for his part was easily enough, by reason of his infatuation, persuaded to join in the business. Then the two won over Antipater son of Asclepiodorus, who had been satrap of Syria, Epimenes son of Arseus, Anticles son of Theocritus, and Philotas son of Carsis the Thracian. So when the turn of keeping guard by night fell to Antipater, it was resolved to assassinate Alexander by attacking him in his sleep.

It so fell out that Alexander, not from any outside suggestion, as some say, kept on drinking till daylight.
ὁ δὲ ἀνέγραψε· Σύραν γυναῖκα ἐφομαρτεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κἀτοχον ἐκ τοῦ θείου γεννομένην· καὶ ταύτην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γέλωτα εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφί αὐτῶν· ὥς δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐν τῇ κατοχῇ ἀληθεύουσα ἑφαίνετο, οὐκέτι ἀμελείσθαι ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀλλ' εἶναι γὰρ τῇ Σύρᾳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ καθεύδοντι πολλάκις ἡδὴ ἐπιστήναι.  

6 Καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀπαλλασσομένου ἐκ τοῦ πότου, κατεχομένην ἐκ τοῦ θείου ἐντυχεῖν, καὶ δεῖσθαι ἐπανελθόντα πίνειν ὅλην τὴν νῦκτα· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον θείον τι εἶναι νομίσαντα ἐπανελθεῖν τε καὶ πίνειν, καὶ οὕτω τοῖς παισὶ διαπεσεῖν τὸ ἔργον.  

7 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἑπιμένης ὁ Ἄρσεόν τοὺς μετεχόντων τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς φράζει τὴν πράξιν Χαρικλεῖ τῷ Μενάνδρου, ἔραστῇ ἐαυτοῦ γεγονότι· Χαρικλῆς δὲ φράζει Εὐρύλοχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἑπιμένους. Καὶ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ἔλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, Πτολεμαῖοι τῷ Λάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι καταλέγει ἀπαν τὸ πράγμα· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος εἴρροσε. Καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ξυλαβεῖν κελεύει ὅτα ἃν ὅναμα εἶπεν ὁ Εὐρύλοχος· καὶ οὕτωι στρεβλούμενοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν κατείπον τὴν ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τιναὶ καὶ ἄλλους ὅνομασαν.  

XIV. Ἄριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει ὅτι καὶ Καλλισθένην ἐπάραι σφᾶς ἐφασαν ἐς τὸ τόλμημα· καὶ Πτολεμαῖοι ὅσαύτως λέγει. Οἴ δὲ πολλοὶ οὖ ταύτη λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μίσος γὰρ τῷ ἡδῆ ὑπὸ πρὸς Καλλισθένην ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἐρμόλαος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειος ἦν τῷ 382
Aristobulus, however, says that a Syrian woman with a spirit of divination followed Alexander, and that she was at first a laughing-stock both to Alexander and his friends; but when everything in her divination seemed to come true, Alexander no longer made light of her, but the Syrian had access to the King day and night and often watched over him as he slept. On this occasion then when Alexander rose from his potations she met him, while under the spell of her inspiration, and begged him to return and continue drinking all night long; Alexander therefore, believing this warning to be prophetic, returned and continued, and so the plot of the squires came to nothing.

Next day, however, Epimenes son of Arseus, one of the conspirators, told Charicles son of Menander, whose favourite he was, of the plot, Charicles told Eurylochus brother of Epimenes, and Eurylochus entered Alexander’s tent, and revealed to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the whole affair, on which Alexander caused all whose names Eurylochus had given to be arrested; and they in turn being put to the question revealed both their own plot and implicated others also.

XIV. Aristobulus indeed declares that they said that it was Callisthenes who had urged them to the plot; and Ptolemaeus agrees. But most authorities do not say so; but only that by reason of Alexander’s dislike for Callisthenes and because Hermolaus was
Καλλισθένει, ού χαλέπως πιστεύσαι τά χείρω
2 ύπερ Καλλισθένους Ἀλέξανδρον. Ὡδὴ δὲ τινὲς
καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, τὸν Ἐρμολαοῦ προαχθέντα
ἐς τὸν Μακεδόνας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἐπιβουλεύσαι
(καὶ γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἐτὶ ἐλευθέρῳ ἀνδρὶ φέρειν τὴν
ὕβριν τὴν Ἀλέξανδρον), πάντα καταλέγοντα, τὴν
τε Φιλώτα οὐκ ἐνδικον τελευτὴν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦ Παρμενίωνος ἐτὶ ἐκνομοτέραν καὶ τῶν
ἀλλῶν τῶν τότε ἀποθανόντων, καὶ τὴν Κλείτον
ἐν μέθῃ ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἔσθητα τὴν Ἑλληνίδην,
καὶ τὴν προσκύνησιν τὴν βουλευθέσαν καὶ οὕτω
πεπαυμείνη, καὶ πότοις τε καὶ ὑπνοὺς τοὺς
Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα οὐ φέροντα ἐτὶ ἐλευθερώσασι
ἐθελήσαι ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας.
3 Τούτων μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοὺς ξύνων αὐτῷ
ξυλληφθέντας καταλευσθήναι πρὸς τῶν παρόν-
των. Καλλισθένην δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν λέγει
δεδεμένον ἐν πέδαις ξυμπεριάγεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ,
ἐπείτα νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ οὖν
στρεβλωθέντα καὶ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν.
Οὕτως οὖν ὡς καὶ πάνω πιστὸς ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν καὶ
ξυγγενόμενοι ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν
γνωρίμων τε καὶ οὗ λαθόντων σφᾶς ὅπως ἐπρά-
4 χθεὶς ξύμφωνα ἀνέγραψαν. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ
ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν ἄλλοι ἄλλως ἀφηγήσαντο·
ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα ἀποχρόντα ἐστῶ ἀναγεγραμ-
μένα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστεροῦν πραγ-
θεντά ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κλείτον ἧπεξενεχ-
θείσων Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἀνέγραψα, τούτως μᾶλλον τι
οἰκεῖα ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν.
ΧV. Παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἦκε καὶ αὐθεὶς
Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης πρεσβεῖα ξύνων
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in closest contact with Callisthenes, Alexander easily believed the worst story about Callisthenes. Some also have ere now written that Hermolaus, summoned before the Macedonians, confessed that he had conspired, for no freeborn man could endure longer the arrogance of Alexander; and went over the whole story, how Philotas had been unjustly put to death, and the still more illegal execution of his father Parmenio and of the others who suffered at the same time; the murder of Cleitus at a drinking party; the wearing of Median garb, the prostration ceremonies decreed, and not yet revoked, and Alexander's drinkings and heavy slumbers; unable to bear, he asserted, all this, he had desired to free both himself and the rest of the Macedonians. Hermolaus himself and the others arrested with him, they say, were stoned to death by those present at the conference. As for Callisthenes, Aristobulus relates that he was bound with fetters and led about with the army, but at length died of sickness. But Ptolemaeus son of Lagus says that he was tortured and then put to death by hanging. Thus not even those whose narrations are entirely trustworthy and who actually accompanied Alexander at that time agree in their accounts of notorious events of which they had full knowledge. In many other points different writers told different tales about these very events; what I have written must suffice. At any rate all this which took place not long afterwards, I have related as part of the story of Cleitus, regarding it as really akin to Cleitus' story for the purpose of narration.

XV. Now a second time envoys came to Alexander from the European Scythians, together with the
τοῖς πρέσβεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἦς Σκύθας ἔστειλεν. Ὅ μὲν ὁ τότε βασιλεὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν, ὅτε οὗτοι ὑπ᾽ Ἄλεξάνδρου ἐπέμπτοντο, τετελευτηκὼς

2 ἐπήγχανεν ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἐκείνου ἐβασίλευεν. Ἡν
dὲ ὁ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας, ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν πάν
tὸ ἐξ Ἄλεξάνδρου ἐπαγγελλόμενον Σκύθας· καὶ
dῶρα ἔφερον Ἄλεξάνδρῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
tῶν Σκυθῶν ὅσα μέγιστα νομίζεται ἐν Σκύθαις·
cαὶ τὴν θυγατέρα ὅτι ἐθέλει Ἄλεξάνδρῳ δοῦναι
gυναῖκα βεβαιότητος οὖν εκ τῆς πρὸς Ἄλε-

3 Ξανδροῦ θυλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας. Εἰ δὲ ἰππα-
ξιοὶ τὴν Σκυθῶν βασιλεύσαν γῆμαι Ἄλεξάνδρος,
ἀλλὰ τῶν γε σατραπῶν τῶν τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας
cαὶ όσοι ἄλλοι δυνάσται κατὰ τὴν γῆν τὴν
Σκυθίδα, τούτων τὰς πάθεις ἐθέλειν δοῦναι τοῖς
πιστικοῖς τῶν ἀμφ᾽ Ἄλεξανδροῦ ἢξεως δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐφασκεν, εἰ κελεύοιτο, ὡς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ

4 Ἄλεξανδροῦ ἀκούσαι ὅσα ἐπαγγέλλοι. Ἀφίκετο
δ᾽ ὕπ τούτῳ παρ᾽ Ἄλεξανδροῦ καὶ Φαρασμάνης
ὁ Χωρασμῖων βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐπενεγείροι καὶ
pεντακοσίων. Ἐφασκε δὲ οὐ Φαρασμάνης ῥυμόρος
οἰκεῖν τῷ τῇ Κόλχῳ γένει καὶ τοῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς
Ἀμαζόνες καὶ εἰ ἐθέλοι Άλεξανδρος, ἔτι Κόλχους
tε καὶ Ἀμαζόνας ἐλάσας καταστρέφασαι τὰ
ἐπὶ τῶν πόντων τῶν Εὐξεινῶν τούτη καθήκοντα
gένη, ὁδῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐσεσθαι ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ
τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα τῇ στρατιᾶ παρασκευάσειν.

5 Τοῖς τε ὅν παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἠκούσει φιλάν-
θρωπα ἀποκρίνεται Ἄλεξανδρος καὶ ἔσ τοὺς
τότε καρδὸν ζύμφορα· γάμου δὲ οὐδὲν δεῖσθαι
Σκυθικοῦ· καὶ Φαρασμάνης ἐπαινίσας τε καὶ
θυλίαι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνυθέμενος
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envoys whom he himself had sent to Scythia. For the king of the Scythians at the time when these had been sent by Alexander had died; and his brother was now King. The purpose of the embassy was to express the readiness of the Scythians to do whatsoever Alexander commanded; and they brought gifts for Alexander from the King of Scythia such as are greatly accounted of in Scythia; and they said also that the King wished to give to Alexander his daughter to wife, to confirm his friendship and alliance with Alexander. If, however, Alexander should not care to marry the Scythian princess, yet he was desirous to give the daughters of the governors of the Scythian territory and of the chief personages in Scythia to the most trusty of Alexander’s followers; he added also that he would come to visit Alexander, should he be summoned, to receive Alexander’s commands in person. There came also to Alexander at the same time also Pharasmanes the King of the Chorasinians with fifteen hundred horsemen. Pharasmanes said that he lived on the borders of the Colchians and of the Amazon women; and should Alexander desire to invade Colchis and the territory of the Amazons and subdue all the races in this direction which dwelt near the Euxine Sea, he promised to act as guide and to provide all necessities for the expeditionary force.

Alexander therefore replied courteously to the Scythian envoys, and suitably to the occasion. He had, he said, no need of an alliance by marriage with Scythia; he then thanked Pharasmanes and made friendship and alliance with him, but said that it was
Αὐτῷ μὲν τότε οὐκ ἔφη ἐν καιρῷ εἶναι ἑλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον ἦν Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ τῷ Πέρσῃ, ὅτῳ τὰ Βακτρίων ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέταπτο, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι τοῦτῳ σατράπῃ ἔστήσας Φαρασμάνην ἀποτέμηπε ἐς τὰ ἥθη τὰ αὐτοῦ. Αὐτῷ δὲ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἔφη ἐν τῷ τότε μέλειν.

6 τοῦτος γὰρ καταστρεψάμενος πᾶσαν ἀν ἦδη ἔχειν τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐχωμένης δὲ τῆς Ἰωνίας ἔπαινεν ἀν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔκειθεν δὲ ἐφ’ Ἑλλησπόντου τοὺς καὶ τῆς. Προποντίδος ἦν τῇ δυνάμει πάσῃ τῇ τε κακικῇ καὶ τῇ πεζικῇ ἑλάσειν εἰςο τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ἐς τὸ τότε ἤξιον ἀποθέσθαι Φαρασμάνην ὡς ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπηγγέλλετο.

7 Αὐτός δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ὀξὶν τῇ ποταμῷ ἦς καὶ ἐς τὴν Σωγδιανὴν προκρυφεὶς ἐγκώκει, ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν Σωγδιανῶν ἐς τὰ ἔρυμα τοῦ οὕτω ἐθέλειν κατακούειν τῆς σατράπου ὡστε αὐτοὶς εἴ τοι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετετακτο. Στρατοπεδεύοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὀξῳ ὅποι μακρὰν τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πηγὴ ύδατος καὶ ἀλλὰ ἑλαϊν

8 πηγὴ πλησίον αὐτῆς ἀνέσχε. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος τῷ Δάγου τῷ σωματοφύλακι ἐπειδὴ ἐσηγγέλθη τῷ τέρας, Πτολεμαῖος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφαρσεν. Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ ἔθεν ἐπὶ τῷ φάσματι ὡς οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο. Ἀρίστανδρος δὲ πόνον εἶναι σημείον τοῦ ἑλαίου τῆς πηγῆς ἐφασκεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῖκην ἐπὶ τοῖς πόνοις σημαίνειν.

XVI. Διαβάσας οὖν ἔφην μέρει τῆς στρατιάς ἐς τὴν Σωγδιανήν, Πολυσπέρχοντα δὲ καὶ Ἄτταλον

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1 ἐπετέτακτο from A Roos, suggesting to add κοσμεῖν.
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, IV. 15. 5-16. 1

not just then convenient to make an expedition to Pontus. But he commended Pharasmanes to Artabazus the Persian, to whom Alexander had entrusted affairs in Bactria, and to all the other neighbouring satraps, and he dismissed him to his own home. He said that for the time being he had India in contemplation; for by subduing India he would then have all Asia; but when he was master of Asia he would return to Greece; and thence in the direction of the Hellespont and the Propontis would make an expedition into Pontus with all his forces, navy and infantry alike; Pharasmanes must therefore reserve his promises which he now made to that future time.

He himself returned now to the river Oxus, and determined to proceed to Sogdiana, since it was reported that many of the Sogdianians had taken refuge in their forts and would not obey the satrap set over them by Alexander. Now while he was encamped on the river Oxus, not far from the tent of Alexander himself a spring of water, and another of oil near it, came up from the ground. And when this marvel was related to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus of the royal bodyguard, he told Alexander; and Alexander sacrificed, on account of this portent, what the soothsayers recommended. Aristander said that the spring of oil was a sign of labours to come; but that it portended victory after the labours.

XVI. So when he had passed with part of his force into Sogdiana, leaving behind Polysperchon and
καὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Μελέαγρον αὐτοῦ ἐν Βακτροῖς ὑπολυπόμενος, τούτοις μὲν παρῆγγειλε τὴν τε χώραν ἐν φυλακῇ ἐχειν, ὡς μή τι νεστερίσωσιν οἱ ταύτης βάρβαροι, καὶ τοὺς ἥδη ἀφεστηκότας
2 αὐτῶν ἐξαιρεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς πέντε μέρη διελόν τὴν ἁμα ὁι στρατιάν, τῶν μὲν Ἡφαιστίωνα ἄρχειν ἐταξεῖ, τῶν δὲ Πτολεμαίων τὸν Δἀγον τὸν σωματοφύλακα· τοὺς τρίτους δὲ Περδίκκαν ἐπέταξε· τίς δὲ τετάρτης τάξεως Κοῖνος καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ἠγούντο αὐτῶν· τὴν δὲ πέμπτην μοῖραν ἄναλαβὸν αὐτὸς ἐπέθει τὴν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ Μαράκανδα. Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὡς ἐκάστοις προὐχώρει ἐπῆθεσαν, τοὺς μὲν τινας τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐρύματα ἐξυπεφευγότων βία ἐξαιροῦντες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὀμολογία προσχωροῦντάς σφεσιν ἄναλαμβάνουντες. Ὁσ δὲ ἐξύμπασα αὐτῷ ἡ δύναμις, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Σογδιανῶν τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλήν, ἐς Μαράκανδα ἀφικετο, Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκπέμπει τὰς ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πόλεις συνοικίζειν, Κοῖνος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον ὡς ἐς Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐς Σκύθας καταπεφευγέναι Σπυταμένης αὐτῶ ἐξηγεῖλετο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιά ἐπιῶν τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὅσα ἐτι πρὸς τῶν ἀφεστηκότων κατείχετο, ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐξήρει.
3 Ἐν τούτοις δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος, Σπυταμένης τε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Σογδιανῶν τινες φυγάδων ἐς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν καλομένων τῆς χώρας ἐξυπεφευγότες, ἐνυαγαγότες τῶν Μασσαγετῶν ἐπέεις ἐξακοσίους, ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τι 5 φρούριον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανῆν. Καὶ τῷ τε φρουράρχῳ οὐδὲν πολέμου προσδεχομένῳ ἐπιτεσόντες καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ὑπὸ τούτῳ τὴν φυλακὴν
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Attalus and Gorgias and Meleager there in Bactria, he bade them keep good watch over the country so that the tribesmen in those parts might not give trouble, and to destroy such as had already revolted; then he himself divided the force with him into five parts, and appointed Hephaestion to command one, Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus, his personal guard, another; over the third he set Perdiccas, and the fourth brigade was led by Coenus and Artabazus; and the fifth he took himself and invaded the district towards Maracanda. The others also advanced as they could, and stormed such as had taken refuge in the forts, and took over others who came and offered themselves in surrender. But when his whole force, having traversed the greater part of Sogdiana, arrived at Maracanda, he sent Hephaestion to plant settlements in the cities of Sogdiana, and Coenus and Artabazus in the direction of Scythia, since news came that Spitamenes had taken refuge there; and himself with the rest of the troops went on to such part of Sogdiana as was still held by the rebels, and subdued it without trouble.

While Alexander was busied about this, Spitamenes and some followers, fugitives from Sogdiana, had fled for refuge to the part of the Scythians called the Massagetae; there they collected six hundred horsemen of the Massagetae and arrived at one of the forts in the Bactrian region. Attacking the commandant of the garrison, who suspected no enemy action, and
Arrian.

ἐχοῦσι τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διέφθειραν, τὸν φρούραρχον δὲ ἐλόντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἔιχον. Θαρση-
σαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ φρούριον τῇ καταλήψει ὁλι-
γας ἡμέρας ὑστερον Ζαριάσποις πελάσαντες, τῇ μὲν πόλει προσβαλεῖν ἀπέγνωσαν, λείαν δὲ
πολλὴν περιβαλλόμενοι ἡλαυνον.

6 Ἡσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ζαριάσποις, νόσῳ ὑπολειμ-
μένου, τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππεων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ ξὺν
τούτοις Πείθων τε ὁ Σωσικλέους, ἐπὶ τῆς βασι-
λικῆς θεραπείας τῆς ἐν Ζαριάσποις τεταγμένος,
καὶ Ἄριστονικος ὁ κιθαρφόδος. Καὶ οὕτωι αἱ-
σθόμενοι τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν καταδρομὴν (ἡδη γὰρ
ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀναρρωσθέντις ὅπλα τε ἐφερον καὶ
τῶν ἵππων ἑπέβαινον), ξυναγαγόντες τοὺς τε
μισθοφόρους ἵππεας ἐς ὀγδόηκοντα, οὐ ἐπὶ φυ-
λακῇ τῶν Ζαριάσπων ὑπολειμμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ
τῶν παίδων τινὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐκβοηθοῦσιν

7 ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας. Καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ
προσβολῇ οὐδὲν ὑποτοπῆσασι τοῖς Σκύθαις
ἐπιπεσόντες τὴν τε λείαν ξύμπασαν ἀφείλοντο
αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀγόντων τὴν λείαν οὐκ ὁλῖγος
ἀπέκτειναν. Ἐπαινόντες δὲ αὐτοὶ ἀτάκτως, ἀτε
οὐδενὸς ἐξηγουμένου, ἐνεδρευθέντες πρὸς Σπε-
ταμένους καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν μὲν ἐταίρων
ἀποβάλλουσιν ἑπτά, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρον ἵππεων
ἐξήκοντα· καὶ Ἄριστονικος ὁ κιθαρφόδος αὐτοῦ
ἀποθνήσκει, οὐ κατὰ κιθαρφόδου ἀνὴρ ἀγάθος
γενόμενος. Πείθων δὲ προθείς ξών λαμβάνεται
πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν.

XVII. Καὶ ταύτα ὡς Κρατέρω ἐξηγγέλθη,
σπουδὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἡλαυνεν. Οῖ δὲ
ὡς ἐπύθουσιν πλησίον ἐπελαύνοντά σφις Κρά-
the garrison with him, they destroyed the soldiers and kept the commandant in custody. They themselves then, after capturing this stronghold, feeling encouraged, approached Zariaspa a few days later, and though they decided not to assault the city, they surrounded and drove off much booty.

In the city of Zariaspa were some of the Companions' cavalry, left there on account of ill-health, and with them Peithon son of Sosicles, set over the general attendance on the King, and Aristonicus the harpist. These learning of the Scythian raid, and being now recovered, and able to bear arms and mount on horseback, assembled the mercenary cavalry up to the number of eighty, who had been left behind to garrison Zariaspa, and some also of the King's squires, and made an attack on the Massagetae. At the first charge, falling on the Scythians when they suspected nothing, they robbed them of their entire plunder, and slew a good number of those who were driving it off. Then, however, when they were retiring in some disorder, with no one in command, Spitamenes and the Scythians caught them in an ambush, where they lost some of the Companions, and sixty of the mercenary cavalry. Aristonicus, too the harpist, perished there, having fought not as a harpist might, but as a good man and true. Peithon was wounded and captured by the Scythians.

XVII. When this was reported to Craterus, he hurried at all speed to the Massagetae, and when they learned that Craterus was approaching them,
τερον, ἔφευγον ἀνά κράτος ὡς ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην. Καὶ Κράτερος ἔχομενος αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνους περιπέπτει οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἄλλοις ἰππεὺσι Μασσαγετῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους. Καὶ μάχη γίγνεται τῶν [τε] Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν Ἐκυθῶν καρτερά· καὶ ἐνίκων οἱ Μακεδόνες. Τῶν δὲ Ἐκυθῶν ἀπέβανον μὲν ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἰππεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐς τὴν ἐρήμην διεσώθησαν, ὅτι ἄποροι ἦν προσωτέρω τοῖς Μακεδόσι διόκειν.

3 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἁλέξανδρος Ἀρτάβαζον μὲν τῆς σατραπείας τῆς Βακτρίας ἀπαλλάττει δεηθέντα διὰ γῆρας, Ἀμύνταν δὲ τὸν Νικόλαιον σατράπην ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ καθίστησι. Κοῖνον δὲ ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδον ἔχουσα καὶ τῶν ἔταφρων ἰππέων ἐς τετρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἰππακολυκτούς πάντας καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μετὰ Ἀμύντου ἐτάχθησαν, προστάξας ἀπασιν ἀκούειν Κοῖνον καὶ διαχειμάζειν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Σογδιανή, τῇ τε χώρᾳ ἕνεκα τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ εἰ πη¹ ἀρα Σπιταμένην περιφερόμενον κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐνεδρεύσαντας ἐυλαβεῖν.

4 Σπιταμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμβατοί αὐτῶν ὡς φρουραὶς τε πάντα κατειλημμένα ἔδραν ἐκ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ σφισίν ἅπορα πάντα τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐγύρνετο, ὡς ἐπὶ Κοῖνον τε καὶ τὴν ξὺν τούτῳ στρατιὰν ἔτραποντο, ὡς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον τι ἀξιόμαχοι ἐσώμενοι. Ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Βαγάς, χωρίον τῆς Σογδιανῆς ὀχυρῶν, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς

¹ Polak adds (εἰ πη) εἰς. Schmieder ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἐυλαβεῖν. Neither seems necessary.
they fled hastily into the desert. Then Craterus pressing upon them fell in with them not far from the desert and with other Massagetaean horsemen, over a thousand in number. A severe battle took place between the Macedonians and the Scythians, and the Macedonians had the better of it. Of the Scythians a hundred and fifty horsemen perished, but the rest easily got away into the desert, since it was impracticable for the Macedonians to pursue further.

Meanwhile Alexander had permitted Artabazus the satrap of Bactria, at his request, on account of old age, to resign his satrapy; and now appointed Amyntas son of Nicolaus in his place. Coenus he left there with his own brigade and Meleager's, and up to four hundred of the Companions' cavalry, all the mounted javelin-men, and of the Bactrians and Sogdianians such as were attached to Amyntas, commanding them all to take their orders from Coenus, and to go into winter quarters there in Sogdiana, partly to keep an eye on this region and partly to try to ambush and capture Spitamenes, should he come raiding in that direction in the winter.

But Spitamenes and his troops finding every place occupied by Macedonian garrisons and no likelihood of escape anywhere for themselves, turned towards Coenus and his troops, thinking that in that direction they would make a better fight of it. Arriving at Bagae, a stronghold of Sogdiana, lying
καὶ τῆς Μασσαγετῶν Σκυθῶν ὁμοιόμονον, ἀναπείθουσιν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῶν Σκυθῶν ἵππεας ἐστὶς ἐκατοσίως συνεμβάλλειν σφών εἰς τὴν Σογδιανὴν. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὗτοι ἀπορίας τε πολλῆς ἔχουσιν καὶ ἁμα ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέλευς εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδραίοι οἰκούσιν, ὡς δειμαύειν ἄν περὶ τῶν φιλτάτων, οὐ χαλεποὶ ἀναπεισθῆναι εἰσίν ἐς ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον πόλεμον. Ὡς δὲ Κοίνος τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ αὐτῶν ἐμαθον προσιότατα τοὺς εἰς Σπιταμένη ἵππεας, ἀπήντων καὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς. Καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὅστε τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους πεσεῖν εἰς τῇ μάχῃ, τῶν δὲ εἰς Κοίνος ἵππεας μὲν ἐς εἶκος καὶ πέντε, πεζοῦς δὲ δώδεκα. Οἱ τε οὗν Σογδιανοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ ὑπολειπόμενου εἰς Σπιταμένη καὶ τῶν Βακτρίων οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπολείπουσιν εἰς τῇ φυγῇ Σπιταμένη καὶ ἀφικόμενοι παρὰ Κοίνον παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Κοίνῳ, τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν ξυμπαραταξαμένων σφίσι Βακτρίων τε καὶ Σογδιανῶν διήρπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς Σπιταμένη ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἐφευρον. Ὡς δὲ ἐξήγγειλτο αὐτοὶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ὀρμῇ ὄν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον ἐλαύνειν, ἀποτεμόντες τοῦ Σπιταμένου τὴν κεφαλήν παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπουσι, ἔς ἀποστρέψοντες ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν τούτω τῷ ἔργῳ.

ΧVIII. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κοίνος τε ἐς Ναύτακα παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπανέρχεται καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κράτερον τε καὶ Φραταφέρην τῶν τῶν Παρθοναϊῶν σατράπην καὶ Στασάνωρ ὁ Ἀρείων, πε-
between the land of Sogdiana and that of the Massagetaean Scythians, they easily induced up to three thousand horsemen of the Scythians to join with them in a raid on Sogdiana. Now these Scythians are in great poverty, and also, since they have no cities and no settled habitations, so that they have no fear for their homes, they are easy to persuade to take part in any war which may offer, and when Coenus and his force learned that the cavalry with Spitamenes was approaching, they with their troops went to meet them. There was a severe battle, in which the Macedonians had the upper hand, so that of the tribesmen’s cavalry over eight hundred fell in the battle, but of Coenus’ troops about twenty-five horsemen and twelve foot-soldiers. So the Sogdianians still left with Spitamenes and the greater number of the Bactrians deserted Spitamenes during the flight and came to Coenus and surrendered themselves to him. The Massagetaean Scythians after this disaster plundered the baggage trains of the Bactrians and Sogdianians who had fought along with them, and themselves with Spitamenes fled to the desert. When they learnt that Alexander was already on the move and marching towards the desert, they cut off Spitamenes’ head and sent it to Alexander, to divert him, by this action, from themselves.

XVIII. Meantime Coenus and Craterus with his men had returned to Alexander at Nautaca, and Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyæa, with his troops, and Stasanor satrap of Areia, after accom-
2 ἐτέτακτο. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, περὶ Ναύτακα ἀναπαύων τὴν στρατιὰν ὅτι περὶ ἀκμαίον ἦν τῶν χειμῶνος, Φραταφέρνην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἐς Μάρδους καὶ Ταπούρους, Αὐτοφραδάτην ἐπανάξοντα τὸν σατράπην, ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη μετάπεμπτος ἐξ Ἀλέξανδρου γεγυμόνευος ὑπερήκουε
3 καλοῦντι. Στασάνορα δὲ ἐς Δράγγας σατράπην ἐκπέμπει, ἐς Μήδους δὲ Ἀτροπάτην ἐπὶ σατραπεία καὶ τούτον τῇ Μήδῳ, ὅτι ὦ Οξοδάτης ἐθελοκακείν αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο. Σταμένην δὲ ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνος στέλλει, ὅτι Μαζαῖος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ὑπάρχος τετελευτηκέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. Σωτολὺν δὲ καὶ Ἐπόκιλλον καὶ Μενίδαν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐκπέμπει, τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ἐκ Μακεδονίας αὐτῷ ἀνάξοντας.
4 ᾗ σὲ τὸ ἵππο ὑποφαίνοντι προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Σογδιανῇ πέτραν, ἐς ἤν πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Σογδιανῶν ἁμπεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο· καὶ ὡς ὦ Οξυνάρτου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Βακτρίου καὶ αἱ παίδες αἱ ὦ Οξυνάρτου ἐς τὴν πέτραν ταύτην ἁμπεφευγέναι ἐλέγοντο, ὄξυνάρτου αὐτὰς ὡς ἐς ἀνάλωτον δήθεν τὸ χωρίον ἑκεῖνο ὑπεκθεμένου, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἑφεισθείη ἀπ' Ἀλέξανδρον. Ταύτης γὰρ ἐξαιρεθείσης οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ὑπολειφθήσεται ἑδόκει τῶν Σογδιανῶν τοῖς
5 νεοτέρεις ἐθέλουσιν. Ὡς δὲ ἐπέλασαν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καταλαμβάνει πάντη ἀπότομον ἐς τὴν προσβολήν, σιτίᾳ τε ξυγκεκομισμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς ὡς χρόνον πολύρκηαν καὶ χιῶν πολλὴ ἐπιπεσόντα τὴν τε πρόσβασιν ἀπορωτεραὶ ἐποίει τοῖς Μακεδοσί καὶ ἀμα ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ

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plishing all that Alexander had commanded them. But Alexander, resting his force at Nautaca, since winter was at its depth, despatched Phrataphernes to the Mardians and Tapurians, to bring back the satrap Autophradates, because he had often hitherto been sent for by Alexander but had not obeyed the summons. Stasanor he sent to the Drangians as satrap, to the Medes Atropates, as satrap of Media, since he had heard that Oxodates had ill-will against himself. Stamenes he sent to Babylon, since Mazaeus the governor of Babylon was reported dead. Sopolis and Epocillus and Menidas he sent to Macedonia, to bring thence to him the army due from Macedonia.

With the first appearance of spring Alexander marched forward towards the Rock of Sogdiana, to which, as he was told, a good many of the Sogdianians had fled for refuge; and the wife of Oxyartes the Bactrian and his daughters were also reported to have taken refuge in this rock, Oxyartes having secretly sent them thither as to a place too strong to be captured; for he himself also had revolted from Alexander. Once this was taken it seemed that nothing would be left any longer for those Sogdianians who wished to rebel. But when they approached the rock, Alexander found it sheer on all sides against attack, and that the tribesmen had stored there provisions for a long siege; and deep snow having fallen made the approach more difficult for the Macedonians,
6 ὑδατὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους διήγεν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς
προσβάλλειν ἔδοκει τῷ χωρίῳ. Καὶ γὰρ τι
καὶ ὑπέροχον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων λεχθὲν ἐς
φιλοτιμίαν ἐξ ὅργῃ ἐμβεβλήκει Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἡ
προκληθέντες γὰρ ἐς ξύμβασιν καὶ προτεινο-
μένου σφίσιν ὅτι σώοις ὑπάρξει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα
ἀπαλλαγῆναι παραδοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ δὲ σὺν
γέλωτι βαρβαρίζοντες πτηνοὺς ἑκέλευεν ὥστε
στρατιώτας Ἀλέξανδρον, σύνες αὐτῶν ἠξαιρή-
σουσι τὸ ὄρος, ὡς τῶν γε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
7 συνεδείμαι ὅρων σφίσιν οὕτων. Ἐνθα δὴ ἐκή-
ρυζέν Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πρῶτῳ ἀναβάντι
δώδεκα τάλαντα εἶναι τὸ γέρας, δευτέρω δὲ ἐπὶ
τούτῳ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτῳ τὰ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς
τελευταίον εἶναι τῷ τελευταίῳ ἀνελθόντι τριακο
σίους δαρειοὺς τὸ γέρας. Καὶ τούτῳ τὸ
κήρυγμα παράξυνεν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς
Μακεδόνας ὀρμημένους.
XIX. Ἐνταξάμενοι δὲ ὅσοι πετροβατεῖν ἐν
ταῖς πολυρκίαις αὐτῶν μεμελετήκεσαν, ἐς τρια-
κοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ πασσάλους μικροὺς
σιδηροὺς, οἷς ἀι σκηναὶ καταπεπήγεσαν αὐτοῖς,
παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς καταπηγώνιαν αὐτοὺς ἔς
τε τὴν χώραν ὅπου πεπηγώνας φανεῖ ἤ καὶ εἴ τοὺ
τι τῆς χώρας ήρημον χιόνον ὑποφαίνετο, καὶ
τούτους καλωδίους ἐκ λίνου ἱσχυροῖς ἐκδήσαντες,
tῆς νυκτὸς προύχορου κατὰ τὸ ἀποτομώτατον
2 τε τῆς πέτρας καὶ ταύτῃ ἀφυλακτότατον. Καὶ
τούτους τοὺς πασσάλους καταπηγώνων τοὺς
μὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὅπου διεφαίνετο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
tῆς χιόνος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα οὐ θρυφθησόμενα,
ἀνείλκον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι ἄλλη τῆς πέτρας.
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while it assured to the tribesmen abundant water. Yet even so Alexander decided to assault the position. For some arrogant insult of the tribesmen had stirred Alexander to angry rivalry. For when summoned to a parley, and receiving the offer that they would be allowed to go safe to their homes if they gave up the position, they with barbaric laughter bade Alexander find winged soldiers to capture the height for him, since they cared for no other kind of men. Then Alexander proclaimed that the first to scale the height should have a first prize of twelve talents, the second, the second prize,¹ the third, the third prize, and the last prize for the last to reach the top was three hundred darics.² Eager as the Macedonians already were, this proclamation incited them even more.

XIX. So then when all those had assembled who had practised rock-climbing in their previous sieges, up to the number of three hundred, and had got ready small iron pegs, with which their tents were pegged down, in order to fix them into the snow, where it appeared frozen fast, and also if any space bare of snow showed up, and had bound these to strong linen ropes, they set out at night to the part of the rock which was most sheer, and so unguarded. These pegs they fixed, some into the ground, where it was visible, and some into the snow, where it seemed least likely to give way, and hauled themselves, one one way and one another, up the face of the cliff.

¹ That is, eleven talents, the third ten, and so on. The first twelve only got prizes.
² Three hundred gold darics made a talent.
Καὶ τούτων ἐς τριάκοντα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει διεφθάρησαν, ὡστε οὔδὲ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς ταφὴν εὐρέθη, ἐμπεσόντα ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη τῆς 3 χιόνος. Οἱ δὲ λυπηλοὶ ἀναβάντες ὑπὸ τὴν ἔω καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους καταλαβόντες συνδόνας κατέσειον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων, οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου παρηγγελμένοι. Πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα ἐμβοήθησα ἐκέλευσε τὰς προφυλάσσουσι τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ διατρίβειν ἐτὶ, ἀλλὰ παραδίδοναι σφᾶς. ἐξευρήθησαν γὰρ ὅτι τοὺς πτηνοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔχεσθαι ὑπὰ αὐτῶν τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἄκρα· καὶ ἀμα ἐδείκνυεν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κορυφῆς στρατιώτας.

4 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ὑψεως καὶ πλείονος τῆς ὑποτοπήσαντες εἶναι τοὺς κατέχοντας τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὀμπλεκόμενοι, ἐνέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς· οὕτω πρὸς τὴν ὁψιν τῶν ὁλίγων ἐκείνων Μακεδόνων φοβεροὶ ἐγένοντο. Ἐνθα δὴ ἄλλως τὸ πολλῶν γυναικῶς καὶ παιδές ἑλήφθησαν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ὁξυάρτου 5 καὶ οἱ παῖδες. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ Ὁξυάρτου παῖς παρθένος ἐν ὁρῷ γάμῳ, Ὁραίαν ὀνόματι, ἦν δὴ καλλίστην τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν λέγουσιν ὁφθήναι οἱ ἔνιοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες μετά γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναίκα. Καὶ ταύτῃν ἠδόνα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς ἔρωτα ἔθεεὼν αὐτῆς· ἔρασθεντά δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι ὑβρίζει καθάπερ αἰχμαλώτων, 6 ἀλλὰ γῆμαι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπαξιώσαι. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐγὼ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ ἔργον ἐπανω ἑπάλλον τῷ ἦ μέμβομαι. Καίτοιγε τῆς Δαρείου γυναικός, ἡ καλλίστῃ δὴ ἐλέγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν, ἡ οὐκ ἔλθεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ἡ καρτερὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ 402
Some thirty of them perished in the ascent, and their bodies were not even found for burial, having fallen in different places into the snow. The rest, however, reached the top about dawn, and seized the summit of the crag, and waved linen flags to the Macedonian camp, as Alexander had commanded them. Then Alexander sending a herald bade him shout to the advance guard of the tribesmen, bidding them delay no further but give themselves up forthwith; for he had found sure enough the winged men and the summit of their rock was already in their hands; and with that he pointed to the soldiers on the top.

The tribesmen were astounded at this miraculous sight, and suspecting that those who held the summit were more numerous than in reality, and fully armed, surrendered; so terrified were they at the sight of those few Macedonians. Wives and children of many of them were captured there, and also among these the wife and daughters of Oxyartes. Now there was a marriageable daughter of Oxyartes called Roxane,¹ and those who served with Alexander said that she was the loveliest woman in Asia next to Dareius' wife; Alexander when he saw her fell in love with her, but captive though she was, and deep in love as he was, he would not offer any violence to her, but deigned to marry her. This in Alexander I approve rather than blame. Yet for Dareius' wife, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia, either he felt no love, or mastered himself, young though he

¹ The pronunciation is Róxanē.
ARRIAN

ἐγένετο, νέος τε ἀν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς εὐνυχίας, ὅποτε ύβρίζουσιν οἱ ἀνθρωποί· τὸ δὲ κατηδέσθη τε καὶ ἐφείσατο, σωφροσύνη τε πολλῆ διαχρώμενος καὶ δόξης ἀμα ἀγάθης οὐκ ἀτόπῳ ἐφέσει.

XX. Καὶ τούτων καὶ λόγως κατέχει, ὀλίγων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἡ πρὸς Ἰσσὸῦ Δαρείῳ τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυνέβη, ἀποδράντα ἑλθείν παρὰ Δαρείου τὸν εὐνοῦχον τὸν φύλακα αὐτῷ τῆς γυναικός. Καὶ τούτων ὡς εἶδε Δαρείος, πρῶτα μὲν πυθέσαται εἰ ζῶσιν αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ἡ 2 γυνὴ τε καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. 'Ὡς δὲ ζώσας τε ἐπύθετο καὶ βασίλισσαι ὧτι καλοῦνται καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ὧτι ἀμφ' αὐτάς ἐστιν ἡντια καὶ ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἑθεραπεύοντο, ἐπὶ τῶδε αὐτῷ πυθέσαται εἰ σωφρονεῖ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ ἐτι. 'Ὡς δὲ σωφρονοῦσαν ἐπύθετο, αὖθις ἐρέσαται μήτη βίαιον ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὐτῇ ἐς ύβριν ξυνέβη καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐπομόσαντα φάναι ὧτι. 'Ὡ βασίλευ, οὐτω τοι ὡς ἀπέλιπες ἐχει ἡ σῃ γυνη, καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀνδρῶν ἀριστός 3 τε ἐστι καὶ σωφρονεστάτος. Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀνατεῖνα Δαρείου ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χειρὰς καὶ εὐξάσαται ὄρω. 'Ἀλλ', ὁ Ζεὺς βασίλευ, ὡς ἐπετράπται νέμειν τὰ βασιλέων πράγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, σὺ νῦν μάλιστα μὲν ἔμοι φύλαξον Περσῶν τε καὶ Μῆδων τὴν ἄρχην, ὡστερ σὸν καὶ ἐδώκας· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐγώ οὐκέτι σοι βασιλείᾳ τῆς 'Ασίας, σὺ δὲ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὡτι μὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραδόναι τὸ ἐμὸν κράτος. Οὕτως οὖν δὲ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρα ἀμελεῖται ὡσα σώφρονα ἔργα.

4 Ὁξυάρτης δὲ ἀκούσας τὰς παίδας ἐχομένας, ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ὀρχάνης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὦτι
was and in the very flush of his prosperity—a period when men act violently; but he pitied and spared her, both showing much restraint and also a proper ambition for good repute.

XX. There is indeed also a story that soon after the battle of Issus between Dareius and Alexander, there escaped the chamberlain who had charge of Dareius' wife and fled to Dareius. When then Dareius saw him, he first asked if his children and his wife and mother were alive. When he learnt that they were, and that they had the title of Princesses, and that the court paid to them was the same as when he was on the throne, Dareius next asked if his wife still remained true to him. Learning that she was, he enquired again whether any violence or insult had been offered to her by Alexander. The chamberlain with an oath replied, "O King, your wife is as you left her, and Alexander is the noblest and most self-controlled of men." At this, Dareius stretched his hands to the heavens and prayed thus: "O Zeus the King, to whom it has been given to order the affairs of Kings among men, do thou guard safe for me, if so it may be, the sovereignty of Persians and Medes, as thou didst give it me; but if I be no longer King of Asia, do thou give my power to none but to Alexander. So much does he care for honourable conduct even towards enemies."

Now Oxyartes when he learnt that his daughters were captives, and also that Alexander cared for his
μέλει αὐτῆς Ἀλέξανδρῳ, θαρσήσας ἀφίκετο παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἦν ἐν τιμῇ παρ’ αὐτῷ, ἵπτερ εἰκός ἐπὶ εὐνυχία τοιαύτη.

XXI. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ὡς τὰ ἐν Σογδιανοῖς αὐτὸ διεστρακοῦσα, ἐχομένης ἡδὴ καὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐς Παρειτάκας¹ προσκόμησε, ὅτι καὶ ἐν Παρειτάκαις χωρίοις τι χυροί, ἄλλης πέτρας, κατέχειν ἐλέγοντο πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ αὐτὴ Χορήνῃ ἡ πέτρα· καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν αὐτὸς τε ὁ Χορήνης εὐμπεφηύγει καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ύπάρχων 2 οὐκ ὄλγοι. Ὅτι δὲ τὸ μὲν υψὸς τῆς πέτρας ἐς σταδίους εἰκοσὶ, κύκλος δὲ ἐς εξήκοντα· αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπότομος πάντοθεν, ἄνωθεν δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν μία καὶ αὐτὴ στενὴ· καὶ οὐκ εὐπορος, οἷα δὴ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ χωρίου πεποιημένην, ὡς χαλεπὴ εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς εἰργούστος καὶ καθ’ ἔναν ἀνελθεῖν. Φάραγξ δὲ κύκλῳ περιείρηγε τὴν πέτραν βαθεία, ὥστε ὅστις προσάζειν στρατιάν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐμὲλλε, πολὺ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ τὴν φάραγγα εἶναι χωστέον, ὡς ἐξ ὁμαλῶς ὀρμᾶσθαι προσάγοντα ἐς προσβολὴν τῶν στρατῶν.

3 Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσ’ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠπτετο τοῦ ἔργου· οὕτω πάντα ὅτε τὸ χρήμα βατά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἔξοχος τε εἶναι, ἐς τοσὸν δὴ τόλμης τε καὶ εὐνυχίας προκεχωρῆκε. Τέμνων δὴ τὰς ἐλάτας (πολλὰς γὰρ καὶ ὑπερύψηλοι ἐλάται ἵσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὄρων) κλίμακας ἐκ τοῦτον ἐποίει, ὡς κάθοδον εἶναι ἐς τὴν φάραγγα τῇ στρατιᾷ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως κατελθεῖν ἐς αὐτὴν. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἠμέρας αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφεισταῖκε τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸ ἦμισυ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἐργαζόμενον· τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐν

¹ Παρειτάκαι Α. Not the same as Παρειτάκαι IV. 22. 1.
daughter Roxane, took courage and came to Alexander and was held in honour by him, as was meet, after this happy event.

XXI. After completing his work in Sogdiana, and being now in possession of the rock, Alexander advanced to the Pareitaceae, since many of the tribesmen were reported to be holding a strong place in the country of the Pareitaceae, another rock, called the Rock of Chorienes; and Chorienes himself and many others of the authorities of the country had taken refuge there. The height of this rock was about twenty stades, its circuit, some sixty; it was sheer on all sides, and there was only one way up to it, and this narrow and difficult, made as it was despite the nature of the ground, so that it was difficult, even if no one prevented, to ascend even in single file. A deep ravine also protects the rock all round, so that anyone desiring to bring up an army against the rock would be obliged beforehand to do much filling up of the ravine, so that he might start from level ground when bringing up his force to the assault.

Undeterred, however, Alexander took the work in hand; so confident was he that everything should be accessible to him, and that everything could be captured; and to such a height of boldness and success had he reached. Felling the pines, therefore (there were many tall pines all round about the hill), he made ladders of them, so that the army might be able to descend into the ravine, for there was no other means of descent. During the days Alexander himself superintended the operations, keeping half his army at work; during the nights his bodyguards worked
μέρει οἱ σωματοφύλακες αὐτῷ εἰργάζοντο Περ-
δίκκας τε καὶ Δεοννάτος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγου
τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τῆς στρατιάς, τριχῆ διανενεμημένω
ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἐσ τὴν νύκτα ἐπετέκτακτο. Ἡνυτὸν δὲ
tῆς ἡμέρας οὐ πλέον ἦπερ εἰκοσὶ πῆχεις καὶ τῆς
νυκτὸς ὁλόγον ἀποδέον, καίτοι ἐξεμπάγης τῆς
στρατιάς ἐφαρμομένης· οὕτω τὸ τε χιωρίου ἄπορον
5 ἦν καὶ τὸ ἑργον ἐν αὐτῷ χαλεπόν. Κατιόντες
δ’ ἐσ τὴν φάραγγα πασσάλους κατεπήγνυν ὡς
tὸ ὀξύτατον τῆς φάραγγος, διέχοντας ἀλλήλων
ὁσον ξύμμετρον πρὸς ἵσχύν τε καὶ ξυνοχήν τῶν
ἐπιβαλλομένων. Ἐπέβαλλον δὲ πλέγματα ἐκ
λύγων εἰς γεφύρας μάλιστα ἱδέαν, καὶ ταῦτα
ξυνδοῦντες χοῦν ἀνωθὲν ἐπεφόρουν, ὡς εἷς ὀμαλὸν
γίγνεσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς τὴν
πέτραν.

6 Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κατεφρόνουν
ὡς ἀπόρον πάντη τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος· ὡς δὲ τοξεύ-
ματα ἤδη ἐσ τὴν πέτραν ἐξικνοῦντο καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἀδύνατο ἦσαν ἀνωθὲν ἐξελοῦσιν τοὺς Μακεδόνας
(πεποίητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς προκαλύμματα πρὸς τὰ
βέλη, ὡς ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς ἀβλαβῶς ἐργάζεσθαι),
ἐκπλαγεῖς ὁ Χοριήνης πρὸς τὰ γυνόμενα κήρυκα
πέμπει πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, δεόμενος 'Οξυάρτην οἱ
ἀναπέμψαι· καὶ πέμπει 'Οξυάρτην Ἀλέξανδρος.
7 Ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πείθει Χοριήνην ἐπιτρέψαι Ἀλέξ-
άνδρῳ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ χιωρίον. Βίας μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν
ὁ τι οὐχ ἁλωτὸν εἶναι Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ
τῇ ἑκείνῳ· ἐς πίστιν δὲ ἐλθόντος καὶ φιλιάν, τὴν
πίστιν τε καὶ δικαιότητα μεγαλωστὶ ἔπηνει τοῦ
in relays, Perdicas and Leonnatus and Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with the rest of the army, divided into three sections, as Alexander had commanded, for the night work. By day-time they could not accomplish a distance of more than twenty cubits, at night rather less, even though all the army was at work; so difficult was the ground, and so hard the work there. First descending into the ravine they fixed stakes into the narrowest part of the ravine; the stakes being just as far apart from one another as was proper to give the necessary strength and to bear safely the load piled upon them. They then fixed upon the stakes hurdles of willow and osiers in bridge fashion; then binding these closely together they heaped earth upon them, so that the approach for the troops to the rock might be on the level.\(^1\)

At first the tribesmen laughed at these attempts as if quite hopeless; but when at length arrows began to find the range of the rock and they proved unable from above to dislodge the Macedonians who had made screens against the missiles, so that they worked beneath them unharmed, Chorienes was aghast at the achievement and sent a herald to Alexander begging him to send Oxyartes to him; and Alexander did so. And when Oxyartes came he tried to persuade Chorienes to surrender himself and his stronghold to Alexander. For nothing, he said, could not be taken by force by Alexander and his army; if, however, Chorienes should make terms of good faith and friendship with Alexander, he was able to commend highly the good faith and justice of the

\(^1\) See Appendix.
ARrian

8 ἐσ βεβαιώσων τοῦ λόγου προφέρων. Τούτους πεισθείς ὁ Χορήγης αὐτός τε ἦκε παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τινῶν καὶ ἐταῖρων αὐτοῦ. Ἐλθόντι δὲ Χορήγη φιλάνθρωπα τε ἀποκριμάμενος καὶ πίστιν ἐς φίλιαν δοὺς αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχει, πέμψας δὲ κελεύει τῶν συγκατελθόντων τινῶν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν πέτραν τοὺς κελεύσοντας ἐνδούναι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ἐνδίδοται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπεφευγότων, δόστε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους ἀνέβη κατὰ θέαι τῆς πέτρας, καὶ τοσούτου ἐδέστη ἀνεπιείκεστιν τι ἐς τὸν Χορήγην ἐχρόνον ἀποδείξασθαι, δόστε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ἔκεινο ἐπιτρέπει Χορήγη καὶ ὑπαρχον εἶναι ὅσωντερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἔδωκε.

9 Ἐνεβή δὲ χειμώνι τε κακοπαθήσαι αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιῶν, πολλῆς χόλον ἐπιπεσοῦσις ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ ἀμα ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιέσθησαν. Ἀλλὰ Χορήγης ἐς δύμην οὐτί τῇ ἐπιθέτῳ ἐδώκεσιν σὺτά ἐφ θόσσων τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἔδωκε σύτοι τε καὶ οἰνόν τῶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ ἀποθέτων κρέα τῇ ταρχήρᾳ κατὰ σκηνήν. Καὶ ταῦτα δοῦν οὐκ ἔφασκεν ἀναλώσαι τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδὲ τὴν δεκάτην μοῦραν. Ἐνθεν ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς τήν πέτραν. Ἐνθεν ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς τήν πέτραν. Ἐνθεν ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς τήν πέτραν.

10 Ἐνθεν ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς τήν πέτραν. Ἐνθεν ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς τήν πέτραν. Ἐνθεν ἐν τῷ μᾶλλον τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ὡς οὐ πρὸς βίαν μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς τήν πέτραν. ΧΧ. Ταῦτα δὲ καταπραξάμενος Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Βάκτρα ἦν. Κράτερον δὲ τῶν ἐπιπέδων ἐταίρων ἐχοῦν ἐξακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν την τε αὐτοῦ τάξιν καὶ τὴν Πολυσπέρχοντος καὶ Ἀττάλου καὶ τὴν Ἀλκέτα ἐπὶ Κατάνην τε καὶ Αὐστάνην ἐκπέμπει, οὐ δὲ μόνοι 410
King, giving many examples, but chiefly adducing his own treatment in proof of his argument. Chorienes was overborne by these arguments, and himself came to Alexander with some of his kinsfolk and friends. And when Chorienes arrived Alexander replied to him courteously and gave him assurance of his friendship, retaining Chorienes himself, but bidding him send some of those who came down with him to the rock, to order the stronghold to be given up. And given up it was by the refugees, so that Alexander himself actually took five hundred of the bodyguard and ascended to see the rock; and so far from showing any unkindness to Chorienes, he actually entrusted the stronghold to him and made him governor of the district he had previously administered.

The army, as it happened, had suffered much in the winter, a great deal of snow having fallen during the siege; and also they were distressed by want of provisions. But Chorienes said he would give two months’ supplies for the army, and gave them corn and wine from the stores in the rock, and distributed dried meat among the tents. Even after all these gifts he said he had not expended a tithe of what they had prepared for the siege. Alexander therefore regarded him with the greater respect, since he had given up the stronghold not so much perforce as from good-will.

XXII. After this achievement Alexander himself marched towards Bactria; but he sent Craterus, with six hundred of the Companions’ cavalry and of the infantry his own brigade, that of Polysperchon and Attalus, and that of Alcetas, against Catanes and Austanés, who alone were left of those who had
ἐπὶ υπελείποντο ἐν τῇ Παρειτακηνῶν χώρᾳ
2 ἀφεστηκότες. Καὶ μάχης γενομένης πρὸς αὐτοῦς
καρτερᾶς, νικῶσιν οἱ ἅμφι Κράτερον τῇ μάχῃ,
καὶ Κατάνης μὲν ἀποθνήσκει αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος,
Αὐστάνης δὲ ἐνελημφαίης ἀνήχθη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον
τῶν δὲ ἐξὶν αὐτοῖς βαρβάρων ἱππεῖς
μὲν ἀπέθανον ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσί, πεζοὶ δὲ ἅμφι
τοὺς χιλίους πεντακοσίους. Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐπράχθη
τοῖς ἅμφι Κράτερον, καὶ οὕτως ἐσ Βάκτρα ἡσαν.
Καὶ ἐν Βάκτρων τὸ ἅμφι Καλλισθένη τε καὶ
τοὺς πάιδας πάθημα Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐξεπλήθη.
3 Ἔκ Βάκτρων δὲ ἐξήκοντος ἦδη τοῦ ἠρος
ἀναλαβῶν τὴν στρατιὰν προὔχωρει ὡς ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς, Ἀμύνταν ἀπολιπόν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν
Βακτρίων καὶ ἔξιν αὐτῶ ἱππέας μὲν τρισχίλιοις
4 καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ μυρίους. Ἡ στρατιά
βαλὼν δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ἐν δέκα ἡμέραις ἀφίκετο
ἐς Ἀλέξανδρειαν πόλιν, τὴν κτισθείσαν ἐν Παρα-
παμισάδαις ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βάκτρων ἐστέλ-
λετο. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ὑπαρχον, ὡς ώς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ
τῆς πόλεως τότε ἐτάχθη, παραλύει τῆς ἄρχης,
5 ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγείσαθαι ἔδοξε. Προσκατοικίσας
δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν περιοίκων τε καὶ ὅσοι τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀλέξανδρειαν,
Νίκανορα μὲν, ἕνα τῶν ἑταῖρων, τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν
κοσμεῖν ἐκέλευσε: σατράπην δὲ Τυριάστην κατε-
στήσετο τῆς τε χώρας τῆς Παραπαμισάδων καὶ
tῆς ἄλλης ἐστε ἐπὶ τῶν Κωφήνα ποταμῶν.
6 Ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὡς Νικαιαν πόλιν καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ
θύσας προὔχωρει ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Κωφήνα, προσεύμπας
κήρυκα ὥς Ταξιλῆν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, κελεύσας ἀπαντᾶν ὅπως ἂν
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ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, IV. 22. 1-6

rebelled in the territory of the Pareitacae. There was a severe battle fought against them; but Craterus' troops won the day; Catanas perished on the field, but Austanes was captured and taken before Alexander; of the tribesmen who fought under him, up to a hundred and twenty perished, and of infantry about fifteen hundred. And when Craterus' force had accomplished this, they too marched towards Bactria, where it was that the plot of Callisthenes and the squires against Alexander took place.

From Bactria, now that spring was ending, Alexander took his force and marched towards India, leaving Amyntas behind in Bactria and with him three thousand and five hundred cavalry and ten thousand infantry. Crossing the Caucasus,1 in ten days he arrived at the city of Alexandria, which he had founded in the district of the Parapamisadae during his first expedition into Bactria. The governor whom he had set over the city then, he now dismissed from his office, as he appeared to have proved an inefficient ruler. He then settled in Alexandria more settlers from the neighbourhood and of the troops also such as were past fighting, and ordered Nicanor, one of the Companions, to take charge of the city itself; and as satrap he appointed Turiaspes, both of the country of the Parapamisadae and of the rest as far as to the river Copben. Then reaching Nicaea and after sacrificing to Athena he advanced towards the Cophen, sending a herald in advance to Taxiles and the Indians this side of the river Indus; bidding them meet him, each at their earliest con-

1 As before, the Hindu-Koosh; also called the Parapamisus.
ἐκάστοις προχωρη. Καὶ Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπάρχοι ἀπήντων, δώρα τὰ μέγιστα παρ’ Ἰνδοὺς νομιζόμενα κομίζοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δῶσειν ἔφασκον τοὺς παρὰ σφίσων ὄντας, ἀριθμὸν ἐς πέντε καὶ ἐκόσιν.

7 Ἐνθὰ δὴ διελὼν τὴν στρατιάν Ἦφαιστίωνα μὲν καὶ Περδίκκαν ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὴν Πευκελαώτων χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἔχοντας τὴν τε Γοργίου τάξιν καὶ Κλείτου καὶ Μελεάγρου καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἵππεων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἵππεας ξυμπαντας, προστάξας τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ὄδον χωρία ἡ βια ἐξαιρεῖν ἡ ὁμολογία παρίστασθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἀφικομένους παρασκεύαζεν ὡς ἐς τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξύμφορα. Σὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ταξίλης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπάρχοι στέλλονται. Καὶ οὕτως ὁ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ἔπρασσεν ὡς ἐξ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢν τεταγμένα.

8 Ἀστῆς δὲ ὁ τῆς Πευκελαώτιδος χώρας ὑπάρχος νεωτερίσας αὐτὸς τε ἀπὸλλυταί καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰρροσαπώλεσεν ἐς ἡμίσινα ξυμπεφεύγει. Ἐξείλον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις προσκαθήμενοι οἱ ξών Ἦφαιστιώνα. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀστῆς ἀποθνήσκει, τῆς πόλεως δὲ ἐτάχθη ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Σαγγαῖος, δέ ἐτι πρόσθεν πεφευγώς Ἀστῆν παρὰ Ταξίλην ἡμιτομολήκει· καὶ τούτῳ ἢν αὐτῷ τὸ πιστὸν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

XXIII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ, ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστας καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἕππεων ὡςοι μὴ σὺν Ἦφαιστίωι ἐτετάχατο καὶ τῶν πεξεταίρων καὶ καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας.

1 ἀσβεσταίρων Α. See II. 23. 2, V. 22. 6.
venience; Taxiles and the others did come to meet him, bringing such gifts as the Indians most prize, and they promised to give Alexander the elephants they had with them, five-and-twenty in number.

Here he divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdiccas to the territory of Peucelaotis towards the river Indus, with the brigade of Gorgias and of Cleitus and of Meleager and half of the Companions' cavalry and all the mercenary cavalry; bidding them either to take by storm, or to receive in surrender, all towns on their march; then, when they had reached the Indus, to get everything ready for the crossing of the river. Taxiles and the other authorities were sent with them. They duly arrived at the river Indus and carried out Alexander's commands. But Astes the governor of the district Peucelaotis attempted revolt, and was himself put to death, while he involved in his fate the city also to which he had fled for refuge. For Hephaestion and his troops besieged it for thirty days and captured it. Astes himself having been put to death, Sangaeus was appointed to govern the city; he had previously escaped from Astes and had gone over to Taxiles; this guaranteed his good faith with Alexander.

XXIII. But Alexander, taking the bodyguard and such of the Companions' cavalry as had not been detailed with Hephaestion and the brigades of the Companions' infantry, as it is called, with the archers,
καὶ τοὺς ἵππακοντιστάς, προὐχώρει ἐς τὴν Ἄσπασίον τε καὶ Γουραίων χώραν καὶ Ἄσσα-

2 κηνῶν. Πορευθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Χόνη καλοῦ-
μενον ποταμὸν ὁρεινὴν τε ὀδὸν καὶ τραχεῖαν, καὶ τοῦτον διαβάσας χαλεπῶς, τὸ μὲν πεζῶν πλῆθος βάδην ἐπεσθαί οἱ ἐκέλευσεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἄναλαβὼν τοὺς ἵππεας ἔμπαντας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς ὀκτακοσίους ἐπιβιβάζας τῶν ἱππῶν ξὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς πεζικαῖς σπουδὴ ἤγεν, ὅτι τοὺς ταύτην οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους ξυμπεφευγέναι ἐς τὰ τὰ ὅρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐξηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ὄχυραι

3 αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ἀπομάγεσθαι. Καὶ τούτων τῷ πρώτῃ καθ' ὀδὸν πόλει φικισμένη προσβαλῶν τοὺς μὲν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τεταγμένους ὡς εἰχεν ἐς ἐφόδου ἐτρέψατο καὶ κατέκλεισεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τιτρώσκεται βέλει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸν ὦμον. Τὸ δὲ τραύμα οὐ χαλεπῶν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ θώραξ ἐσχε τὸ μῆ οὐ διαμπάξ διὰ τοῦ ὦμου ἐλθεῖν τὸ βέλος· καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγου ἐτρώθη καὶ Δεοννάτος.

4 Τότε μὲν δὴ ἦνα ἐπιμαχότατον τοῦ τεῖχους ἐφαίνετο ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο πρὸς τῇ πόλει· τῇ δὲ υἱστεραία ὑπὸ τὴν ὅσια ἄνευ ὑποδοῦν γὰρ τεῖχος περιβέβλητο τῇ πόλει, ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἀτε οὐκ ἀκριβῶς τετειχισμένον, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβιά-

σαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες· πρὸς δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ ὀλίγων ἄντισχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ὡς αἱ τε κλίμακες προσέκειντο ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βέλων πάντοθεν ἐτιτρώσκοντο οἱ προμαχόμενοι, οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρη ἐκπίπτοντοι εἰκ

5 τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ
the Agrianes, and the mounted javelin-men, advanced to the district of the Aspasians, Guraeans and Assacenians. Marching along the river Choes by a mountainous and rough route, and crossing the river with some difficulty, he bade the infantry force to follow him at normal pace; but himself taking all the cavalry and up to eight hundred of the Macedonian foot-soldiers, whom he mounted, with their infantry shields, marched at full speed, having learnt that the tribesmen in this direction had fled for refuge to the hills of the district and to the cities which were strong for the purpose of defence. The first of these cities which lay on his route he assaulted, and without any special effort drove back the advance guards of the city, and shut them up in the city; but he himself received a wound by an arrow through his breastplate in his shoulder. The wound, however, was not a serious one, for the breastplate prevented the dart passing through his shoulder; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus also was wounded, and Leonnatus.

On this Alexander placed his camp by the city where the wall appeared easiest to assault; and next day about dawn, there being a double wall about the city, the Macedonians easily forced their way through the first, as it had not been carefully built; but at the second wall the tribesmen made a short stand, and yet when the laddersmen were now put up and the advance posts were being wounded on this side and on that by the missiles, they did not stand their ground, but dashed out of the city by the gates in the direction of the hills. Of them some perished in
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ἀποθεύσκονις ὅσος δὲ ζῶντας ἐλαβὼν αὐρών, εὑμπαντας ἀποκτείνουσιν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ὅτι ἐτρώθη ὡπ' αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὄργιξόμενοι. οἱ πόλεοι δὲ ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ὅτι οὐ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως τὰ ὄρη ἦν, ἀπέφυγον. Τὴν πόλιν δὲ κατασκάψας ἐς Ἀνδακα ἄλλην πόλιν ἦγε. Ταύτῃ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδοθείσαι κατασχὼν Κράτερον μὲν ξυν τοὺς ἅλλους ῥήματι τῶν πεζῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ ἔξαιρειν ὡςα ἄν ἄλλα πόλεις μὴ ἐκούσαν προσχωρῶσι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὅπως ἐμφόρωσαν ἐς τὰ παρόντα κοσμεῖν.

XXIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ, ἄγων τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τε καὶ Ἀττάλου τάξιν καὶ τῶν ἵππων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τῶν ἅλλων ἑταῖρων ἐς τέσσερας μάλιστα ἱππαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἱπποτοξότων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν Ἕλλασπλανος προύχορει, ἵνα ὁ τῶν Ἀσπασίων ἱππαρχὸς ἦν καὶ διελθὼν πολλὴν ὅδον δευτεραῖος ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.

2 Οἱ δὲ βαρβαροὶ προσάγοντα αἰσθόμενοι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμπρήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἐφευγον πρὸς τὰ ὄρη. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον εὐχόντο τῶν φευγόντων ἐστε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ φῶνος πολὺς γίγνεται τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας φθάσαι ἀπελθόντας.

3 Τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα αὐτοῦ τῶν ταύτης Ἰνδῶν Πτολεμαίος ὁ Δάγου πρὸς τιν ὢδὴ γηλόφῳ ὁντα κατιδὼν καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐστεν ὁδὸς ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ξυν πολὺ ἐλάττωσιν αὐτὸς ὃν ὢμος ἐδίωκεν ἐτὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱπποῦ. ὡς δὲ χαλεπὸς ό γῆς ἱππὸς τῷ ἱππῷ ἀναδραμεῖν ἦν, τούτον μὲν αὐτοῦ κατα-

1 A ἐδασπόλεως.
the escape; and the Macedonians slew all they captured alive, angry that Alexander had been wounded by them; the greater number, however, escaped to the hills, which were not far from the city. Alexander, razing the city to the ground, went on to another city, Andaca. This he received in surrender, and left Craterus with the other infantry officers to destroy such other cities as should not surrender of their free-will, and to put everything in order in this district as was most expedient for the present.

XXIV. Alexander himself then took the body-guard, archers, and Agrianes, with Coenus’ and Attalus’ brigade, and the guards’ cavalry squadron and some four regiments of the other Companions and half the mounted archers, and advanced towards the river Euaspla, where was the governor of the Aspasians; and passing through a considerable stretch of territory in two days he arrived at the city. When the tribesmen, however, learnt of Alexander’s approach, they fled to the mountains. But Alexander’s troops followed close on the fugitives up to the mountains, and there was a great slaughter of the tribesmen, until they managed to escape into the more difficult country.

The actual leader of the Indians of this district Ptolemaeus son of Lagus saw already close to a hill, and some of his bodyguardsmen near him, though he himself had a much inferior force with him, yet continued to pursue him on horseback; but when the hill proved difficult for his horse to ascend he left it there,
λείπει, παραδούσι τιν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἄγειν. 4 αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς εἴχε πεζὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ ἐπέτει. 'Ὁ δὲ ὡς πελάξαντα ἦδη κατεῖδε τὸν Πτολεμαίον, αὐτὸς τε μεταβάλλει ἐσ τοῦμπαλιν καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταί έξιν αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διὰ τοῦ θώρακος παίει ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς τὸ στήθος ἄστικος μακρόθεν τῇ πληγήν. Πτολεμαίος δὲ τὸν μηρὸν διαμπαξίμαλὼν τῷ Ἰνδῷ καταβάλλει τε καὶ σκυλεύει 5 αὐτῶν. Ὡς δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφόν κείμενον οἱ ἄμφω ἀντῶν εἴδον, οὐτοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐμενοῦν οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν αἱρόμενον τῶν νεκρῶν τοῦ ὑπάρχου ἱδόντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἦλθαν τε καὶ καταδραμόντες ξυνάπτουσιν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν μάχην καρτερὰν πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ. Ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππῶν καταβηθηκότας πεζοὺς πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ ἦν. Καὶ οὐτοὶ ἔπιγενόμενοι μόνος ἐξέσωσαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐσ τὰ ὀργανον καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐκράτησαν.

6 Ὅπερ Πτερβαλῶν δὲ τὰ ὄρη Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς πόλιν κατήλθεν ἢ ὅνομα ἢν Ἰρυγαίον καὶ ταύτην καταλαμβάνει ἐμπεπροσμενὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐννοικοῦντων καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πεπεφυγότας. Ἔνταῦθα δὲ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῶ καὶ οἱ ἄμφω Κράτερον ἢν τῇ στρατίᾳ, πεπραγμένων σφίσι ξυμπάντων 7 ὅσα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτέτακτο. Ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν ἐπικάρφῳ χωρίῳ ἐδόκει φιλίσθαι, ἐκτείνοντα τε προστάσσει Κρατέρος καὶ ἐναφθείσαι ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς τε προσχώρουσι ὅσοι ἐθελοῦνται καὶ εἰ δὴ τινὲς ἀπόμαχοι τῆς στρατιᾶς. Αὐτὸς δὲ προὐχώρει ὡς ἄναιμος ἐπιθεάμετο τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων. Ἐλθὼν 420
ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER, IV. 24. 3-7

handing it to one of the guards to lead; but he himself, on foot as he was, followed hard upon the Indian. He then, seeing Ptolemaeus drawing near, himself turned round to bay, and his guards with him; and the Indian with his long spear struck at close quarters through Ptolemaeus' corselet to his breast, the corselet checking the blow; but Ptolemaeus smote right through the Indian's thigh, drove him to the ground, and despoiled him. His followers, seeing their leader lying there, no longer remained, but others from the hills seeing the enemy carrying off their governor's body, were bitterly grieved, and rushing down joined in a severe battle with them near the hill. Now Alexander, with his cavalrmen dismounted, was already near the hill. They coming to join the fray only with difficulty drove back the Indians to the mountains, and got possession of the body.

Crossing the mountains Alexander descended at a city called Arigaeus, and captured it after it had been set on fire by its inhabitants, but found the inhabitants themselves had fled. Here there met him Craterus and his men with the army, after carrying through successfully all that Alexander had commanded them. This city indeed, since it seemed to lie in a convenient position, he bade Craterus to strengthen with a wall, and settle therein the neighbouring tribesmen, as many as volunteered, and any of the army who were past fighting. He himself, however, advanced to where he had learnt that the greater part of the tribesmen of this district had
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dὲ πρὸς τε ὃρος, κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ὑπὸ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ ὄρους.
8 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Πτολεμαῖος ὃ Δάγου ἐκπεμβαίνεις μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς προνομὴν, προελθὼν δὲ προσωτέρω αὐτὸς ἔχειν ὦλγους ώς ἐσ κατασκοπὴν, ἀπαγγέλλει Ἀλέξανδρφ πυρὰ κατιδέεν τῶν βαρβάρων πλεύνα ἴ ἐν τῷ Ἀλέξανδρου στρατο-πέδῳ. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ μὲν πλήθει τῶν πυρῶν ἡπίστησεν· εἶναι δὲ τι εὐνέστηκος τῶν ταύτη βαρβάρων αἰσθήμενος, μέρος μὲν τῆς στρατιάς αὐτοῦ καταλείπει πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ὃς εἶχον ἐστρατοπεδευμένους· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ὅσοι ἀποχρώντες ἐς τὰ ἀπηγγελμένα ἔφαινοντο, ὡς πλησίον ἢ ἄφεωρων τὰ πυρά, τριχῆ δια-νέμει τὴν στρατιάν. Καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ ἐπέταξε Λεοννάτον τῶν σωματοφύλακα, ξυντάξας αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀττάλου καὶ τὴν Βαλάκρου τάξιν τὴν δευτέραν δὲ μοίραν Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Δάγου ἄγειν ἔδωκε, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν τὸ τρίτον μέρος καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ Φιλώτα τάξιν καὶ δύο χιλιαρχίας τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριά-νας καὶ τῶν ἰππέων τῶν ἡμίσεως· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοίραν αὐτὸς ἔγει ἵνα οἱ πλείστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἔφαινοντο.

XXV. Οἱ δὲ ὃς ἠσθοῦντο προσάγοντας τοὺς Μακεδόνας, κατείχον γὰρ χωρία ὑπερδέξια, τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν βαρσήσαντες καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὃτι ὦλγον ἔφαινοντο, καταφρονήσαντες, ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑποκατέβησαν καὶ μάχῃ γίγνεται καρ-τερά. 'Αλλὰ τούτοις μὲν οὐ ἔχον πόνῳ ἐνίκα
2 Ἀλέξανδρος· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαίον οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῷ παρετάξαντο, ἀλλὰ γῆλοφον γὰρ κατείχον
422
taken refuge; and reaching a mountain he camped there at its foot.

At this same time Ptolemæus son of Lagus whom Alexander had sent foraging, and who had advanced further ahead, himself and a few others, to scout, reported to Alexander that he had sighted fires of the tribesmen a good deal more numerous than in Alexander's own camp; yet Alexander was incredulous about the number of the fires; but perceiving that it was a device of the tribesmen of this district, he left part of his force behind encamped, as they were, and himself taking what appeared to be a sufficient force, in view of this report, when they saw the fires from close at hand, divided his men into three parts; and he set over the first part Leonnatus, member of the bodyguard, detailing for him the brigade of Attalus and that of Balacrus; and the second portion he gave to Ptolemæus son of Lagus; namely, a third part of the royal guards and the brigade of Philip and Philotas and two regiments of archers and the Agrianes, and half the cavalry; then he himself led the third division to where the greatest number of the tribesmen appeared to be.

XXV. They, as soon as they saw the Macedonians approach, holding as they did the heights, confident in their numbers, and despising the Macedonians, as they appeared to be few, descended to the plain; a severe battle followed. Still Alexander had the mastery of them without much difficulty. Ptolemæus' troops were drawn up not on the level; but
οι βάρβαροι, ὁδήγουσι ποιήσας τοὺς λόχους Πτολεμαίος προσήγεν ἦπερ ἐπιμαχώτατον τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο, οὐ πάντη τὸν λόφον κυκλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπολιπών, εἰ φεύγειν ἐθέλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι,

3 χώραν αὐτοῖς ἔς τὴν φυγήν. Καὶ γίγνεται καὶ τούτους μάχη καρτερά, τοῦ χωρίου τῇ χαλεπότητι καὶ ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δὴ τι ἄλκιμωτάτοι τῶν προσχώρων εἰσίν. Ἐξώσθησαν δὲ καὶ οὕτωι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Δεονάτων τῇ τρίτῃ μοίρα τῆς στρατιάς ὡσαύτως ἐπραξαν ἐνίκων γὰρ καὶ οὕτωι τοὺς κατὰ σφάς.

4 Καὶ λέγει Πτολεμαίος ἀνθρώπους μὲν ληφθῆναι τοὺς πάντας ὑπὲρ τετρακιμυρίους, βοῶν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς τρεῖς καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας· καὶ τούτων τὰς καλλίστας ἐπιλεξάμενον Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτι διαφέρονσαί αὐτῷ κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει ἐφαίνοντο, πέμψαι ἐθέλειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν χώραν.

5 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἤγεν τούτους γὰρ ἔξηγγελλετο παρεσκευάσθαι ὡς μαχουμένους, ἵππεας μὲν ἐς δισχιλίους ἔχοντας, πεζοὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους, τριάκοντα δὲ ἐλέφαντας. Κράτερος μὲν δὴ, ἐκτετειχικῷς ἦδη τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἦς τῷ ὀἰκίσμῳ κατελέειπτο, τοὺς τε βαρύτερον ὁπλισμένους τῆς στρατιάς Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἦγε καὶ τὰς μηχανάς,

6 εἰ ποιοῦν τολιορκίας δεῖσειν. Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς τε ἐταίρους ἵππεας ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἵππακουστὰς καὶ τὴν Κοίνον καὶ Πολυσέρησος τάξειν καὶ τοὺς Ἀχριάνας τοὺς ξελίους καὶ τοὺς τοξότας, ἢει ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσακηνῶν· 424
since the tribesmen held a hill, Ptolemaeus throwing
his lines into columns led them up to the point where
the hill seemed most open to assault, not investing
the hill on all sides, but leaving a space for flight,
should the tribesmen elect to escape. With these
there followed a severe battle, both because of the
difficulty of the position and because these Indians
were not of the same kind as the rest in this district,
but much the most warlike of all the neighbouring
tribes. Yet even these were driven down from the
mountain by the Macedonians; and Leonnatus and
his troops were equally successful with the third part
of the army; for they too conquered those ranged
against them. And Ptolemaeus says that the total
of men captured was over forty thousand, and of
oxen over two hundred and thirty thousand; and
of these Alexander chose out the finest, because they
seemed to be of unusual beauty and size, and was
anxious to send them into Macedonia to work the
land.

Thence he proceeded to the territory of the Assa-
cenians; for these were reported to have prepared
for battle, with two thousand horsemen, over thirty
thousand infantry, and thirty elephants. Craterus
then, who had finished the walling round of the city
of whose settlement he had been put in charge, took
to Alexander the heavier armed troops of the army,
and the siege engines, in case he had need of a siege.
But Alexander himself with the Companions' cavalry
and the mounted javelin-men and the brigade of
Coenus and Polysperchon, the thousand Agrianes,
and the archers, marched towards the Assacenians;
7 ἂγε δὲ διὰ τῆς Γουραϊῶν χώρας. Καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς χώρας τὸν Γουραϊῶν χαλεπῶς διέβη, διὰ βαθύτητα τε καὶ ὅτι ὅξωσε ὁ βοῦς ἥν αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ λύθοι στρογγύλαι έν τῷ ποταμῷ ὄντες σφαλεροὶ τοῖς ἐπιβαίνονσιν ἐγκύνοντο. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ὡς προσάγοντα ἦσθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀθρόοι μὲν ἐς μάχην καταστήσαν ὡς ἐκαστοῖς κατὰ πόλιν ταύτας ἐπενόουν ἀπομαχόμενοι διασώζειν.

XXVI. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτα μὲν ἔπλησε αὐτοῦ καὶ Μάσσαγα ἦγε, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ταύτης πόλεων. Ὡς δὲ προσῆγεν ἢδη τοὺς τείχους, θαρρῆσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς μισθοφόροις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πρόσω Ινδῶν, ἦσαν γὰρ οὗτοι ἐς ἐπτακισχίλους, ὡς στρατοπεδευομένους εἶδον τοὺς Μακεδόνας, δρόμῳ ἡμῶν ἦσαν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐσομένην τὴν μάχην, προσωτέρον ἑκκαλέσασθαι αὐτοὺς βουληθεῖς τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς εἰ τροπὴ γίγνοντο (ἐγιγνωσκε γὰρ ἐσομένην), μὴ δι’ ὁλίγου ἐς τὴν πόλιν καταφυγόντες εὔμαρας διασόζοντο, ὡς ἐκθέοντας εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, μεταβαλλομένους καλευόντας τούς Μακεδόνας ὅπισώ ἀποχωρεῖν ὡς πρὸς γῆλοφον τινα, ἀπέχουντα ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἱππαρ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐγνώκει ἐπτά 3 που μάλιστα στάδιοι. Καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀναβροθέσαντες, ὡς ἐγκεκλικτῶν ἦδη τῶν Μακεδόνων, δρόμῳ τε καὶ ξύνοι οὔδεις κόσμῳ εἴφεροντο ἐς αὐτούς. Ὡς δὲ ἐξεικνεύτῳ ἦδη τὰ τοξεύματα, ἐνταῦθα Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ εὐνόηματος ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτούς τὴν φάλαγγα δρόμῳ ἀντεπῆγε. Πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ ἰππακοντισταὶ τε αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριανες καὶ οἱ τοξόται ἐκδραμόντες ἐνεμέζαν τοῖς βαρ
and he went through the country of the Guraeans. And the river Guraeus, which shares its name with the country, he crossed with difficulty, both because of its depth, and because its current was rapid, and the rounded stones in the river proved very slippery to anyone stepping on them. But the tribesmen, learning that Alexander was approaching, dared not take their stand in mass for a battle, but breaking off in parties each to their city they purposed to defend and save them.

XXVI. Alexander then marched first against Massaga, the greatest of the cities in this district. When he already was approaching the walls, the tribesmen, relying on mercenary Indians brought from further India, about seven thousand men, as soon as they saw the Macedonians pitching camp, charged into them at the double. So Alexander seeing that the battle would be near the city, being anxious to draw them out further from their walls, so that if a rout took place (and he was sure it would) they should not have their city close at hand for refuge and so come off safe; as soon as he saw the tribesmen sallying out, bade the Macedonians turn right-about and withdraw towards a hill, about seven stades away from the site on which he had decided to camp. So the enemy, plucking up courage, thinking that the Macedonians had already given way, rushed upon them at full speed and in disorder. But when the arrows were just reaching his troops, then Alexander by signal turned his phalanx towards them and led it on at the double. First the mounted javelin-men, the Agrianes, and the archers dashed forward and attacked the tribesmen; but Alexander
βάρως· αυτὸς δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐν τάξει ἔγεν.

4 Οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ τῷ τε παραλόγῳ ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ ἀμα ἐν χερσὶ γεγενημένης τῆς μάχης, ἐγκλίναντες ἀφενυν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους, οἳ δὲ λυποὶ ἐς τὰ τείχη κατεκλείσθησαν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προσήγε τῷ τείχει τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ ἐντεύθεν τοζεύεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὸ σφυρὸν οὗ καλεπῶς.

5 Ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς τῇ υστεραία τῶν μὲν τείχῶν τι εὐμαρῶς κατέσεις· βιασμένους δὲ ταύτη τοὺς Μακεδόνας η παρέρρηκτο τοῦ τείχους οὐκ ἀτόλμως οἳ Ἰνδοὶ ἦμυνοντο, ὡστε ταύτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεκαλέσατο τὴν στρατιὰν. Τῇ δὲ υστεραίᾳ τῶν τε Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν ἡ προσβολὴ καρτερωτέρα ἐγένετο, καὶ πύργος ἐπῆχθη ἕως ἡμῶν τῶν τείχων, οἴκων ἐκτοξεύοντας οἳ τοξόται καὶ βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἀφιέμενα ἀνέστηλλον ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δὲς βιάσασθαι εἰςῳ τοῦ τείχους οἴοι τε ἐγένοντο.

6 Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ προσαγαγών αὖθις τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς γέφυραν ἐπιβαλὸν τοῦ τείχους ἦ παρερρωγὸς ἦν, ταύτη ἐπῆχε τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, οἵτερ αὐτῶ καὶ Τύρον ὑσαυτὸς ἐξείλον. Πολὺ δὲ ὑπὸ προβυμίας ὠδομένων, ἀχθος λαβοῦσα μεῖζον ἡ γέφυρα κατερράγη καὶ πίπτουσι ξύν

7 αὐτῇ οἱ Μακεδόνες. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰδόντες τὸ γιγνόμενον λίθοι τῇ ἐξ ὑμοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν τείχῶν καὶ τοξεύομαι καὶ ἄλλο ὡς τις μετὰ χειρα ἔχων ἐτύγχανεν ή ὡς τις ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν ἐξηκότιζον ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας· οἳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ θύρας, αὐτίνες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τα μεσοπύργια μικρα ἦσαν, ἐκθέοντες εκ χειρὸς ἐπαιον τεταραγμένους.
himself led on his phalanx in due order. But the Indians, upset by the unexpected attack and also the battle being now hand to hand, turned and fled back to the city. Some two hundred of them perished, but the rest were shut up inside their walls. Alexander brought up his phalanx to the wall, and thence was wounded, not seriously, by an arrow from the wall on his ankle. But next day bringing up the engines he easily destroyed a part of the wall, and as the Macedonians pressed in here at the breach of the wall, the Indians bravely resisted, so that for this day Alexander recalled his troops. But next day the Macedonian attack was more efficient; and a wooden tower was brought up against the walls, from which the archers shot volleys, while from the engines they hurled missiles, and so they much repressed the Indians; but not even so could they force their way inside the wall.

But on the third day bringing up again the phalanx and throwing a bridge from an engine to the breach of the wall, over this Alexander led on his bodyguard, who had helped him in the same way to capture Tyre. Many pressed forward in eagerness, and the bridge receiving too great a weight broke, and the Macedonians fell with it. But the tribesmen seeing the occurrence, raising a shout, with stones from the walls, and arrows, and anything they had in hand, or anything they picked up, shot at the Macedonians; and others by the small gates, which they had in the spaces between the towers, broke forth and at close quarters struck at the Macedonians while in this confusion.
XXVII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ πέμπει Ἀλκέταν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τάξει τοὺς τε κατατετρωμένους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὁσοὶ προσεμάχοντο ἐπανακαλέσασθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τῇ τετάρτῃ ὤσαυτώς ἐπὶ ἄλλης μηχανής ἄλλη ἐπιβάθρα αὐτῷ προσήγητο πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

2 Καί οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ἦσος μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἡγεμόν τοῦ χωρίου περὶ, ἀπεμάχοντο καρτερῶς· ὡς δὲ βῆλει ἀπὸ μηχανῆς τυπεῖ ἀποθνήσκει ἐκεῖνος, αὐτῶν τε οἱ μὲν τινες πεπτωκότες ἐν τῇ ξυνεχεῖ πολιορκία, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τραυματίαι τε καὶ ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, ἐπεκρυκέντο πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον.

3 Τὸ δὲ ἀσμένῳ γίνεται ἄνδρας ἀγαθῶς διασῶσαι· καὶ ἔμβαινε ἐπὶ τῶδε Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μισθοφόροις Ἰνδοῖς ὡς καταταχθέντας ἐς τὴν ἄλλην στρατιάν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύεσθαι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐξῆλθον ἐξ ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑπλοῖς, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν κατὰ σφαῖς ἐπὶ γηλόφῳ ὡς ἦν ἀντίπορος τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατοπέδου. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπενύσαν δρασμῷ διαχρησάμενοι ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἡθη ἀπαναστήναι, οὐκ ἐθέλοντες ἐναντία αἴρεσθαι.

4 τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς ὑπάλλα. Καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἔηηγελθῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, περιστήσας τῆς νυκτὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν, κατακόπτει τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ἀπολαβών, τὴν τε πόλιν αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος, ἐρημωθεῖσαν τῶν προμαχομένων, καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἀσσακηνοῦ καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἐλαβεν. Απέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν ἐξ Ἐλεξάνδρῳ ἐς πέντε καὶ ἐκκοσίων.

5 Ἐνθεὶ δὲ Κοῖνον μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βάξηρα ἐκπέμπει, ἡμῶν ποιησάμενος ὅτι μαθόντες τῶν Μασσάγων τὴν ἀλώσει ἐνδώσουσι σφᾶς αὐτοῖς. Ἀττα-
XXVII. Alexander now sent Alcetas with his brigade, both to pick up the wounded and to recall to the camp any who were still engaged; and the fourth day similarly from another engine another bridge was brought up to the wall.

The Indians, as long as their chief survived, resisted stoutly; but as soon as he was hit by a missile from a catapult, and killed, they, with part of their number already fallen in the close siege, and part now wounded and unfit for service, sent to Alexander to ask for a truce. He was glad enough to be able to preserve such valiant men; and it was here that Alexander agreed with his mercenary Indians to join the rest of his army and take the field with him. They passed out with their arms, and encamped by themselves on a hill, which lay facing the Macedonian camp; and they intended, at night, to slip away and escape to their own tribes, not being desirous of taking up arms against the rest of the Indians. When this was reported to Alexander he threw his whole force during night-time round the hill, and cut down the Indians whom he had thus enclosed; their city he captured by assault, deprived as it was of its chief defenders, and took there also Assacenus' mother and daughter. In the entire siege there perished some twenty-five of Alexander's men.

Thence he sent Coenus to Bazira, considering that on learning of the capture of Massaga they would
λον δὲ καὶ Ἀλκέταν καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν ἵππον χρύσαν ἐπὶ Ωρα στέλλει, ἀλλὰν πόλιν, παραγείλας περιτειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν ἐς τὸν ἀφίκηται

αὐτός. Καὶ γίγνεται ἐκδρομὴ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀλκέταν. Οὐ χαλεπῶς δὲ τρεπταίσαντες υπερψηλῶν τε ἦν καὶ πάντη ἀκρίβως τετειχισμένην, οὐδὲν ἐμβατικὸν ἐνεδίδοσαν.

7 Ταῦτα μαθὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὅρμητο μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ Βαζίρα· γνοὺς δὲ ὅτι τῶν προσοίκων τινῶν βαρβάρων παρεῖναι ἐς τὰ Ἡρα τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπων μέλλουσιν, πρὸς Ἀβισάραν ἐπὶ τῶδε ἐσταλμένοι, ἐπὶ τὰ Ἡρα πρῶτον ἦγε· Κοῖνον δὲ ἐπιτειχίσησι τῇ πόλει τῶν Βαζίρων καρτερὸν τῇ χώρᾳ προσέταξε, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ φυλακὴν καταλαμβάνοντα ἀποχρώσαν, ὡς μὴ ἀδεια ἐγα τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει χρησθαι τῇ χώρᾳ, αὐτῶν ἀγοντα τῆς στρατίας τὴν λοιπὴν παρὰ αὐτῶν ἑναί. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Βαζίρων ὡς οἶδον ἀπεῖνα ἔπειν τῷ πλείστῳ τῆς στρατίας τῶν Κοῖνον, καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Μακεδόνων, ὡς οὐ γενομένων ἀν σφῶν ἀξιομάχῳ, ἐπεκθέοντι ἐς τὸ πεδίον καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν μάχη καρτερ. Καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πίπτουσι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς πεντακοσίων, ἔστε δὲ ἐλήφθησαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐμφυγοντες βεβαιοῦτο τῇ εἰργοτο τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτειχίσματος. Καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῶν Ἡρα ἐν πολιορκία οὐ χαλεπῇ ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλὼν τοῖς τείχεσι τῆς 432
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surrender. But Attalus and Alcetas and Demetrius the commander of the cavalry he sent towards another city, Ora, bidding them strengthen the city with a wall during the time of his own approach. The towns- men made, however, a sally against Alcetas' forces. But the Macedonians easily repulsed them and turned them back from the wall into the city. Coenus was not successful at Bazira, but the townspeople trusting in the strength of their site, since it was very high and fortified carefully all round, showed no signs of surrendering.

Alexander on learning this started towards Bazira; but hearing that some of the neighbouring tribesmen were preparing to slip unseen into the city of Ora, for Abisarus had sent them expressly for this, he advanced first towards Ora; and he commanded Coenus to fortify near the city of Bazira a strong position and in this to leave a sufficient garrison, so that the populace might not feel at liberty to use the neighbouring country, and then to bring the rest of the army to join him. But the tribesmen in Bazira seeing Coenus departing with the majority of the army, made light of the Macedonians, as not likely to prove worthy opponents, and sallied out from the city; and there was a severe battle. In the battle as many as five hundred of the tribesmen fell, and over seventy were taken alive; the rest were driven back into the city and were now even there closely hindered from going into the country by those who held the stronghold facing their wall. Alexander found the siege of Ora not difficult; but at once attacking the walls he took the city at the first
πόλεως ἐκράτησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἔλαβε.

XXVIII. Καὶ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τοῖς Βαζίροις ὡς ἔμαθον, ἀπογνώντες τὰ σφέτερα πράγματα ἀμφί μέσας νύκτας τὴν πόλιν ἐκκλέισαν. Ὄσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βαρβαροὶ ἑπραττόν ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις εὐμπάντας ἐφευγον ἐς τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν 'Δορον καλομένην. Μέγα γὰρ τι τούτῳ χρήμα πέτρας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταῦτῃ ἐστὶ, καὶ λόγος ὑπέρ αὐτῆς κατέχει οὐδὲ 'Ηρακλεί τῷ Διὸς ἀλωτόν γενέσθαι τὴν πέτραν. Εἶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς 'Ινδοὺς ἀφίκετο ὁ 'Ηρακλής ὁ Ὠθβαίος ἢ ὁ Τύριος ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἐς οὐδέτερα ἐχω ἰσχυρότερα μᾶλλον δὲ δοκῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίκετο, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ὡς χαλεπὰ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἐς τοσόν διὰ ἀρα αὐξοῦσιν αὐτῶν τὴν χαλεπότητα ὡς καὶ τῷ 'Ηρακλεὶ ἂν ἄπορα γενέσθαι μυθεῦνε. Κάγῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πέτρας ταύτης οὐτω γενόσκω, τὸν Ὁρκλέα ἢς κόμπου τοῦ λόγου ἐπιφημίζεσθαι.

3 Τὸν μὲν δὴ κύκλων τῆς πέτρας λέγουσιν ἐς διάκοσίους σταδίους μάλιστα εἰναι, ύψος δὲ αὐτῆς, ἵππερ χθαμαλώτατον, σταδίων ἐνδεκα, καὶ ἀνάβασιν χειροποίητον μιᾶν χαλεπήν εἰναι δὲ καὶ ύδωρ ἐν ἀκρᾳ τῆς πέτρας πολὺ καὶ καθαρὸν, πηγῆν ἀνίσχουσαν, ὡς καὶ ἀπορρέειν ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς ύδωρ, καὶ ᾗν καὶ ἅγην ἀγαθὴν ἐργάσιμον ὁσὲν καὶ χλίοις ἀνθρώποις ἀποχρῶσαν ἃν εἰναι ἐργαίζεσθαι.

4 Καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούοντα Ἀλέξανδρον πόθος λαμβάνει ἐξελείν καὶ τοῦτο τῷ ὄρος, οὗ ἡκιστα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμφὶ τοῦ Ἥρακλεα μῦθῳ πεφημισμένῳ. Τὰ μὲν δὴ Ὄμα καὶ τὰ Μάσσαγα φρούρια ἐποίησεν

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attempt, and captured the elephants which had been left there.

XXVIII. When the inhabitants of Bazira learnt this, they lost confidence in their position, and about midnight deserted the city; and thus did all the remaining tribesmen; deserting their cities they all fled to the rock in this neighbourhood called Aornos.\footnote{On its site see Introduction.} It is an unusually large rock in this country, and the story about it is that even Heracles the son of Zeus was unable to capture it. Whether indeed Heracles, either the Theban or the Tyrian Heracles, or the Egyptian, ever reached India I cannot state confidently; I rather incline to think that he did not, but rather that whatever difficulties men meet, they exaggerate this difficulty so far as to relate a legend that Heracles himself could not have overcome them. This at any rate is my view about this rock, that Heracles has been brought in to make more of the story. In any case they give the circuit of the rock as about two hundred stades, its height, at its lowest part, at eleven stades; and there is said to be one way up only, a made way, and a rough one. On the top of the rock is plenty of pure water; it comes from a spring, and in fact even runs off the rock; there is also wood and good arable land there, enough for a thousand men to till.

As soon as Alexander heard this, he was seized with a desire to capture this mountain also, and not least by reason of the legend about Heracles. Ora and Massaga he made fortresses in the district; but
ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ τὰ Βάξιρα δὲ πόλιν ἐξετείχισε.
5 Καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα τε καὶ Περδίκκαν ἀυτῷ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐκτείχισαντες (Ὀροβάτις ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἦν), καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπόντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἤσαν ὁς δὲ ἀφίκοντο, ἐπρασσοῦν ἦδη ὅσα ἐς τὸ ξεῦξαί τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐτέτακτο.
6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν χώρας τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ σατράπην κατέστησε Νικάνορα τῶν ἔταιρων. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἦγε, καὶ πόλιν τε Πευκελαώτων οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ φύκισμένην ὁμολογία παρεστήσατο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ φρουρὰν καταστήσας τῶν Μακεδονίων καὶ Φιλίππων ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ ἠγεμόνα, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα προσηγάγετο μικρὰ πολίσματα πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ φύκισμένα. Ἐνυπείποντο δὲ αὐτῷ Κοφαιός τε καὶ Ἀσσαγέτης
7 οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ τῆς χώρας. Ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐμβόλιμα πόλιν, ἢ ξύνεγγυς τῆς πέτρας τῆς Ἁόρνου φυκεῖτο, Κράτεροι μὲν ἔδω καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλείπει αὐτοῦ, σῖτον τε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὡς πλείστον ἔνυμάγει καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς χρόνου τριβήν, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμωμένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας χρυσόν πολωρχία ἐκτρυχωσά τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν πέτραν, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου ληφθείν.
8 Αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τε ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριάνας καὶ τὴν Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης φαλάγγος ἐπιλέξας τοὺς κούφοτάτους τε καὶ ἀμα εὐσπλοτάτους καὶ τῶν ἔταιρων ἱππέων ἐς διακοσίους καὶ ἱπποτοξότας ἐς ἐκατὸν προσήγε τῇ πέτρᾳ. Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο ὡς ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο.
the city of Bazira he enclosed with a wall. And Hephaestion and Perdiccas and those with them built a wall round another city, called Orobatis, and leaving there a garrison went on towards the river Indus; and on arrival, they took such steps as Alexander had ordered for the bridging of the Indus.

Of the region this side of the river Indus Alexander appointed Nicanor as governor, one of the Companions. He himself first went towards the river Indus and took over by surrender the city of Peucelaotis, situated not far from the Indus, and set a Macedonian garrison there with Philippus commandant of the garrison; and he also took over various small towns lying on the river Indus. With him followed Cophaeus and Assagetes, the governors of the country. Then reaching the city Embolima, which lay near the rock of Aornos, he left there Craterus with part of the army; bidding him get in as much provision as possible into the city and all else necessary for a long delay, so that the Macedonians, using the city as a base, might wear out the holders of the rock with a long blockade, should it not be captured by first assault. Then he himself taking the archers and the Agrianes and Coenus' brigade and choosing out the lightest from the rest of the phalanx, but at the same time the best armed, and with two hundred of the Companions' cavalry and a hundred mounted archers, approached the rock. For this day he encamped where it seemed to him
τῇ δὲ ύστεραίᾳ ὀλίγον προελθὼν ὡς πρὸς τὴν πέτραν αὐτὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο.

XXIX. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἦκον παρ’ αὐτὸν τῶν προσχώρων τινές, σφάζες τε αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόντες καὶ ἡγήσασθαι φάσκοντες ἐς τῆς πέτρας τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον, ὅθεν οὐ χαλεπὸν αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι ἔλειν τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ ξύν τούτως πέμπει Πτολεμαίον τὸν Δάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα, τοὺς τε Ἀγριάνας ἀγοντα καὶ τοὺς φιλούς τοὺς ἀλλοὺς καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπιλέκτους, προστάξας, ἐπειδὰν καταλάβῃ τὸ χωρίον, κατέχειν μὲν αὐτὸ ἴσχυρὰ 2 φυλακῆ, οἵ δὲ σημαίνειν ὅτι ἔχεται. Καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ἔλθὼν ὅδὸν τραχείαν τε καὶ δύσπορον λανθάνει τοὺς βαρβάρους κατασχῶν τὸν τόπον καὶ τοῦτον χάρακι ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τάφρῳ ὄχυρώσας πυρὸν αἰρεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἐνθεὶς ὁφθήσεσθαι ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐμμελλε. Καὶ ὥσπερ τε ἀμα ἡ φλοξ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐπιήγε τῇ ύστεραιᾳ τὴν στρατιάν ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ουδὲν 3 πλέον αὐτῷ ἀπὸ δυσχωρίας ἐγίγνετο. Ὡς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρω ἀποροῦν τὴν προσβολῆν κατέμαθον οἱ βαρβαροὶ, ἀναστρέψαντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαίον αὐτοὶ προσέβαλλον καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων μάχη καρτερά, τῶν μὲν διασπάσαι τὸν χάρακα σπουδῆν ποιομένων, τῶν Ἰνδῶν, Πτολεμαίοις δὲ διαφυλάξαι τὸ χωρίον καὶ μείὸν σχοντες οἱ βαρβαροὶ ἐν τῷ ἀκροβολισμῷ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀνεχώρησαν.

4 Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τινά τῶν αὐτομόλων, πιστῶν τε ἀλλοῦ καὶ τῶν χωρίων δαήμονα, ἐπιλεξάμενος πέμπει παρὰ Πτολεμαίον τῆς νυκτός, γράμματα φέροντα τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἣν ἐγέ-438
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convenient; but next day he advanced a little towards the rock and camped again.

XXIX. Meanwhile some of the neighbouring tribesmen came to Alexander surrendering themselves and promising to lead him to the part of the rock which could best be assaulted, whence he could without difficulty capture the position. With these men he sent Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, his personal guard, with the Agrianes, the rest of the light troops and chosen men of the bodyguard, ordering him as soon as he should capture the position to hold it with a strong garrison, signalling to him that it was so held. Ptolemaeus then pursued a rough and difficult track and seized the place without the tribesmen's knowledge: then he strengthened it by a stockade all round and a trench, and showed a fire-signal from the height where Alexander was sure to see it. At once Alexander saw the flare, and next day he brought up his army; but as the tribesmen offered opposition he made no advance, owing to difficulties of the ground. But as soon as the tribesmen saw that Alexander's advance was ineffective, they turned and attacked Ptolemaeus and his troops; and a severe battle took place between them and the Macedonians, the Indians eagerly seeking to pull down the stockade, but Ptolemaeus to keep his hold on the position; in the exchange of long-range volleys the tribesmen had the worst, and at nightfall withdrew.

Alexander, however, selected a deserter of the Indians, trustworthy, and (what is more) with exact knowledge of the localities, and sent him by night to Ptolemaeus with a letter, in which it was written
γραπτο, ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς προσβάλη τῇ πέτρᾳ, τὸν δὲ ἐπιέναι τοὺς βαρβάρους κατὰ τὸ ὄρος, μηδὲ ἀγαπῶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἐχοντα τὸ χωρίον, ὥς ἀμφοτέρωθεν βαλλόμενους τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀμφιβόλους γύνεσθαι. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀρας ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προσήγη τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ τὴν πρόσβασιν ἣ Πτολεμαῖος λαθὼν ἀνέβη, γυνώμην ποιούμενος ὡς εἰ ταύτῃ βιασάμενος ξυμμίξει τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον, οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔτι ἐσομενον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. Καὶ ξυνέβη οὖτος.

6 Ἐστε μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐξευιστηκει καρτέρα μάχῃ τοῖς τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, τῶν μὲν ἐκβιαζόμενων ἐς τὴν πρόσβασιν, τῶν δὲ βαλλόντων ἀνίόντας· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἅλλοι ἐπὶ ἅλλους ἐπιόντες, οἱ δὲ πρόσθεν ἀναπαυόμενοι, μόλις δὴ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἐκράτησαν τῆς παρδόνος καὶ ξυνέμεξαν τοῖς ἑξιν Πτολεμαῖοι. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁμοὶ ἦδη γενομένη ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ἐπήγετο αὖθις ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τὴν πέτραν· ἄλλα γὰρ ἔτι ἀπορος ἦν αὐτὴ ἡ προσβολὴ. Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τούτῳ τὸ τέλος γύνεται.

7 Τοῦ δὲ τῆς ἑως παραγγέλλει στρατιώτη ἐκαίστῳ κόπτειν χάρακας ἑκατὸν κατ' ἀνδρὰ. Καὶ οὕτωι κεκομένοι ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐχόννυν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς του λόφου ἰνα ἐστρατοπεδευκότες ἦσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν χώμα μέγα, ἐνθεὶ τοξεύματα τε ἀν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους δυνατὰ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῶν ἑλῆ ἀφείμενα· καὶ ἐχόννυν αὐτὸ πᾶς τις ἄντιλμβανόμενος τοῦ ἔργου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφευστήκει θεατὶς καὶ ἐπαινέτης τοῦ ἑξιν προθυμία περαινομένου, κολαστὴς δὲ τοῦ ἑν τῷ παραχρήμα εκλιπτοῦσ.
that so soon as Alexander himself should approach the rock, Ptolemaeus was to attack the tribesmen from the height, not contenting himself with merely holding the position, so that the Indians attacked from both sides might be between two fires. Then Alexander at dawn moved from his camp and brought his army to the incline by which Ptolemaeus had secretly ascended; reckoning that if he could force his way in this direction and join Ptolemaeus' force, the action would be a simple one; as indeed it fell out. For to midday there was a severe battle between the Indians and the Macedonians, these trying to force the approach, those shooting as their enemy approached. But as the Macedonians kept constantly coming up, detachment after detachment, while the earlier ones rested from the attack, with much difficulty about dusk they mastered the ascent and joined the force of Ptolemaeus. Thence the now united forces attacked again the rock itself; but even thus the attack failed. This was the close of operations that day.

At dawn Alexander bade each soldier to cut a hundred stakes; these were all cut, and then he raised a great mound beginning from the top of the crest on which they had encamped up to the rock; from this arrows could reach the defenders, as he calculated, and missiles hurled from the engines. All hands took part in the work and built the mound; Alexander himself stood by, watching and approving anyone who worked zealously; but punishing any laggards.

1 A slight change in the Greek would give the meaning "collected."
ARRIAN

XXX. Τῇ μὲν δὴ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὦς ἔπληκτός ἦν τό στάδιον ἔχωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ στρατός. Ἐσ δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν οἱ τε σφενδονὶ ταῖς σφενδονώτες ἐσ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἧδον ἱππομίμημον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μηχανῶν βέλη ἀφίεμενα ἀνέστελλε τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς χοινύοντας. Καὶ ἐχώνυμον αὐτῷ ἡμέρας ἔγνεος τὸ χώριον. Τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ βιασώμενοι τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ πολλοὶ κατέσχον ὁλίγον γῆλοφον ἰσόπεδον τῇ πέτρᾳ: καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὕδευσ τιangkan ἐπὶ τῇ ἄλμα ἐξανάψει ἐθέλων τὸν ἰδρυμένον τῷ γῆλοφῳ ὑδαιμονικοῦ ὄντω οἱ ὁλίγοι αὐτῷ ἦδον κατείχον. 2 Οἱ δὲ Ἰνδεὶ πρὸς τῇ ἰδιήγησιν τὸλμαν τῶν ἐς τῶν γῆλοφον βιασμένων Μακεδόνων ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τὸ ὁμοῦξαν ἐναλαματοῦ ἵδον ἵρων, τοῦ μεν ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐπὶ ἄπειρῳ. πέμψαντες δὲ τῇ πηρικα ἀπὸ παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐθέλειν ἐφαρμοσκοῦν ἐνδούνα τὴν πέτραν, εἰ σφισὶ σπένδοντο. Γνώμην δὲ πεποίησαν ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ διαμέλλοντι τῶν σπευδῶν διαγγέλοντες τῇ χόρῳ νυκτὸς ὡς ἔκαστοι διασκεδάζοντον ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἡγη. 3 Καὶ τοῦτο ὦς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐνδιδοσάτ᾽ αὐτοῖς χρόνον τε ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῷ κύκλῳ τὴν πάντῃ ἀφελεῖν. Ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν ἐςτε ἔμελον τῆς ἄποχωρήσεως καὶ ἐν τοῦτο ἀναλαβὼν τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν υπασπιστῶν ἐς ἐπτακοσίους κατὰ τὸ ἐκλειπμένον τῆς πέτρας ἀνέρχεται ἐς αὐτῆς πρώτους, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἄλλος ἄλλη ἀνιμώντες 4 ἀλλήλους ἀνήσαν. Καὶ οὕτως οἱ ἀποχωροῦντες τῶν βαρβάρων τραπόμενοι ἀπὸ ἀνθρώματος, πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ 442
XXX. On the first day the army had built the mound to about a stade in length. But on the next, the slingers using their slings from the mound so far built, and the missiles flung from the engines, kept down the sallies of the Indians upon the builders of the mound. In three days the mound had covered the whole space. But on the fourth a few Macedonians made a rush and held a small hill of the same level as the rock, and Alexander without a moment's delay extended the mound, anxious to make it continuous up to the hill which this small party was already holding.

The Indians were amazed at the incredible boldness of the Macedonians who had seized the hill, and seeing the mound already continuous began to desist from any defence, but sent an officer to ask Alexander for a truce, and said they would surrender the rock, on terms being granted them. They had formed a plan of spending the day in the delays incident to these terms and then, at night, scattering all to their own tribes. But when Alexander discovered this he gave them plenty of time for their withdrawal and for the removing of the investing patrols. Then he himself waited till they began their withdrawal; and meantime taking his bodyguards up to seven hundred to the now deserted part of the rock, he himself was the first to mount it, and the Macedonians pulling each other up, followed. These then at a signal turned upon the retreating tribesmen, and slew many of them in their flight; some in the panic
ἈΡΙΑΝ

ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δὲ καὶ περιβημένως ἀποχωροῦντες κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ῥίζαντες σφαῖς ἀπέθανον. Εἶχετο τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ πέτρα ἡ τῷ Ἡρακλεί ἀπόρος γενομένη, καὶ ἔθευν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ Ἀλεξάνδρος καὶ κατεσκεύασε φρούριον, παραδοῦ Σισικόττω ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς φρουρᾶς, δό ἐς Ἰνδῶν μὲν πάλαι ἴναυμολήκῃ ἐς Βάκτρα παρὰ Βῆσσον, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ κατασχόντω τὴν χώραν τὴν Βακτρίαν ἐνυπετράπευε τε αὐτῷ καὶ πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἑφαίνετο.

5 Ἀρας δὲ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν ἐμβάλλει. Τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀσσακηνὸν ἐξηγγέλλετο τοὺς τε ἔλεφαντας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν προσχόρων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐμπεφέυγεναι ἐς τὰ ταύτη ὅρη. Καὶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Δύρτα πόλιν, τῶν μὲν ἐνοικοῦντων οὐδένα καταλαμβάνει οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ πόλει· ἐς δὲ τὴν ὕστεραν Νεάρχου τε καὶ Ἀντίοχον τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν ἐκπέμπει· καὶ Νεάρχῳ μὲν τοὺς Ἀγριανάς καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἀγείν ἐδωκεν, Ἀντίοχῳ δὲ τὴν τε αὐτοῦ χιλιαρχίαν καὶ δὸ ἐπὶ ταύτη ἄλλας. Ἐστέλλοντο δὲ τὰ τε χορία κατοικοῦμενοι καὶ εἴ τοι τινὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐυλλαβεῖτε ἐς ἐλεγχοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ἄμφι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐμελεν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν.

6 Ἀὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ὑπὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμὸν ἐδη ἄγε, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὀδοποιεῖτο πρὸς τὰ ἴούσα ἀπορᾳ ἄλλως ὦντα τὰ ταύτη χωρία. Ἐνταῦθα ἐυλλαμβάνει ὀλίγον τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ παρὰ τούτων ἐμαθεῖν ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Ἰνδοὶ παρὰ 'Ἀβισάρη ἀποπεφευγότες εἰν, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας

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of their escape threw themselves down the cliffs and so perished. Thus Alexander now held the rock that Heracles could not take, and he sacrificed there, and then established a guard there, appointing to command the guard Siscottus, who had some time ago deserted from Bessus and come to Bactria; then when Alexander took Bactria he served under him and proved very trustworthy.

Alexander now left the rock and invaded the district of the Assacenians. For it was reported that Assacenus' brother with the elephants and many of the neighbouring tribesmen had taken refuge in these hills. Arriving at a city Dyrtta, he found none of the inhabitants there, not even in the neighbourhood of the city; but the next day he sent out Nearchus and Antiochus the commander of the guards' regiments; to Nearchus he gave the Agrianes and the light troops, and to Antiochus his own regiment and two besides. They were sent to spy out the land and to seize any of the tribesmen they might find for interrogation; especially he was anxious to find out all about the elephants.

Then he himself now went on to the river Indus, and his army was sent in advance to prepare the road, since the country here was difficult. There he seized a few tribesmen, and learnt from them that the Indians of the district had fled to Abisarus, but that
ARRIAN

dὲ ὅτι αὐτοῦ κατέληπτον νέμεσθαι πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ καὶ τούτους ἡγήσασθαι οἱ τὴν ὀδὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας.

8 Εἰςὶ δὲ Ἰνδῶν πολλοὶ κυνηγόταί τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ τούτους σπουδὴ ἀμφὴ αὐτὸν εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ τότε ἐθῆρα ἔνν τούτοις τοὺς ἐλέφαντας· καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυται κατὰ κρημνοῦ σφᾶς ρίψαντες ἐν τῇ διώξει, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξυλληφθέντες ἐφερόν τε τοὺς ἀμβάτας καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυνετάσσοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὑλὴ ἐργασίμως ἐνέτυχε παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ αὐτή ἐκόπη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ ναῦς ἐπονήθησαν. Καὶ αὐταὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἠγοντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἤντια Ἡφαιστίων καὶ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐξωκοδομηκότες πάλαι ἦσαν.
he had left his elephants at pasture near the river Indus. These men he commanded to lead him the way to the elephants. Now many Indians hunt elephants, and Alexander made much of such in his following. And with them he hunted the elephants, and two of them threw themselves over cliffs in the pursuit and perished; the rest were captured, and permitted riders to mount them, and were taken into the army. And finding a wood, good for felling, near the river, Alexander had it cut down by his troops, and ships built. These sailed down the Indus to the bridge which Hephaestion and Perdiccas had long since built.
APPENDIX

The Bridge or Causeway in Book IV, xxi,
§§ 3 ff.

Arrian usually follows his military authorities closely. Sometimes there is a suspicion that they (perhaps under orders, or from motives of flattery) magnified Alexander’s difficulties. Sometimes we cannot but suspect that Arrian has not properly grasped his authorities, or tries to blend two different accounts. On the other hand, Sir Aurel Stein’s identification of Aornos by means of Arrian’s description, if correct, must incline us to take Arrian at his word elsewhere.

In the present passage, however anxious we may be to do so, there are difficulties.

There was a ravine all round the Rock of Chorienes; but there was only one way up the Rock. Alexander caused abundant trees to be felled: [here we expect to be told that, as before the Rock of Aornos (chs. xxix–xxx), he cast the trees into the ravine, where stakes had apparently been fixed, to hem in the tree trunks as they fell, so that they formed a bridge which, being piled up constantly, became a solid causeway. Yet the stakes at Aornos are not actually stated to have been fixed, and each man cut as many as 100 stakes; possibly, therefore, the Aornos “stakes” were themselves the timber thrown in

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APPENDIX

to fill the ravine. Here, however, we are actually told that these trees were made into ladders, by which the troops could descend into the ravine. They did so descend; and fixed stakes or pegs (not the same word as in the Aornos context) into its “sharpest part”; these pegs or stakes were to bear loads, and so were presumably driven horizontally; on them were thrown hurdles or bundles of willow, etc., “bridge-fashion”; earth was heaped on them, and a bridge or causeway thus formed. Questions arise:—If the work was done from below, why the stakes or pegs? If it was done in the narrowest part of the ravine, how could so many troops (half the army at a time) be used? Why no mention of tree trunks or branches used to fill the ravine? Was the narrowest part of the ravine also its bottom? Or did it widen out below, where its stream ran? The best answer we can give to all these questions is, perhaps, that the ravine did so widen below; that the pegs or stakes were necessary because, at its narrowest point, it had actually to be bridged; that the willow-bundles were piled upon the stakes or pegs in rude cantilever fashion, till they met in the centre; and that upon this structure earth, not trees, was thrown from above by the troops (of whom only a few can have descended), and that the completed structure was thus both bridge and causeway. At Aornos Alexander not only filled the ravine, at the point of approach, but also built a mound up to a hillock of the same height as the Rock itself.
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